

PAGES FROM THE HISTORY OF THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE OF CHINESE LEADER SUN YAT-SEN: MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF SOUTHERN CHINA (1919-1921)

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ABSTRACT:

Since 1917, Sun Yat-sen has formed the Military Government of South China as a base for restoring China's unity and enacting the 1912 Constitution. However, this government has been confronted with internal obstacles represented by the domination of the nerve and military parties in the south, especially the military party represented by the Kwangsi clique. As well as weak economic resources, which led to several political repercussions led to Sun Yat-sen to withdraw from Canton and resort to the use of military force to reunification of the country.

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INTRODUCTION

The paper discussed an important stage of the political struggle of Chinese leader Sun Yat-sen, in southern China from 1919 to 1921, and is part of a critical period in China's contemporary political history, the Period of the Warlords (1916-1928), in which China was divided. Into spheres of influence among warlords, in addition to the existence of two governments, the Central government in the north, based in Beijing, a government of warlords, and its authority did not exceed the borders of the capital Beijing and some neighboring provinces, and the military government in the south and the Canton-based military. It is known in the Chinese official documents and US documents as (the Military Government of the Republic of China) mentioned Also on behalf of the Southern Government and the Canton government. This government has unevenly, controlled the southern and southwestern provinces, from which Sun Yat-sen has served as a base for the country's reunification. This promised a phase of Sun Yat-sen's political struggle to establish constitutional rule in China, in which he faced several obstacles,

notably the Kwangsi clique (广西朋党), which controlled the Military Government.

The research was based on a number of sources, the most important of which are the documents of the US Department of State entitled (Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States) which were referred to in the abbreviation (FRUS). We adopted the parts of the years (1918, 1920, 1921), which gave extensive and accurate details about the Military Government in Southern China.

PREFACE

Sun Yat-sen formed the military government in the south in 1917 against the backdrop of Prime Minister Tuan Chi Joy's policy that led to the abolition of the 1912 Constitution, the dissolution of Parliament and other Constitutional Institutions⁽¹⁾. Sun Yat-sen and the more than 330 Nationalist Party (国民党- KMT) members were forced to leave Beijing, head to Shanghai and Canton the center of South China's Kwangtung Province, break the authority of the Central Government and declare them not to recognize them, and form a new Government in the Canton, the Military Government. They

organized a new parliament on August 18, 1917 and declared that their goal was to restore the 1912 Constitution and convene the dissolved Parliament. On August 31, the New Parliament convened an extraordinary meeting to approve the law governing the Military government and elected Sun Yat-sen as Commander-in-chief. In January 1918 the actions of this government resulted in the formation of a union between six provinces ;Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Hunan, Kweichow, and Szechuan to protect the Constitution.

It is appropriate to clarify the nature of the problems faced by the Military Government at that stage, including that Sun Yat-sen's attempts to establish a ground army faced many obstacles created by the Kwangsi Military clique, which extended its control over the provinces of Kwangsi and Kwangtung since 1916. It did not want the Sun Yat-sen Government to have any military power that could affect its existence. As well as the assassinations of the Sun Yat-sen's bodyguards by agents of Prime Minister Tuan Chi jui⁽²⁾. The naval force remained the only supporter of Sun Yat-sen, but its cruisers and old warships were not enough to replace the ground forces, especially as its leadership diminished with the death of Admiral Zhengyu Kuang in February 1918. In addition, Sun Yat-sen faced many complications in understanding with the Constitution Research Clique, which split from the KMT, and its members were deputies in the dissolved parliament. The real power in this government was not in the hands of Sun Yat-sen or the parliament, but in the hands of the South soldiers, especially Lu Jung ting, leader of the Kwangsi clique. Besides, this government has not received international recognition, especially from the influential countries in China (Britain, the United States, Japan, France, Russia), as it continued to view the Beijing Government as the only legitimate government in the country, especially with the linking of its interests out.

Military leaders in Kwangtung tended to reduce Sun Yat-sen's influence, and set up an Administrative Council of Constitutional Provinces under the authority of this government of Seven directors: Tung Shao Yi, who had briefly served as Prime Minister in the Yuan Shi Kai Government, and the General Tang Chi yao, Military Governor of Yunnan Province, Dr. Wu Ting fang, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, First Provisional President of the Republic of China, Admiral Lin Pao Yi, Commander in Chief of Chinese Navy, General Lu Jung ting, inspector-general of Liang Kwang, and Tsen Chun Hsuan Former Viceroy of Ling Kwang. As a result, on May 14, 1918, Sun Yat-sen resigned as Commander-in-chief of the Military Government, explaining his continued support for the constitutional issue and warning of Warlords' claims to protect the constitution.

Political divisions under the rule of the Kwangsi clique

After leaving Sun Yat-sen Canton for Shanghai, the Military Government in the south was further subordinated to the Kwangsi clique led by Marshal Lu jung ting, a member of the Administrative Council and leader of the South's Military Party. Second Marshal Tang Chi yao, the navy and the KMT military could not put an end to his growing power and control over the government. Especially in view of the weakness of the Yunnan clique(云南集团)led by Marshal Tang Chi Yao, another important clique in Kwangtung. According to the US Consul General in Canton Bergholz, in a telegram to the US State Department, there was a leadership struggle between Marshal Tang Chi yao, then the Military and Civilian Governor of Yunnan Province, and General Mo Yung Hsien, the Military Governor of Kwangtung. The conflict ended with the withdrawal of 10,000 soldiers from the Yunnan clique outside the Kwangtung border, 5,000 troops towards Hainan Province and another 5,000

toward Hunan Province. Both were under the authority of the Military Government and only 10,000 soldiers remained from the Yunnan clique in Kwangtung. There have also been changes in the leadership of this army, most notably the abdication of Tang Chi Yao as commander-in-chief of the Yunnan Army in Kwangtung, and delegated his powers and powers to his delegation from the piece of Yunnan General Li Lieh Chun. It seems that every weakness in the other nerve has been pouring towards the strengthening of the Kwangsiclique and extending its influence over the Military Government at the expense of the other factions.

