

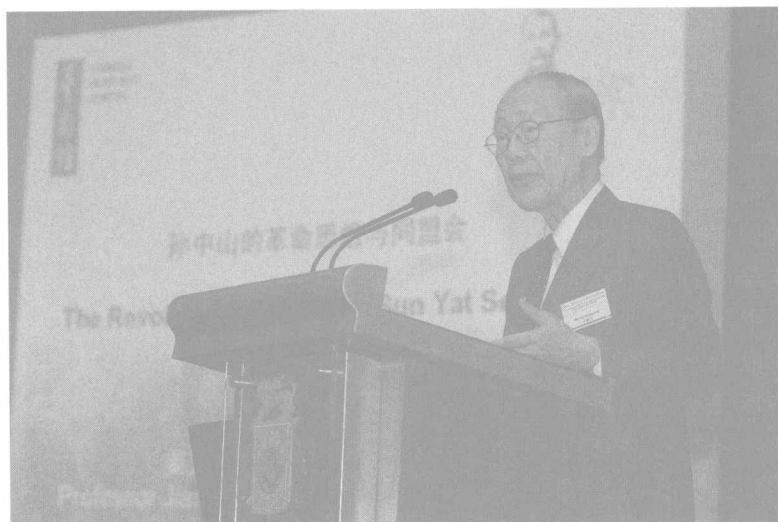
**再读同盟会、
孙中山与东南亚华人**
**TONGMENGHUI, SUN YAT-SEN AND THE
CHINESE IN SOUTHEAST ASIA: A REVISIT**

廖建裕 编

**华裔馆
2006**



Honorary Chairman of Kuomintang, Dr Lien Chan delivering his keynote speech
中国国民党荣誉主席连战先生作主题演讲



Vice-Chairman of Chinese Heritage Centre, Prof Wang Gungwu delivering the opening remarks
华裔馆董事部副主席王赓武教授致欢迎词



From left to right: Dr Lily Sun, Mrs Lien Chan, Mr Kwek Leng Joo, Dr Lien Chan, Mr George Yeo and Mr Chua Thian Poh

从左到右：孙穗芳博士、连战夫人、郭令裕先生、连战博士、杨荣文先生及蔡天宝先生



From left to right: Director-General of Liaison Department, China Overseas Exchange Association, Mr Xiong Changliang, and Honorary Chairmen of Chinese Heritage Centre, Mr Wee Cho Yaw and Professor Tommy Koh

从左到右：中国海外交流协会联络部部长熊昌良先生，华裔馆荣誉主席黄祖耀先生和许通美教授



From left to right: Professor Jiang Yihua, Professor Wang Gungwu and Professor Chang Peng-yuan

从左到右：姜义华教授、王赓武教授与张朋园教授



From left to right: Mrs Teresita Ang-See, Professor Leo Suryadinata, Associate Professor Ho Khai Leong, Associate Professor Lee Guan Kin, Professor Yen Ching Hwang and Associate Professor Huang Jianli

从左到右：洪玉华女士、廖建裕教授、何启良副教授、李元瑾副教授、颜清煌教授及黄坚立副教授




Distinguished guests of the seminar
参加国际研讨会的在场嘉宾



Participants of the International Seminar: Tongmenghui, Sun Yat Sen and the
Chinese in Southeast Asia: A Revisit
同盟会、孙中山与东南亚华人国际研讨会的来宾

PREFACE

Leo Suryadinata
Director, Chinese Heritage Centre
Singapore



The 1911 revolution is a watershed in the history of modern China. It was led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with his Zhongguo Tongmenghui. He established the Singapore Branch of the Zhongguo Tongmenghui on 6 April 1906 at Wan Qing Yuan (Singapore), later known as the Sun Yat-sen Nanyang Memorial Villa. This Singapore branch quickly became the headquarters of the Tongmenghui activities in the Southeast Asian region. In 1908, Sun Yat-sen renamed the Singapore chapter as the Nanyang Branch of the Zhongguo Tongmenghui. As this is the 100th anniversary of the establishment of Wan Qing Yuan, we feel that it is important to commemorate it to show that Singapore played a role in the modernisation of China.

