

百年回顧：中國國民黨駐
澳洲總支部歷史文物彙編

Unlocking the History of
**The Australasian
Kuo Min Tang**

1911–2013

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AUSTRALIAN SCHOLARLY

Contents

Foreword	vii
Preface	ix
中文序言與前言	xiii
1 A Rising Wind of Civil Democracy <i>the Early Days of Chinese Australian Nationalists from 1900</i>	1
2 Building the Chinese Nationalist Party in Australasia <i>1917–1921</i>	16
3 Competition and Challenges <i>1923–1928</i>	40
4 Semi-official Leadership through the Years of the Great Depression <i>1929–1933</i>	61
5 New Spirit of Nationalism and Turning Australia to Face Asia <i>1934–1939</i>	95
6 Overcoming the Time of Hardships of the Pacific War <i>1940–1945</i>	107
7 Rebuilding Australasian KMT in the Post-War Era <i>1946–1958</i>	128
8 Working Below the Radar in the Cold War Years <i>1958–1972</i>	148
9 The Australian KMT in the Age of Multiculturalism and the Asian Century <i>1972 and Beyond</i>	169



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Cover image Cover of the official journal published by Australasian KMT in Canton, 1931.

澳洲總支部於1931年在廣州出版之《澳洲黨聲》。

The main chapters of this book are typeset in Fairfield LH 10.7pt

Foreword by the Hon John Howard OM AC

The history of the Chinese community in Australia is an enduring one. It has been characterised by tenacity, determination and commitment to succeed in a new homeland. The Chinese have made an impressive contribution to modern Australia.

As well as telling the story of the Chinese in Australia this book addresses the contribution of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia or the Australian Kuo Min Tang to that story. It is a timely record of their role and achievement. This history provides evidence that the leadership given by the KMT furthered the opportunities for Chinese people in Australia.

In my years as a member of parliament I experienced the enthusiasm and vibrancy of the Australian Chinese community. My former electorate of Bennelong included thousands of Chinese Australians who were representative of the various parts of the Chinese diaspora in our country.

What this history tells us, and why it is a story worth telling, is that it details the role of Chinese Australians as Australian citizens. In many ways the great strength of Chinese immigration has been the willingness and enthusiasm of new arrivals to participate in mainstream Australian society, and to embrace our free and democratic ideals. As the authors write 'Chinese Australian residents acquired the social and cultural skills suited to the rhythms, customs and manners of Australian urban life ... with more open forms of public association and a commitment to public and civic duties.'

Preface

This book is but a snapshot of the people and interactions of our two great countries. This is an evolving history and one that still has many stories to be told.

Australia and China share a unique and important relationship. I have been fortunate to see the great strides forward that this relationship has taken over recent decades.

The growth of modern China has been good for China and good for the world. The bilateral relationship between Australia and China has been immensely beneficial to both countries. It is therefore timely that more is both said and written about the history of the Chinese in Australia. For that reason, amongst others, I welcome this book.

I pay special acknowledgement to Tsebin Tchen who has been involved with the production of this book. He has a special place in the history of Chinese Australians. He was the first Chinese born member of the Australian parliament. He served as a Senator from Victoria between 1999 and 2005 and as a consequence we became both colleagues and friends.

John Howard
Sydney, October 2013

The history of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia, or the Australian Kuo Min Tang (hereafter KMT), begins in 1910 with the formation in Melbourne of the Young China League to support Dr Sun Yat-Sen's revolutionary aims. After the 1911 revolution it became a branch of Sun's Kuo Min Tang party. The Australian KMT was the first modern Chinese-Australian institution without the traditional restricted membership requirements of clan, class, native-place or gender affiliation. It promoted freedom and public participation amongst its members and was a focus for Chinese community life in the days of White Australia. Sydney was also the headquarters of the Australasian branch with membership from the Chinese diasporic community in Papua New Guinea and the Pacific.

From its inception, the Australian KMT combined a political focus, especially when the KMT was the party in power in China (1927–49), with a wider social and community role, hosting rallies, dances and other gatherings for the Chinese Australian community. Together with the Chinese Consulate-General, it linked the community to the affairs of China during its turbulent transition from dynastic empire to modern nation state. Today there are still active branches in Sydney and Melbourne. What began as a local club became the regional headquarters of a transnational political party.

The book draws on archives of the Sydney and Melbourne branches of the Chinese Nationalist Party that include rich photographic collections, records of membership, notes of committee meetings, reports of conventions, official and private correspondences, publications, financial records and account books. These archives have been supplemented by oral history interviews and family papers. The

book begins with a section in Chinese. This comprises translations of the Foreword by John Howard and of the Preface, together with contributions from the Director of the KMT Archives in Taipei and from Mr Eugene Seeto of the Sydney Chinese Nationalist Party on his long experience of the Australasian KMT.

This book has many debts. It is one of the outcomes of a three-year Australian Research Council Linkage Project: *Unlocking Australia's Chinese Archive: The political organisation and social experience of the Chinese Australian community, 1909–1939*, which provided a post-doctoral fellowship for Mei-Fen Kuo. The Chief Investigators on this project were Judith Brett and James Leibold. We gratefully acknowledge this support from the Council and from the School of Social Sciences at La Trobe, where the project was based. The partner investigators, Mr Eugene Seeto of the Sydney Chinese Nationalist Party and Mr Tsebin Tchen of the Melbourne KMT, have given generously of their time and their knowledge, both of the history of the party and of the Chinese Australian community. Mr Seeto has worked for more than half a century to preserve the Party's records on which much of this research is based.

The book was commissioned by the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia in Sydney and many people within the party have made a contribution, facilitating access to the records and providing information about the history of the Party after the Second World War. We could not name them all here. We are grateful to the members of ninth and tenth Committee of the Party in supporting the project that led to this book; and a special thanks to John Yen and Elizabeth Kao for their administrative help.

This history builds on the earlier work on Chinese Australian political history of the late Dr Henry Min-Shi Chan and of Professor John Fitzgerald, now at Swinburne. The Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, in Taipei has greatly assisted in the preservation of the community's fragile records for future generations, generously

digitising 64,228 pages of documents and more than 200 historical photos. We wish to express our thanks to Professor Huang Ko-wu and Chang Li.

This book also draws on oral history interviews. Many friends with Chinese ancestry generosity provided their life stories, memories and family collections to enrich this history. We are enormously grateful to Bruce Sun-you Lew, William (Bill) Lau, Marina Mar, Irene Mavis Mortensen, Gordon Mar, Albert Mar, Tony Wing, Dennis Chen, Winsome Dong, Ducman Allen Yip, Victor Bien, Kaylin Simpson Lee, Susan Carter, Lindsay W. Wing, late Philip Wing Dann, Lucinda Adams, Norma King Koi, Jeanette Mar, Maurice and Eunice Leong, Arthur Gar Lock Chang, Mabel Wang, Wai Wang, Man-Yee Leanfore, Leanne Tam, Katherine Liu, King Fong and Eric Yee. For photos and some documents we thank the KMT Party Archives (Taipei), the National Dr Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall (Taipei), the National Library of Australia, the National Archives of Australia, the State Records of NSW, the State Library of NSW and the Archive of the City of Sydney.

Finally, special thanks to Tsebin Tchen who shared his expertise, translated, edited and warmly encouraged this work at every stage, inspiring it with his own passion to share the history of Chinese Australians with all Australians.

Mei-fen Kuo
Judith Brett
November 2013

序言

澳洲前聯邦總理 霍華德

澳洲華裔的歷史是持久不衰的；他們展現出的特質是堅韌、毅力，以及在新家鄉取得成功的決心。華裔為當代澳洲做出了令人印象深刻的貢獻。

本書在闡述澳洲華裔故事的同時，也談論到關於中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島的貢獻，這是澳洲華裔歷史不可忽略的一部分。這段歷史適時地記錄了澳洲華裔人士舉足輕重的角色和成就，也證明了澳洲華裔如何在中國國民黨的領導下開疆拓源。

在我服務於國會的生涯裡，常有機會感受到澳洲華裔社群的熱情與活力。尤其是在我過去所服務的 Bennelong 選區，居住了上萬名華裔背景的人士，他們正代表著我們這個國家中有著多元的族裔背景。

這段歷史之所以重要且值得被敘說，在於它詳述了華裔的澳洲公民角色。澳洲華裔移民在很多方面得以發揮重要作用，就是因為打從成為新移民開始，他們便主動投注熱情於澳洲主流社會，並擁抱自由與民主的理念。誠如作者所說：「澳洲華裔居民學習了社會與文化技能以適應於澳洲都市生活的節奏、習俗和禮儀……伴隨著更開放模式的公共組織，以及對於公共事務與公民責任當仁不讓的態度。」

本書也呈現我們兩國之間人民與互動的重要瞬間，這是一段正在發展的歷史，而還有許多故事等著被訴說。

澳洲與中國共享了獨特而重要的關係，我有幸見證到過去這段關係的大步躍進。中國的茁壯發展對中國與世界是一個雙贏的進展，澳洲與中國的雙邊關係也對亞太地區發揮著廣泛效益。可以說，現在正是訴說澳洲華裔歷史的好時機。因此，我竭誠推薦本書。

我要特別感謝本書的幕後推手——陳之彬先生。在他於 1999 年至 2005 年擔任參議員期間，我們相識成為同事與朋友。作為第一位華裔聯邦參議員，他在澳洲華裔歷史上有著特殊地位。

黨史館序

王文隆

郭美芬博士與 Judith Brett 教授聯合執筆的《百年回顧：中國國民黨駐澳洲總支部文物彙編》一書行將出版。身為中國國民黨文化傳播委員會黨史館主任，受邀撰寫一序，深感榮幸。

「華僑」為明清以來大量旅居域外僑民的總稱；其與原鄉仍保持相當綿密的情誼，以及相當緊密的人際、經濟關係，對於國內的脈動也常表關心。因為地域上的移動，使得華僑的影響力常跨越國境的限制，無論是就僑居地或是其原鄉來說，都是相當重要的一群，華僑因此成為許多研究探索的主題。加以華僑自清末以來，多響應總理號召，投身革命，或是出資，或是出力，涉入國內政治的革新，更使得華僑榮獲「革命之母」的美譽。許多海外的華僑及其後人，至今仍是中國國民黨海外機構的骨幹與成員。

如要理解華僑在各地開枝散葉的過去與現在，非得自外交、僑務與黨務三條線來瞭解才能窺探全貌。然而，就當前的華僑研究來說，以外交或是僑務為視角切入的研究頗多，但以黨務為視角切入的，除了華僑與革命間的關聯之外，成果相對稀少。也因此，費約翰教授、Judith Brett 教授、陳民熙教授，及郭美芬博士共同努力，在駐澳總支部司徒惠初中評委與前聯邦參議員陳之彬先生的協助下，爭取研究經費，整理本黨存置於雪梨「中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島」共35個分支機構的相關文物資料，便填補了在澳華僑研究的主要素材。由於本黨在當地的黨員分屬各個不同階層，分隸不同社群，這批史料的重現，能以此探討各階層華僑在澳洲及南太平洋奮鬥的歷史，不僅能瞭解黨部所推動的各項活動，也能藉此深入瞭解各黨部的動員與運作，知悉各黨部所關懷的議題與面向，甚至能窺探時人的人際網絡，以及和各層面華僑的互動等，可說是相當全面且完整的一批本黨海外史料。

本書有機會先以這批史料為據，利用簡史的方式呈現中國國民黨駐澳洲總支部的歷史，搭配照片先行出版，讓更多人接觸到

這批史料的精華。此舉，不僅能響應本黨馬英九主席「活化黨史」的指示，推廣本黨黨史，也能以此為全球的歷史學研究提供新史料，讓更多研究者加以利用。期待此一領域的研究在不久的未來，能有豐碩的成果，為本黨、為華僑、為在當地曾經貢獻心力的人們，留下翔實的紀錄。

前言與致謝

中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島地區的歷史可以追溯到1910年於墨爾本所成立的「少年中國會」，1911年武昌起義後，雪梨與墨爾本正式成立支持孫中山先生國民革命的公開組織。在澳洲的中國國民黨從二十世紀初開始，是第一個打破傳統華裔社團組織規章，對其加入的成員不限地緣、性別和階級，其目的在於促進白澳政策下華裔社群的民主自由和提高參與公共事務的覺悟。1924年後中國國民黨更在雪梨設立統籌與聯繫澳洲暨南太平洋群島各分支部的總支部，也因此得以保存了收藏於本書中的大多數的照片與文物。

從成立以來，澳大利亞中國國民黨不僅致力於推動其政治主張——尤其是中國國民黨在中國做為執政黨以降——更不遺餘力地加強與澳洲僑界的聯繫活動，參與各項公眾聚會，直到今天雪梨與墨爾本兩地依舊在運作的國民黨，更與中華民國歷屆外交領事攜手，與僑界共同走過從傳統帝國邁向現代主權國家的百年動盪歲月，也見證了一個地方的政治社團組織如何發展成為跨國性的現代政黨。

本書借鑒了收藏於雪梨和墨爾本兩地的中國國民黨檔案，其中包括豐富的歷史照片、會員名冊、會議記錄、財務收支和黨務報告等，輔以國家檔案、私人書信以及其他已經出版之資料，加上口述歷史訪談彙編成此書。本書更是過去三年來「Unlocking Australia's Chinese Archive: The political organisation and social experience of the Chinese Australian community, 1909-1939」計畫下的重要成果之一。在拉籌博大學社會科學院Judith Brett教授和雷國俊高級講師的主持下，使得本計畫案於2010年贏得澳洲國家委員會的研究款項，提供郭美芬博士長達三年的研究補助。總支部的司徒惠初中評委和墨爾本分部的陳之彬代表，更在過去三年多來不遺餘力地協助本計劃，提供他們寶貴的時間和意見；本研究計畫跟專書更應歸功於過去司徒惠初先生保存黨部文物長達半世紀的心血。

本研究計畫與專書的撰寫過程，更得到中國國民黨駐澳洲總支部各位先賢的鼓勵和幫助，尤其是第九屆與第十屆委員會的諸位委員是催生此專書的幕後功臣，因為篇幅所致，未能詳列各位大名，尚望見諒。我們也特別感謝過去三年來甄振翰與吳瑄在行政上的諸多幫忙。

我們特此銘謝已經過世的陳民熙教授，以及Swinburne大學的費約翰教授，他們對於澳洲中國國民黨的前期研究發揮著承先啟後的影響。中央研究院近代史研究所與檔案館在過去三年來更提供他們的專業幫助，無償地協助我們掃描這批重要的歷史文物與檔案，才使得這批少為人知的史料能夠開放給公眾，我們特此向黃克武所長與張力教授致謝。

本書作者更希望向過去三年曾經接受口述訪談的人士致謝，你們無私提供的私人資料與娓娓道來的故事豐富了本書。我們特別感謝劉新耀、劉彪、余宜錫、陳榮亮、Marina Mar, Irene Mavis Mortensen, Gordon Mar, Albert Mar, Tony Wing, King Fong, Winsome Dong, Ducman Allen Yip, Victor Bien, Kaylin Simpson Lee, Susan Carter, Lindsay W. Wing, late Philip Wing Dann, Lucinda Adams, Norma King Koi, Jeanette Mar, Maurice and Eunice Leong, Arthur Gar Lock Chang, Mabel Wang, Wai Wang, Man-Yee Leanfore, Leanne Tam, Katherine Liu。我們也在此特別感謝中國國民黨文化傳播委員會黨史館、台北國父紀念館、澳洲國家圖書館、澳洲國家檔案局、新南威爾斯州檔案局、新南威爾斯州立圖書館以及雪梨市檔案局授權予以翻拍與重製他們珍藏的照片。

最後本書作者要特別致謝陳之彬先生，在本書撰寫期間總是無私且耐心地提供意見、協助修攥、翻譯與校對，在他熱忱的鼓勵與幫助下，本書方能問世，得以向世人展示這一段珍貴的歷史。

從歷史文物看先僑 創黨維艱的歷史

中國國民黨中央評議委員 司徒惠初

中國國民黨在澳洲的發展，已經快一百年了。在一百年的歲月中，曾經歷了無數的逆流險阻，幸賴各階層的同志，意志堅定，信仰絕不動搖，承受狂風巨浪的衝擊，終於突破任何橫逆，平安地度過難關。在澳洲境內，中國國民黨是一個少見的團體，主要宗旨是和平、親近群眾，所以受到群眾的愛護，所在當地政府也相當重視，這也是中國國民黨能在澳洲經歷將近一百年而不衰的主要原因。

最近總支部黨所重修完成，趁此機會將大部分文物展出，供各界人士參觀及研究。大家從歷史文物中，看到當年黨員的無條件奉獻和奮鬥的史實，心裡必定會有無限的感慨。同時，中國國民黨澳洲總支部有幸與 La Trobe 大學的 Judith Brett 教授和郭美芬博士合作，出版百年歷史文物彙編一書，向大眾介紹澳洲中國國民黨百年來的興衰歷史。這部專書不僅是過去三年來總支部黨史編撰的重要成果之一，更是本黨在澳洲首部以英文發行的專書，實為難得；此專著不僅記錄了總支部與其他各分支部的百年歷史，內容也包含了華裔社群在澳洲社會的奮鬥過程，換句話說，一部澳洲中國國民黨的歷史，不但是現代中國歷史的縮影，更是澳洲歷史的一部分。

我也趁此機會，向各位賢達介紹我所知道的中國國民黨在澳洲的黨務發展。

二十世紀初中國國民黨在澳洲開始萌芽的時候，環境非常惡劣，大洋洲地區革命種子的播種之始可以說是在紐西蘭，早年呂傑聯絡了志同道合的僑胞，在威靈頓組織了同盟會分會；而在澳洲，當時革命勢力的發展受到梁啟超來訪的鼓舞，以及保皇會的阻撓，開始並不順利。當時保皇會的成員籌辦《東華報》鼓吹保皇，氣焰非常炙烈，得到許多華商的支持；共和政府成立後，清室既倒，已無皇可保，保皇會這個組織亦自然瓦解，但其成員仍

在，且多為商界人士，許多華商成立了中華總商會，他們依然對國民黨抱著敵對的心態。

與此同時，美利濱方面的劉月池，劉燈維，陳任一，劉希真，劉希焯等同志，又組織起「新民啟智會」以對抗保皇黨，未幾改為「啟智社」，以《警東新報》為宣傳喉舌，從國內聘請劉滌寰和黃右公為編輯，與保皇黨的報紙展開激烈的筆戰，力闢保皇邪說以喚醒僑胞。推算國民黨在墨爾本建立的時間應為光緒二十九年（1903年），公元二千零三年，美利濱黨部慶祝成立一百年，是本黨在澳洲本土的第一個組織。宣統二年，啟智社擴大組織，易名為「少年中國會」，民國後少年中國會，改稱為美利濱國民黨支部。

民國成立之初，在雪梨之同志郭標，余榮，李賢敏以及愛國僑胞周容威，黃柱等多位先賢，倡議創辦報刊，定名為《民國報》，從國內聘請伍鴻培和趙平鳴來雪梨主持筆政。該報民國三年出版，除了宣傳本黨的主義和理念以外，亦大力痛斥保皇黨與中華總商會的黨報《東華報》的荒謬論調，喚醒僑胞勿受其愚弄。

第二次革命失敗後，袁世凱的陰謀畢露，積極籌備稱帝，伍趙兩位對其攻擊不遺餘力，各地的同胞和僑胞四起為之聲援；當時駐澳洲總領事曾宗鑑自認為袁世凱的勢力龐大，已控制了整個中國，為了個人的利益及祿位，對袁世凱暗通款曲，積極投靠；他承仰袁世凱的鼻息，又和保皇黨互相勾結，向澳洲政府請求驅逐伍洪培出境，澳洲政府應其所請，便不准伍洪培在澳洲居留，限期離境；伍氏在此種壓迫下，遂於民國四年六月一日乘輪離澳。

然而，同志們並不因為威逼而恐懼，反而越壓迫越奮勇，群起組織雪梨國民閱報書社，亦成為本黨革命機關，也就是今日的駐澳洲總支部前身。在伍氏離澳前三日，他召集同志商議，籌組革命機關事宜，又於五月三十一日晚，由伍氏主席召開一秘密會議，決議公開的名稱為「雪梨國民閱報書社」，對內即為中華革命黨的機關，次日，伍氏被迫離澳。

第二次會議，由趙平鳴主持，通過閱報書社的組織章程，並於附近郵局租賃一信箱以通消息，即今日的八十號信箱。會中又

推舉趙平鳴為會長，甄紀沃為書記，朱景、黃厚為財政，馮關田、黃灼為幹事，積極展開倒袁及募款運動。他們又在大順酒樓開慶祝成立大會，公開演講，反對帝制，情緒異常悲壯激昂。但此舉又為中國總領事曾宗鑑所忌，復向澳洲政府請求，逼使趙平鳴離澳。結果，澳洲政府又循其請，限令趙平鳴離澳，幸得紐西蘭同志的援助，趙氏才得由雪梨轉紐西蘭定居，繼續展開倒袁運動。值得慶幸的是，趙氏後裔現仍散居紐西蘭。趙平鳴離澳後，《民國報》無法再聘請編輯，經濟又拮据，如此一來，眼見在言論上將無法對袁世凱及保皇黨撻伐，幸賴各同志在遭此打擊之下並不灰心畏縮，仍再接再厲，發動籌款以維持《民國報》。除了向澳洲華裔加強宣傳外，同時又推舉鄧慕周為雪梨部長，時有多人前來加盟，形成了有力的生力軍，乃租賃43 Smith Street, Surry Hill 地下室為辦公機關；每個晚上，都有很多同志群擠在這個小小的要靠煤油燈來照明地下室內，開會討論如何加強宣傳反袁倒袁運動，並不時捐款充作軍餉，直接匯往東京中華革命黨總部。幾年前總支部尚保存有四、五盞此種當年使用過的煤油燈，遺憾的是至現在僅存一盞而已。

1915年美國三藩市召開第一次懇親大會，澳洲方面派余榮為代表，前往參加，藉以聯絡各地信息，互相激勵。經過此次會議，各地同志繼續共同努力，嚴重打擊了袁世凱的稱帝活動，對繼續喚醒僑胞，起了極大的效能。民國五年春，張紹峰、黃來旺和趙沛昌等相繼加盟，而由各地轉來同志又非常多，聲勢浩大，當時的地下室已經不敷使用，乃決議另租寬闊的地方以應急需。結果租賃了211 Thomas Street Haymarket 作為活動的機關，重新粉飾布置，正式掛起雪梨支部的大匾，公開活動，內部職員分執行部及評議部，經常有職員在辦公，至此，組織漸趨嚴密及具規模，並每星期向在東京的中華革命黨總部報告。

討袁軍興，公推朱景、張紹峰、甄紀沃、歐頌堯、劉少竹、劉疇、陳樂和劉偉章等為宣傳員，郭標、余榮、黃來旺、趙沛昌、李春和余命章等發起組織籌餉局；籌餉局設在支部內，以郭標為主任，余榮為協理，積極展開籌募軍餉活動。除了本黨同志熱烈捐獻以外，僑胞們的捐獻亦異常踴躍，籌得的軍餉為數甚

