



复旦—胡佛近代中国人物与档案文献研究系列

Hoover Institution and Fudan University Modern China Research Series:

Leadership and Archival Documents

宋子文与战时中国

T. V. Soong and Wartime Nationalist China

(1937—1945)

吴景平 主编

Edited by Wu Jingping



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吴景平，1990年于中国人民大学获法学博士，现为复旦大学历史系教授，亚洲研究中心主任、中国金融史研究中心主任，兼任复旦大学校务委员、国务院学位委员会学科评议组成员、国家社会科学基金评审专家、上海市人大代表。主要著作、编著有《宋子文评传》、《中德关系（1861—1992）》、《上海金融业与国民政府关系研究》、《近代中国的经济与社会》、《上海金融的现代化与国际化》等。

Wu Jingping is Professor in the Department of History, Fudan University. He received a Ph.D. in Law from Renmin University of China in 1990. At Fudan, Dr. Wu is the current Director of the Asia Research Center, the Director of China Financial History Center, and the university committee member. He is also appointed as member of the Commission of Academic Degree Appraisal of the State Council, the National Social Science Foundation Appraisal Expert, and the Representative of Shanghai City Congress.

Dr. Wu's major publications include *Biography of T. V. Soong*; *Sino-German Relations during 1861-1992*; *On the Relation between Shanghai Financial Industry and the Nationalist Government*; *The Economy and the Society in Modern China*; *The Modernization and Globalization of Shanghai Financial Industry*.

“复旦—胡佛近代中国人物与 档案文献研究系列”总序

复旦大学历史悠久,在自然科学、医学、经济金融、政治外交、思想文化等领域的研究与教学,享誉中外。百年来,对中国现代化的进展,贡献卓著。复旦大学在近代中国人物和档案文献研究方面,也有相当的积累和成果,并积极与海内外学术机构交流合作。

史坦福大学胡佛研究院是世界著名的智库,除了杰出的学者之外,还有享誉全球的图书及档案蒐藏。自1919年创办以来,胡佛研究院档案馆一直注重近代人物档案文献的征集、整理和开放,最近更扩大近代中国档案的蒐藏及研究。新公开的档案包括蒋介石日记、蒋经国日记、国民党党史资料、宋子文文件等,对于近代中国政治、经济、外交诸领域的研究,极具价值。

保存历史、还原历史,是我们的初衷;进一步阐明历史、从历史中学习,是我们的心愿。自2004年起,复旦与胡佛的学者开始合作整理与研究胡佛典藏的近代中国人物档案。2005年,双方合作举办了“近代中国档案文献研究”学术研讨会;2006年共同举办“宋子文与战时中国(1937—1945)”学术研讨会。为了更进一步推动中国近代史研究的合作交流,并促进有关机构及时开

放历史档案文献,双方决定共同编辑和不定期出版“复旦—胡佛近代中国人物与档案文献研究系列”。

本研究系列包括档案史料汇编、研究著作、专题论集、口述历史稿、照片图册等。入编档案史料以胡佛研究院藏中外文档案为主,也欢迎其他来源的珍档。档案文献的选编校注均从尊重历史、体现原始文本样态的准则,著作、专题论集则代表各相关作者的观点。

此项研究系列的出版得以实现,首先要感谢复旦大学和胡佛研究院的大力支持,还有许多参与写作、整理、编辑、出版、校对等工作的同仁,以及对本研究系列热忱协助的朋友及档案所有人家属,在此表示诚挚的敬意和感谢。

吴景平(复旦大学)

郭岱君(胡佛研究院)

2008年3月8日

Preface: Hoover Institution and Fudan University Modern China Research Series: Leadership and Archival Documents

The Hoover Institution is a public policy research center located at Stanford University. It is world-renowned for its scholarship and research on domestic and foreign affairs, and the repository of valuable archival and documentary material from Europe and Asia. Many documents date from before World War I. The Hoover Institution Archives is now a repository of the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, as well as copies of the vast historical records from the Kuomintang, the dominant political party in China before 1949 when it moved to Taiwan (The Kuomintang remained as the ruling party in Taiwan until 2000).

Fudan University is the leading university in Shanghai, China, known world-wide for its research facilities in the natural and social sciences. Its Department of History has been researching the work of modern Chinese

leaders and their influence on the modernization of China.

In 2005, Hoover Institution and Fudan University collaborated on the first seminar on the management, collection, and preservation of Chinese materials from the Nationalist period. A second seminar in 2006, “T. V. Soong and Wartime Nationalist China, 1937 – 1945” was held in Shanghai, and scholars from the United States, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China could now examine the role of T. V. Soong during World War II.