However, the imposition of the Kwangsi clique's control of the Military Government in Kwangtung would not have prevented Chen Jiongming, the provincial son, from establishing a military base in eastern Kwangtung, which would later become of great significance.

In addition, the situation of the Military Government in the south was negatively affected by the failure and suspension of the Shanghai peace negotiations between the governments of the north and the south, while the northern government continued to receive support from Japan⁽³⁾. This led to divisions in the Military Government, as the Kwangsi clique and the Constitution Research Clique wanted to reconcile with the Beijing Government and were willing to abandon the old Parliament as the basis for the Constitutional Protection Campaign. This confirmed Sun Yat-sen's view that this nerve was not serious in the campaign to protect the Constitution, because it did not care about the democratic spirit.

The domination of the Kwangsiclique, represented by its leader Lu Jung ting, and the inconsistency of views appeared to have led to divisions in the board that had new implications for the Southern Government's political landscape.

Sun Yat-sen did not actually participate, but only sent a delegate, and in August 1919 he

resigned and was replaced by Tsen Chun hsuan. On October 4, Tong Chao yi, head of the negotiating delegation with the northern government, resigned. On March 1, 1920, the 78-year-old board member and Foreign Minister Dr. Wu Ting fang left Canton for Hong Kong, bringing with him his son and special needs, suggesting he did not intend to return to Canton. This was justified by the increasing influence and inability of the Government Military leaders to put an end to it, to deplete its funds for military purposes and to sow the seeds of discord among the armies. In line with that and for his age, he began to feel unable to communicate, especially in light of the situation worsening day after day. The effect of leaving the Canton, like the previous members of the Board of Directors.

The bourgeoisie in Canton was been fed up with the influence of the Kwangsi clique and tried to stand up to its leader Lu Jung ting. It raised the slogan "**Canton for Cantonese**" and proposed the election of Wu Teng fang, a member of the study group, as head of the Military Government and the Kwangsi clique objected to it, and the situation further worsened.

These problems and divisions withdrew on the Parliament itself as the Constitution Research Clique tended to exert pressure on the Parliament and impede the work of the constitutional committee, fearing that the constitution it was hoped to put in these circumstances would constitute an obstacle to settling the conflict with the north. It also hampered the organization of the Local Government, the authority of the Local Governor and other similar issues, which became important points in the program of negotiations with the northern government later. Its members then refrained from attending parliamentary sessions, citing incomplete quorum and consequently the Constitutional Committee's inability to hold any legal meeting. On January 24, 1920, a permanent suspension of the work of the Constitutional Commission was announced.

This shows the political group's abandonment of the goals for which the Military Government was formed, and its desire to reach a settlement with the north appeared to have prompted it to adopt an opposition position to try to draft a constitution that would represent the Military Government's goals.

In the spring of 1920, the situation in the Southern government came to the brink, especially after the Chairman of the Administrative Council. Tsen Chun-Hsuan and his supporters, to negotiate in secret, with the northern Government to conclude a settlement agreement. It seemed to him that it is necessary to get rid of the parliament, through postponement Deliberate to pay his financial dues. As the situation worsened, lawmakers in March 1920 left Canton for Yunnan Province. Parliament spokesperson Lin Sen denounced Tsen Chun Hsuan's policy speech. In August, the parliament held an emergency session at the Yunnan provincial center to form a government there, but the attempt failed because of the objection of the Military Governor of Yunnan Province, Tang Chi Yao. In particular, he was a member of the administrative board of the Canton Government. In September of the same year, the Parliament moved to Zhongqiang in Zichuan province, but internal strife forced it to move the following month, so the Parliament was unable to convene until Tsen Chun-Hsuan was expelled from Canton the following year⁽⁴⁾. The departure of the old members of the canton meant that the last manifestation of the Military Government's authority had ended and the negative attitude of the Kwangsi clique was further reflected in the canton. Sun Yat-sen has taken military action against her, as was the case in Beijing in 1913 against Yuan Shi Kai and the Piang Army.

In light of this, only four of the Seven executives of the Military Government (General Tsen Chun Hsuan, General Lu jung ting, General Tang Chi Yao, and Admiral Lin Pao Yi) remained in the Council Canton⁽⁵⁾.

It seems that the more powerful the Kwangsi clique is, the more its influence will be reflected in the civil authorities, represented by the Parliament and the Administrative Council, whose role has been weakened and it has been unable to keep up with the government, especially with the withdrawal of the Parliament towards other provinces and its inability to convene. In addition, the gradual withdrawal of board members has created a political vacuum and opened the way for more authoritarian military leaders.