鉅，悉數匯寄給總理作為討袁之用，從此，本黨得到僑胞的熱烈支持和合作，本黨的基礎亦得以奠定。

民國五年六月二十日，支部舉行盛大的正式成立大會並改選職員，選出郭標為部長；其時支部內部的組織已日趨健全，乃決定在各地發展組織，振興業務；及至各地黨部的組織日趨發達，各黨部皆於每星期開一次演講會，而雪梨支部，每晚前來看書閱報的同志常有數十人，僑胞志願加入本黨者為數日眾，於是雪梨支部，乃倡議籌備開懇親大會，以資聯繫澳洲以及南太平洋群島各地的黨員。

第一次懇親大會於民國九年四月在雪梨舉行，各地分部皆派代表參加，數百黨員歡聚一堂，氣氛融洽。懇親大會在當年是非常流行的社交活動方式，每日會議之後，就到郊外聚餐或演戲劇，氣氛極為熱烈，是本黨在澳洲的盛會；當時各地黨員認為黨所過於狹窄，已不敷使用，乃提議並一致通過要建築一新黨所為永久的基礎，提議一出，立即展開認捐，數分鐘內即捐得一千餘磅，其熱烈的情況可想而知，跟著就發動大洋洲內所有支分部進行義捐，響應亦非常熱烈。從民國九年開始籌畫及募捐籌建雪梨黨所，到民國十年十一月十二日舉行奠基典禮，所經歷時間之短令人感佩！在當年雪梨部長余榮的領導下，整個南太平洋（大洋洲）各支分部都有代表前來參加開幕典禮，黨員及僑團僑胞所贈送的賀禮堆積如山，震動整個大洋洲，誠是一大盛事！

民國十年十一月孫大總統更任命陳安仁先生以特派員身份前來主持雪梨黨所的奠基典禮，並指導黨務以及聯絡僑胞。陳安仁先生是首位來澳的中央黨部特派員，直至民國十二年才離澳返國，他走訪澳洲以及南太平洋群島各支分部，可說成績斐然。

當年雪梨黨所之所以能在短時間內募款並籌建完成，實歸功於當時黨員的無私捐獻，雪梨黨所未向中央黨部請求補助，亦沒有勞動僑胞，所購一磚一瓦全是黨員的奉獻。當時所捐得的義款共一萬零九百九十七磅零三七；建築費用共支出一萬六千三百八十三磅九元九毫，不敷之數五千三百八十六磅零六二，此筆差額向銀行貸款，用本身房屋契據抵押，以後新入黨的同志就要負擔四磅半澳幣作為清還黨所的債務，直至還清為止。1924年中國國民黨在廣州召開第一次全國大表大會，會議中孫總理任命雪梨分

部為中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島地區的總支部，雪梨黨所自此也成為接納與聯絡各地黨員的中心。

我在1945年前後入黨，當時仍需要負擔四鎊半，黨員襟章半鎊，月捐即黨費，每個月四元（司令）另有額捐，所謂額捐，就是自由認捐，每個月能捐若干，決定了以後就每個月照捐，因此，當年若要加入國民黨必定要花六、七鎊，是兩個星期工資的總和。雖然如此，申請入黨的僑胞依然是十分熱烈，在一個大廣告欄內都貼滿了申請入黨者的資料，可見當年的盛況。

至民國十六年，全澳第二次大會決議，由全澳黨員籌款六千鎊，建築駐粵辦事處，分額捐和義捐兩種，全澳同志對兩種捐款都非常踴躍，如岑福元同志就義捐了一千鎊，這是其中的一個例子；那時候的工資，每個星期只有兩鎊左右，再繳納一點所得稅，實得一鎊多而已！

民國十八年，第三次全澳代表大會，委託余榮同志回廣州進行購地建築事宜，並選出陳炎生同志為當年的駐粵辦事處主任。余、陳兩人於同年十月返國，陳炎生接任駐粵辦事處後旋即召開澳洲歸國黨員大會，選出余榮、黃培、陳任一和許承瑞為處務委員，並選出余榮、陳任一、陳炎生、許承瑞和雷庚五為建築委員。諸處務委員覺得，澳洲歸僑及黨員為數甚多，宜集中財力早日完成建築事業，遂開會再選出伍洪南、黃同發、黃志和、余錦、陳才和王健海等六位為協助員，助理建築事宜；以上各職均由總支部加委，但陳才和王健海均請辭沒有就職。在澳洲方面，各同志仍陸續捐款，均由總支部轉匯回廣州，人力財力都已具備，於是在廣州市泰康路上建了一座十分宏偉的澳洲總支部駐粵辦事處大廈，樓高三層，地下有五間舖位，落成開幕之日，黨政軍各機關皆派有代表參加，盛況空前，誠海外各黨部駐粵辦事處中之巨擘也。

民國十年起正式使用中國國民黨雪梨支部的名義掛牌，整個大洋洲有中國人的地方就有國民黨的組織，黨員超過五千多人，是在大洋洲中所有中西社團之冠，從此，國民黨就執僑社的牛耳矣。綜觀國民黨在澳洲的黨務發展，民國成立以前，處於生根階段，民國成立後，黨務略有進展。中華革命黨成立以後，以雪梨支部為核心進入拓展階段；自一九一九年改組為中國國民黨起，

雪梨黨員合力購買黨所後，黨務發展甚為可觀。至一九二四年澳洲總支部成立前後，中國國民黨的分部組織遍及全澳各埠，達到鼎盛階段，進而奠定了國民黨在澳洲的堅實基礎。

二次大戰前後隨著國民黨黨勢之昌盛和式微，澳洲黨務也難免上下起落。第二次世界大戰終於在一九四五年八月十五日落幕，日本無條件投降。我國受害最慘烈，經過八年抗戰，我們贏得光榮的勝利，打敗了頑敵，收復了失去的國土，廢除了不平等條約，躋身於世界四強之一，但這並不是輕易得來的。在八年的長期戰禍中，經過大會戰二十二次，大小戰鬥四萬餘次，死傷官兵達三百餘萬人，人民直接或間接死傷者竟達二千萬人以上，整個大陸幾成焦土，財產資源的損失更難以估計，確是我國亙古未有的浩劫，但亦為我國締造了光輝燦爛、可歌可泣的史篇。

在太平洋上的戰爭，也激烈地進行了四年多才將此妖魔打敗，日本才接受無條件投降。在日本投降前夕，大家都守在收音機旁，等候著準確的消息，所有的商店、工廠雖然是照樣開門營業，工廠中的所有工友雖照常上班，但沒有聽見機器聲，工作好像處於半停頓的狀態，大家的心情均極端歡欣，等候信悉。直至將近中午，八月十日十九時五十分日本才正式決心向聯盟國投降，正式的請降書由中立國瑞士與瑞典轉達盟方，表示日本願意接受波茨坦宣言，向同盟國無條件投降。至此，殺戮了多年的人類浩劫才算結束，世界和平才再慢慢地實現，人們的生活才回復常規。

當時雪梨市群眾歡喜若狂，所有商店及工廠的員工聚精會神等待日本正式宣佈投降的消息，隨之就成群結隊向著雪梨市中心出發，警察幾乎全部出動維持秩序，所有的主要大街均被封鎖，車輛不能駛進，只有公車免費接運群眾來往，整個雪梨市中心，到處都是人潮，有的在狂舞，有的在喝酒，有的在歌唱，有的在呼口號，一見了中國人，他們就大讚蔣介石元帥，直至夜幕低垂才開始漸漸散去，但秩序非常良好！

華人自己的慶祝活動，卻延至十月十日，以配合雙十國慶的舉行，選定的地點是雪梨市南郊國民公園。大會租了兩列火車，每列有八個車廂共十六個，如要坐火車，就要準時到中央車站第二十三號月臺乘搭前往。兩列火車開出的時間相隔十五分鐘，

十分方便；，尚有許多人乘搭私人汽車、公共巴士等等。晨早八時，就有大批人群集聚在中央車站，準備乘搭第一列車，時近中午，人潮已經接近高峰，連前來遊玩的中西人士也都自動加入到我們的慶祝活動中，一時間整座國民公園到處可見人們搖動著手裡的青天白日滿地紅的國旗，境況非常壯觀。這座公園離雪梨市區只有三十分鐘的路程，交通十分方便，公園裡面可以爬山、散步、游泳、划船、打球或在樹蔭底下聊天，所以適宜各界人士活動，大家自始至終興高采烈，夕陽西斜才興盡而歸。

日本投降後兩三年左右，澳洲種族歧視的聲浪又起。當時各處的牆壁上常有寫著亞洲人滾出去的標語，甚至火車廂內也時常可見，也常聽到一些議員與政府官員對華人不友善的言論，只有在傳媒中尚可以聽到有點同情亞洲人處境的言論。此外，戰後遣送難民的議題沸沸揚揚，當時澳洲移民局不顧許多二戰時期以難民身份來澳洲的華人已經在此落地生根，執意要將家庭拆散，惹來爭議。華人因此也唯有控告移民局一途，爭取自身的權利。幸虧有一位華裔大律師，他提出抗告，要求澳洲法院接受中國人的控訴，在法院的支持下，阻止了移民局進一步遣送難民的舉動，以等候法院的裁決。

幾個月後，澳洲大選，結果勞工黨下臺。自由黨執政後，發給所有難民五年居留簽證，到期後又允許延期，至此許多難民方能留下，我也是其中之一。當年代表中國人出庭，遞交中國人控告移民局的控訴書者正是李俊生大律師。

我在二次大戰前後正式入黨，1958年在第八次全體代表大會中被選為常委，之後，就一直致力於黨務發展。當時所改選的新委員會更致力於與各個僑團聯繫，當年我們新當選的委員親自前往拜會致公堂和中華總商會，彼等感覺到非常有顏面，對我等熱烈歡迎，兩天後，彼等亦到國民黨總支部來回拜；從此，化‘敵’為友，大大促進了僑社之間的祥和和合作。中華總商會的葉會長康寧尤為積極，每年雙十國慶，必定參加活動，同時又在中華總商會的屋頂上升起青天白日滿地紅國旗，此舉一直維持到中澳斷交，葉會長去世為止。

1972年澳洲承認中華人民共和國後，澳洲黨務面臨嚴峻考驗，我亦毅然決然將自己的生意暫告一段落，全心投入黨務。1979年

總支部創辦育梅學校，除了教授華語文外，往後幾年更有專為成人開辦的縫紉班、修車班、插花班等，後來又協助當時許多高棉與越南難民在澳洲落地生根。前書記長余鳴傳過世後，儘管中央屬意由我接任，但我自認無法承擔黨務行政重任，因此僅答應擔任「代書記長」一職，直到1979年我才正式接任書記長一職。因黨部其他工作繁重，還好有盧景鴻跟劉孔昂先後幫忙接手擔任書記長工作，方使我有時間能夠整頓黨所。書記長一職過去都是由中央黨部尋覓人才前來澳洲，在我之前從來沒有當地的黨員接任過。1987年僑委會要在雪梨創辦文教中心，指派我擔任主任，推動華僑文教，並與各界華人社群加強聯繫，之後我在黨務上的角色上也因此轉成中央評議委員，擔任指導澳洲黨務的工作。

1980年代後中國人在澳洲的人口增加了幾倍，事業的成就也令澳洲人心服。過去華埠的地方很小，現在不僅擴展了數倍，許多地方也都有新興的華人購物商場，可以說有華人的地方就有新的華埠，有的幾乎佔了整個市鎮；這裡商店很大，百貨雜陳，比其他族裔有過之而無不及，文化水平也隨著發展大大提高了。我相信，再過幾十年後，必定會有更大的成就、更大的改變。

百年來，中國國民黨駐澳洲總支部歷經世事動盪，幾次改組以及人事更迭，所幸仍屹立不搖，此乃顯現澳洲黨務經營之根深柢固，現在國民黨的光明前途已現，極盼國民黨的同人團結一致，努力再努力，步武前賢，創造更美好的明天。

1
**A Rising Wind of
Civil Democracy**
*the Early Days of
Chinese Australian
Nationalists from 1900*

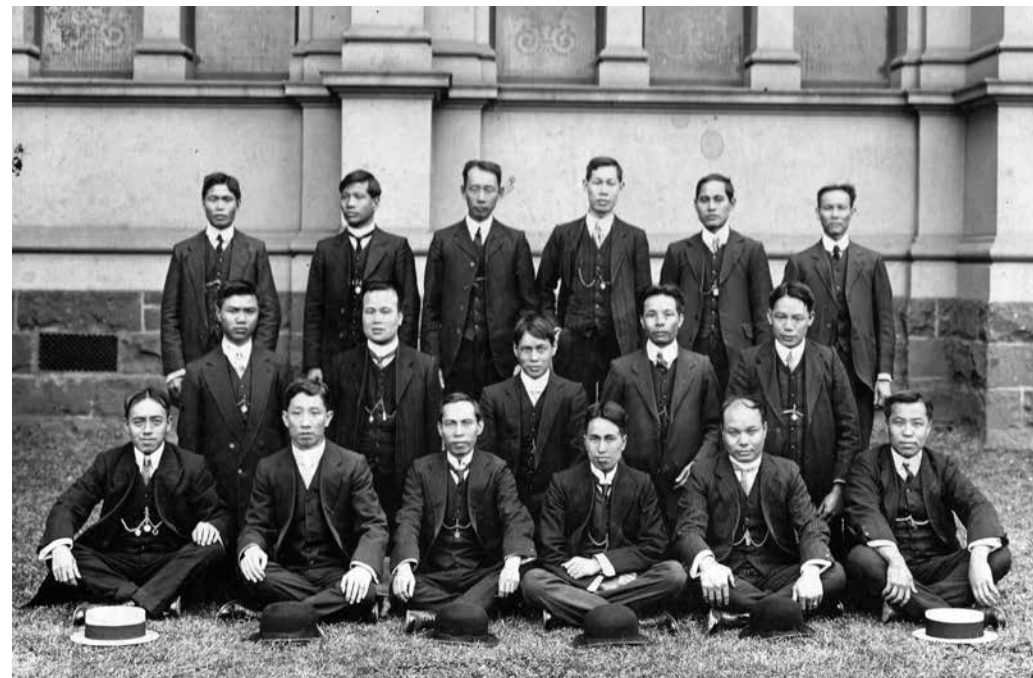
By the early 1900s, Australia had several well-established Chinese communities in its capital cities. The members of these communities retained a lively interest in political developments in China. As the imperial order crumbled, many hoped for a new political era for China founded on liberal and democratic principles. Like other overseas Chinese communities, these Australian ones were important proponents of modern political ideas for China. In the nineteenth century, with most Chinese coming to Australia from the same few counties in Canton (Guangdong in today's standard spelling), community ties were based on kinship and clan relations. Migration exposed the Chinese to modern political ideas, and to the civic relationships of western urban life. Newspapers were established and civic associations formed, such as chambers of commerce, schools, lending libraries and reading clubs. Speeches by community leaders and articles and editorials in the Chinese press promoted ideas of civic participation and democracy. Merchants, Christian missionaries and journalists, rather than clan and kinship elders, were now the community leaders. The establishment of the KMT furthered this process, and the KMT became a major vehicle for spreading modern political ideas amongst the overseas Chinese people, in Australia as elsewhere.

In the first decades of the 20th century, new Chinese public associations such as the KMT and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, and older ones such as the Chinese Masonic Society (formed in imitation of its Western counterpart the Freemasons), as well as the new Chinese-language papers, created a sense of ‘diaspora’ marked by a common language and culture which brought overseas Chinese together across geographical boundaries. The revolution of 1911 was a massive impetus to this process of modernisation, linking it to the powerful force of nationalism. The Australian Chinese hoped that the 1911 revolution would both usher in a modern China and improve their social status in Australia. The revolutionary rhetoric of their political ceremonies and public gatherings promoted a new modern Chinese identity, which they hoped other Australians would acknowledge.

Before the Young China League, Melbourne Chinese were previously involved with the politically non-aligned *Xinminqizhahui* – literally ‘New Knowledge Society’. In English its name was the ‘Chinese Empire Reform Association’. This was established in 1904 to provide educational and cultural succour to the Chinese community. It published a Chinese-language newspaper, the ‘Chinese Times’, and ran a public reading room from a now-long-gone building at 189 Russell Street, Melbourne. In 1910 the more radical Young China League was established to promote modern political ideas amongst the Australian Chinese community. After the successful Xinhai Revolution in late 1911, a branch of the League was also established in Sydney. This was the beginning of the KMT organisation in Australia. Leading members of the early KMT in Sydney and Melbourne built alliances in the name of the revolution with Christian churches, commercial enterprises, Australian republican sympathisers, journalists, seamen and working-class Chinese. The main goal of the League was to mobilise middle and lower class Chinese to donate to Dr Sun Yat-Sen and his new Kuo Min Tang party, and to promote constitutionalism in China. At the launch of

the Young China League in Sydney, November 1911, John Young Wai said,

‘The motto of the League was government of people by the people for the people. We would never rest content till a full constitution was granted similar to that enjoyed by the freest of the western nations.’



The editor of *Chinese Times*, Lew Goot-Chee and members of Melbourne Young China League, 1910s Melbourne.

《警東新報》編輯劉月池與墨爾本少年中國會成員合影。

However, after 1913 there was increasing conflict in China between Sun’s Kuo Min Tang Party and the autocratic new president, Yuen Shih-Kai. Yuen staged a military coup and ordered the dissolution of the Kuo Min Tang. KMT members were evicted from the national parliament while Yuen consolidated power in the office of the president and began to develop imperial dynastic ambitions. Developments in China naturally affected the Chinese community in Australia, with



Pamphlet announcing the formation of Young China League, 1911 Sydney.
雪梨「少年中國會」成立傳單。

the KMT now an illegal organisation in China. Early in 1914, leading Australian Chinese citizens in Sydney representing quite diverse interests came together to publish a new Chinese language newspaper, the *Chinese Republic News* ('Minguobao'). Notable participants were George Bew of the Wing On Company, Wong Yu-Kong, the Rev. John Young Wai of the Chinese Presbyterian Church of NSW, and James Ah Chuey, Grand Master of the Chinese Masonic Society. This joint effort also laid the later foundation of the KMT in Australia. At a meeting of the Young China League to celebrate the inauguration of the new Republic in March 1912, James Ah Chuey said,

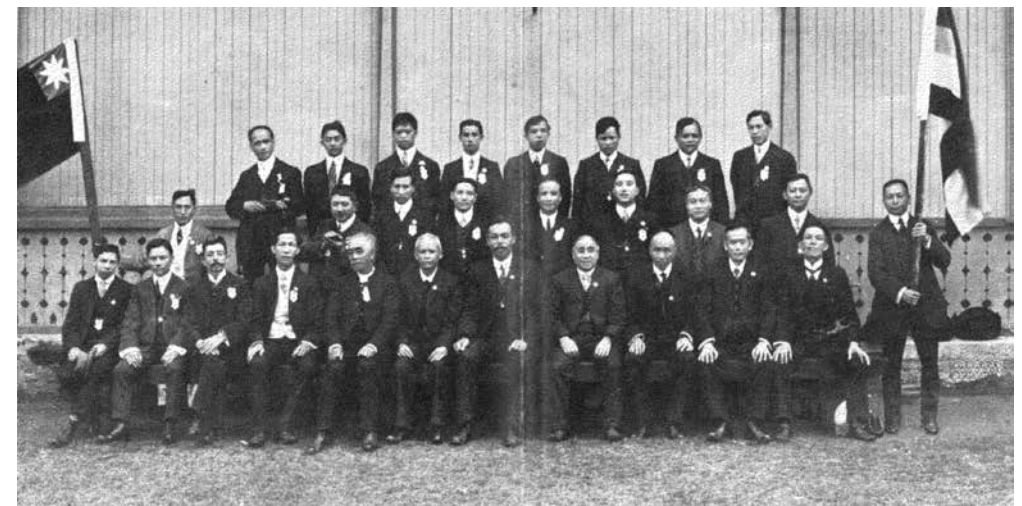
'It shall be a matter of satisfaction to all of us who have lived in Australia and prospered under the British flag to know that

the form of new government in China has been based on the Constitution of the United States, which was modelled on the democratic spirit of British institutions. In a great measure, therefore, the Constitution of New China will be on the lines of the Constitution of the Australian Commonwealth, which guarantees liberty to all, safety to life and property, and the fullest freedom to commerce and industry.



Personally signed letter of appreciations from Provisional President Sun, commending the Melbourne Young China League for its donations to the provisional government. By April 1912, the Melbourne fundraising bureau had remitted 3,100 pounds Sterling in donations.

至1912年四月，墨爾本籌餉局共募得3100英鎊，因而獲得孫中山總統頒發美利濱（墨爾本）少年中國會旌義狀，以表揚募款革命軍之功。



Sydney Chinese community's celebrations of the second anniversary of the Chinese Republic. Front row from left: fifth, Rev. John Young Wai; sixth, Yee Wing; seventh, George Bew. (Souvenir to commemorate the first anniversary of unity in the Chinese Republic, Sydney, 1913. Courtesy of National Library of Australia)

雪梨華裔慶祝中華民國成立兩週年，前排左五為周容威牧師，左六為余榮，左七為郭標。

In a show of solidarity with the defeated republicans, in 1914 the Melbourne Young China League officially changed its name to Kuo Min Tang. Unimpressed, the Australian government responded by refusing to extend the visa of a leading Chinese republican and journalist, Lew Goot-Chee. Also in 1914, under the influence of the Chinese consul-general who represented Yuen's government, the official newspaper of the Kuo Min Tang in Melbourne, *Chinese Times*, was closed by the Australian authorities. In the following year, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, again accepting the official views of the Chinese consul-general, described Chinese republicans and journalists of *Chinese Republic News* in Sydney as Chinese 'Fenians' and refused to extend the visa of two more Chinese republicans and journalists: Ng Hung-Pui (Wu Hong-Pei) and Chiu Kwok-Chun (Zhao Guo-Jun) (National Archives of Australia: A1, 1915/13159).



Front page with messages from Dr Sun to the *Chinese Republic News*, 28 July 1917.

《民國報》刊頭，28 July 1917.



Editors of *Chinese Republic News*: Chiu Kwok-Chun and Ng Hung-Pui.

《民國報》兩位編輯與記者：趙國俊與伍洪培。

At the farewell function for one of these Chinese journalists, several Chinese leaders conferred and secretly arranged to establish a political association to support Sun Yat-Sen's new Chinese Revolutionary Party which he had founded while in exile in Tokyo. However, because of concern about pressure from the Chinese consul-general, they avoided the name Kuo Min Tang, choosing instead non-political sounding names such as 'Guomin Yueshubaoshe' (Chinese Civil Reading Club) in Sydney and 'Zhonghua Gonghehui' (Chinese Civil Society) in Melbourne. For their English names, the Sydney Chinese republicans adopted 'Chinese Nationalist League', which was already used by American and Canadian Chinese, while the Melbourne Chinese republicans called themselves 'The Chinese United Association of Victoria'. Censorship during the World War I slowed the development of the League. Information about the revolutionary party was circulated by Chinese seamen who travelled the routes between Japan, Hong Kong, South Asia and Australasia.