The Chinese Heritage Centre and the Sun Yat-sen Nanyang Memorial Villa decided to hold a one-day international seminar on 12 June 2006 on the following theme: “Tongmenghui, Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese in Southeast Asia: A Revisit.” We invited leading experts from China, Taiwan and the Southeast Asian region on Tongmenghui and Sun Yat-sen to participate in this seminar. We also invited Dr. Lien Chan, Honorary Chairman of the Kuomintang in Taiwan, to deliver the keynote speech and Dr. Lily Sun (Sun Shuifang), grand-daughter of Sun Yat-

sen, to deliver a short message on her grand-father. The seminar, held at the Tan Kah Kee Hall of the Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Industry, was attended by 350 people and considered by many as a significant occasion. In order to introduce the public to its contents, the organisers decided to publish all the speeches and revised seminar papers in a book. The book is divided into four parts: Part I contains the speeches in Chinese,* Part II consists of the papers in Chinese, Part III comprises the papers in English, while Part IV is a select bibliography specially prepared for this publication.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere thanks to all the participants especially our guests and speakers, and our sponsors who have made the seminar possible.

* Speech titles have been added by the editor.

前言

廖建裕

新加坡华裔馆馆长

辛亥革命（1911）是中国现代史上的分水岭。这个革命是由孙中山与他的中国同盟会领导。1906年4月6日，他在新加坡晚晴园（现易名为孙中山南洋纪念馆）成立了中国同盟会新加坡分会，并以新加坡作为同盟会在东南亚的活动基地。1908年孙中山由河内移师新加坡，将分会改名为中国同盟会南洋支部。今年是晚晴园成立一百周年，我们认为应该为它作个纪念，以便让世人了解到新加坡也曾经在中国现代化的过程中扮演一个角色。

有鉴于此，新加坡华裔馆与孙中山南洋纪念馆决定于今年6月12日联合举办国际研讨会，并以“再读同盟会，孙中山与东南亚华人”作为研讨会的主题，邀请了台湾国民党名誉主席连战博士，孙中山孙女孙穗芳博士，及国内外研究这方面的专家学者出席盛会。研讨会在新加坡中华总商会的嘉庚堂举行，与会者约有350人。为了使更多人能分享这次研讨会的成果，主办当局决定将会议贵宾讲稿及修改过的学术论文收集成册出版。这本书共分成四个部分：华文演讲稿*，华文论文，英文论文以及资料。第四部分的“资料”是特为此书而编写的。

* 华文演讲题目由编者附加。

我们借这个机会再次向所有参加研讨会的人士，包括贵宾，主讲人，以及研讨会赞助人，表示由衷的感谢！

INTRODUCTION

DISSENT AND AFFIRMATION: THE CHINESE IN SINGAPORE

Wang Gungwu*

There is unending richness in the Singapore story. The 100th anniversary of the establishment of the Zhonghua Zongshanghui (Chinese Chamber of Commerce), and the setting up of a branch of the Zhongguo Tongmenghui (Revolutionary League of China), both in 1906, reminds us of part of that richness. The essays in this volume tell the story of the Tongmenghui's place in history and it is not necessary for me to go over the same ground here. There is, however, a comparative aspect in the anniversaries of the two organisations that deserves attention. It is an aspect that reminds us that there were many social layers in the Chinese community in Singapore. These distinctive layers have been present since at least the middle of the 19th century and people in each layer have behaved and responded differently to issues concerning China.

In 1906, the leaders of the Chinese merchant communities representing different dialect and trading groups got together to form the Chinese Chamber of Commerce to enable them to look after the wider interests of the Chinese at a time when economic and political developments in the region were becoming very complex. Chinese born in the Nanyang

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region found that they had to deal with several Western colonial powers, their own Asian business networks, and Chinese diplomatic officials who supervised their activities and encouraged them to trade and invest in China. At the same time, they were increasingly conscious of the competition from other Asian merchant groups, notably the Japanese, but also various Southeast and South Asian trading companies. Their coming together to form the Chamber of Commerce was a strong statement of intent: to affirm their awareness of a common Chinese identity, their readiness to combine efforts to deal with the colonial authorities, and their willingness to modernise traditional guilds and associations for the new century. After some 85 years of dealing with British ideas of governance, this move brought forth a new business leadership that wanted a greater say in the trading conditions of the colony.