Proof of this is evident in the Statement of the American Consul. General in Canton Bergholz in a telegram addressed to the US State Department on June 17, 1920, where the Parliament elected (127 out of 450 deputies) new members of the Administrative Council, instead of its independent members to be the new composition of the Administrative Board; Chairman of the Administrative Council General Tsen Chun-Hsuan, Minister of the Navy and Military Governor of Fukin Admiral Lin Bao Yi, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Head of Delegation for Peace Negotiator Mr. WenTsung-yao, Military Governor of Zichuan General HsiungKehwu, Military Governor of Kweichow General Liu Hsien-Shih, The leader of the military party of South General Lu Jung ting. The actual power in this Council was General Tsen Chun-Hsuan, Admiral Lin Pao-yi, and Mr. WenTsung Yao, who were active members of the Council. Generals Liu Jong-teng, HsiungKehwu, and Liu Hsien shih⁽⁶⁾, Agents in the Council represented him, while General Tang Chi yao did not represent him as an agent, so he did not have a voice in the council⁽⁷⁾. He withdrew to Yunnan Fu without announcing his resignation from the board. Communications Minister Chao Fan initially represented him. However, he withdrew after problems began to escalate between General Tang Chi yao, the Military and Civil Governor of Yunnan, and General Mo Yung Hsin, the Military Governor of Kwangtung, and representative of the leader of the Military Party Lu jung ting⁽⁸⁾. As

disputes continued to escalate, board members continued to withdraw. On April 11, Admiral Lin Pao Yi announced his resignation from the Military Government, which became the personal interests of the board members⁽⁹⁾.

FUNDING PROBLEM

The Military Government has relied heavily on Kwangtung to finance the province. It was receiving a percentage of surplus customs revenue. However, political and military problems appear to be beginning to apply to the government's financial situation. Warlords drained most of the government's money for military purposes. According to the report of the financial department for estimating the value of revenues and expenses in this region for 1919, the treasury was subject to bankruptcy, with revenues amounting to \$ 20,496,905, while the total expenditure amounted to \$ 30,203,682, resulting in a budget deficit of 9.706. \$ 700 to be added to the debt of \$ 16,934,298. In light of this, the region's debts in early 1920 amounted to \$ 26,640,998. Total expenditures of \$ 30,203,682 were distributed among the main ministries and departments of the country (See table 1)⁽¹⁰⁾.

This shows the vast difference between what the Ministry of War spent and what the rest of the ministries spent. This clearly shows the military leaders' acquisition of state revenues and their use of military affairs. The limited spending on education, agriculture and trade shows the lack of attention to these sectors, which are completely affecting the lives of the population. The military junta, especially the Kwangsi clique, which has been in power, has put considerable economic pressure on the region, so it is not surprising that there is general dissatisfaction with its presence in the province.

The withdrawal of the four Managers also adversely affected the possibility of obtaining adequate funding for this Government⁽¹¹⁾. In particular, the Kwangsi clique did not enjoy good relations with the influential bourgeoisie in

Canton, but the latter tried to stand against the Kwangsi clique and proposed the election of Wu Ting-Fang, a civil governor, but the Kwangsi clique refused to submit to this movement initiated by chambers of commerce, students and trade unions⁽¹²⁾. In view of this, the Military Government could not rely on the possibility of obtaining funding from the bourgeoisie, which had previously supported Sun Yat-sen.

The proportion of the customs surplus you received did not meet the requirements of the boycott and could lead to a major rebellion in the army. To avoid that, Chairman of the Administrative Council Tsen Chun-Hsuan sent a delegation to approach the then Prime Minister of Beijing, Chin Yun peng, to increase the proportion of customs surplus the Military Government receives. The situation has been made worse by the deterioration of the level of public security in both the city of Canton and its port, as military conflicts have opened the way for thieves, bandits and pirates to bypass travelers through the port of Canton. Every day, pirates seized passengers and small and large ships, carrying cargo and passengers, whether foreign or Chinese, and seized all their property. In addition, outlaws and even rebel soldiers have attacked the inhabitants of large villages and towns⁽¹³⁾.

Hence, it is clear that the departure of the military nerve to liquidate some of them distracted from the attention of the provincial conditions, especially the control of public security, which has become a victim of these conflicts and thus cast a negative impact on the economic situation of the Union of Southwestern provinces and people.

CANTON FOR CANTONESE

The situation of the Military overnment continued to deteriorate with the presence of the Kwangsi clique in Kwangtung and its control over it⁽¹⁴⁾, and the growth of regionalism in the provinces was evident, particularly in Kwangtung Province, where the cantonal Cantons were raised.

Why not when its inhabitants are tired of the Kwangsi clique's economic power. Movements from the bourgeoisie appeared to put an end to General Lu Jung ting and suggested that a feudal lord in the province be elected governor, but the Kuangsi clique rejected this. These conditions created the overall space for Sun Yat-sen to move in more than one direction, simultaneously, to recapture Canton and take a revolutionary base for the reunification of the country⁽¹⁵⁾.

The first direction: the Preparation of a broad platform for Revolutionary changes

He explained his significance in a book called "The National Education Plan", which was completed in three parts in 1919. Some of these parts were published in 1918 in the columns of Jianshe Magazine (建设社), which was founded by Sun Yat-sen together with some bourgeois intellectuals. In the First part of this book, Sun Yat-sen put forward his philosophical theory (hard perception and easy work). He denounced the traditional feudal theory which, according to his negative opinion, was devoted to the people because of the difficulty of acting and put forward some progressive ideas and that recognizing of acting and put forward some progressive ideas and that recognizing the facts enables man to influence the change of society and the world. He praised the effective role of the revolutionary theory in leading the revolutionary work and in the second part of his author, titled (material education). Sun Yat-sen explained that due to the relatively rapid development of national capital during the First World War, there had been a rapid development in the industry and transportation sectors, and also progressively raised the issue of industrial development in the country which was later weakened by the absence of a specific program to solve the agricultural problem. The third part of the book is (Social Education), which embodied propaganda to affirm the basic democratic rights of the bourgeois class. Several pages of the book include a description of the forms and structures of state institutions and society⁽¹⁶⁾.