In July of 1915, Peter Yee Wing was appointed the Australian delegate to the first convention of Kuo Min Tang. It was called a 'family reunion' and held in San Francisco at the same time as the Panama-Pacific International Exposition. Peter Yee Wing and his Sydney confreres were inspired to do the same, and a 'family reunion' of Chinese republicans in Australia was duly held in Sydney in 1916. From early 1916, Sydney members of the 'Chinese Nationalist League' were sending donations to Dr Sun in Tokyo for the revolutionary army. Donations from Australia, New Zealand and Fiji Island for that year amounted to 1,068 pounds. This was an impressive sum. In 1916, the average annual earnings of a male manufacturing worker were 131.4 pounds. For females it was just 50.2 pounds. (*Australian Historical Statistics*, 1987, pp. 154, 161)



Sydney Kuomintang 'family reunion' picnic, c. 1916.
「國民閱讀書報社」1916年舉辦懇親會。



Portrait of Yee Wing.
余榮先生像。

Life of Yee Wing by his grandson Tony Wing

It is thought that Yee Wing was born in Canton (Guangzhou) in 1862 or 1866. He arrived in Australia 1877 and worked in the Belmont/Newcastle area as a gardener. He arrived in Sydney in 1882 and was naturalised in New South Wales in 1883. In 1883 he was trading as a tea merchant and thereafter was involved in a number of businesses. It is thought that in the late 1880s he became involved in Tiy Sang, a fruit business at the Sydney markets. The business particularly traded in bananas. By 1893 Yee Wing was the Managing Director of Tiy Sang. This business was successful and eventually had investments in Coffs Harbour, Fiji and elsewhere in the Pacific Islands. In some of these activities he

was in partnership with Quong Tart. At the time of his marriage in 1906 to Susan Kezia Beck he still gave his occupation as tea merchant. There are suggestions that he disposed of his interests in Tiy Sang in the 1920s. Yee Wing was one of the founders of the ill-fated China-Australia Mail Steamship Line and was also involved in other businesses in Australia and China including Sincere, Wing On, Tung Wah Times and the Bank of Canton. It is suspected that in the 1930s Yee Wing's businesses, like many others at that time, faced difficult times although very little is known about this period. Late in his life he was involved the management of the Canton Cement Company.

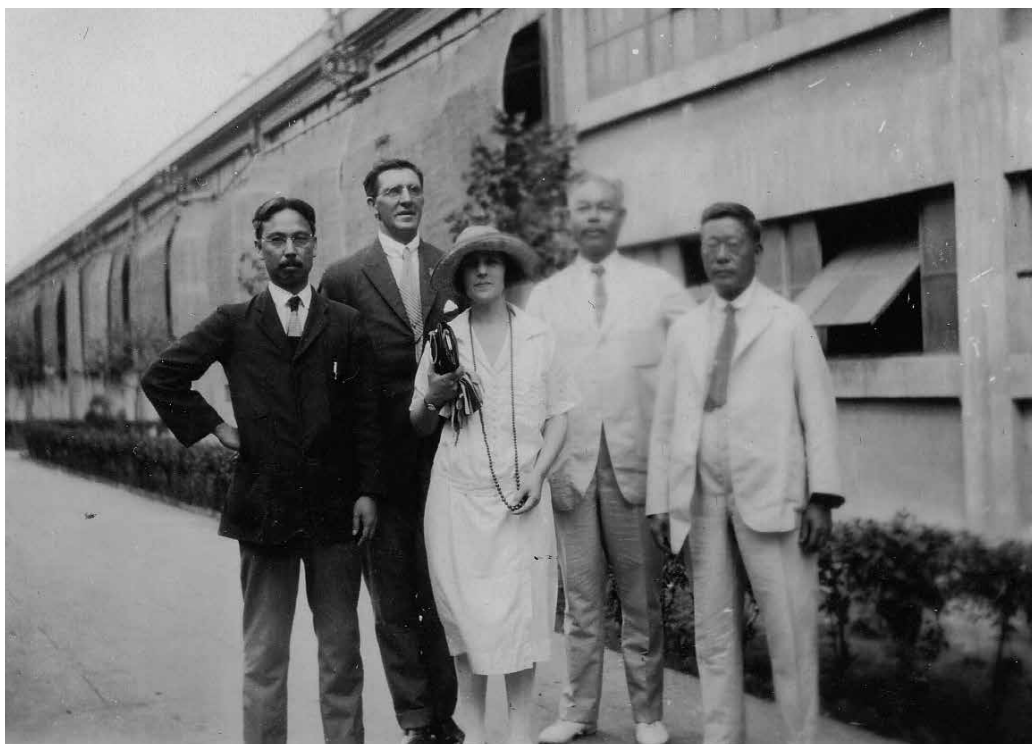
Concurrently with his business career he was very active in Chinese nationalist politics. He was treasurer of Sydney Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) from 1916 to 1918. He was President of Sydney KMT from 1919 to 1930. In the Great Depression, he returned to Canton to establish the Australasian KMT's Canton liaison office. He was also appointed as a member of Overseas Chinese Affair Council in 1931 when he was in Canton. He was an active fundraiser in the South Pacific for the nationalists in the war against the Japanese.

He and Susan had at least 12 children. Their marriage certificate describes Yee Wing as a widower. Little is known about the deceased wife, however it is known that Yee Wing had several children by an earlier marriage in China. Following Susan's death in March 1938 when they were on a ship going to New Zealand to visit their eldest child, Yee Wing appears to have sold off or closed those of his business activities that remained in Australia and distributed the assets amongst his surviving Australian children. He returned to China soon after. Alas as part of this rearranging of his life he burnt many photographs and family records. In China he married again and had a son and a daughter. It appears Yee Wing was caught in Hong Kong when the Japanese invaded that colony but was able to make his way to his home village where it is believed he died sometime in 1942. It is understood that it was at least a year before his children in Australia received confirmation

of his death. Seven children – 3 girls and 4 boys – were alive at the time of his death although all are now dead. All of his surviving sons served in the Second World War, one becoming a Prisoner of War in Changi. Yee Wing and Susan had 9 grand children. Details of Yee Wing's children born in China are not as clear. One of his sons moved to the United States before the Second World War or the Chinese Revolution and had children there. The children from his last marriage remained in China. One of his sons by his first marriage moved to the United States in 1971 where one of his sons already resided.

After Yuen Shih-Kai's death in June 1916 and the collapse of his attempt to claim the monarchy for himself, the League changed its Chinese name to Kuo Min Tang, and George Bew was elected president. Immediately, KMT representatives travelled to Queensland to set up new branches. George Bew and his vice president, Samuel Wong (Huang Lai-Wang), travelled extensively, visiting Chinese communities in all parts of Australia, Fiji and Tahiti to recruit new members and to extend the party organisation. In the process, the Sydney branch became the KMT's leading Australasian office. At this time, membership of the Sydney Chinese Nationalist League had increased to 295, and the League moved to a new building at 211 Thomas Street, next to the store of Tiy Sang Co. whose proprietors were Yee Wing and Samuel Wong.

Samuel Wong was a former resident of Melbourne. His personal connections with Melbourne Christian republicans such as Harry Louey Pang enhanced the relationship between the Sydney and Melbourne branches. At this time, the Melbourne branch of the KMT was still not formally known by that name. At the urging of George Bew and Samuel Wong and with their cooperation, it was renamed and reorganised as the Melbourne branch of the KMT with Louey Pang as president.



Sydney Kuomintang president George Bew (second from right) and Melbourne Kuomintang president Harry Louey Pang (first from right). (Private collections: Mrs. Irene Maris Mortensen)

中國國民黨雪梨分部部長郭標（左二）與美利濱分部部長雷鵬（右一）合影。（Collections: Mrs. Irene Maris Mortensen）

Life of Harry Louey Pang

Harry Louey Pang was born in 1872 in Taishan district, in the Province of Guangdong, China. He came to Australia in 1888, and as secretary of the Chinese Furniture Employees' Union in the early 1900s, led the struggle against the introduction of Chinese restriction provisions of the Factories and Shops Acts. Later he turned to business and in 1919 established Louey Pang and Co. in Little Bourke Street, trading in fruit retailing, and importing and exporting. The business prospered over the following decades.

Louey Pang became a member of the Melbourne branch of the Kuomintang in 1916, and later was elected its chairman. He was a close friend of George Bew and Samuel Wong. Because of this friendship, he was able to help enhance the cooperation between the two branches, and so increased the Kuomintang's influence in Australia. With the ending of WWI, together with other Chinese Australian leaders Louey Pang worked hard to try to persuade the Australian government to reduce some of the more draconian restrictions imposed on Chinese Australians, with some minor successes. As branch chairman he had an instrumental role in the decision by the branch to establish its own premises. This came to fruition in December 1921 when the Melbourne branch's present premises was purchased. Louey Pang was also an active member of the Chinese Church of Christ in Queensbury Street, Carlton. In all respects he was an important and respected leader of the Chinese-Australian community.

By the end of 1916 there were thirteen Australasian KMT branches: Sydney, Melbourne, Atherton, Ayr, Bowen, Mackay, Rockhampton, Newcastle, Brisbane, Townsville, Wellington (New Zealand), Tahiti and Fiji. In 1917 the Fiji branch had 246 registered members. Each member had to submit their membership application with referees and a membership fee of 3 shillings. Although detailed membership records have not survived, membership of the Australasian KMT's branches seem to follow the social networks of its leading members, such as owners of banana farms and businesses in Queensland and Fiji. In the last few years of the 1910s the Australasian KMT's network extended to Fiji, New Zealand, Tahiti and other Pacific Islands, where it became the semi-official Chinese national agency. Australia's immigration restriction, however, caused many difficulties for the leadership of the Chinese community.

The success of the early development of KMT in Australasia had much to do with the way it was reshaping the community's social networks and constructing a modern Chinese identity. Unlike more



Group portrait of founder of Wing Sang & Co Ltd: L-R: Mark Joe, George Bew, Ma Ying Piu, Choy Hing. Wing Sang and Co. was found in 1890. Its founders became longstanding major contributors of fund to Sun's revolutionary uprisings. Wing Sang and Co. was also an important corporate player in the later establishment of Kuomintang in Australasia in the first half of 20th century. (City of Sydney Archives: SRC19038)

永生果欄創辦人合影，左起馬祖容、郭標、馬應彪和蔡興。永生果欄的經營者長期支持孫中山革命與國民政府，也是雪梨國民黨和總支部的重要支持者。

traditional Chinese community organisations, KMT was open to all people of Chinese heritage, without the usual restricted membership requirements of clan, religion, occupation, native-place, or sworn-brotherhood affiliations. Exceptionally, there was also no gender exclusion. Under the leadership of its first president, George Bew, KMT extended its social networks, cooperating with other Chinese organisations, such as the Chinese Masonic Society and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. There was a good deal of overlap of membership with them, and also with the Chinese Christian churches and kinship associations. The Chinese Masonic Society, which had its own political aims, changed its name in order to highlight its political aspirations and so keep its membership interested. The major differences amongst the Australasia KMT, the Chinese Masonic Society and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce were over political economy. The KMT supported government led national economic development, whereas the Chinese Chamber of Commerce supported trade led economic development. The Chinese Masonic Society held a more traditional, brotherhood view of wealth sharing and was otherwise uninterested in economic policy and philosophy.

Building the Chinese Nationalist Party in Australasia, 1917–1921

After Yuen Shih-Kai's death, central political authority in China disintegrated. In 1916 Sun Yat-Sen was able to return to China, establishing himself in the south. In 1917 George Bew returned to China as manager of the new Wing On Department Store in Shanghai. There he established personal relationships with Tse-Ven Soong, Sun's brother-in-law. Their Christian faith had brought them together. After 1918 when Sun moved to Shanghai, he also became a friend of George Bew. Bew's close relationship with Sun and other nationalist political leaders ensured that the Australasia KMT had good connections to Sun and his circle.

After 1918 the leadership of the Sydney KMT transferred to Yee Wing and Samuel Wong who were also business partners of Tiy Sang Co. Yee Wing had been KMT treasurer when George Bew was president. Yee Wing attended the 1915 KMT convention in San Francisco, and Samuel Wong attended a later convention in New York in 1917. Both were inspired to attempt to expand the Australasian KMT and to work towards removing Australia's immigration restrictions against the Chinese. In 1918 Yee Wing was a member of a delegation to the Minister for Home and Territories, Patrick Glynn, to seek a relaxation of restrictions against the Chinese. The delegation comprised himself, representing Sydney Chinese, Cheok Hong Cheong representing the Melbourne Chinese, together with Dr William Maloney MHR (a good friend of Harry Louey Pang in Melbourne), and Senator Thomas Bakhap. That same year, claiming that it was his trip in New York that inspired him to establish a world-class restaurant in Australia, Samuel Wong opened the Peking café in Sydney, supported by Melbourne Chinese shareholders. The Peking café was noted for its modern western-style service, including female waitresses. In the following years it became an important public place for KMT social gatherings and for welcome banquets for visiting Chinese officials.



George Bew in Shanghai: This photograph was taken in 1921; of a celebratory party held at George Bew's Shanghai home, when Dr Sun Yat-Sen assumed the post of President pro temp et extraordinaire in Guangzhou as head of the self-proclaimed, but widely respected, Chinese Nationalist Government.

(Courtesy of National Dr. Sun Yat Sen Memorial Hall, Taipei)

1921年孫中山就任非常大總統時，前任雪梨部長郭標在其上海住所舉行慶祝大會。

雪梨救濟局
 黃柱先生暨 諸執事先生均鑒 昨承電滙永安轉
 來 貴局存款英金貳仟鎊已照水利隨經電復料經
 均覽茲由財政部照給收據並請為 查收啟
 諸先生救國有心接濟無懈至為感佩茲者惠州
 已復廣州將下堪慰 熱誠第餉需甚急仍懇
 源源續濟俾師行無阻是所至禱此復并頌
 均安
 孫文
 九年十月廿五日

Letter from Dr Sun to James Ah Chuey to confirm he received donations of Sydney Republicans by Wing On and Co., 1920.

1920年孫中山先生回函黃柱，經永安公司轉匯的籌款已經收到。



Photos of Pekin Café (De Villentroy Family papers 1886–1986, Collection of State Library of NSW. Courtesy of Barbara Nichol)

雪梨北京樓。

In late 1919, Dr Sun designated that the KMT's official English name was to be the Chinese Nationalist Party. In April 1920 the Sydney KMT organised the first national convention of representatives from each Australian branch at the Sydney Trade Hall. Senator Thomas Bakhap and Dr Richard Arthur MLA attended the opening banquet at Peking Cafe. Dr Arthur delivered a speech titled 'The democratic movement in China'. The convention's aim was to show their support for Sun and to demonstrate the KMT's ability to operate as a western political party. This convention was considered successful as the Sydney KMT was able to mobilise and unite leading members of the Chinese community. It also attracted Australian journalists who reported the event. William Linson Lee said of its purpose,

'The democracy suited to one country might not suit another. The Chinese at the present time wanted democracy on moderate lines. She was not fighting a socialistic war, but was fighting for freedom from a militaristic oppression.'



In 1920, thirty representatives of Kuomintang branches across Australasia attending the first national convention of the Kuomintang assembled in front of Sydney Kuomintang office at 211 Thomas Street, Sydney. Standing from left second is William Liu, fourth is Peter Hong Nam, sixth is Mar Sha-poi, tenth is Chong Shao-fong, eleventh is Dong Zhi. Sitting from left: fourth is Wong Yung-kung, fifth is Yee Wing.

1919年中華革命黨正式改組為中國國民黨後，1920年雪梨國 民黨總支部召開懇親會，各地代表於舊支部辦公室前攝影留念。站立者左二為劉光福，左四伍鴻南，左六馬樹培，左十張紹峰，左十一董直，前坐者左四黃右公，左五余榮。

Immediately after the convention, on April 20th, the Sydney KMT held a public meeting at the Protestant Hall to challenge the Chinese consul-general's order which required all Chinese in Australia to register at the Chinese consulate in Melbourne. The Sydney KMT formally rejected the official representative role of the Chinese consulate that represented the militarist government of Beijing. Samuel Wong explained the reason thus:



Representatives gathered for the convention dinner at Peking Café in Sydney, 1920.

1920年中國國民黨雪梨支部懇親會於北京樓公議各代表。

'We are domiciled here, and are living in peace and happiness under the laws of the Commonwealth, and it is our duty to remain loyal to the Commonwealth and abide by its laws ... we see no reason why the proposal should come before us at a time when an unconstitutional government is in power.'

In the months following the convention and protest meeting, the Party discussed its structure and membership at some length. It was decided to establish a permanent home for the Party in the Australasian region. Sydney was clearly the natural choice. Subsequently, 10,997 pounds were raised by donations from members to purchase and build a headquarters at 75 Ultimo Road, Haymarket, on the corner of Belmore market. It would function as the headquarters of both the Sydney and the Australasian branch. Membership of the Sydney



1921 Melbourne KMT members' picnic.
美利濱分部黨員郊遊活動。



Membership certificate of one female KMT members.
一名墨爾本女性黨員黨證。

branch was 442 in 1920 and 566 in 1921. Membership was also growing in other branches, such as the Rabaul branch in Papua New Guinea which reported 603 members in 1920, and 761 in 1921. With the wind in its sails, the KMT continued to actively build its membership. In the first half of 1921 branches were opened in Perth and Adelaide. As well, the Australasian KMT obtained Dr Sun's approval to exempt female members from the membership fee, and to open committee membership to them. In this regard the Australasian KMT was well in advance of the Chinese KMT. It was not until 1924 that the Central Committee of the KMT in China established its women's commission to advocate equality and rights for Chinese women in education, and social and political life.



An example of membership certificate, 1920s.
1920s 黨證。

It seems that the Australasian KMT also opened its membership to non-Chinese. A photograph of delegates attending a meeting of the KMT in Perth in 1923 shows two women of clearly European appearance amongst the delegates. Unfortunately they are not identified. It is also not clear whether or not this move had the approval of the Party in China. Sun Yat-Sen's speech, 'The Three Principles of the People' ('Sanmin zhuyi'), delivered on 6 March 1921, two months before he became Provisional President of the Republic of China, became the central political ideology of the Party. Sydney and Melbourne KMT members organised regular street meetings to promote it. In this and other ways the Sydney and the Melbourne branches of the KMT had become the model for Chinese participation in modern urban democratic politics.

In 1921 Samuel Wong as the vice-president went to China to meet Dr Sun and to invite him to attend to the opening of the new KMT building in Sydney. Unable to leave Canton where his hold on control was limited,



Committee members of Kuomintang Perth branch in 1923.
西澳伯斯黨部成員合影。

Dr Sun appointed Chan On-Yán as his personal representative to Australia. Chan's visit was to give considerable impetus to KMT's development in Australasia.

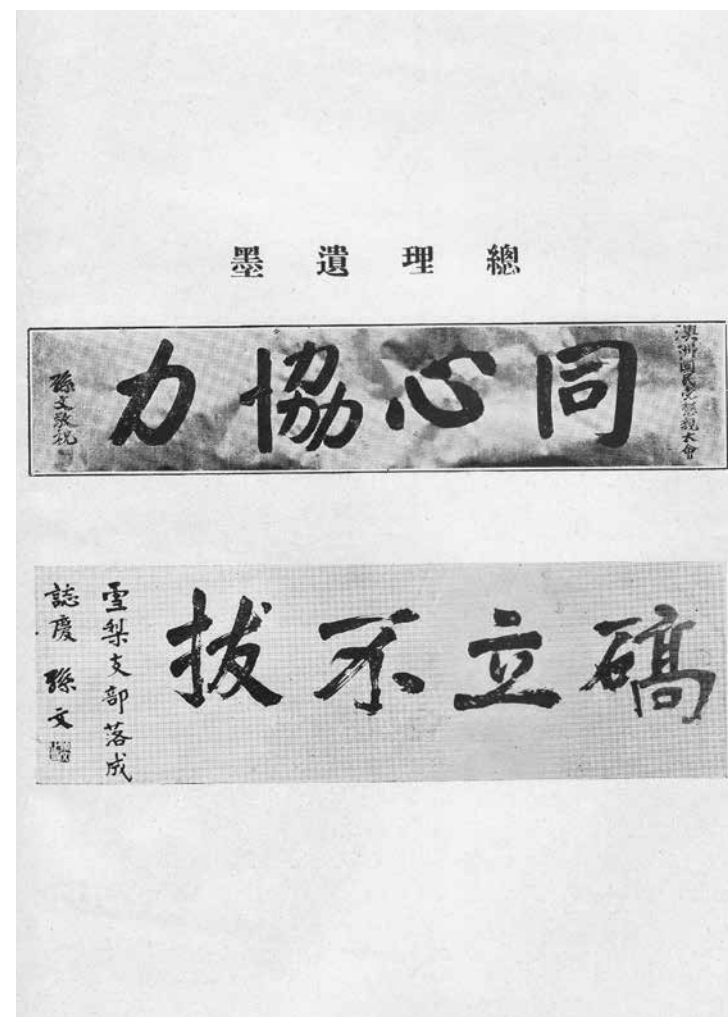
The first task of Chan's visit was the launch of the premises of the Sydney and Melbourne branches. In December 1921, Melbourne KMT opened its building in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne. Chan On-Yán officiated at the opening, representing Dr Sun Yat-Sen. Samuel Wong attended as Sydney's representative. Australian public figures from politics, media and the church attended the convention dinner. The Melbourne KMT was proud of the success of the occasion which had greatly enhanced the reputation of the Chinese community in Melbourne. In April 1922, Chan launched the new Sydney KMT building in Haymarket which had become the centre of social and cultural activities for the Sydney

Chinese community: the place to hold dances, dinners, social gatherings and the screening of Chinese movies. Other Australasian KMT branches in Fiji, Tahiti and New Zealand also established their own premises, buying or renting according to their budget. Throughout the twentieth century, branches of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia were a major focus for Chinese communities. The Sydney headquarters branch especially played a key role in maintaining community solidarity during



Portrait of Chan On-Yan.
陳安仁先生。

the years of the Chinese National Defence War against Japan, which merged into the Pacific War after Pearl Harbour. Chan On-Yan said that, 'The goals of KMT's convention are to refine revolutionary spirit and harmony among members. It also calls for solidity



Message of congratulations from Dr Sun to the first national convention of Australasian KMT in 1920 and launch of new premises of Sydney KMT, 1922.