The Tongmenghui, on the other hand, attracted people from other levels of society, and was in particular an inspiration to the *sinkeh*-newcomers from China who came in search of work in the Nanyang. Among them were other currents of leadership and order that forced the British authorities to pay them more attention. Throughout the 19th century, these *sinkehs* had come in sizable numbers to Singapore, following the opening of the Treaty Ports in China. In fact, many more emigrated after the numerous rebellions and repressions that followed drastic economic changes in southern China; the numbers posed serious problems for the Straits Settlements government. Among the poor who were desperate for employment were also many who had fought against corrupt officialdom in China. There were, of course, traditional organisations in the region to help them find work and shelter and generally to meet their needs. But there were also shadowy “secret societies” that attracted the disaffected and the adventurous. Both the British officials and their Chinese business allies had their hands full in dealing with the thousands of single males who were free from family obligations and customary constraints. These were nothing like the Chinese “model migrants” that seek to settle in the developed world today. The status of the many kinds of workers was uncertain and their

loyalties disparate and shifting. In that condition, they understandably held dissenting views about authority, identity and self-respect. Some were even ready to see action and volunteered to join the rebels against the provincial governments in South China. Among the early arrivals to Singapore, there were some who did well and later transmitted some of their ideals to their children. Thus, when a Chinese national consciousness finally arose at the end of the 19th century, pointedly directed at the Manchu Qing government in Beijing that was by then regarded as alien and oppressive, there were many in Singapore who were ready to listen and act. All they needed was a leader.

This was a trying time for Chinese in China and elsewhere. The legitimate government of China had been tested and found to be weak and incompetent. Yet for Chinese abroad, being treated as Chinese was still necessary for conducting business, at the same time that it had also become a sensitive matter of political definition. Those in Singapore who were economically and socially successful wanted some kind of imperial recognition by the Qing government that would help their business and also enable them to deal with the British from a stronger position. Uniting to form the Chinese Chamber of Commerce was a step in that direction. As for the less fortunate working classes, there was a growing consciousness of their rights, whether as subjects of the Qing court or citizens of a reform-conscious Chinese nation. This consciousness was being awakened by greater access to Chinese sources of news and information. In particular, an awareness of China's failure in resisting the British, French and Japanese incursions had spread throughout Nanyang. In addition, British business chains that linked Singapore to Hong Kong and the Treaty Ports led the colonial authorities to watch Chinese activities very closely. Singapore was a complex centre where several Sino-British interests intersected.

The decade before 1906 is of particular interest. The colonial government had revamped its Chinese Secretariat and kept Qing diplomatic influence among the local Chinese under control. The Chinese defeat by Japan in 1894-95 had opened the doors to reform, and the Boxer Rebellion leading to the siege of Peking had sharpened local

awareness of the crisis in China. Kang Youwei's reform groups had gained widespread sympathy for the imprisoned Manchu Emperor Guangxu and, not least, the British had helped Sun Yat-sen in London. Although they did not want Sun in Hong Kong, the British allowed him to carry out restricted activities in Singapore. By the time Sun Yat-sen arrived in Singapore, he had turned from dissident to rebel to revolutionary. He soon saw the opportunity to raise funds from among the overseas Chinese in Nanyang, and prepared his men militarily to mount an attack across the southern Chinese borders. In North America and Japan, strong nationalistic sentiments were also inspired by his example. The combination of circumstances enabled him to stay in Singapore and to move freely among the *sinkeh*-newcomers, the educated local-born and some of the founders of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Not everyone believed in Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary cause, and the British were ever suspicious of his nationalist appeal to their colonial subjects. He nevertheless won some loyal disciples and found benefactors who helped him form a branch of the Tongmenghui that had been founded in Tokyo in 1905.

The Singapore story continued to evolve and gather new complexities. Sun Yat-sen had come and gone and again passed through the port at the end of 1911 on his way to become the Provisional President of the Republic of China. The political links he had established remained strong, although Tongmenghui was displaced and the party changed its name several times before becoming the Chinese Nationalist Party, better known as the Kuomintang/Guomindang. At every change, its staunch supporters in Singapore responded and most of them remained loyal to the Party long past the time when it was defeated on the mainland and its leaders retreated to Taiwan. From the late 1920s onwards, the Party's different factions and its nemesis, the Communist Party in China, continued to send their members to mingle with the Singapore Chinese in search of the kind of support that Sun Yat-sen had attained.