Sun Yat-sen's theory reflected the fact that he had an intellectual connection with the bourgeoisie and emphasized the importance of taking on its role in advancing the reality of the country dominated by the military nerve and infiltrated by foreign influence.

The Second direction: the Reorganization of the KMT

The reorganization of the KMT went (*) through three phases. The First stage is the full adoption of the party's name in 1919. The Second stage is the readiness to accept the communist members and the alliance with Russia in 1923. The third stage is to start implementing this policy in 1924. What concerns us here is the First stage, as some of the branches of the party continued use the name Revolutionary Party (革命党). On October 10, 1919 (on the anniversary of the Revolution of 1911), other branches continued to use the name of the KMT. Sun Yat-sen reorganized the party in Shanghai by its old name, the Kuomintang. The official name of the party became the Chinese National Party (中國國民黨), while it remained known to the people as the National Party. Sun Yat-sen remained general manager of the party and changes were made to some sections of the party and its committees in 1920⁽¹⁷⁾.

At this stage, the party had no contact with the people in general, especially with the Chihli clique in the north led by Hsu Shih Chang and the Kwangsi clique in the south led by Lu Jung ting, so neither had tolerated any public activity by the party. In the light of this, the new amendments to the party's rules of October 1919 were applied to its branches abroad, and Sun Yat-

(*)After former President Yuan Shi Kai dissolved the KMT in October 1913, Sun Yat-sen reorganized the following year in Japan, this time taking a secret organization as the Revolutionary Party. However, after the death of Yuan Shi Kai in 1916, the party returned to its activities in the parliament, which was dissolved by Prime Minister Tuan Chi Joy in July 1917. Nung, 1956, P. 441.

sen did not curse its political program in the meantime⁽¹⁸⁾.

The Third direction: Military action

Sun Yat-sen believed that the implementation of the revolutionary movement depended on the establishment of a military base in Kwangtung⁽¹⁹⁾, through which military campaigns could be launched to reunite the country. This was conditional on the expulsion of the Kwangsi clique from Kwangtung. So he began looking for new alliances and trying to capitalize on the outcome of the war in the north between the Chihli and Anfu cliques. The defeat of the Anfu cliques (安福俱乐部) in that war changed all the alliances of the political forces in China. Shortly after the war, the alliance with Li Hou-chi, the Military Governor of the Fukien province. This was under the influence of Anfu leader Tuan Chi jui yesterday's enemy, and some of the leaders of the same clique who remained after this war without spheres of influence. Under that alliance, Sun Yat-sen pledged to fund Kwangtung clique military forces in Fukien, led by General Chen Jiongming, in order to launch a military campaign to recover Kwangtung from the Kwangsi⁽²⁰⁾. Sun Yat-sen also received funding for the campaign from KMT members living abroad⁽²¹⁾. In this light, in August 1920, Kwangtung forces led by Chen Jiongming attacked the Kwangsi clique in Kwangtung, and in October forced Lu Jong Teng to dissolve the Military Government and withdraw his gang to Kwangsi Province⁽²²⁾. This coincided with a war in the province of Szechuan and a split in its army. The Yunnan army returned to Yunnan and expelled Tang Chi Yao the military and Civil Governor of Yunnan, and Liu Hsenshih, the Military Governor of Kweichow, and a member of the board formed by the Kwangsi clique⁽²³⁾.

Thus, it is possible for Sun Yat-sen and his party members to return to Canton to begin a new phase of his tireless political activity to reunite the country.

In general, what happened in the last third of 1920 was not only the dissolution of the Military Government, but all the southwestern

provinces that were fighting under the banner of protecting the constitution. This was followed by a chaotic conflict between warlords in the north and south. The Autonomous Movement "Federal Movement" in the central and southern provinces, which lost hope of achieving national unity, replaced the Movement for the Protection of the Constitution. It was replaced by the pursuit of a Federal Government through the Union of Independent Regions⁽²⁴⁾. Indeed, the emergence of the federal movement at the time was a reaction to the crisis of Chinese unity⁽²⁵⁾.

Restructuring the Military Government

In view of the above, the party's status has shifted from Shanghai to Canton, and its activity has become public and in an environment that is loyal to it. More importantly, the transition gave him the opportunity to implement the constitution⁽²⁶⁾. The situation in Canton was also ripe for the return of retiring executives (Sun Yat-sen, Tang Shao-yi and Wu Tingfang) and a deputy for Tang Chi Yao on November 30, 1920. After achieving the quorum of the administrative board four out of seven directors, the government can carry out its functions in accordance with the Constitution. The gesture of its actions took several measures and issued a set of administrative laws, to regulate the internal situation, as follows⁽²⁷⁾.