澳洲中國國民黨首次舉辦全澳洲懇親會與黨部落成時，孫中山先生誌慶墨寶。

孫大總統訓詞

維中華民國十一年正月一日中國國民黨澳洲美利濱分黨所落成并開懇親大會勉者請以一言為訓文曰

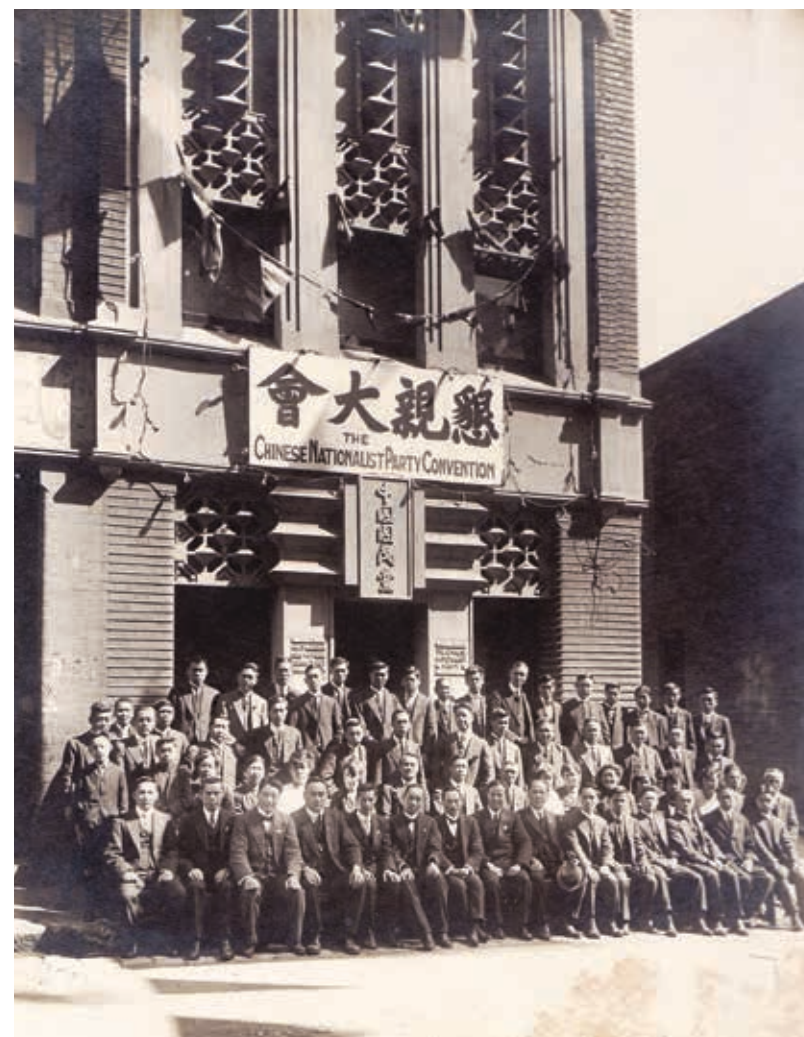
溯自革命成功吾黨應時勢之要求為遠大之組織將與中華民國永保無疆之福已願圖基初建付託非人東逆叛國帝制自為以其所以禍國者禍春實於是陰謀百出賊我元良懷我丕基利誘我弱者感迫我健兒於是育於丑之役又懲前之失改造斯堂海內之士願引為難然海外同志努力堅持未聞有因失敗而自餒者討袁之役美洲一隅集款多至百萬其他各埠莫不踴躍輸將身先恐後志氣之偉捷乎奮呼願以身殉身集軍命軍旗下將執奔營間粵閩以血肉之軀共逆叔相搏前仆後繼不可舉舉內地人士聞之奮發其鼓舞聲倫有如是者澳洲僻處海隅人倫是邦者為數亞於南洋群島然勤慎習勞苦愛國愛黨出子至誠美利濱分黨成立後同志益自策勵協力前進建堂守節大觀諸同志任事之志且勇矣志之遠且大方與正未艾也茲者大造黨綱設法法紀舉國為導其可錄日吾海外同志同願宗仰感頌在首其真誠已之與師復法再進政府辱承國會推戴職居元首當本公堂為國犧牲之志砥柱大憲親親治使艱難時造之民而由之而手創由之而中興嗟我同志責任在躬躬能勞賢雖鼓雖歎毋忘母荒念之我慎履從于時保之以永終春

孫文

Message of congratulations from Dr Sun to the opening ceremony of the Kuo Min Tang Society of Melbourne building at 109 Little Bourke Street in 1921. 1921年墨爾本國民黨黨所落成時，孫中山先生誌慶墨寶。

of members to approach a new China sustained by civil and educated citizen.'

Chan was an unusually well-learned and capable individual. He visited Australia and the Pacific Islands from late 1921 to 1923, and helped build membership, particularly in West Australia, New Zealand, Tahiti and Papua New Guinea. As Sun's personal representative, he aroused considerable interest from the Australian mainstream community, as well as strong support from the Chinese community. He organised vernacular language dramas, gave public speeches and promoted popular literature. He also published many articles and books promoting the political ideology of Sun Yat-Sen to the Chinese in Australia, as well as giving interviews to major English-language newspapers to explain Sun's vision of a modern China. However, Chan's most important task was to raise money for Sun's causes in China, such as establishing an air force to assist in defeating



Outdoor photograph of Kuomintang delegates gathered for the opening ceremony of the Kuo Min Tang Society of Melbourne building at 109 Little Bourke Street in 1921.

1921年墨爾本黨所落成黨員與來賓合影。

Chen Jiong-Ming's rebel army, supporting workers' strikes against imperialism, and establishing local hospitals and primary schools.

The success of the Australian KMT was built on the cooperative relations it had with other Chinese associations and the friendly

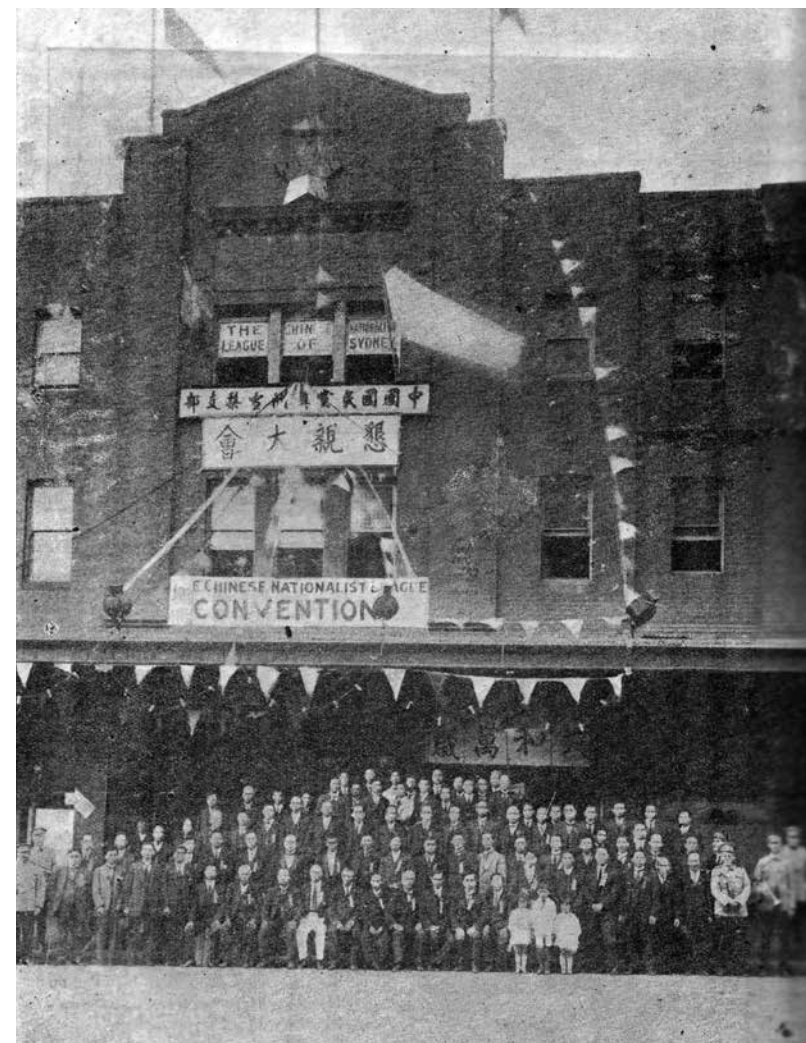
relations among leading members of these associations, such as Yee Wing (President Sydney KMT), Samuel Wong (Vice-president of Australian KMT), James Ah Chuey (President of Chinese Masonic Society) and William Yinson Lee (vice-president of Chinese Masonic Society and secretary of Australian KMT and Chinese Chamber of Commerce). Furthermore, many of these KMT leaders also had established friendships and connections with Australians who sympathised not only with Chinese Australians' unfair social treatment but also with their republican aspirations for modern China.

In August 1921 the Sydney KMT established its legal identity by registering as an association under the Companies Act in New South Wales. Its registered title was Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia. According to the memorandum and articles of association



Indoor photograph of KMT delegates gathered for the opening ceremony of the Kuo Min Tang Society of Melbourne building at 109 Little Bourke Street in 1921.

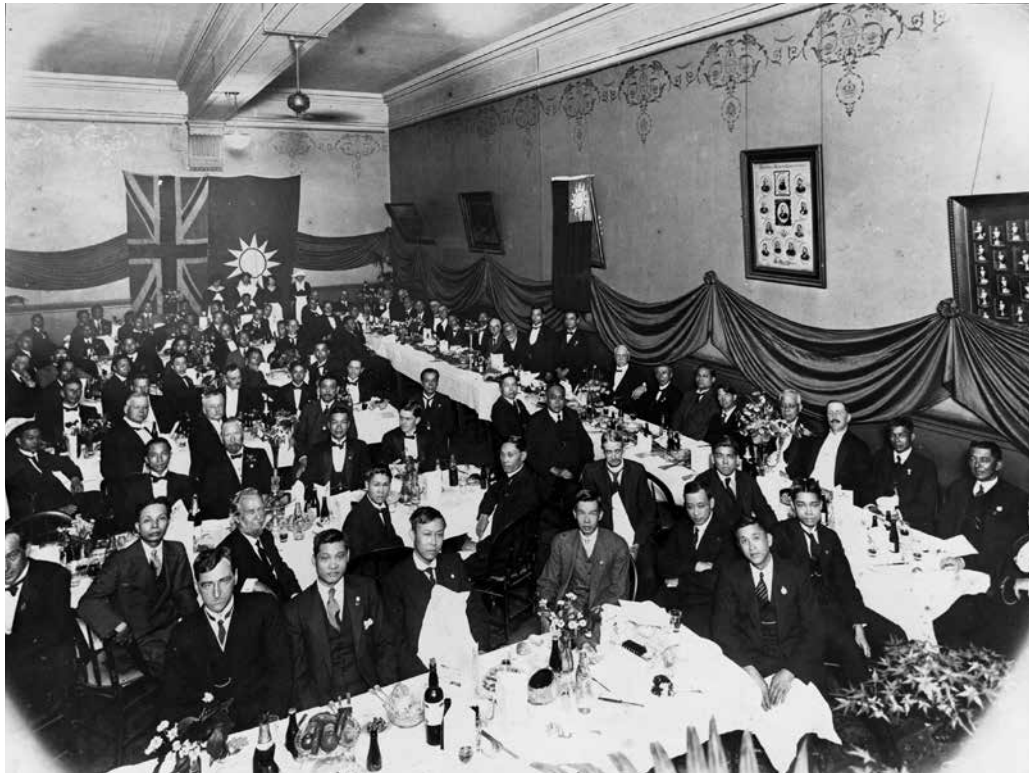
1921年墨爾本黨所落成各代表合影。



1920 National convention of KMT in Sydney, at Thomas Street, Haymarket. 1920年雪梨舉辦懇親會。

its principal objects were: (1) To encourage the Chinese residents of Australasia to take a greater interest in the political economy of their native country and to educate them to appreciate the advantages to be obtained from a properly constituted democratic form of government. (2) To instil into such residents an appreciation of the desirability of

the maintenance of a friendly relationship between the great Powers. (3) By the establishment of libraries and reading circles and formation of literary and debating clubs among such residents to help them to obtain a better knowledge of the world's affairs, and a more ready access to desirable Chinese literature and journals. (4) To help the physical development of such residents by establishing gymnasiums and encouraging other forms of physical exercise. (5) To afford facilities for social intercourse and general recreation.



Above Melbourne KMT branch members and friends gathered for the official dinner of the convention held to celebrate the opening of the Kuomintang building. Location of this dinner appears to be the local Masonic Hall, 1921. 1921年底國民黨美利濱分部舉辦懇親大會設宴於西人義興會所。

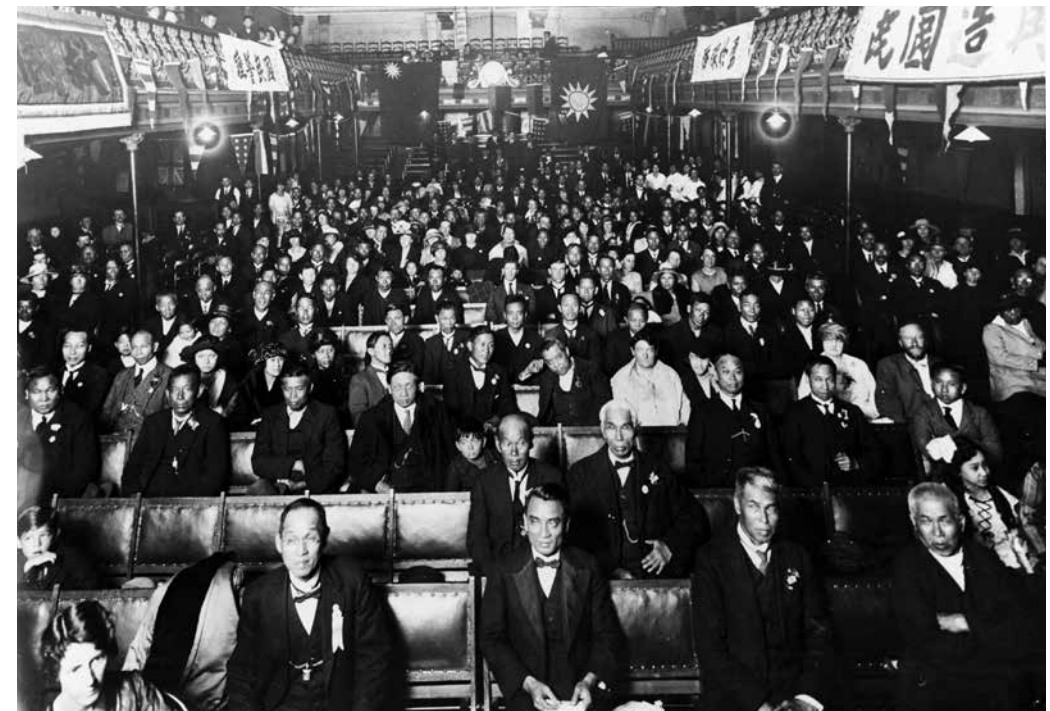
Right Cantonese Opera by Melbourne KMT members in December 1921 at Temperance Hall to welcome Chan On-Yan and for donation to the Canton Red cross Society.

1921年底墨爾本黨所落成暨歡迎陳安仁，並於戒酒會館舉辦粵劇表演籌款勸募給廣東紅十字會。



Above Melbourne KMT branch committee members and staff gathered for photography with Chan On-Yan, 1923.

1923年美利濱分部職員與陳安仁合影。





Melbourne KMT branch members gathered for the annual picnic at South Morang.

墨爾本國民黨懇親會後於1922年舉辦之戶外遊藝會。



Adelaide KMT branch members, staff and representatives of other branches gathered for photography on the day of launch in 1921.

1921年阿得萊德分部落成，黨員、職員以及其他分部代表合影。



Perth KMT branch members and friends gathered for official dinner to celebrate the opening of the branch in 1921.

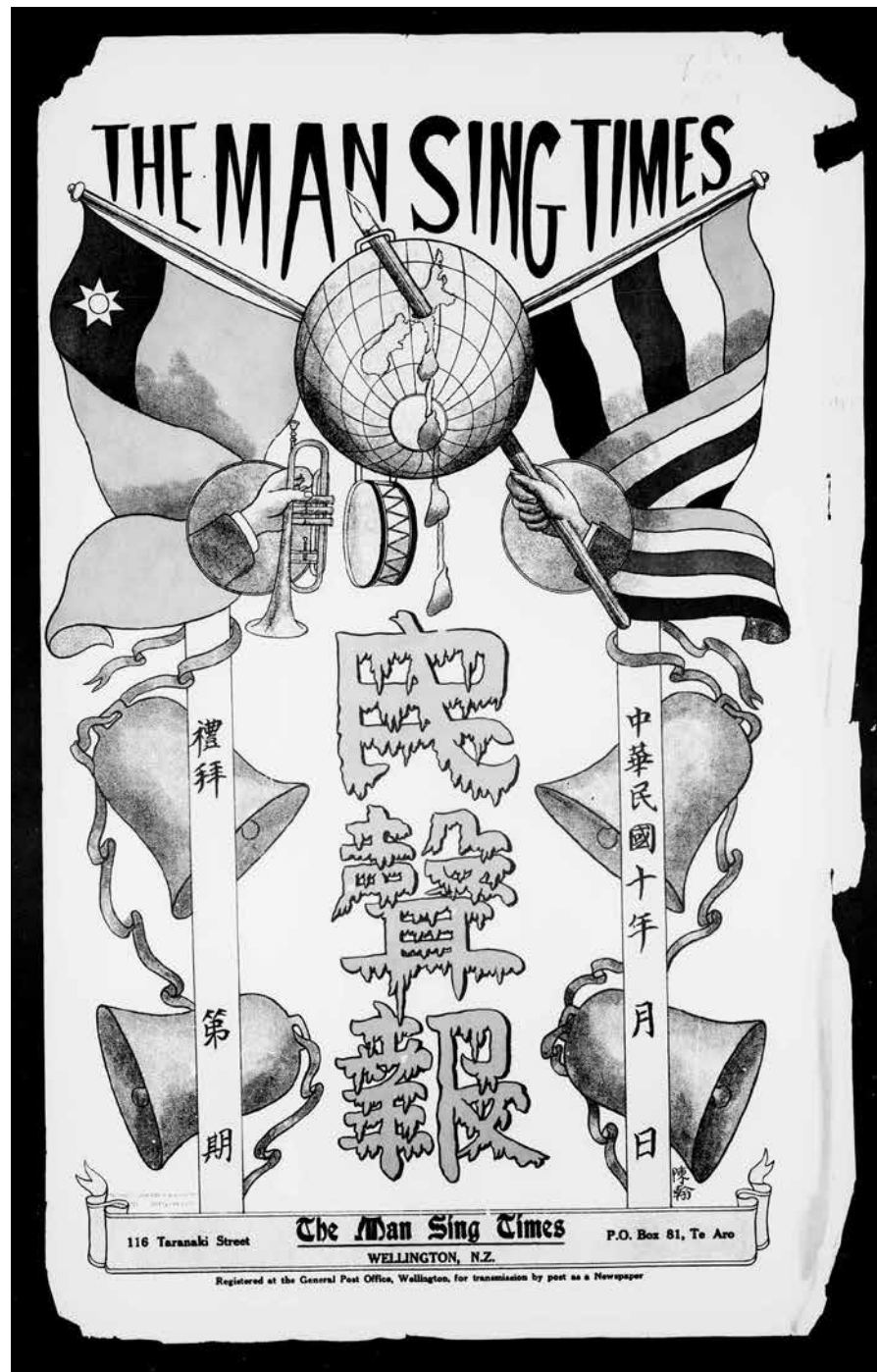
1921年西澳普扶（伯斯）中國國民黨開幕茶會攝影紀念。



Perth KMT branch members and friends gathered for the annual picnic in 1922.
1922年西澳普扶（伯斯）中國國民黨舉辦戶外郊遊攝影紀念。



Wellington KMT branch members and staff, 1921.
1921年紐西蘭威靈頓分部黨員合影。



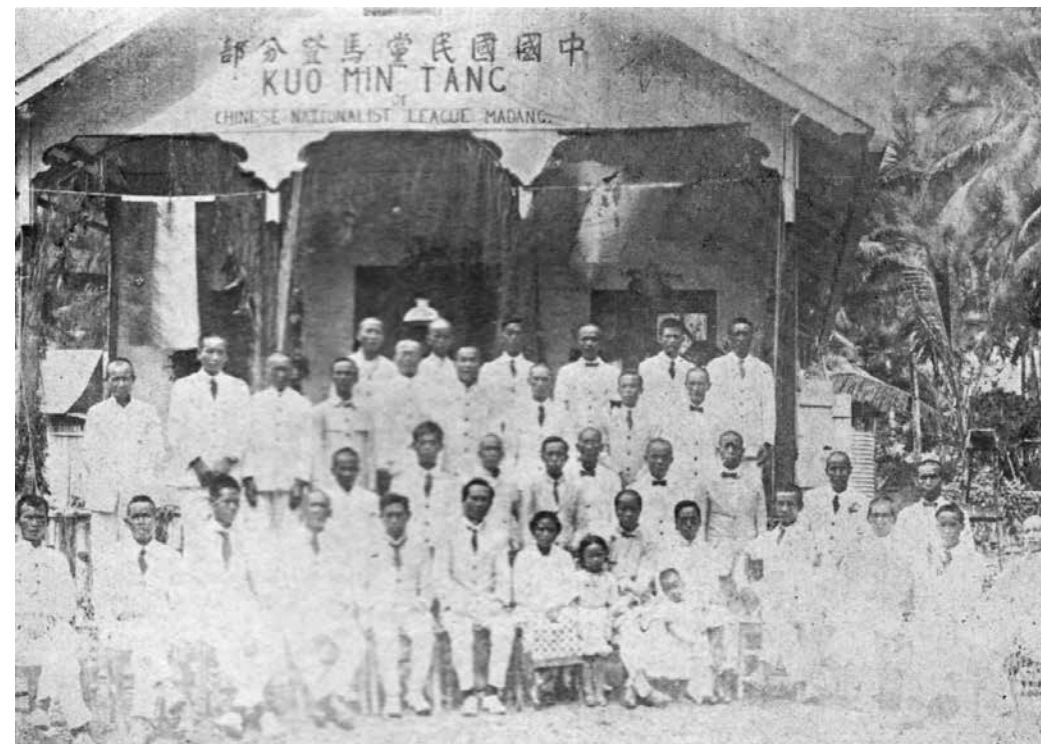
Front page of the *Man Sing Times*, published by the Wellington KMT branch in 1921.

紐西蘭威靈頓《民聲報》發刊，1921年。



Chan On-Yan and members of the Rabaul united society in 1923 at New Guinea. From right the sixth in the front is Chan.