It is from this second seminar that the Hoover Institution and Fudan University are pleased to publish some of these historical documents in a new series, *Hoover Institution and Fudan University Modern China Research Series: Leadership and Archival Documents*. The first volume presents the telegrams exchanged between T. V. Soong and Chiang Kai-shek from 1940 to 1943. The second consists of photographs of T. V. Soong, many taken from his personal family album. The third volume is the proceedings of this 2006 seminar.

Future publications will continue to collect the writings, oral histories, private correspondence, and personal photographs of many major and important figures in modern Chinese history. This series is now promoting an exciting and new understanding of modern China.

We want to express our deepest gratitude to the Hoover Institution, Stanford University, and Fudan University. Their support has made this series possible. We also want to thank the many colleagues, friends, and donors for their participation in this project. We appreciate their hard work, devotion, and generosity to make this series successful.

Tai-chun Kuo, Hoover Institution, Stanford University
Wu Jingping, Department of History, Fudan University

March 8, 2008

前言

本书作为“复旦—胡佛近代中国人物与文献研究系列”之一,是2006年6月19—20日在上海市举行的“复旦—胡佛近代中国论坛:宋子文与战时中国,1937—1945”研讨会的论文汇集。该会议是由复旦大学历史系、复旦大学亚洲研究中心和史坦福大学胡佛研究院共同主办,也是数十年来首次在中国举办的关于宋子文的学术会议。约有来自美国、日本、韩国以及中国台湾、中国香港和内地约40位专家学者与会,对宋子文以及战时中国的政治、经济、外交、军事等问题,交流研讨。目前收入本书的共有17篇文稿,其中3篇为英文,其余为中文。大部分论文均为抗战时期的内容,少数几篇文稿是关于抗战前夕和战后初期的。各篇论文叙事立论均根据档案史料做考据与研究,尤其是多篇论文使用了胡佛研究院档案馆度藏宋子文档案和其他特藏档案。

复旦大学校长王生洪教授会见并宴请了与会代表。复旦大学副校长蔡达峰教授,以及宋子文的外孙冯英祥先生、宋子安的儿媳妇宋曹俐璇女士等,专程莅临会议并致词。特别感谢论文的撰写者;此外,日本京都大学教授滨下武志教授,美国加州大学伯克莱分校叶文心教授,中国社科院近代史研究所张海鹏研究员,复旦大学历史系姜义华教授、戴鞍钢教授、朱荫贵教授,复旦大学韩国研究中心石源华教授,上海师范大学历史系苏智良教授,上海外国语大学国际问题研究院胡礼忠教授,同济大学仇飞教授,上海市委党校朱华教授,解放军南京政治学院上海分院张云教授,上海市档案馆马长林和邢建榕研究员,台湾师范大学博士候选人郑炯儿女士,上海市文史研究馆沈飞德先生等多位学者应邀参加会议,担任各场讨论会的主持和评论。在本论文集正式出版之际,特向他们表示衷心的谢忱。

吴景平

2008年1月26日

于复旦大学光华楼

Preface

This is one of the volume in the Hoover Institution and Fudan University Modern China Research Series: Leadership and Archival Documents. It presents the proceedings of the seminar, T. V. Soong and Nationalist China, 1937 – 1945, co-sponsored by the Hoover Institution and Fudan University on June 19 & 20, 2006. It is the first academic seminar on T. V. Soong to be held in China since 1949. About 40 scholars from the U. S. , Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China participated and discussed topics related to T. V. Soong and political, economic, diplomatic and military issues in wartime China. Seventeen papers are included, among which three are in English and the rest are in Chinese. Most papers are based on historical archives at the Hoover

Institution, Stanford University.

My sincere thanks goes to the Hoover Institution, Fudan University, the Soong family, and all paper presenters, discussants, and panel conveners of the seminar.

Tai-chun Kuo

Hoover Institution, Stanford

February 29, 2008

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China's Most Powerful Lobbyist in Washington: T. V. Soong and Sino-American Relations in WWII

Tai-chun Kuo & Hsiao-ting Lin*

In the summer of 1940, three years after the Lukouchiao Incident, Chiang Kai-shek appointed T. V. Soong as his personal representative to Washington, D.C. In December 1941, immediately after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Chiang Kai-shek promoted Soong to Minister of Foreign Affairs. Chiang delegated Soong to remain in Washington because he wanted Soong to cooperate with the U.S. Government, manage China's relations with the U.S. and Great Britain, and win President Franklin D. Roosevelt's support for China's war with Japan.

From summer 1940 until late 1943, when he returned to Chongqing, Soong had contributed to obtaining U.S. aid for China's war against Japan. He had negotiated loans and various economic and military aid packages with the United States. He projected a strong national image of China in the Western Alliance. Political observers once described Soong as "one of China's most eloquent and powerful spokesman" in the United States^①.