Thus, many Singapore Chinese kept their interest in the political developments of China long after the Tongmenghui years. As the politics

in China became increasingly internationalised, the perspectives on China were continually revised and reinvigorated. China was no longer just the place where one's ancestors came from but also a battleground for the Great Powers, the centre of ideological struggles between communism and capitalism and, most recently, an attractive place for industrial and business investment. Throughout all these changes, different groups of Chinese leaders in Singapore had to review their positions. There were those who continually expressed their dissent while many others chose to affirm their faith in local institutions. Their multiple loyalties led to numerous recurring questions some of which are still being asked today. For example, should they make Singapore an outpost of Chinese commerce and culture? Should they rejoice in China's salvation and recovery? Should they go beyond all that and serve as a bridge between China and the region by demonstrating how they can transcend Chineseness to build a global and inclusive outlook?

The Chinese hinge that the Tongmenghui provided a hundred years ago is a reminder that Singapore's two centuries of history cannot be separated from what it is trying to achieve today. What had led to Sun Yat-sen's decision to establish the Tongmenghui branch also drove the new politics that the Chinese in Singapore involved themselves in for the following decades. That decision and the warm response to the Chinese political connection, although little noticed at the time, were themselves symbols of dissent and autonomy – dissent from the orthodoxy in China and autonomy within the British colonial state. Both qualities have survived in Singapore and, albeit in different forms, have remained central to Singapore's future. Earlier, I drew attention to the conjunction of the founding of both the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the Tongmenghui. That might seem to be coincidental but the two events occurring within months of each other underlines the plurality of the Singapore Chinese community. As a result, there has never been only dissent. There has, at the same time, also been an affirmation that the Chinese do need to bind together as they negotiate the country's fate in a globalised and multicultural world.

目录 Contents

前言 Preface

ix

廖建裕, 华裔馆馆长

Leo Suryadinata, Director, Chinese Heritage Centre

Introduction 概论

xiii

Dissent and Affirmation: the Chinese in Singapore

坚持异议, 判断定位: 新加坡的华人

王赓武教授, 华裔馆董事部副主席

Wang Gungwu, Vice-Chairman,

Board of Governors, Chinese Heritage Centre

第一部分 Part 1

1

演讲 (华文) Speeches in Chinese

新加坡晚晴园的历史意义

3

The Historical Significance of Singapore's Wan Qing Yuan

蔡天宝, 新加坡中华总商会会长

Chua Thian Poh, President,

Singapore Chinese Chamber of Commerce & Industry

同盟会、新加坡与中国

5

Tongmenghui, Singapore and China

杨荣文, 孙中山南洋纪念馆荣誉顾问

George Yeo, Honorary Advisor,

Sun Yat-sen Nanyang Memorial Hall

国民万岁，以民为尊（主题演讲）	9
A Republic for the People	
连战，中国国民党荣誉主席	
Lien Chan, Kuomintang Honorary Chairman	
孙中山与晚晴园	15
Wan Qing Yuan and Sun Yat-sen	
熊昌良，中国海外交流协会联络部部长	
Xiong Changliang, Director-General of the Liaison Department of the China Overseas Exchange Association	
孙中山与中华民族	17
Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese People	
孙穗芳，孙中山和平教育基金会主席	
Lily Sun, Chairman, Sun Yat-sen Peace & Education Fund Association	
第二部分 Part 2	21
论文（华文）Papers in Chinese	
孙中山的革命思想与同盟会	23
The Revolutionary Ideas of Sun Yat-sen and Tongmenghui	
姜义华 Jiang Yihua	
孙中山的政治观	49
The Political Ideology of Sun Yat-sen	
张朋园 Chang Peng-yuan	

第三部分 Part 3	56
论文（英文） Papers in English	
Writings on Sun Yat-sen, Tongmenghui and the 1911 Revolution: Surveying the field and locating Southeast Asia	61
有关孙中山、同盟会及东南亚华人参与辛亥革命的 研究概论	
Huang Jianli 黄坚立	
Tongmenghui, Sun Yat-sen and the Chinese in Singapore and Malaya: A Revisit	109
再读同盟会、孙中山与新马华人	
Yen Ching Hwang 颜清煌	
Tongmenghui, Sun Yat-sen and Singapore	147
同盟会、孙中山与新加坡	
Lee Guan Kin 李元瑾	
Tongmenghui, Sun Yat-sen and Indonesia: A Revisit	171
再读同盟会、孙中山与印尼	
Leo Suryadinata 廖建裕	
Tong Meng Hui, Sun Yat-sen, the Chinese in the Philippines and the Filipino Revolutionists	201
同盟会、孙中山、菲华与菲律宾革命志士	
Teresita Ang-See 洪玉华	