1923年中央特派員陳安仁訪問亞包與互助聯合社成員團體合照，背影為亞包互助聯合社社址前。前排坐者右六為陳安仁。



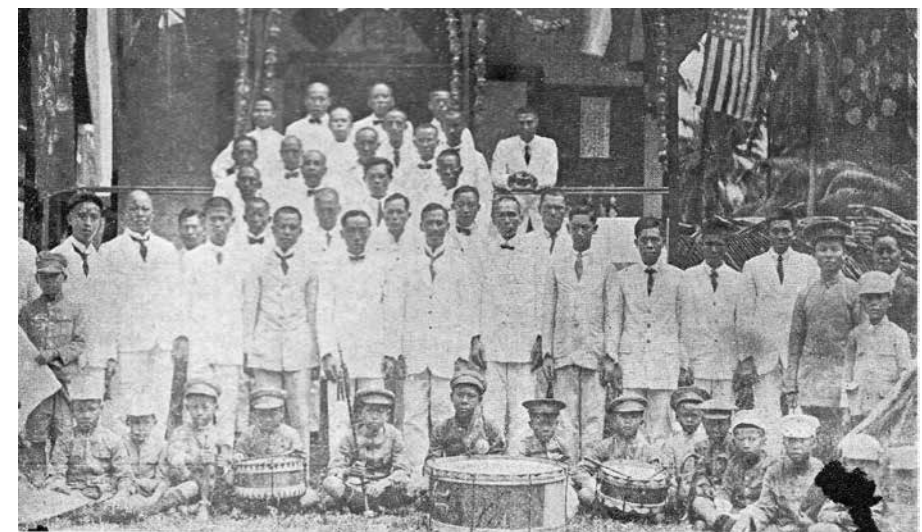
Members of the Madang branch (New Guinea), 1923.

馬登分部黨員合影。



Members of the Kavieng branch (New Guinea), 1923.

加柄分部1923年舉辦懇親會合影。



Members of the Kokopo branch (New Guinea), 1923.

谷架坡分部黨員合影。

Competition and Challenges,

1923–1928

Chinese Australians were not all of one mind with regard to the progress of Chinese nationalism, particularly after Sun Yat-Sen sought help from the new Soviet Union in the early 1920s, and adopted an anti-imperialist stance. This also increased tension with the Australian federal government which was strongly anti-Bolshevik and, until 1928, treated Chinese nationalists as supporters of sedition and rebellion. Many visa applications from Chinese journalists and political activists were refused. Although the Australian Chinese were divided in their response, they did not develop distinct ideological positions. The continuing impact of the immigration restrictions against them as well as the assimilation of some of its members into the mainstream English society were reducing the community's numbers, and some began to look to a revival of Confucianism and Chinese traditions as a means of maintaining their group identity. This tended to undermine the KMT's revolutionary rhetoric.

The growing membership of the Australian KMT led to competition with other Chinese organisations, particularly the Chinese Masonic Society. Following the lead of the Australasian KMT, in the late 1910s and early 1920s the Chinese Masonic Society tried to change its form from that of a secret brotherhood to a more modern membership-based society. In 1921 the Chinese Masonic Society also became a registered company under the NSW Company Act,

and started to publish its own newspaper to promote its political views and its claim to community leadership. Relations among the leading members of the two organisations became strained, exacerbated by differing responses to developments in China. The appearance of community harmony, always valued amongst Chinese, was at times difficult to maintain. Before the launch of the new Australasian KMT building in May 1921, a big banquet was held at the Chinese Masonic Hall in Sydney, hosted jointly by the Chinese Masonic Society and the Sydney KMT to welcome Samuel Wong who had returned from meeting Sun Yat-Sen in China. But just a few days later a member of the Australasian KMT was attacked by members of the Chinese Masonic Society while making a public speech in Sydney's Chinatown about the prohibition of gambling. The assault was led by no less a personage than the junior president of the Society. In point of fact the speech was a rather provocative act on the part of that unfortunate KMT member. Notwithstanding its modern image, the Chinese Masonic Society still retained many aspects of its secret brotherhood persona as the Triad Society, which ran the protection racket for, amongst other things, the numerous Chinatown gambling dens. The Australian KMT responded by prohibiting dual membership with the Chinese Masonic Society. The following year, in August, the *Chinese Times* transferred from Melbourne to Sydney to become the official publication of the Australasian KMT.

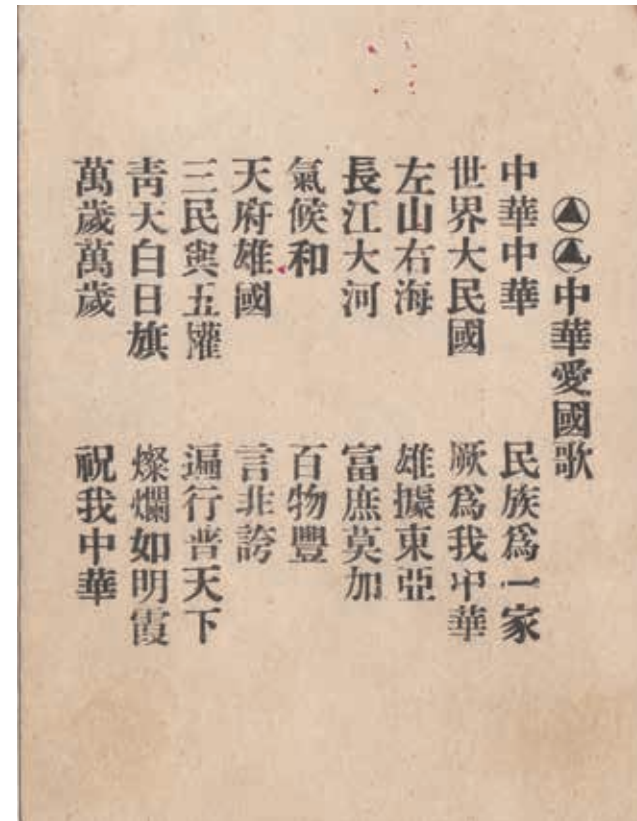
During 1922 there were constant battles amongst the newspapers run by the KMT, the Chinese Masonic Society and the NSW Chinese Chamber of Commerce. Matters in dispute included the collapse of the Australia-China shipping line, reform of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, anti-imperialism, workers' and seamen's strikes and, most of all, Dr Sun's alliance with the Soviet Union to aid his struggle against the warlords of the northern Beijing-based government. When, in November 1920, Dr Sun returned to Canton to establish the Provisional National Government, it was with the support of Chen Jiong-Ming's army which then controlled that major city. However



Portrait of Samuel Wong.
黃來旺先生。

Chen was a leading member of the Chinese Masonic Society's Chinese parent organisation and was attracted by the campaign for a federalist government, promoted by the Beijing government. This, in June 1922, brought about the end of his alliance with Sun who believed that national development for China was only feasible with a strong centralist government. The political developments in Canton in 1922 and 1923 revealed the weakness of Sun's campaign against militarism. In 1923 Sun's entente with Soviet and Chinese Communists represented just one more twist to his many-layered strategy to reunite China under his leadership.

Nevertheless, this policy of seeking support from the revolutionary Bolshevik government of the Soviet Union and cooperating with the Chinese communist party caused deep divisions in the Chinese com-



Lyrics of the patriotic song which was the official song of KMT before the Nationalist government promulgated the National anthem in 1929.

愛國歌歌詞，1929年國民政府頒訂國歌之前，此歌曲為國民黨官方歌曲，在許多正式聚會前黨員都會集體合唱此曲。

munity. The alliance between the KMT and Soviet Union encouraged some individual communists to join the KMT and attempt to instil communist ideology and party discipline. However, these covert communist activities within the KMT soon attracted opposition from other prominent KMT members, with divisions appearing between left- and right-wing leaders. Australian authorities regarded the *Chinese Times* and the *Chinese World News* as extremely dangerous because they supported Sun Yat-Sen's alliance with Russia, and later with Germany. Australian authorities were also worried that such revolutionary sympathies could extend to attacks on White Australia. Such a concern, in fact, may have had some basis. During the interwar period, many Chinese Australians did hope that the political transformation of China would advance the equal treatment of Chinese in Australia and overseas.

In their efforts to gain better acceptance, leading members of the Australian KMT wrote to local English newspapers to explain that Dr Sun was not a Bolshevik. The *Chinese Times* attempted to highlight the KMT's anti-militarism rather than its alliance with the Soviet Union. But in China, Sun was in fact restructuring the KMT as a Leninist Party with his plan for a three-stage revolution: military government, political tutelage and constitutional democracy, with 'party-rule' in the period of political tutelage. In 1924 the first party congress of the Chinese KMT was held in Canton with 190 members from 28 provinces and 29 overseas regions. Wong Yung-Kung from Melbourne was the Australasian delegate. The congress adopted Sun's Three Principles of the People: nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood.



Portrait of Wong Yung Kung.
黃右公先生。

Wong presented a report to the congress on the state of the Australasian KMT. Although Wong claimed that the registered membership of the Australasian KMT had reached 6,289 in 1924, he did not report the decline of membership when the Party introduced the ban on dual membership with other organisations. That the *Chinese Times* had 3,500 shareholders in 1923 gives a more accurate view of the KMT's Australasian memberships. The *Chinese World News* had nearly 2,000 share holders. The congress officially appointed the Sydney KMT as the branch headquarters branch for the Australasian region, with five lesser branches in Melbourne, Tahiti, Perth, Rabaul, and Auckland, and twenty-two sub-branches in other locations. There were also two official newspapers, five Chinese schools and four liaison centres. Since then and over the years, because of its pre-eminent position in the KMT organisation in Australia and the South Pacific, the Sydney branch has come to be identified as the headquarters of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia, and has collected and preserved a large collection of records, documents, publications, photographs and artefacts of historical significance, in its office. These have major historic significance for the Chinese Australian community and for the broader Australian community as a whole.



Auckland KMT branch members, friends and family.
紐西蘭屋倫分部黨員合影。



Broome KMT branch members, friends and members, 1924.
西澳Broome分部黨員於1924年合影。

The 1924 party congress asked its overseas branches to hold a regional convention every two years. The first Australasian convention was held in late 1925. It restructured the regional party into several committees elected by members and strengthened connections between branches in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. This first convention also held a memorial ceremony for Dr Sun who had died in March that year, during which Dr Sun was recognised as the Father of the modern Chinese nation and henceforth the symbolic leader of the Australasian KMT. To protect the communities in Australasia and to keep them connected with their hometowns, the first convention also decided to establish a liaison office at Canton, and to purchase a building for temporary accommodation of returning members. And reflecting the importance of seamen in its membership, this first convention also decided to established branches for seamen working in the South Pacific. In 1925 and 1926 over six hundred seamen registered with the headquarters branch of the Australasian KMT.



Representatives and staffs for the first national convention of Australasian KMT in Sydney in 1925.

中國國民黨澳洲暨南太平洋群島第一次代表大會代表團合影。



Tea Party of the first national convention of Australasian KMT in Sydney in 1925.

中國國民黨澳洲暨南太平洋群島第一次代表大會茶會合影。

Other Chinese societies were suspicious of the KMT at this time, not so much because of its apparent sympathy for the Soviet Union but because its western ideas threatened traditional Chinese cultural values. Although the Sydney Chinese Chamber of Commerce claimed they supported political revolution and democracy, they also supported the strengthening of the Chinese Confucian traditions as central to Chinese ethnic identity. They particularly opposed the Australian KMT's support for women's political involvement – female suffrage, no less! In 1926 the Sydney Chinese Chamber of Commerce worked with the Chinese Consulate to arrange a celebration for Confucius' birthday while the KMT commemorated the death of Dr Sun Yat-Sen. After 1925, annual ceremonies for Sun's birthday and death became important rituals for the KMT in Sydney. As well, weekly speeches



Memorial ceremony for Dr Sun Yat-Sen held by the Melbourne branch of Kuomintang.
美利濱分部舉辦紀念總理奉安大典。



Members gathered for the memorial service of Dr Sun Yat-Sen, at Kuomintang Sydney branch Australasian headquarters.
總支部於1929年舉辦之總理奉安大典。

and lectures were held in the name of Dr Sun. Australasian members sent donations to support the Northern Expedition, the military campaign led by the KMT from 1926 to 1928 against the Beiyang government with the aim of ending the power of the war lords and restoring effective central government to a unified China.

In 1923 in Shanghai, Eugene Chan, the foreign minister appointed by Sun's Canton-based Provisional National government, successfully negotiated with the British authorities to acknowledge Chinese court oversight on legal matters in the two foreign concessions. This success was hailed as the start of a new revolutionary foreign policy.

Below Sketch of Dr Sun's official funeral.
總理奉安大典隊伍繪圖。



In 1925, strikes by seamen and workers in Hong Kong, Shanghai and other ports of foreign settlement stimulated sentiments of patriotism and anti-imperialism amongst many Australian Chinese. Seamen from China and Hong Kong were welcomed by Australian KMT members when they landed in Sydney and other ports. The records of Australasian KMT show its support for the 1925–6 labour strikes in Hong Kong and for other protests against the imperialist policies of the American and British governments. All this strengthened the Australian government's suspicion of the KMT, at a time when Prime Minister Stanley Bruce was suspicious of the role of alien agitators in the union movement. In 1925 an editor coming from China for the *Chinese Times* was refused entry. The Australasian KMT responded with newspaper interviews and articles, stressing to the public that their political goals were anti-militarism and anti-imperialism, not communism. Ironically, the KMT's support for these strikes also helped to build relations between it and the Australian labour movement, the prime instigator and defender of the White Australia Policy.

The secretary of the Sydney's Trades and Labour Council, JS Garden, joined the Sydney KMT's 1926 picnic to celebrate Chinese national day, and stated his supports for the Chinese National Government's fight against Japanese, American and British influences. In January 1927 the annual convention of the Australian Workers Union supported a motion that the federal government should not involve Australians in an imperial war in order to defend capitalist enterprises in China. One month later, the Sydney's Labour Council called upon the British government to withdraw all armed forces from China and sent fraternal greetings to the Chinese Nationalist Party in Shanghai. The second convention of the Australasian KMT stated that the party aimed to liberate China from imperialism and unequal treaties.

The political divisions which developed in the Chinese KMT following Sun's death also divided the Australasian KMT. In 1926, Chiang Kai-Shek led the KMT's National Revolutionary Army in alliance with the Chinese Communists on the Northern Expedition

to defeat the warlords and unify the country. He established himself as the leader of a right-wing government in Nanjing, in opposition to the left-wing KMT government established earlier in Hankow. Chiang then came up with evidence of Soviet plans for the communists to subvert and overturn the KMT. The result was that in April 1926 the KMT's Central Control Commission agreed to purge the communists from the party. This split the party and led to the first ten-year period of the Chinese Civil War between the KMT-led National Revolutionary Army and the CCP-led People Liberation Army, which lasted up to the Japanese invasion which united the country.

Chiang and his faction also tried to gain support from the KMT's overseas branches. On March 1927, the *Sydney Morning Herald* published an article by an Australian born Chinese journalist, Walter Hanming Chen. In his nearly two-page long article Walter Chen briefly introduced the background and character of Chiang. He described Chiang as a 'reactionary' (sic) leader 'who was the most outstanding figure in China and one of greatest men in the world!' His laudatory opinion of Chiang's leadership was echoed at the second convention of the Australasian KMT held in Sydney in August 1927. The convention voted to support the leadership of Chiang Kai-Shek and the anti-communist policy of the Nanjing Government. Samuel Wong rejected the decision and left the Party. This ended the long friendship between Wong and Yee Wing, the two important leaders of the Sydney KMT. Twelve other party members who supported the Hankow Government with its Russian advisers were later expelled.

After the convention, Yee Wing as the chairman of the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia published in the *Sydney Morning Herald* the party's official statement of support for Chiang Kai-Shek and his anti-communist government. He also confirmed that the Party had expelled members who refused to accept the decision of the convention. The statements of Yee Wing were intended to disassociate the KMT from communism. In the following months, new committee members were appointed and efforts made to re-register the members.



Representatives and party officials for the second national convention of Australasian KMT in Sydney in 1927.

中國國民黨澳洲暨南太平洋群島第二次代表大會代表團合影。

This seems to have been successful, with official reports claiming that 3,500 members renewed their membership.

By December 1928 Chiang's army had succeeded in overthrowing the Beiyang government and unifying the nation. The Nanjing Decade of the Nationalist Government had begun. This started the second phase of Dr Sun's timetable for political revolution, the period of political tutelage. After the Nationalists took power in China, for a time the Australian branches of the Nationalist Party combined a political and



Representatives and officials for the Second national convention of the Australasian KMT in Sydney in 1927. Back row from left: Liu Bo-xi, Luo Kun, Lay Hing, Zhang Yu-bo, Huang Zhuo-Nan, Tan Hui, Chen Fu, Lei Yi-Zhen. Third row: Mar Bo-Qiao, Yang Xi-Xiang, Liu Lung, Zhu Jing, Lung Jia-Jiu, Gao Tian-Li, Liu Ye-On, Li Li-Cheng, Cai Xin, Kwok Zhao. Second row: Li De-Nan, Tan Ying-Mum, Fu Hong-Yi, Peter Hong Nam, Yee Wing, Yu Bo-Liang, Lu Wah-Yue, Ye Jian-Ming. First row: Liu Bo-Ming, Liu Yao-Chi, Wu Wei-Pei, D. Y. Narme, Tan Chut, Xi Han-Ying, Kwang Zhen.

第二次代表大會代表團與職員合影。最後一排左起：劉伯禧，羅昆，黎秉興，張玉波，黃灼南，譚輝，陳福，雷宜禎。第三排：馬伯喬，楊錫祥，劉龍，朱景，龍家鷗，高添利，劉業安，李禮成，蔡炳新，郭照。第二排：李德南，譚英文，符鴻益，伍鴻南，余榮，余伯良，盧華岳，葉健民。第一排：劉博明，劉耀墀，吳偉培，歐陽南，譚揖，徐憾影，龐鎮。

even quasi-governmental role, and its relationship with the Chinese consul-general improved dramatically. In 1929 the Nationalist government appointed its first consul-general whose arrival was formally welcomed by the Australasian KMT. This was the first time that the Australasian KMT had hosted a ceremony to welcome the new Chinese consul-general. It may be worth noting that the consul-general was asked to swear his oath of loyalty to the KMT.



Above Representatives gathered for the second annual convention dinner at 47 George Street in Sydney in 1927.

第二次代表大會公宴代表團合影。

Opposite above Representatives of the second annual convention gathered for the picnic held at Avenue picnic grounds, Lane Cove River in 1927.

第二次代表大會於衣雲天公園舉行郊遊會團體合影。

Opposite below Sydney KMT members attended the picnic of Sydney Chinese community in the 1920s.

雪梨分部代表參與僑界郊遊活動。





Above Sydney KMT branch-organised picnic in the 1920s.
雪梨黨部舉辦僑界郊遊活動。



Bottom Sydney KMT branch-organised picnic in the 1920s.
雪梨黨部舉辦僑界郊遊活動。



Above & below Chinese sporting team in Darwin, 1925.
打運(達爾文)華僑運動會隊員合影。



Above Victorian members
維多利亞支部黨員合影。



Below Members of Tahiti branch gathered for the
celebration of the launch of new premises in 1924.
大溪地分部黨所1924年落成合影紀念。



Above Students of Wah-Chin school at Rabaul in 1925.
亞包華強學校學生合影。



Below Members of the Wellington branch celebrate the anniversary of Republic in China.
威靈頓分部成員慶祝民國成立紀念會。



Officials of the Wellington branch celebrate the anniversary of Republic in China. 威靈頓分部執監委合影。



Christchurch KMT branch members at the opening of the branch in 1925. 紐西蘭Christchurch分部於1925年開幕合影。

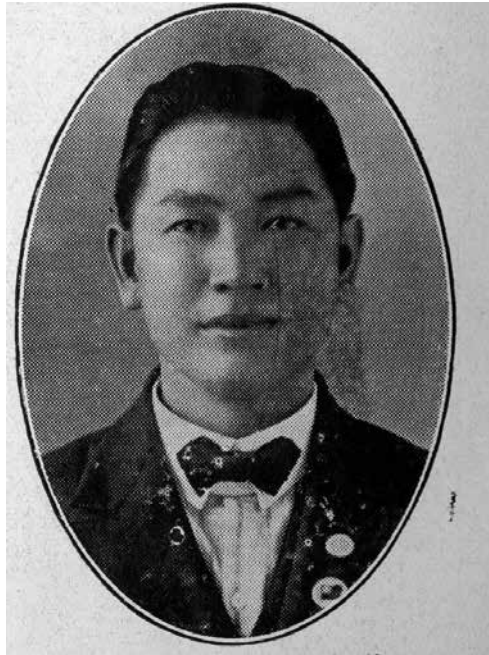


Members of KMT Rabaul branch organised its convention at Rabaul in 1926. 中國國民黨亞包支部於1926年召開全屬代表大會合照。

4 Semi-official Leadership through the Years of the Great Depression 1929–1933

After Chiang Kai-Shek became leader and adopted a strong anti-communist stance, the Australian government recognised the Chinese national government in Nanjing and relaxed its attitude towards visa applications from Chinese officials of the Central Committee of the KMT. This further enhanced the status of the Australasian KMT.

In March 1929 Australasian KMT delegates went to Nanjing to attend a national congress, organised by the new government. They appealed to the government to seek the removal of discrimination against Chinese in Australia. There is no indication of how effective their plea was. When the third Australasian convention of the KMT was held in Sydney, there was no mention of it. Instead, the main message of the convention was the importance of each branch working to maintain its members. The convention also recommended the transfer of the Chinese consulate-general from Melbourne to Sydney, and the appointment of a senior party advisor to the Australasian KMT from the Central Committee of the Chinese KMT. Other surviving reports of this convention show that the main goals given to the Australasian KMT were the strengthening of its loyalty to the



One of the Australasian KMT delegates from the Tahiti branch in Nanjing to attend a national congress in 1929: Wang Jian-Hai.

總支部派任大溪地支部王健海代表參與第三次全國代表大會。

Chinese KMT and the winning of sympathy for the new government amongst the Australian public. Reflecting the changed status of the party in China, these goals also revealed a shift of emphasis from promoting democracy to promoting party unity and loyalty.

As already mentioned, in 1929, the newly appointed Chinese consul-general, FT Sung, was installed in a ceremony held at Scots Church Hall in Melbourne and presided over by Yee Wing, the chairmen of the Australasian KMT. The new national flag of China was flown from the Chinese consulate for the first time, in celebration of the anniversary of 1911 Revolution. The previous national flag was made up of five horizontal stripes of different colours symbolising the five major ethnic groups of the Chinese people. The new flag had a red field with the twelve-rayed White-Sun-on-Blue-Sky KMT party flag. This was the first time an official celebration was hosted jointly by China's official representative office in Australia, the consulate-general, and the Australasian KMT. At the end of 1929, the Chinese consulate-general was moved from Melbourne to Sydney. F.T.Sung,



KMT delegates of the third Convention gathered for photography in 1929.