How did Soong change the old American view of China being a weak, corrupt, and backward nation, and how did he persuade the U.S. to support

* Tai-chun Kuo, research fellow at Hoover Institution, Stanford University, U.S.A.; Hsiao-ting Lin, research associate fellow at Hoover Institution, Stanford University, U.S.A.

① For T. V. Soong's work in Washington during WWII, please see Tai-chun Kuo & Hsiao-ting Lin, *T. V. Soong in Modern Chinese History: A Look at his Role in Sino-American Relations in World War II* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2006).

China? Historians hitherto have known little about Soong's opinions and strategies regarding Sino-American relations. But from the T. V. Soong papers available at Hoover Institution Archives we learn that Soong was the most important person to obtain American aid when China desperately needed it.

A Restless Chinese Envoy in Washington

When Soong arrived in the U. S. in mid-1940, he took charge of Chinese efforts to work closely with the U. S. Government and win President Roosevelt's support and friendship. Chiang Kai-shek put all his hope on Soong.

Before the Pearl Harbor attack, America preferred isolationism. In the autumn of 1940, President Roosevelt was telling the American people that his administration would make every effort to keep the United States out of war^①. The State Department, under Cordell Hull, still believed that any American aid to China would only provoke Japan to take rash actions, so aid had to be minimal^②. The idea that the U. S. might declare war with the Axis was unrealistic.

But Soong, with his political skills and Chiang Kai-shek's trust, became an indispensable middleman between Chiang and the powerful leaders who congregated in Washington D. C. Speaking fluent English, he was able to speak to Americans; he cultivated journalists and wrote newspaper articles; he easily made friends and built alliances.

Soong conveyed the image of the Chinese being a peace-loving but persevering people, patriotic and ready to die for their country. He told Americans how the Chinese, with little more than their hand, had fought the Japanese invaders. China was the last defense line to safeguard peace in Asia^③.

① Simon Berthon, *Allies at War: The Bitter Rivalry among Churchill, Roosevelt, and de Gaulle* (New York: Carroll & Graft, 2001), pp. 25 - 26.

② Liu Xiaoyuan, *A Partnership for Disorder: China, the United States, and their Policies for the Postwar Disposition of the Japanese Empire, 1941 - 1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 10 - 19.

③ See: "Address, China Society Dinner", New York City, January 1942, and "Speech by T. V. Soong, Foreign Minister of China", Yale University Commencement, June 9, 1942, both in T. V. Soong Archives, Box 63, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

Soong also packaged a message to top U. S. officials that war-threatened China was capable and willing to fight the Japanese; and by so doing, China could pin-down one million Japanese troops in China.

Soong's hard work and public relation skills soon paid off. Within six months, the network for China's lobby to obtain more U.S. aid was in place. Soong had acquired access to the White House, the Treasury, the War Department and other related organizations. Among Soong's important friends were Stanley K. Hornbeck, William Youngman, Thomas Corcoran, William Pawley, Claire L. Chennault, Joseph Alsop, etc^①. On December 4, 1940 Soong reported his progress to Chiang Kai-shek, "I was helpless for the first six months here in Washington, but in the past two months I began to get the knack."^②

The first loan Soong negotiated was for a \$25 million secured loan. In August 1940, Soong was struggling to find a way to persuade Henry Morgenthau, then U. S. Secretary of Treasury, to approve a loan to satisfy China's most urgent needs. When Soong learned that the U. S. Government was planning to purchase tungsten ores from China, he realized that tungsten ore could be used as collateral to obtain U.S. loans for China. He telegraphed Chiang Kai-shek and asked the Chongqing government to delay the sale in order to request the U.S. Government to negotiate with Soong^③.

Soong's strategy worked. On October 22, 1940, Soong represented China in signing an agreement with the U. S. Government to receive a credit of \$25 million for the Nationalist Government. Soong was not content with this success, but considered it a good beginning. In a series of confidential telegrams to Chiang Kai-shek, Soong expressed confidence that, in addition to the \$25 million loan, he could secure more financial support for China to minimize its wartime financial difficulties^④.

Soong continued to argue that the Japanese military was determined to

① On Soong's network building and activities at the early stage of his stay in the U.S., see T. V. Soong Archive, esp. Boxes 11, 12, and 59.

② Qin Xiaoyi ed., *Zhonghua Minguo Zhongyao Shiliao Chubian — Dui Ri Kangzhan Shiqi* (Taipei: KMT Historical Committee, 1981) 3, No. 1, p.288.

③ Soong to Chiang, September 23, 1940, T. V. Soong Archive, Box 59.

④ Soong to Chiang, October 22, November 27 and 29, 1940, T. V. Soong Archive, Box 59.