- Issuing and abolishing the gambling law. As a result, the government income increased to \$ 1 million annually.
- The law of reducing and reorganizing the army based on the business unit. The issuance of this law was accompanied by the dissolution of a large number of troops who were paid a full salary.
- Abolish unnecessary government positions such as defense commissioners.
- The government has made serious attempts to improve the tax situation in Kwangtung Province without excessively increasing it.
- Establishment of a municipal department for the city of Canton according to Western contexts.

- Establish projects to develop the provinces, including the construction of roads and continue to maintain projects to save rivers.

It is noteworthy that the laws and what have been implemented have achieved both economic and social goals, especially the law to abolish gambling, dissolve a large number of troops, and improve the status of taxes. It provided significant financial returns through which the Government was able to initiate a number of projects that would have improved the reality of the southwestern provinces.

These measures improved the population's perception of the military government in the south, especially as the executives said, Price did not try to surround themselves with the manifestations of camaraderie and boast. Boast in another context did not take any action that would harm foreign residents, and did not give much importance in the field of entertainment and entertainment; they did not allow anyone in their name to do anything within this context⁽²⁸⁾.

The role of the Kwangtung Provincial Civil Governor Chen Jiongming should be noted. Although his term of administration was not long (1918-1922), it showed in most respects that he had progressive ideas as he paid particular attention to education. Within this field, he founded modern elementary schools and formed a regional educational committee among the best educators of the time. He assigned the leadership of this committee to Chen Duxiu who was one of the most brilliant Chinese thinkers with a Western orientation and was the editor of *New Life Newspaper*. In addition, Chen Jiongming supported the establishment of a Federal Government in the province, but it meant rejecting the Beijing Government's control to create a democratic government in the province, although he encouraged the formation of labor and agricultural unions. However, his policy became conservative the more the radicalism of these unions and it seems that this conservative attribute came from his sympathy for the partially

aristocratic class, and from the Confucian beliefs that continued to affect him⁽²⁹⁾.

As Price, The American Vice Consul in Charge at Canton, said, they were hardworking and honest men, with the exception of the difference of opinion between Sun Yat-sen and Kwangtung Civil Governor Chen Jiongming on the Northern Campaign. There has been no serious disagreement or partisan debate in the government since its restructuring. Its men are enlightened and familiar with Western ideas and methods, and they have shown the ability to work together - even then, of course - and ruled the people and tried to reach their pleas. Brice's admiration for them seems to have led him to call on the US Government to adopt a positive, sympathetic attitude toward the Military Government. According to him, they did and did a lot of what no one had done before to show more respect to foreigners. Never before have, have any people or groups come to power in Beijing Six years ago⁽³⁰⁾.

The position of the Military Government was relatively improved with the return of the parliament to Canton in January 1921⁽³¹⁾, as well as the support of the feudal class in Kwangtung, especially as it feared the brutality of the Kwangsi clique. Equally important, it was based on the support of a political force manifested by the National Party, which expressed its determination to make China a modern democratic country based on the three people's principles (nationalism, democracy, people's pension). His role has been strengthened since the publication of the *Jiansha Newspaper* in 1919. The May 4 Movement revealed the power of the left-wing newspapers, and Sun Yat-sen and his supporters realized how far they were away from ideological struggles. The involvement of intellectuals, Han Min, Zhu Qi-Hsian, and Liao Chingcai, in this newspaper, had a great impact on the popularity of the newspaper⁽³²⁾.

all of which was to expand the fan base of the Military Government, but only in Kwangtung province.

This is confirmed by the fact that the political and military repercussions witnessed in the south left only Kwangtung under the authority of the Military Government. After the expulsion of the Kwangsi clique from Kwangtung, the Kwangxi province joined the Chihli clique in the north and declared independence from the Military Government. The provinces of Szechuan, Yunnan and Kweichow have had little association with the Military Government. However, only Sun Yat-sen, Wu Tingfang and Tsaoai left the board. Even the latter did not perform any government duties. As a result, Sun Yat-sen proposed calling for a presidential election⁽³³⁾.

Perhaps he wanted to block the attempt to restore the military nerve authority in the government. In general, the political and military repercussions in the country have begun to show that two-thirds of the country is no longer under government authority. After the end of the Anfu-Chihli war, the Beijing government no longer considers only three or four provinces. Even these provinces were nominally in power, with only the capital of Beijing and the Military Government dissolving. Its limits of power have not exceeded Kwangtung Province. The other provinces continued to be under the authority of Warlords, who were not loyal to either the central government in Beijing or the Military Government.

Sun Yat-sen's call for presidential elections

Sun Yat-sen believed that holding the presidential election was a step towards unity in the country and was an embodiment of the KMT's progressive ideology⁽³⁴⁾. In this context, he suggested calling the remnants of the 1913 Parliament to hold an emergency session to elect the President of the Republic. In particular, 378 of the 492 members were presented in Canton, but this invitation brought him and his supporters into conflict in front of two groups. Those groups were led by General Chen Jiongming, the Civilian Governor of Kwangtung and the commander-in-chief of the armed forces along the border

between Kwangtung and Kwangsi, which was instrumental in restoring the government's military authority from the Kwangsi clique. This group has said it does not oppose the election of the president, but only stipulates that the actual quorum of the parliament, 492 members, should be completed. It is not convenient and unfavorable to elect a president at all⁽³⁵⁾.