澳洲總支部於1929年舉辦之第三次代表大會合影。1929年4月中國國民黨駐澳洲總支部召開第三次全屬代表大會，代表團合照。第一排坐者左起鍾少卿，譚英文，余榮，陳宗權，陳炎生。第二排站者左起葉健民，繆朝佐，阮昌，郭照，巫笑竹，朱景，劉敬，盧華岳。第三排站者左起：雷宜爵，林有，歐陽南，郭迺杰，馬伯喬。

the consul-general, urged the Australian government to recognise the new Chinese government's treaties with other countries, including the United Kingdom. The point of his call was that these treaties were made between equals. He argued that the trade with China would help Australia to recover from the economic depression it was then experiencing. He also argued that immigration restrictions against the Chinese should be relaxed to promote a better relationship between



Consul-general FT Sung and KMT officials.
宋發祥領事與總支部委員合照。

China and Australia. Although the then Australian Prime Minister, James Scullin, rejected his proposal in January 1930, Sung attracted national publicity with his call to rethink the prejudicial treatment of Chinese Australians. Sung's endeavour was commendable but his timing was sadly out. In the year 1930 the ALP's first post-WWI Prime Minister had many other things on his mind besides a call to overturn one of the three fundamental planks of his party's political platform! It would be forty years more before a more adventurous ALP leader carried out this task.

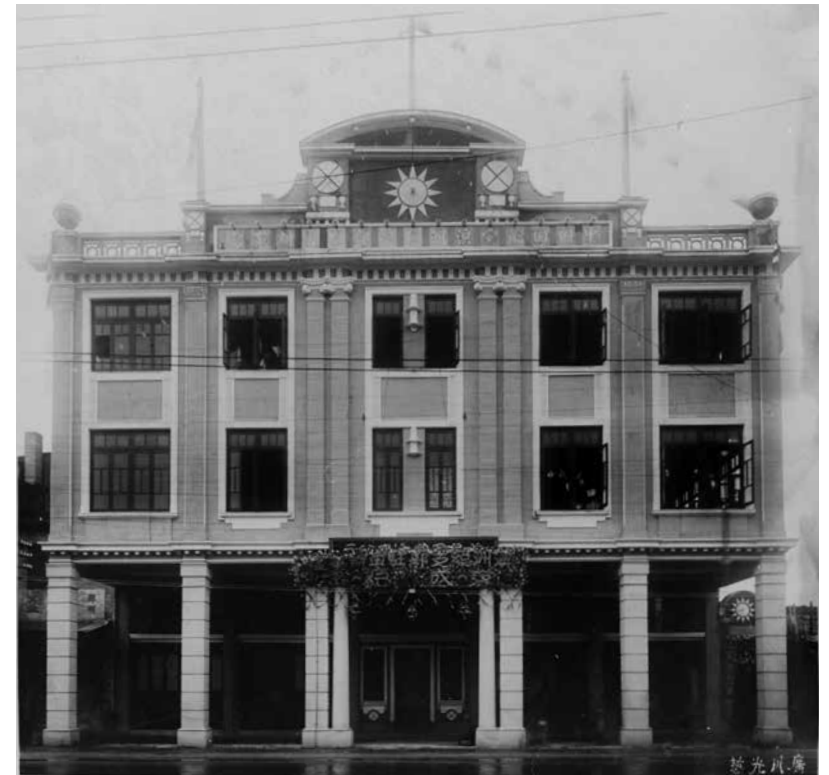


Ceremony for the newly appointed Chinese Consul-General, F. T. Sung in Melbourne 1929. He is in the middle of front. On his left side is the chairman of the Australasian KMT, Yee Wing.

1929年新任宋發祥總領事就任典禮合影，宋坐在前排中間，在他的左手邊為總支部部長余榮。

Instead, in response to the onset of the Great Depression, in the early 1930s Australia began to strengthen its participation in the application of imperial preference within the British Empire, placing higher tariffs on non-Empire trading partners. This had a dramatic impact on the trade of Australian Chinese merchants with China and Hong Kong. Yee Wing, who was visiting Canton to purchase land and arrange for the building of the liaison office, accepted a position with the Canton government and decided to stay in China. The chairman of the Melbourne KMT, Peter Hong Nam, also left for Canton to take up a position with the Chinese government. The Great Depression adversely affected Chinese employment, which in turn impacted on KMT membership. In Fiji, which was one of the main branches supporting the Sydney KMT, unemployment amongst members was 12%. The Fiji branch and other smaller branches appealed to the headquarters branch to withdraw or reduce the annual fee paid by members. By 1931 the reduction in income from membership was causing financial difficulties for the Sydney headquarters branch itself, although income from the Canton liaison office, opened that same year, helped somewhat to alleviate the problem. The Canton liaison office helped returning Chinese Australians to settle back in China, either in their home districts or in Canton, to re-unite them with their families, and to assist and protect them in civil and military disputes. As China's economy was not as badly affected by the Great Depression, the liaison office was able to send its operational surplus back to help support the Australasian KMT.

Nevertheless, the Sydney headquarters branch had to ask the Chinese KMT for financial assistance and for a visiting advisor to help them with administration. The Central Committee of the Chinese KMT agreed to the second part of the request and Yu Chuen-Hsien was appointed as a special commissioner to the Australasian KMT. Yu supervised the fourth Australasian convention which was held in February 1931. The KMT in Australasia now comprised one headquarters branch, seven branches and thirty-five sub-branches. Each branch had an executive



The Canton liaison office.
澳洲總支部駐粵辦事處



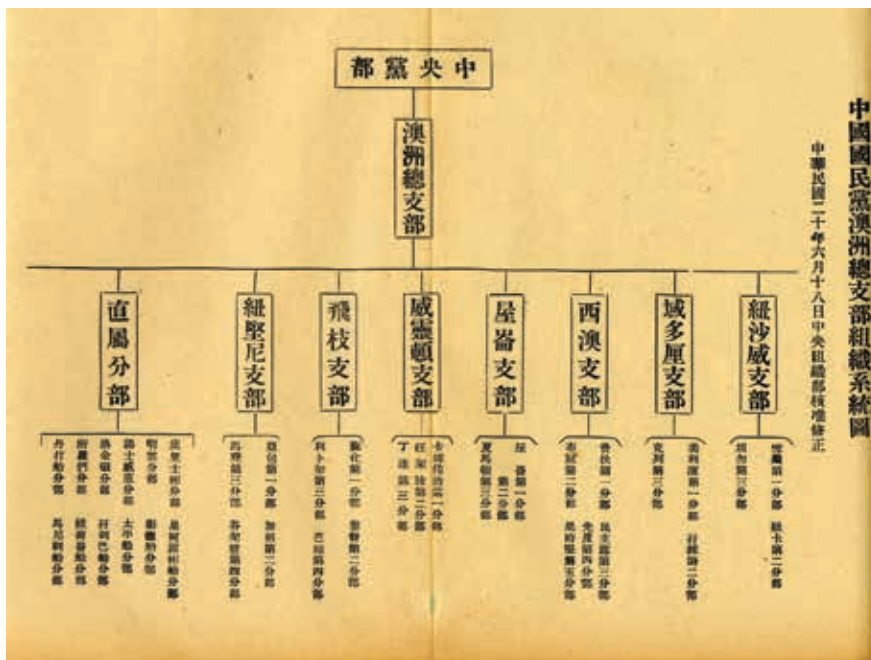
Portrait of Yu Chuen-Hsien.
余俊賢先生。



Above KMT officials of the fourth Convention in 1931.
 澳洲總支部於1931年舉辦之第四次代表大會，新任監執委合影。



Opening ceremony of Chinese school in Melbourne in 1931.
 1931年澳洲美利濱漢文學校開學典禮



Below Branches and structures of the Australian KMT in 1931.
 1931年中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島組織架構圖

committee, an advisory committee and a standing committee, for which annual elections were held. In the 1930s Chinese language schools were opened in Sydney and Melbourne.

In April 1931, Lin Sun, President of the Legislative Yuan of China, which is equivalent to the Speaker of the Parliament, visited Australia, along with Chan Yen-poon, president of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. Lin later went on to become the President of the Republic. Lin Sun also met Australian sympathisers to promote friendship and trade with China. He was the highest ranking Chinese official to visit Australia since Federation.

A few months later, the Japanese invasion of Manchuria shocked the world. A new society was established by the Australasian KMT to coordinate support for China. Its English title was the innocuous sounding 'Society of Chinese Residents in Australia', but its Chinese title made clear that its purpose was to gather both Chinese and Australian community



KMT officials of the headquarters branch gathered for photography with Lin Sun – President of the Legislative Yuan of China in Sydney in 1931. Back row from left: Liu Xi-Zhuo, Zhang Zi-Zhen, Zheng Wei-Shao, Chen Fu-Zhang, Liu Ye-On, Liu Lung, Dong Huang. Second row from left: Mar Bo-Qiao, D. Y. Narme, Chan Yen-Poon, Lin Sen (President of the Legislative Yuan), Yu Jun-Xian, Chong Shao-Fong, Liu Zi-Qian. First row: Chen Fu, Lu War-Yue, Lee Chut, Xiao Dao-Ming.

1931年駐澳洲總支部執監委員與來訪的立法院院長林森合影。總支部第四屆執監委員與中央視察員余俊賢、立法院院長林森及僑務委員會主任陳耀恒合影。最後一排左起：劉希焯，張子禎，鄭渭輔，陳富章，劉業安，劉龍，董晃。第二排：馬伯喬，歐陽南，陳耀恒，林森，余俊賢，張紹峰，劉子謙。第一排：陳福，盧華岳，李少勤，蕭道明。



Meeting held by the Society of Chinese Residents in Australia' in Sydney in memory of Chinese slain by Japanese in Manchuria, November 1931. 澳洲雪梨華僑對日救國後援會於1931年舉辦之「九一八紀念大會」。

support to help China defend herself against Japanese aggression. This society was formed by a new generation of community leaders, including W. Gock Young, William Liu and Mar Leong Wah. All in their middle 30s and educated in Sydney, they were much more internationally oriented than the former community leaders. Involved in both the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and the KMT for several years, they emphasised the need for the community to be united around one purpose.

The new society met regularly at the KMT building. They organised a memorial service at the Grand Opera House on 15 November 1931 for Chinese civilians who had lost their lives in the invasion of Manchuria. The event collected donations to support the Chinese national army. It was sponsored by the Chinese consul-general, the KMT, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Masonic Society and all active clan societies in Sydney, as well as KMT branches across Australia and the Pacific Islands. The society remitted nearly 4,000 pounds back to China to 'national salvation' associations in Shanghai and Nanjing. In Melbourne in late 1931 the KMT sponsored the formation of a similar group, the Chinese Citizen Association, which sent 5,000 pounds to the

KMT in China to fund the purchase a fighter aircraft for the Chinese air force.

In early 1932 the success of 19th Route Army in Shanghai against the Japanese encouraged further donations from Australasia. However, after the initial round of donations, the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the Chinese Masonic Society and the four main clan societies in Sydney established their own societies to collect donations. This reflected different views amongst the groups. The new groups were simply focused on raising money to assist in the fight against the Japanese. The Society of Chinese Residents, however, had wider aims. They wanted also to awaken the Australian public to the threat of Japan that may bring war to Australia. William Liu and Mar Leong Wah also wanted the Chinese consul-general to bring pressure to bear on the Australian government over the restrictions on Chinese immigration. They received only a lukewarm response in this regard from the consulate. William Liu complained that politicians were not helpful and instead they should look for friends in the general community who understood Chinese culture and sympathised with the difficult situation of Chinese residents in Australia. For this purpose, he helped to establish the GE Morrison Memorial Lecture series at the Australian National University. The first lecture was given in 1932.

The records of the Australasian KMT and the Chinese consulates show that, due to the limited budget of the Chinese government, the Sydney and Melbourne KMTs each bore some of the costs of the Chinese consulates located in their respective cities in the 1920s through to the 1940s. In 1932 the Sydney KMT engineered the dismissal of Pao Chun-Hao who was vice consul-general in Melbourne, because he did not maintain good relations with the Sydney KMT. After he left, the Melbourne Chinese consular office stayed closed until 1937. With the Chinese consulate-general moved to Sydney in 1929, then the subsequent closure of the consular office in Melbourne, Sydney became the centre of Chinese official presence in Australia during the 1930s. As the regional representation of the ruling party in China, the

Australasian KMT also carried certain official political obligations and made sustained efforts to monopolise the role of legitimate spokesman for the Australasian Chinese. The records of the management committee of headquarters branch show that the leaders of the Sydney KMT were keen to strengthen their presence in the community and, along with the Society of Chinese Residents in Australia, actively sought connections with Australian journalists, writers and scholars to promote the recognition of the Chinese Australians' claims to citizenship and to enhance their status accordingly.

In 1933 Chen Chih-Ming was appointed by the Chinese KMT as its representative in Australasia. His arrival was followed by the fifth convention of Australasian KMT which again revealed the community's continuing concern about immigration restrictions in Australia and New Zealand, particularly as the numbers of Chinese in Australasia were declining. The convention urged the Chinese consul-general to negotiate with the Australian government to enable Chinese residents in Australia to have access to social welfare benefits such as unemployment relief and old-age pensions. They also appealed to the Chinese KMT to protect returning Chinese Australians from difficulties as they tried to resettle in their ancestral land. New branches were established in Tasmania, Cairns, Thursday Island and Geelong. Members of each branch were asked to pay an annual fee not only for their branches but also to the regional headquarters. The convention also elected the first General-Secretary of the Australasian branch, breaking with the former process in which the General Secretary was appointed by the Chinese KMT. In addition, sections were set up for the working class, farmers, merchants, youth and women. And Mar Leong Wah, who was to become an important leader until after WWII, was elected as one of three members for the standing committee, for the first time. One of his important tasks was to strengthen the Party's influence in the community through public narratives and historical interpretations. This fifth convention endorsed his proposal to produce a history of the Chinese revolutionary movement and the KMT in Australasia, which was published later in 1935.

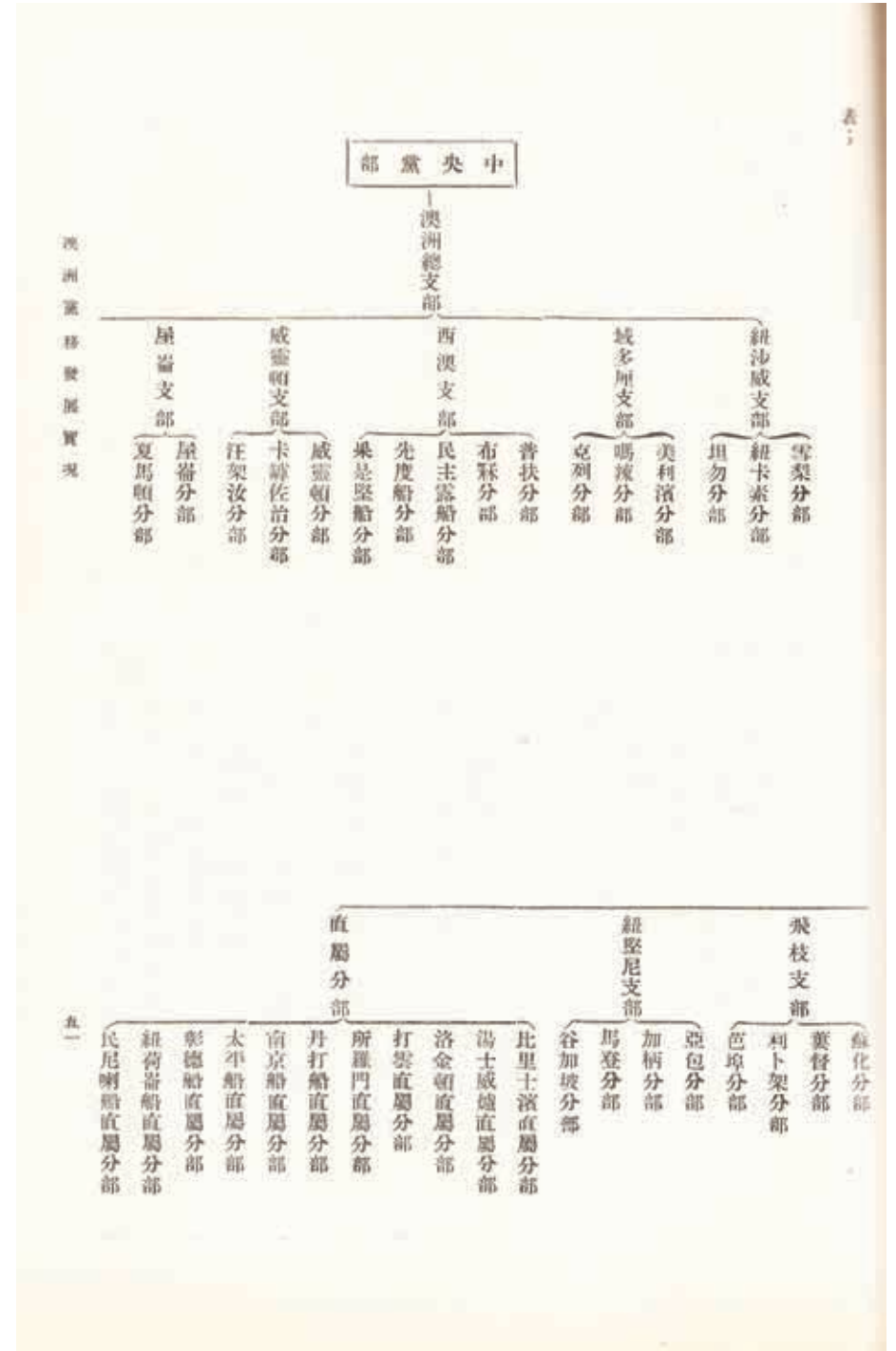
Right Portrait of Chen Chih-Ming.

陳志明先生。



Below KMT delegates of the fifth Convention in 1933. Standing (second row from left to right): Liang Shu-Ting, Zhang Shao-Feng, Chen Fu, Lee Chut, Liu Lung. First row: Yang Ji-Qun, Zhu Ming-Jie, Zheng He, Huang Zuan-Pin, Liang Jie. Sitting (second row from left to right): Chen Wen-Ji, HeYan-Jie, Chen Wei-Bing, Chen Zhi-Ming, Lei Yi-Jue, Leong Wah Mar. First row: Lu Wah-Yue, Liu Xi-Zhuo.

澳洲總支部於1933年舉辦之第五次代表大會合影。站者第二排左起：梁樹廷，張紹峰，陳福，李少勤，劉龍。第一排：楊集群，朱明傑，鄭和，黃纘品，梁解。坐者：陳文濟，何燕傑，陳維屏，陳志明，雷宜爵，馬亮華。最前排坐者左起：盧華岳，劉希焯。

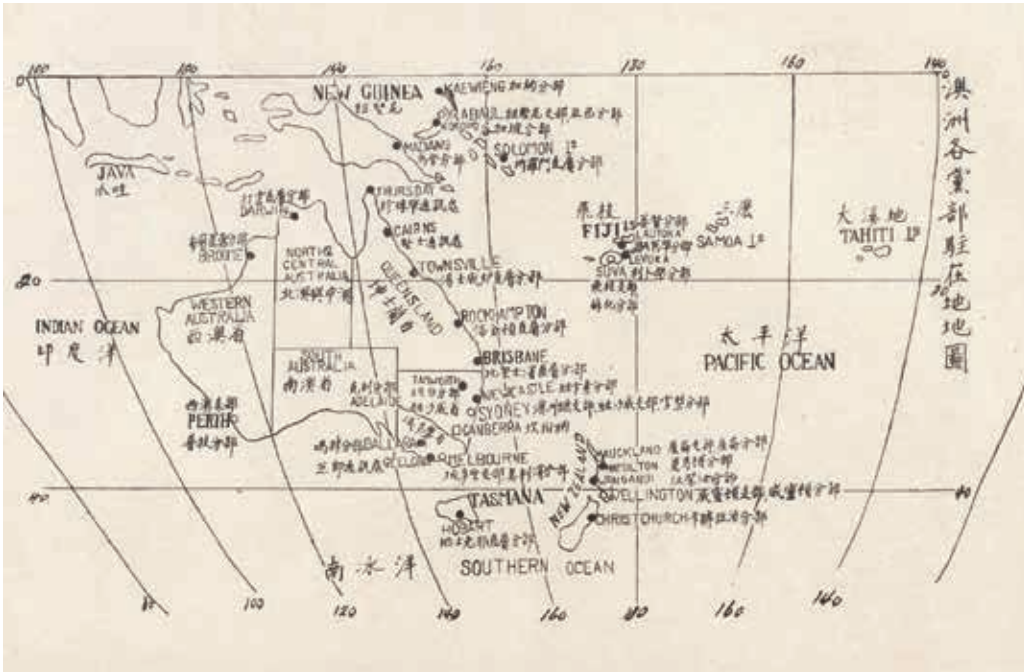


Branches and structure of the Australasian KMT in 1933.
1933年中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島組織架構圖。

Life of Mar Leong Wah by his son Gordon Mar

At the time of the founding of the Republic of China, Mar Leong Wah was a child of eight. He was born into the village of Sah Chung in the Chung Shan district of Southern China. In 1890, two members of the Mar clan, along with others, founded the business called Wing Sang & Co Ltd., established in Sydney as providores, importers and fruit merchants. Mar Sun Gee, father of Mar Leong Wah, joined this business in 1918, having previously left his village to sail to Australia and seek a better life for his family. In 1921, Mar Leong Wah came to Sydney, together with his mother and his sister Alice. He was 18 years old that year. In keeping with his father's faith in education, he completed his schooling at Sydney Grammar School and began his working life at Wing Sang & Co. The business, Wing Sang & Co, dealt principally in bananas. In 1929 he returned to Sah Chung village to marry Lee So Hin, who came from a respected Hong Kong family. Shortly after their marriage, they sailed for Sydney, settling in to their first home at 18 Campbell Street in the Haymarket. Over the ensuing years, they had six children, all of whom received a full education, entering the professions and becoming valued members of the community.

By 1933, Mar Leong Wah had become manager of the business, a position he held until his retirement. Around the city markets, he was known as Harry Mar. The business occupied a substantial building at 58 Hay Street, Haymarket, handling not only the ripening and distribution of bananas to the Sydney market, but also peanut importing and roasting and a strong trade in fireworks imported from China. Being among the top three banana merchants in Sydney, there was plenty of work for male hands. Like many such businesses operating in the Chinese diaspora, Wing Sang became a beach head for the males from his ancestral village, sponsoring innumerable members of the Mar clan from the village, who came and lived in the Hay Street building and worked in the business. In this manner, Mar Leong Wah was responsible for helping many of his clan members to begin a new life in this land of opportunity. Within the Sydney



Map of Australasian branches in 1933.
中國國民黨駐澳洲暨南太平洋群島
1933年各分支部地圖。



Mar Leong Wah in front of Paddy's
Markets in Sydney.
(Collection of Mr Gordon Mar)
馬亮華先生。

Chinese community he earned a position of respect and trust and was looked up to as a leader. He readily assisted when asked, in dealing with local and government authorities, especially the Immigration Department. In these endeavours he enjoyed a close relationship with the Chinese Consuls General in Sydney. During the World War II years, he wholeheartedly participated in fund raising activities supporting the Chinese war effort. For trade, community and commercial associations he willingly gave his time to serve on executives and committees.