Attitudes differed according to different points of view. Each group considered this matter from a different angle from the one considered by others and each of them has its own reasons to hold onto his opinion, as follows:

Sun Yat-sen and his supporters believed they could benefit from the conditions of disintegration and fragmentation that had been hoped for in the northern Government if the attempt by Manchurian Military Governor Zhang Tsulin to restore the monarchy he had promoted failed. It was also hoped that the collapse of the northern Government and the flight of the president and Parliament from Beijing would follow. Sun Yat-sen believed that if this happened, the provinces and provinces would be forced to look for another political nucleus to gather around. Consequently, the Constitutionals (his supporters) must have an elected President and a Parliament to perform their functions effectively so that the regions support their cause and rally around them. Otherwise, the military leaders, who were supposed to win over the royalist movement, would once again form a parliament and elect a president again⁽³⁶⁾.

Chen Jiongming's view was that although the constitution provided for emergency sessions, if representatives from 14 provinces attended, this was not a genuine representation of important decisions such as the election of the president, so the group insisted on the need to secure the quorum for the Parliament to hold elections for the President⁽³⁷⁾.

However, it seems that the real reason could have been the narrow regional thinking of

Chen Jiongming, (*)which was all he wanted to restore order in Kwangtung province .

To strengthen autonomy first and then work under the banner of union with the autonomous regions and undoubtedly believed in the Federal System, but Sun Yat-sen disagreed⁽³⁸⁾.

Tang Shao-yi's last group summed up the slogan of the Chinese adage, "**Sit firmly**". The group believed that the constitution should be strictly enforced and that if a strong and enlightened government were developed in Kwangtung Province, other provinces would organize it. On that basis, the revolution and the constitutional issue are preserved⁽³⁹⁾.

The group, although not authorized to adopt Federalism, appears to have not moved far from Chen Jiongming Group's view that efforts should first be concentrated in Kwangtung Province to build a strong base for the revolution and realize the country's unity.

However, despite the incomplete quorum, Sun Yat-sen and his supporters proceeded with their will. In line with this, the members of parliament met on April 7, 1921 in an informal session and agreed to hold an emergency session of the parliament and set its agenda. In the light of this, the emergency session of the Parliament was held on April 8 in the presence of 225 members, and resulted in several decisions: the formation of an Official Government in Canton, the enactment of the Basic Law of the

Republic of China, and the election of Sun Yat-sen as President of the Republic. One vote went in favor of Chen Jiongming and one vote declined to name a candidate.

Under the Basic Law, the president has become the chief executive and Commander-in-chief of the armed forces. It has the power to appoint and dismiss military officers, civil service officers and the authority to issue orders and to represent the country in foreign forums. As for the president's relationship with the Parliament, there was no clear item on this except the second clause stipulating that the president be elected by an emergency session. Besides the president's authority, there were several ministries responsible for foreign affairs, finance, maritime, interior, and justice. He can take two ministerial positions at the same time.

Southern leaders have justified the legitimacy of 222 of the 1,000 members of parliament, the basic number of members of the old parliament, that, after all, they are China's only legitimate parliament. In view of this, Sun Yat-sen's election as president is the best constitutional approach that can be reached in China.

"The quorum of the Parliament cannot be obtained, so it is better to have a Government acting at will," he said. "It remains the only legitimate body in the country, instead of agreeing to recognize a Parliament and a president that has not been constitutionally constituted".

There seems to be some consensus among supporters of this trend among political circles and foreign residents. If the new government is devoted and devotes all its energies and efforts to building an efficient and distinctive administration, while advancing and developing the economic reality of the people in Kwangtung, it has the opportunity to be the legitimate heir of power in large parts of China. Though left uncomfortable by Chen Jiongming and Tang Shao yi, this policy trend has become part of the new government, as will be seen, respectively.

(*)Chen Jiongming 's position was backed by the British authorities, who refused to cooperate with Sun Yat-sen, who called for an end to British control over customs. It even resorted to splitting its ranks and pitting his supporters against him, buying their receivables as evidence that in 1922 it provided a loan of \$ 500,000 to launch Chen Jiong Ming to carry out a military coup against Sun Yat-sen. M. Bollington, Synrchism and World war, How London, Wall Street backed Japan's war against china and sun Yat Sen. This article appears in the Jun11, 2004 issue of executive intelligence review. https://larouchepub.com/other/2004/3123morgan_v_dr_sun.html

Announcing the formation of the New Government

On May 5, 1921, Dr. Sun Yat-sen was inaugurated as President of the Republic in the city of Canton. This took place amid a ceremony of admiration for foreign diplomats and the people of Canton themselves. There seemed to be a clear public interest in the event, whose features were apparent, as Brice described the US deputy consul in Canton several days before May 5, as commercial boats, vehicles and trains were crowded with citizens coming to Canton. They overwhelmed hotels and hostels so there was no vacancy. On the day of the celebration, all shops and businesses were completely and voluntarily closed. Shops, roads, wheels and boats were decorated and a large number of citizens gathered at the official ceremony hours before it began. It was scheduled to start at 12 noon, and river roads were crowded with all sorts of boats that went in one direction. The demonstrations lasted about three hours, although the rain was raining heavily.

As a manifestation of the celebration, Price goes on to say that amid large crowds of human beings, a march decorated its way with difficulty but with complete order. There was a noticeable absence of police and soldiers everywhere, and a Boy Scout team and a small police force to assist them accompanied the boy march. In the same march, there were no more than five to six divisions of soldiers. The march represented every spectrum of the Canton City community of students, traders, unions, labor organizations, and government departments. The spirit of enthusiasm for those who participated in or witnessed this march seemed high. Although most of the ornaments of the march were destroyed by rain, it continued and people continued to watch and encourage them. It also took part in the celebration of a river walk and it seems that the decorations that filled the streets and buildings were made by the inhabitants of the city themselves. In fact, the decrees were simple and the reception that followed was very moderate. The most important characteristic of the

celebration, Price said, is the clear role played by ordinary citizens in the pro-democracy demonstrations, which have undoubtedly demonstrated that there is credibility and enthusiasm on the part of Sun Yat-sen to install President. If there were opposition to this, it would have been clear that the regime and the state of joy and unanimity among the large crowds with the absence of police surveillance would be a case to be proudly noted.

In fact, it was not unusual for the cantonal population to express its support for Sun Yat-sen. This city was the cradle of opposition to the imperial system and the first incubator of the reformist and republican currents and part of its population familiar with the Western ideas and systems promoted by missionaries and schools of Western education. Getting rid of military nerve bullying and setting up Sun Yat Sun is also a glimmer of hope for the stability and progress of the situation.

In the same context, Price pointed out that the enthusiasm of the public was offset by the great pessimism of the business class who found in the formation of this Government a continuation of the state of fragmentation in the country and the instability of the political situation that would harm their interests. Merchants also refused to shoulder the burdens of Self-government. The working class, which was strongly represented in large numbers in the march in support of Sun Yat-sen's presidency, expressed its support for Sun Yat-sen's assumption of the presidency. In this atmosphere, Sun Yat-sen assumed the presidency and announced the formation of the New Government; President of the Republic Sun Yat-sen, Minister of Foreign Affairs Wu Teng Fang, The Civil Governor of Kwangtung Chen Jiongming, Minister of Finance Tang Shao-yi, Minister of the Navy Tang Ting-Kuang. He also announced other important appointments; Chief of Staff, then commander of the Troops of Yunnan in Hunan Lee Lih-Chun, President of the National Law Court (subsequently abolished the post of Minister

of Justice) Hsu Chien, Deputy Foreign Minister, Deputy Minister of Finance C.C.Wu, Deputy Minister of War, former commander of the forces of Hunan Liao chung-kai, Deputy Minister of War Cheng-chien, former commander of the forces of Hunan Lin Yung-Mu.

Chin Tuhsio became commissioner of education, and Sun Fu, son of Sun Yat-sen, Mayor of Canton, launched a major city-planning program, but was a victim of political instability.

At the international level, Japan tried to exploit the situation in its favor. Price indicated that the Japanese consul formally contacted Sun Yat-sen and expressed his congratulations. The latter, in turn, contacted me and informed me that the Japanese consul informed him of his government's readiness to recognize Sun Yat-sen as president if he agrees to the 21 demands.

The following day, Sun Yat-sen issued a statement addressed to foreign countries, especially influential in China, explaining the nature of the situation in the country from his point of view. He indicated that there was no war between the north and the south, but a conflict between the military arrogance of the northern Government and the democratic spirit of the southern Government. Between treason and patriotism, the popular stance is sympathetic and supportive of the Military Government, the war between the northern Warlords has fragmented the country, the Beijing Government is falling apart day by day and foreign influence has spread from the north to the south. The existence of China as a nation is in great danger and since the unconstitutional dissolution of the Parliament in Beijing in June 1917, there is no longer a legitimate government in Beijing. Under these circumstances, the parliament (which was held in Canton) became the only legitimate body in the country, and Sun Yat-sen was elected president of the republic. This obliges him to perform his duty sincerely and honestly. This is mainly manifested by achieving the unity of the country under a government. Progressive and enlightened respect for the legitimate rights of foreign countries and

their citizens. Particularly those guaranteed by treaties, contracts or parts of customary practice, that development of the country's natural and industrial resources is the same. In line with the open-door policy, Sun Yat-sen expressed his government's willingness to receive capital, experts and foreign expertise. He explained that the enjoyment of the southern provinces by a constitutional government and its prosperity under a sincere administration and a constructive program would encourage other provinces to join them and enhance the unity of the country. Especially in light of the Beijing government's loss of constitutional legitimacy and incompetence as well as it is not recognized by the Chinese people, but remained because it was taking over the country's historic capital (Beijing) and then recognized by foreign countries. In this light, Sun Yat-sen demanded that friendly countries withdraw their recognition of the Beijing Government, and recognize the military government of the South, which in his opinion was formed without a desire for personal benefit and that the aim is to serve the Republic in the best way. If this republic is to survive, the principles of constitutional freedom and sincerity will prevail in the public interest.

With these words, Sun Yat-sen concluded his statement to the great powers. On May 5, 1921, US President Warren Harding (1921-1923) singled out a letter seeking support for the Military Government. He also explained the nature of the circumstances China was going through in the meantime. However, the State Department returned the letter and warned US Vice Consul Price to avoid allowing the consulate general to become a means of official communication with what it called a rebel organization against the Beijing Government, which has friendly relations with the United States.

It appears that the State Department returned the letter after it was opened and reviewed its content. The US consul in Canton Bergholz was embarrassed by her return to Sun Yat-sen.

especially since it had been three months, he asked the Foreign Ministry to pass the situation and to give Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who described him as the only sincere national director of China, the pain and shame to return his message to him.

It is clear that the depth of interests, charters, and treaties that bind the United States to the Beijing Government have made it imperative for the latter side, even if it lacks constitutional legitimacy. Therefore, she wanted to cut any hope for Sun Yat-sen in cooperation with him. Without calculating his recourse to seek help from the former Soviet Union.