His steadfast support of the Kuo Min Tang political party was maintained over many years, with him acting as chairman and in other executive positions. He was passionate in his belief that the party would make China into a great, powerful and prosperous country and world power, respected and admired by all the world for its civilised culture and a leader in trade and commerce. He wanted China to be a free and democratic society and hated communism bitterly. The victory of the Communist Party in taking over the country was the most devastating event of his life and the grief and disappointment marked him for the rest of his days. At home, he could not deny his village origins. In his garden, he grew rows of vegetables and he took particular pride in his spectacular dahlia blooms. For relaxation he would on occasion take to the tennis court. He was a member of the Ying Wah Tennis Club which played on Sundays and was quite a social event. His children were encouraged to follow the guiding principles of the Chinese Presbyterian Church which had ministered to the community since 1883.

As noted earlier, the party newspaper, the *Chinese Times*, had transferred from Melbourne to Sydney in 1922. It was later registered as an incorporated company, under the management of PJ Leader, an Australian journalist. The Sydney KMT was willing to share the role of management with Australian professionals, to be sure of its appeal to a wider readership. It may be one of reasons that the *Chinese Times*

continued publication until 1949, albeit with financial support from the Chinese KMT, while other Chinese newspapers, the *Tung Wah Times*, the *Chinese Republic News* and the *Chinese Australian Herald*, all closed in 1937.



Chinese Times
《民報》

Chen Chih-Ming wanted to publish an official history of the Australasian KMT because opposition toward the KMT from Chinese Australians was increasing. An Australian-born journalist, Vivian Yung Chow, had set out a revolutionary genealogy that departed from Sun Yat-Sen's orthodoxy. Chow went to Shanghai as a journalist in the early 1930s and published numerous articles in Shanghai newspapers and magazines which refused to acknowledge Sun Yat-Sen as the Father of the Chinese nation. He also argued that the root of Chinese Revolutionary Alliance was in middle of the nineteenth century in Australia (John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie*: 76–80). Chow strongly criticised the KMT for dismissing universal civil values such as freedom and democracy. His opinion on the Australian Chinese revolutionary alliance was picked up and publicised in another publication: *White China*, a re-write of Chow's account of the early Chinese revolutionary movement by the Australian journalist John H.



KMT's publishing committee.
十二位編纂黨史委員合影。

C. Sleeman with William Liu's assistance, and published in 1933. As their interpretations undermined the reputation of Sun as the leader of Chinese revolution, the Australasian KMT fiercely contested their claims and began to publish its own version of China's recent history.

Conflicts between leading members of the Sydney and the Melbourne branches, and amongst the other branches, added to tension in the Australasian headquarter branch, which was co-located with the Sydney branch. In an attempt to resolve these tensions, the Central Committee of the Chinese KMT appointed Lau Tze-Him as director of the Canton liaison office. However, this only added to the problems, as existing regulations required that only members returning from Australasia could be appointed as the director and Lau was a commissioner from Central Committee rather than a local member of the Australasian region. When the Melbourne branch objected to Lau's appointment, it did not go ahead. It took changed circumstances in international politics to take Australasian KMT to the next stage of its history.



KMT delegates gathered at the Sydney KMT hall for the third Convention
第三次代表大會會議合影。



Above Darwin branch delegates.
達爾文分部代表合影。

Below Welcome ceremony for Lin Sun from China held by students of the Three-Principles School of the Tahiti branch of the KMT, 1931.
1931年大溪地國民黨分部與三民主義學校全體學生參加歡迎林森與陳耀恒委員合影。



Above Victorian branch members and friends.
維多利亞支部黨員與友人合影。

Below Teachers and students of the Chinese school in front of Melbourne KMT's office in 1930s.
美利濱漢文學校教師與學生於黨所前合影。



Above Seven staff members of the Canton liaison Office, 1931.

1931年澳洲總支部駐粵辦事處委員就職合影。

Right Teachers, students and family from the Chinese school in Melbourne in 1930.

1930年美利濱中華補習學校郊遊大會合影。刊登於1930年2月4日出版之《外部周刊》。



Cover of the official journal published by Australasian KMT in Canton, 1931. 澳洲總支部於1931年在廣州出版之《澳洲黨聲》。



Above left clockwise

A certificate issued by the headquarters of the Australasian KMT to Chen Ren-yi as proof of his membership in 1927.

1927年澳洲總支部發給陳任一的臨時回國保證書。

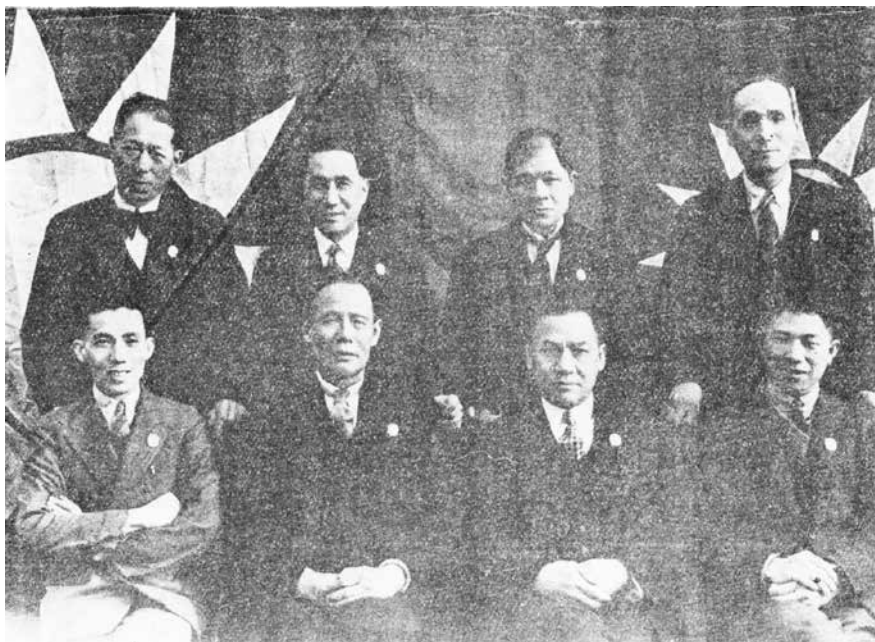
A certificate issued by headquarters of Australasian KMT to George Wing Dann as proof of his membership in 1933.

1933年澳洲總支部發給陳榮享的回國保證書。(Collection of family of George Wing Dann)

KMT branch in Solomon, 1931.
所羅門分部黨所 (State Library of VIC: H99.218/24)

Above Darwin branch officials, 1934.
達爾文直屬分部職員合影。

Below Townsville branch officials, 1934.
湯士威爐直屬分部職員合影。

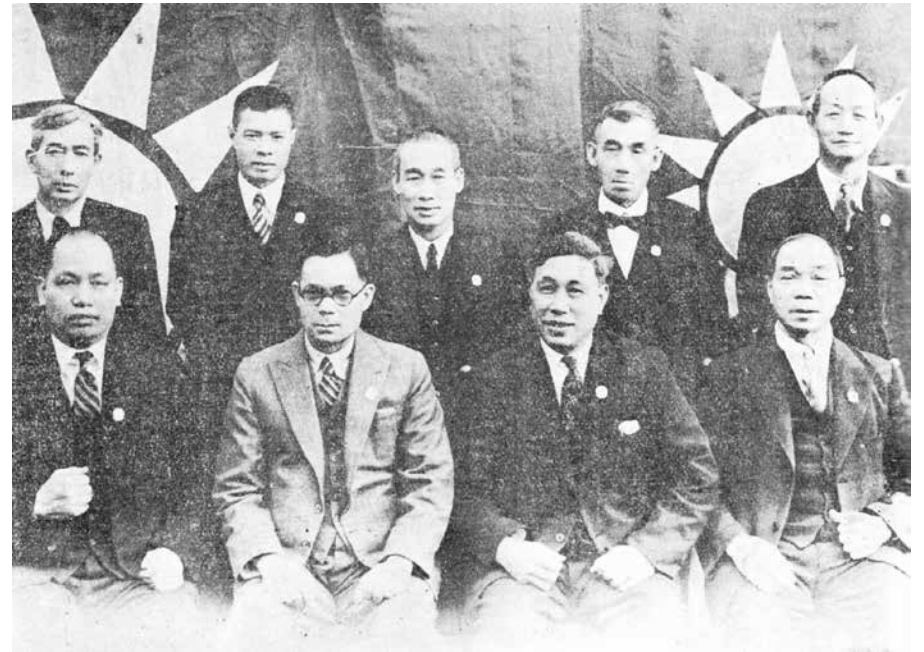


Above Members of the executive committee of the New Holland steamship branch, 1934.

紐荷崙輪船直屬分部執監委員合影。

Below Members of the executive committee of NSW branch, 1934.

紐修威支部執監委員合影。

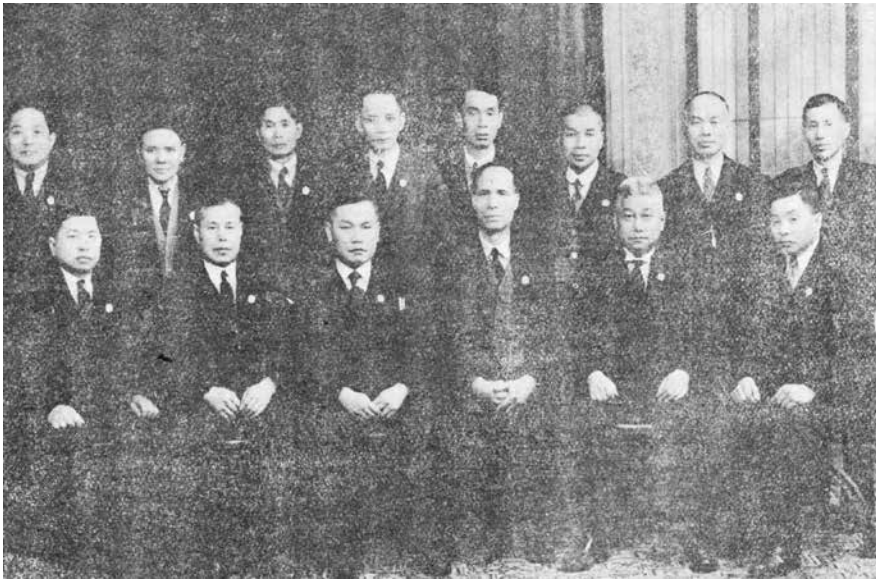


Above Members of the executive committee of Sydney branch, 1934.

雪梨分部執監委員合影。

Below Members of the executive committee of New Castle branch, 1934.

紐卡素分部執監委員合影。



Above Members of the executive committee and officials of the Victorian branch, 1934.

維多利亞支部委員與職員合影。

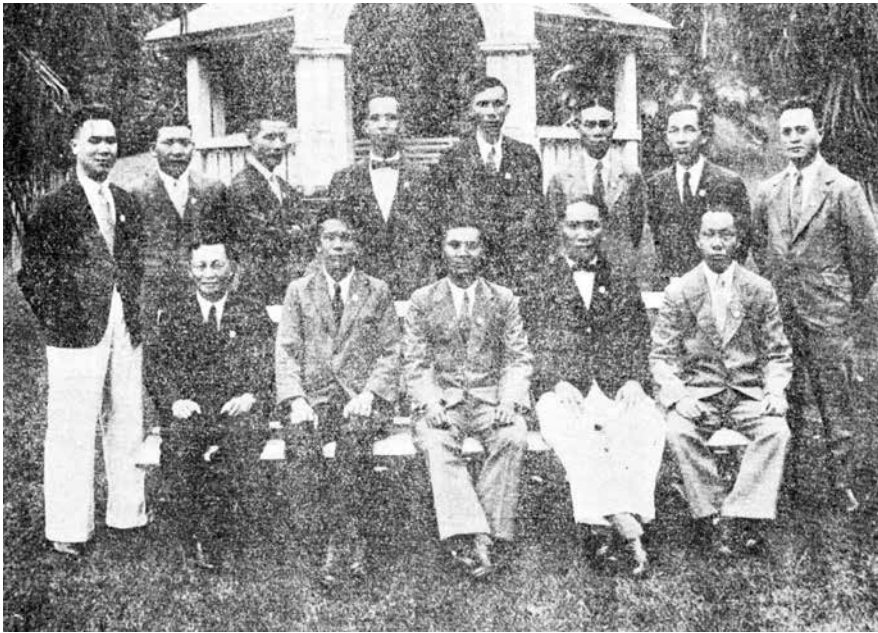
Below Members of the executive committee and officials of the Melbourne branch, 1934.

美利濱分部委員與職員合影。

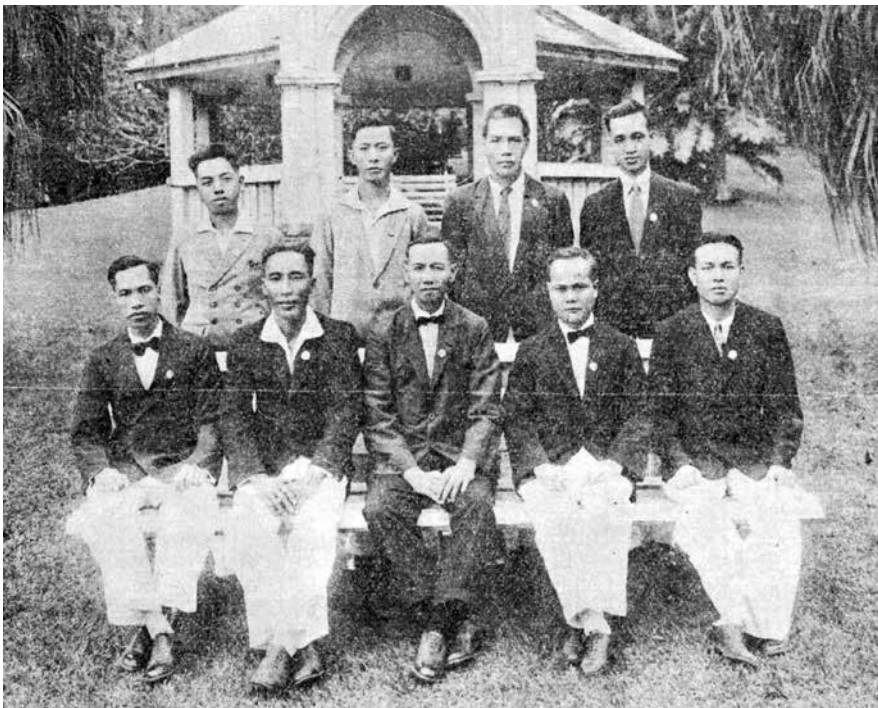
Above Members of the executive committee of Western Australia branch, 1934.
西澳支部委員合影。

Below Members of the executive committee of Perth branch, 1934.

普扶（伯斯）分部委員合影。



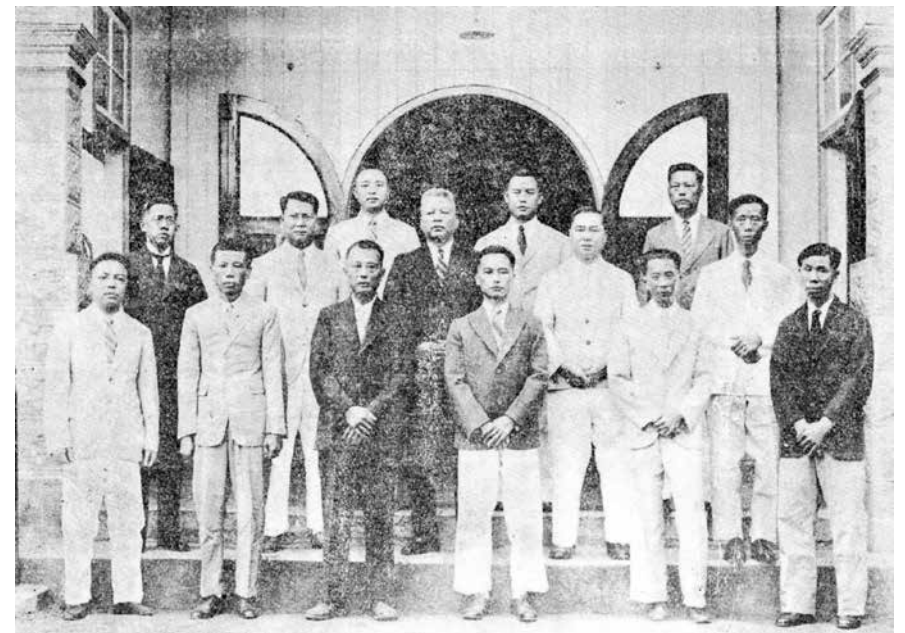
Above Members of the executive committee of Fiji branch, 1934.
飛枝支部執監委員合影。



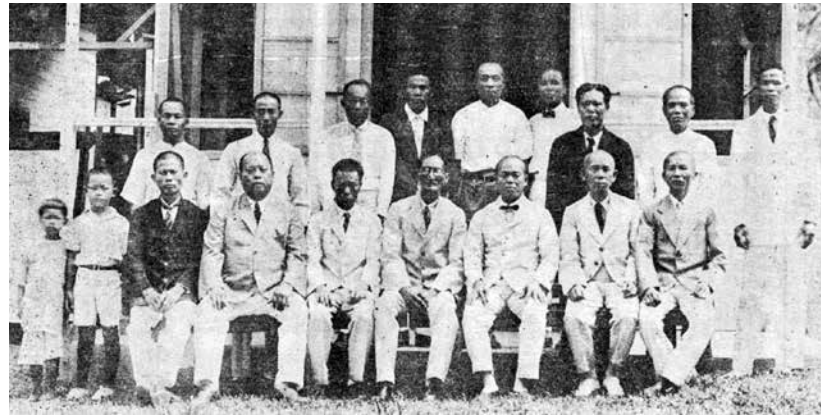
Below Members of the executive committee of Suva branch, 1934.
蘇化分部執監委員合影。



Above Members of the executive committee of Ba branch, 1934.
芭阜分部執監委員合影。

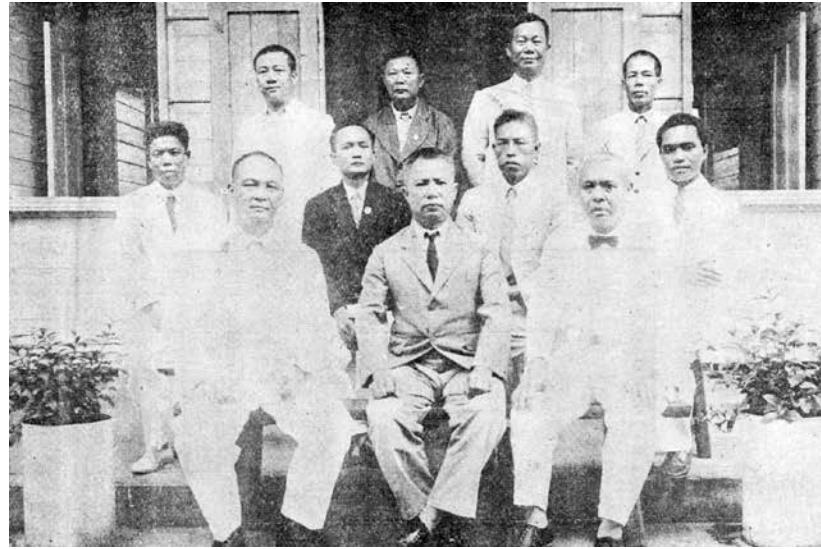


Below Members of the executive committee of New Guinea branch, 1934.
紐堅尼支部執監委員合影。



Members of the executive committee of Kokopo branch, 1934.

谷加坡分部執監委員合影。



Members of the executive committee of Kavieng branch, 1934.

加柄分部執監委員合影。



Members of the executive committee of Tasmania branch, 1934.

他士免耶支部執監委員合影。

5 New Spirit of Nationalism and Turning Australia to Face Asia

1934–1939

In January 1932 Japan attacked Shanghai. Shanghai was one of the main Treaty-port cities where many returning Chinese Australians had relocated and where they had invested their wealth. The battle for the defence of Shanghai was vigorously conducted by the 19th Route Army led by General Tsai Ting-Kai, and for a time it caused the Japanese invaders so much difficulty that they turned to systematic destruction of the Chinese administrated parts of the city. In the process they destroyed many businesses, and killed and injured families and friends of expatriate Chinese Australians. As this was the first time that the Chinese army had successfully stood up to a foreign power, Tsai Ting-Kai and the 19th Route Army became China's national heroes, even for the Chinese in Australia. However, Tsai and his troops did not find favour with Chiang Kai-Shek and the national government which had wanted to negotiate with the Japanese in order save the city. So instead of being rewarded, Tsai and the 19th Route Army was sent to a backwater province where, in November 1933, they rose in mutiny against the ruling KMT regime. The rebellion failed and Tsai went into exile. In 1934 he visited Australia. This exacerbated tensions within the community. Although Tsai received a warm welcome from the Chinese Masonic Society and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, the KMT

and the Chinese consulate did not recognise his historic defiance of Japanese aggression. Furthermore, the KMT expelled members who attended the welcome ceremony or met with him. The visit inspired further competition amongst the three organisations to build up their memberships. Even today, some elder members of the Chinese community still remember the bitterness that pervaded the community during General Tsai's visit to Australia. Many friendships were broken and trust among different parts of the community was destroyed. However, it did enhance an even closer bond between the Australasian KMT and the Chinese consulate-general.

In the early 1930s, the Chinese consulate began to promote trade and commerce as the way to build the relationship between Australia and China. Beginning in 1930 the consulate began publishing official Chinese-government bulletins in the short-life English-language newspaper, the *Sino-Australian Times*. Coincidentally, in response to the Depression, the Australian government was also beginning to explore opportunities for expanding Australia's trade to the 'Far East', beyond Australia's northern shore. From 1932, Japanese aggression in China served to increase international sympathy for and interest in China. Also at this time, the Australian government had come to the realisation that its efforts to seek trade opportunities through the British Empire tariff protection mechanism had not worked in Australia's favour. So, as has happened from time to time since then, the Australian government proclaimed an Asian focus. In 1934, in a first for an Australian government, the Deputy Prime Minister, Attorney-General and Minister for External Affairs, John G. Latham, being all three in the one person, led an 'Eastern mission' to seven Asian countries or colonial territories. These included the Dutch East Indies, Singapore and Malaya, French Indochina, Hong Kong, China, Japan and the Philippines. Explaining his mission in an interview in Japan, Latham said that 'while Australia was a proud member of the British Empire, Australia was also a nation of the Eastern hemisphere' (*Parliamentary Papers for 1932-34*, Number 236, p. 26).



Sino-Australian Times.

《中澳時報》

Latham was the first Australian federal politician to lead an official mission to China, as Australia started to develop its own foreign policy, independent of Britain. The KMT responded to this new interest with lectures and publications to inform the Australian public about the modern China. The Eastern Mission helped to advance diplomatic relations between China and Australia, and in 1935 the first Australian trade commissioner was appointed to Shanghai. Full diplomatic relations with the Republic of China were not established until much later in 1941.