Northern expedition

Sun Yat-sen's first goal in forming the government was to achieve the country's unity by eradicating the warlords with a military campaign from Southern China to the North. I believe that the commencement of Kwangsi County is necessary, especially since the Kwangsi clique, which was expelled from Kwangtung, has been waiting to regain control. This opportunity came after it allied itself with the Beijing Government, which has long aimed at toppling the military government, to launch a joint attack on Kwangtung.

In planning for the expedition, Sun Yat-sen assumed that once the Northern Campaign began, it would create its own momentum like the one of the 1911 Revolution, and that the northern warlords would not be able to prevent their soldiers and people from under the banner of this expedition to reunite the country. In fact, this idea included a misjudgment of things by Sun Yat-sen and downplaying the size and nature of the influence of military leaders in various Chinese armies. Moreover, Sun Yat-sen paid little attention to the fact that the main military force on which he relied was Chen Jiong-Ming's army, which essentially did not want to endanger his army and position by gambling in an unsafe campaign. The Provincial Governor Hunan Chao Heng-ti was agrees him. in addition to Chen Jiongming was also impressed by the idea of a

federal government in China, which contradicted the revolutionary constitutional orientations of Sun Yat-sen. It was clear that this difference of opinion stemmed from the different points of view of both leaders. While Chen defended the direct interests of Kwangtung, Sun Yat-sen defended the causes of the revolution. All this led to the end of their alliance and Chen's coup against Sun Yat-sen.

Chen Chiungming's relationship with the Kwangtung Army was somewhat similar to that of Yuan Shi Kai and the Peiyang Army: Both of whom relied on personal ties and loyalties, but many officers were sensitive to the revolutionary and nationalist agenda of Sun Yat-sen, including Vice Minister of War Cheng Ching and leader Tan Yen kay, as they both enraged to exclude them from their homeland⁽⁴⁰⁾. In the meantime, the division between the main Northern cliques widened and the course of events led to a war between them, which, according to Sun Yat-sen, made the northern campaign a pressing issue that should be accelerated.

The Northern expeditionary armies, led by Sun Yat-sen, consisted of the 10,000-strong Yunnan force led by Chu Pi-te, its remnants of the Yunnan army, and Kwangtung force led by Li Fu lin and Hsu chungchih.

Under such circumstances, military operations between Kwangtung and Kwangsi began on June 21, 1921. Kwangtung and Wuzhou forces attacked the Kwangsi Gate, and on June 27, they gained a foothold in the western areas of Kwangsi. In fact, as soon as military operations began, the dispute between Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiong-ming began, and soon developed into a military conflict. The latter refused to support the northern campaign with money and men, and Sun Yat-sen went to him to settle with him, saying: "If my Northern expedition succeeds, I will not return to Kwangtung and Kwangsi. If I fail, I will not be able to return to the two provinces and I will assign you responsibility for their rule. I ask you to equip me with weapons and supplies".

In spite of the obedience shown by Chen Jiongming, in fact, he was planning to block the Northern Expedition; he called the Governor of Hunan province, who also did not want to endanger his position in the province. Together, behind the scenes, they did everything possible to disrupt the northern campaign. He was behind the assassination in March 1922 of Sun Yat-Sen's government chief of staff, giving Sun Yat-Sen an excuse to rule out the posts of chief of staff of the Kwangtung Army and General Governor of Kwangtung province to Chen Jiongming. On May 4, 1922, Sun Yat-Sen declared that the day was the beginning or the beginning of the Northern Expedition, coinciding with the Fengtian-Chihle War in northern China.

RESULTS

- The influence of the military cliques, especially the Kwangsiclique, has affected the policy of the Military Government in the south. It did not care about achieving the constitutional objectives for which this government was organized, which led to divisions in the administrative council.
- Sun Yat-Sen's lack of political and military power to achieve its constitutional objectives. At that time, the KMT witnessed internal divisions and became too weak to confront the military nerve in the south. Its clandestine nature has also led to its lack of fan base.
- Weak economic resources of the Military Government in the south and the overwhelming consumption of them by the military nerve. The funding of this government was primarily aimed at the province of Kwangtung, which raised the displeasure of the people of Kwangtung, and the withdrawal of Sun Yat-sen and some members of the Board of Directors. The possibility of obtaining the support of the bourgeois class, which has long provided financial support to Sun Yat Sen.
- The weak role of the bourgeoisie because of the domination of the military nerve and the impact of its interests on the security instability generated by the conflict between the nerves.
- The lack of international recognition, support and support from Sun Yat-Sen and the Military Government because of the interests of the countries of interest in China are linked to the internationally recognized official government of Beijing.
- The repeated failure of attempts to reunite the country has reinforced the conviction of some military leaders of the establishment of federal rule in China. It appeared in a number of provinces, especially Hunan and Kwangtung, and the recent emergence of a military coup against Sun Yat-sen and his withdrawal towards Shanghai to begin the stage. A new phase of his political and military activity was her initiative to restore the base of the revolution Kwangtung.

Table 1: Expenditures of ministries in Dollars

Expenditure in dollars	Ministry
24,805,301	Ministry of War
47.356	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
3.541.184	Ministry of Interior
648.478	Bureau of Finance
108.345	Bureau of Education
692.876	Ministry of Marine
350.096	Ministry of Justice
9.282	Ministry of Agriculture and Trade

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