The Eastern Mission, however, did not signal any softening of commitment to a White Australia. In anticipation of Latham's visit, the Australasian KMT had requested the Nationalist government to lobby for the removal of discrimination against Chinese Australians. Chinese Minister for Foreign Affairs, Wang Ching-Wei, did raise many questions about the immigration restrictions with Latham. In his turn, Latham agreed to make sympathetic representations to Cabinet after he returned to Australia. Publicity from this mission probably did help Australia's understanding of China and it gave Chinese Australians a small opportunity to promote the advantages to Australia of building a stronger relationship with modern China.

The closer diplomatic relationship between China and Australia enhanced the leadership role of the Chinese Consul-General. Under the Nationalist government, for some years the Chinese consulate in Sydney was effectively subject to the scrutiny of the local KMT. This was not well received by the community. The office of the Chinese consul-general under Dr W. P. Chen from 1932 to 1936 received a great deal of criticism from the community, as he was seen as being more concerned with party affairs than with improving the status of the Chinese in Australia. A new Consul-General, Pao Chun-Jien, who arrived in late 1936, was a man of a different character, with good connections both officially and personally in the Chinese KMT and in the Australian society. The three Vice consuls who came with him, Y. W. Tsao, Martin Wang and K. D. Hung, all went on to make names for themselves through their Australian connections. Martin Wang, for example, later became a Chinese consul-general in Australia. Pao was also accompanied from China by K. T. Loh whom Chiang Kai-Shek had earlier appointed as a Commissioner of the KMT's Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, with the task of promoting the recently established New Life Movement which Chiang hoped would both counter the appeal of communism and give new life to the nationalist movement. Loh took over as chief editor for the *Chinese Times*.



Above & below Farewell ceremony held for the Chinese Consul General, W. P. Chen, at the Sydney KMT hall.

歡送陳維屏領事合影。



Chinese Consul-General, Pao Chun-Jien and three Vice consuls in Sydney in 1936.

保君健總領事與三位副領事合影。(Collection of Mr Wai Wang)

In July 1937, the Japanese launched a full invasion of China. This was the beginning of the so-called Sino-Japanese War, or National Defiance War by the Chinese people. It gave Pao, as the official representative of China in Australia, the opportunity to promote a more positive image of China. His office was no longer just seen as a visa service. In the following years, he arranged celebrations, festivals, exhibitions and lectures to help Australians better understand China's cause in her struggle against Japan. Pao was much better connected politically and socially than previous consul-generals. Because of his connections with important people in the Chinese KMT, the party's advisor KT Loh, appointed to assist in the administration of the Australasian KMT, was seen as subordinate to him. It helped that he was wealthy and, with an American wife who was not only white but socially well established, they were welcomed in both Chinese and white society.

In 1937, most likely with Pao's encouragement, the KMT established music and tennis clubs. The new committees installed by the fifth convention in 1933 began to broaden the reach of the party and the KMT hall became a venue for many activities – social dancing, meetings, movie shows, a reading room, and Chinese language classes. Today, some of the older members of the Sydney Chinese community still fondly remember the social gatherings at the KMT

hall. Albert Mar, the eldest son of Mar Leong Wah, remembers attending social events there with his parents. Gordon Mar, Albert's younger brother, still has the portable gramophone, in working order, that their father purchased from the Great Sincere Department Store in Hong Kong and brought back to Australia in the 1930s. He used it to play the national anthem and other patriotic songs at KMT events.



Above Members and friends for 3rd Annual Championship of Yin War Tennis Club (1937), Pao and David Young Narme in the middle of photo.

1937年英華網球三週年賽事，保君健總領事與總支部歐陽南到場誌慶。

Left Members of the Ying War tennis club at a dancing hall 1939. 英華網球舞會合影。



The Yin Wah tennis club in their party dress. The back fifth from left is Henry Minglai.

英華網球隊員舞會合影，後排左起第五位為余國樂。

David Young Narme, another KMT committee member, and his New Zealand-born wife, helped Pao arrange these social activities as a way of mobilising the Chinese community. In September 1937, Pao and his deputy W. Yen Tsao met with the NSW Premier to present a Chinese national flag and other 'goodwill' gifts to celebrate the growing relationship between China and Australia. Pao also encouraged the Sydney Chinese community to participate in the celebration, in January 1938, on the 150th anniversary of the landing of the First Fleet. In late 1937 David Young Narme had imported an extra-long dancing dragon puppet from China. In February 1938, the Sydney Chinese community arranged two shows with a traditional performance by the dragon, one in the Town Hall and one at the Showground. Pao took to the stage personally to explain that the dragon was a symbol of power and hope for universal peace during the wartime. The performances also provided the opportunity to call for donations from the Chinese community and others to support China's war effort. Pao recognised that he needed to involve the younger Chinese in such community activities, and that a traditional dragon performance might not be all that attractive for many of the younger generation. So with help from

his American wife and David Young Narme and his wife, he arranged an alternative event, a 'Dragon Ball', based on the then popular Bachelor and Spinster Balls. The first Dragon Ball was held on the first anniversary of the Japanese attack on Beijing, on July 7th 1938, at the new Trocadero dance hall. It was a fun event with a political theme. At the commencement of the Dragon Ball, the national flags of China and Great Britain were carried by Chinese boys and girls into the dance hall; the dragon then entered with Pao and his wife; however it did not perform or 'dance', instead leaving the dance floor to the attending young people. The ball was considered a great social success, attracting many younger Chinese and their young Australian friends, and drawing interest from the local journalists. Unfortunately it was not a very successful fund raiser. The following year the dragon travelled to Melbourne and to Bendigo to raise funds. For reasons that are now lost, it never came back to Sydney. However, even without the dragon, young Sydney Chinese, with the support of the consulate and Sydney KMT, continued to hold the Dragon Ball, until 1972.



Vice consul, Martin Wang (second from left), editor of Chinese Time, K. T. Loh (first from right), D. Y. Narme (second from right) and Harry Fay (third from right). (Collection of Mr. Wai Wang)

副領事王良坤（左二）、駱介子（右一）、歐陽南（右二）與雷妙輝（右三）合影。



Dragon Ball.

金龍舞會。(Collection of Mr. Wai Wang)

Between 1925 and 1939 the Sydney KMT held six regional conventions. The sixth KMT Australasian convention was in 1939. Due to the war effort, many more delegates than previously came to Sydney for the convention. There was no important outcome from it though. Under the shadow of war, the trend set at the fifth convention continued with the political rhetoric changed entirely from advocacy of democracy and anti-imperialism to the imperative of loyalty to the party. There were also several restructures as directed by the Chinese KMT. The Great Depression had reduced the membership and income of the Australasian KMT such that since 1932 the administration of the Sydney headquarters branch had required financial aid

from China. This eroded the Australasian KMT's earlier independent spirit. After 1939, the Australasian KMT identified itself completely as the representative of the ruling party of a civilised China that was defending herself against a foreign aggressor, but nevertheless seeking peace. On the other hand, under the new leadership of David Young Narme and Mar Leong Wah, the Sydney KMT was also expanding its activities, with more and new forms of social gatherings and entertainments to attract younger members. The KMT hall was no longer just a place for solemn political ceremonies, but had become a community gathering place.



Chinese diplomats, members of the KMT in Sydney and Melbourne in 1938 in Sydney after the announcement of the engagement of K. T. Loh and Mavis Chinn (one of daughters of a standing member of Melbourne KMT, C. C. Chinn). (Collection of Mr. Wai Wang)

1938年總領事館成員與雪梨和墨爾本兩地國民黨要員合影，慶祝駱介子與陳宗權女兒訂婚。

6
Overcoming the
Time of Hardships
of the Pacific War
1940–1945



Above Sydney KMT members and friends in traditional Chinese dress for charity.

雪梨成員參加當地慈善活動剪影。

Below Delegates of Australasian KMT to the fifth national convention in China, 1935. From left to right: Chen Chih-Ming, Peter Hong Nam, Yee Wing and W. P. Chen.

1935年出席第五次全國代表大會澳洲代表：（從左到右）陳志明、伍鴻南、余榮與陳維屏。

The Pacific War had a dramatic impact on the Australasian KMT. The first challenge it had to meet was the fragmentation the war caused among its branches, not only those in the Pacific Islands but also those on the Australian mainland. This exacerbated the already difficult situation faced by the party as these branches and their membership had provided the financial support for the operations of the headquarters branch. It was also hard for the party to attract new members from amongst the Chinese war refugees. These were a diverse group, unfamiliar with Australia, and did not mix easily with the local Chinese who spoke English rather than Chinese as their main language and were almost all from the same region of Canton. The refugees naturally formed groups and associations of their own. In Sydney the Chinese Youth League (1939) and the Chinese Seamen's Union (1942) were two of the most prominent. Both were influenced by Australian unions, and predominantly militant left-wing unions at that. However, as long as the war lasted, most Chinese continued to prove their patriotism by giving to the many fundraising events organised by Sydney KMT. As Dr Shirley Fitzgerald points out, it was not until the end of the WWII that there was once more a clear-cut division between political left and right amongst supporters of China.



Above & right

Dancing event at the Sydney KMT hall during war time.

總支部禮堂於二次大戰時期舉辦舞會景況。(Collection of State Library of NSW: Hood II: ON 204 Box 74 / 97-119)

During the Pacific War, the operations of the Australasian KMT came under pressure from another less expected source – the Australian authorities. Archival evidence indicates that the letters, publications and activities of Australian KMT were routinely scrutinised by the Australian government’s censorship and security offices. At this time, the Overseas Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese KMT appointed several special commissioners from its Overseas Department to Australia to expand the party’s activities and to gain adherents among the Chinese community. One of them, Chuang Ya-Kee, was appointed to serve as Secretary-General for the Australasian KMT in 1941. However, far from being welcomed with open arms, his arrival elicited a stiffly-worded letter from the Australian Minister for External Affairs to the Chinese consul-general, advising that the Commonwealth government did not consider it desirable to foster in Australia any alien organisation, nor to accept special officials of such an organisation from overseas. This happened in August 1941, which is rather puzzling, since earlier that year Australia had established full diplomatic relations with China, and announced the appointments of Sir Frederic Eggleston as Australia’s first Minister to China and Dr Hsu Mo as China’s first Minister to Australia. Their full titles were Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary respectively. Perhaps it was just official inertia. After Dr Hsu had taken up his post in Canberra, the exemption visa for an overseas-appointed Secretary-General for the KMT was approved, from March 1942 for three years, no doubt an expression of good will towards the first Ministerial appointment to Australia from China, who was now a valued ally in the war against Japan.

Dr Hsu arrived in Sydney in September of 1941, and on the 14th of that month a gathering of 950 NSW Chinese community members met at the Trocadero to welcome him. In his welcome speech, the Chinese consul-general, Pao Chun-Jien, expansively though not exactly accurately described the occasion as the day when the oldest and youngest democracies shook hands. A few days later in Canberra,



Chuang Ya Kee (third from right) as Secretary-General for Australasian KMT in the meeting at the Sydney KMT hall.

莊雅各秘書長（右三）出席總支部大會。（Collection of State Library of NSW: Hood II: ON 204 Box 74 / 97-119）

Dr Hsu formally presented his credentials to the Governor-General, Lord Gowrie, describing his mission as to inaugurate cooperation between China and Australia based on common concerns for liberty and democracy. Although Australasian KMT's representatives were invited to attend this ceremony in Canberra, this was the first time since the KMT took power in China that the Australasian KMT did not host an official ceremony for a new Chinese diplomatic representative; and it was never to fulfil that role again.



Welcome ceremony held for the Chinese Minister, Hsu Mo, in September 1941 at Sydney's Trocadero.

1941年紐修威華僑歡迎徐公使大會。（Collection of Mrs. Marina Mar）



Chinese Minister, Dr Hsu Mo, visits the Sydney KMT in 1941.

1941年徐公使參訪總支部合影。



Hsu Mo and KMT delegates in Canberra in 1941. (Collection of Mr. Wai Wang)
徐謨公使就任與總支部及僑界人士合影。

The official relationship between Australia and China improved markedly after Dr Hsu's arrival. Following the Japanese capture of Singapore on 15 February 1942 and the subsequent bombing of Darwin, Prime Minister Curtin made his historic declaration that Australia would turn to the US for military protection. In March the US government sent General Douglas MacArthur to Australia to establish the Allied Pacific command headquarters. At the same time, Prime Minister Curtin also agreed to Dr Hsu's request that a Chinese military representative office be set up alongside General MacArthur's headquarters in Melbourne. Later, in October, this office became the Military and Naval Attaché office of the Chinese Legation. In the meantime, in July, the Bank of China, relocated from Singapore, was established in Sydney. For many years afterwards, until the de-regulation of the financial sector by the Hawke government in the 1980s,

it was the only foreign bank with a licence to operate in Australia. One former staff member of the Bank of China, Eric Yee, recalled the important task of the Bank of China in issuing war bonds which were a key source of funding for the Chinese government in prosecuting the Sino-Japanese War. Each bond contained 33 coupons and promised 4% interest. Many patriotic Chinese Australians, particularly KMT members, participated and promoted the purchase of these war bonds. However, with the resumption of the nationalist-communist civil war after China's victory in 1945, not one was redeemed.



Manager and officials of Bank of China in Sydney.
雪梨中國銀行經理與職員合影。
(Collection of Mr. Eric Yee)

In July 1942, Dr Hsu announced the establishment of new Consulates in Melbourne and Perth. Later, in early 1943, K. L. Chau was appointed as the Chinese Minister of Information to Australia. For his work, Chau travelled across Australia both to promote China's war efforts against the common enemy Japan, and to raise funds to support China. The increased number of Chinese diplomatic and military officials in Australia had the contradictory effect of diminishing the importance of the Australasian KMT in the eyes of the Chinese community on the one hand, and of raising its profile on



Another example of the war bond – *Aviation to Save the Country*.

航空救國券。(Collection of Bruce Lew)

An example of the war bond issued by Chinese government.

救國公債。(Collection of Dennis Chan)

the other. These officials replaced the Australasian KMT as brokers between the government in Chungking and the Chinese communities in Australia; yet as the endorsed representatives of the Chinese KMT, they bolstered the overall significance of the Australasian KMT within the Chinese communities.

After Japanese midget submarines attacked Sydney Harbour in June 1942, fear of a Japanese invasion caused many wealthier Chinese people to move to inland towns, following the example of their white counterparts. For example, the then leader of Australasian KMT, Mar Leong Wah, moved his family to the Blue Mountains. His son, Albert Mar, recalled that there were many wealthy Chinese families living in the Blue Mountains and further west until the end of WWII. However, the business community remained



Chau.
巢坤霖先生。



Above Chinese military officials in Melbourne during war time.
駐守墨爾本的中華民國武官公署與軍隊合影。

Below Chinese Officials in Melbourne during war time.
戰爭時期駐守墨爾本的中華民國外交與軍事代表合影。(Collection of Mr.Wai Wang)

in the city, and Chinese merchants, many of them members of the Australian KMT, were still the major supporters of the Chinese officials and their work, and were enthusiastic donors to the Chinese War Relief Fund. For example, Harry Fay, whose family lived at Inverell in rural NSW, was then a committee member of the Australasian KMT and an investor and partner of various businesses in Sydney, South Asia and Hong Kong. His daughter Marina Mar still has in her possession a medal her father received from Chiang Kai-Shek in commendation for his generous donations to the Chinese War Fund. In 1942, Marina's sister, Marjorie, won the Allies Day Queens Competition, in the process helping to raise a total of 2,686 pounds for the War Fund. Australian born Chinese from the families of KMT members and members of the Young Chinese Relief Movement were involved in organising many social activities such as dances, balls and social competitions to raise money to support China's war efforts. This occurred not only in Sydney but in cities across Australia. At the same time, Chinese professionals of less pronounced KMT affiliations helped Chinese officials to set up Australia-Chinese Associations across Australia, to promote friendship between China and Australia through various lectures and publications and to unite the Chinese communities.

The war brought many new Chinese to Australia who had no previous connections here. For them, life was difficult. By 1945 there were about 1,300 Chinese seamen and refugees from the Pacific Islands stranded in Australia. To help these new arrivals, in 1942 Samuel Wong, who had previously left due to internecine conflicts, re-joined the Sydney KMT and was appointed to its committee. He proposed a plan of relief for the Chinese refugees which won support from

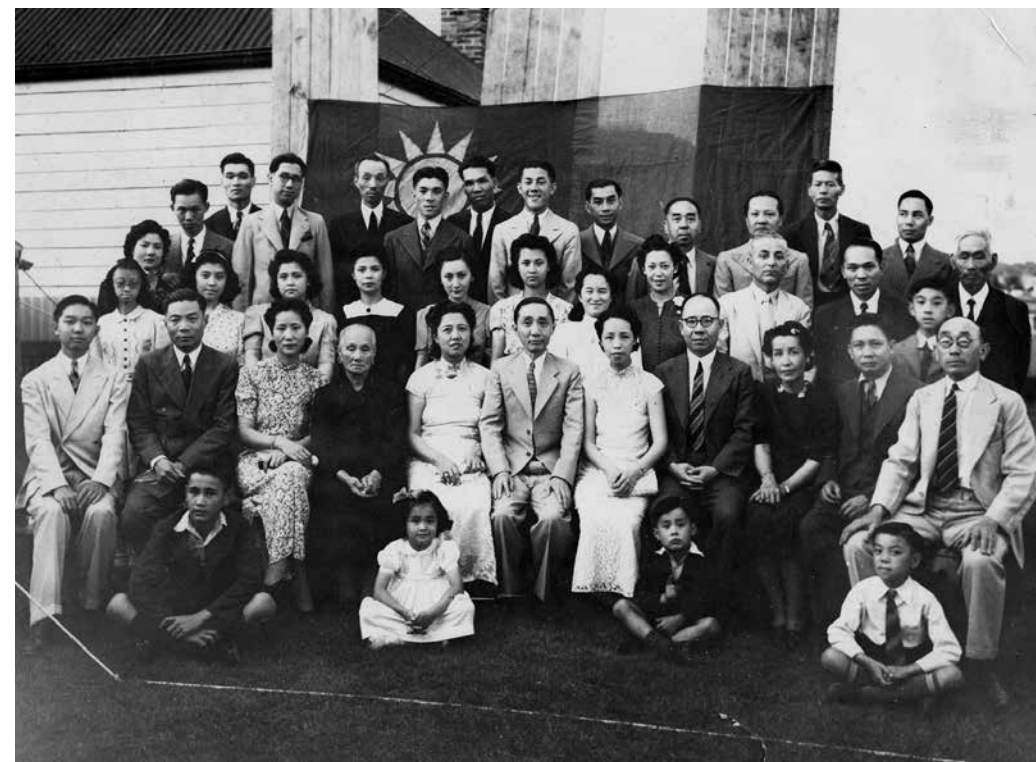
Opposite above Dr Hsu Mo and Harry Fay's family and friends in Inverell, NSW.

徐謨公使與總支部代表雷妙輝的家人與友人合影。(Collection of Mrs. Marina Mar)

Opposite below Dr Hsu Mo visited Brisbane from 19 to 22 June 1944. This was his first visit to Brisbane. Two weeks later, Mr Tso Mu Chen, Consul General of Brisbane, announced that 2000 Chinese in Brisbane donated 14,000 pounds to the China Comfort Fund.

1944年徐謨公使首次參訪布里斯本，兩週後，布里斯本領事陳作睦宣布當地約有兩千華人更捐募了14,000鎊以慰勞中國士兵。

(Collection of Norma King Koi)



the committee. The Chinese Youth League was established. Both it and the Kiung Jai Pip Gee Association (established in 1943 by landed Chinese seamen from Hainan, in South China) received help from the Australasian KMT to organise performances of Chinese or Cantonese Opera, for both fund-raising and entertainment purposes. At this time, the Sydney KMT was fulfilling two distinct functions. As the Australasian headquarters branch it worked closely with Chinese government officials; and as the local branch it was active in helping Chinese seamen and Chinese refugees from the Pacific Islands.

Eugene Seeto, who later became a leading member of the Australasian KMT, recalled that he received help from the Sydney KMT after he was evacuated to Sydney from Papua New Guinea with his family in 1943. Eugene was born in Canton in 1926. After the Sino-China war started, he and his mother joined his father and uncles on Buka Island in New Guinea. His family had owned a business of cocoa production and trade from the early twentieth century at Buka Island. He was too young for the business, however, so his parents sent him to a Chinese school in Rabaul where he stayed with an uncle. He also recalled that the KMT was very influential in the PNG community before the Japanese occupation in 1942. One of his uncles was a committee member of the PNG KMT and was captured and killed by Japanese in Rabaul. Eugene went back to Buka Island after the Japanese army occupied Rabaul. The Japanese army landed in Buka Island not long after. He and his family



and some friends were forced to escape to the jungle, and remained there for one year until Australian forces rescued them and evacuated them to Australia. In 1945 he joined the KMT and today is the most senior and respected member in the Australian KMT, having held every position in the organisation.

Eugene Seeto.
司徒惠初先生。

To mark the victory of the Allies in 1945, the NSW Chinese community's various associations and societies came together to arrange a grand celebration. Mar Leong Wah on behalf of the Australian KMT, Simpson Lee on behalf of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce and Yiu Ben on behalf of the Chinese Masonic Society co-chaired the organising committee. In conjunction with this, the Chinese Comports (sic) Fund (this was probably due a misspelling by the printer, the group's name in Chinese is the 'patriotic and war funds of China') conducted by Mar Leong Wah, was able to raise nearly 9,000 pounds to send to the government of China to assist in reconstruction. One member, George Wing Dann, said in 1945:

'We overseas Chinese can do much to hasten the work of rebuilding our country. We helped all we could do in wartimes, donating to patriotic funds and doing everything possible to raise supplies for our fighting men. This helped materially to end the war. It also helped spiritually because our sorely pressed soldiers could know that standing behind them were millions of their kinsmen in foreign countries, all striving to do the best they could for China.'



Committers of Chinese Comports Fund (The patriotic and war funds of China). First row from right: unidentified person, D. Y. Narme, Mar Leong Wah. Second row from right: unidentified person, Henry Ming-Lai, Yuan Zhong-Ming, Jang Wai-Shui, Tan Chut.

中華民國全國慰勞抗戰將士委員會澳洲總分會委員合照。前排右二起：歐陽南，馬亮華。後排右二起：余國樂，袁中明，鄭渭輔，譚楫。



Above Members of the New Holland steamship branch and Singapore branch of the Committee of China Relief Fund, 1937.

駐澳洲紐荷崙國難後援會分會及星洲籌賑祖國難民委員會合影

Below Committee members of China Relief Fund in Young, 1938.

陽市勸募公債委員會合影。



Above Committee members of the China Relief Fund in Fuji, 1939.

1939年飛枝華僑抗日救國會暨蘇瓦劇員義演籌款救國會合影。

Below Townsville Chinese Youth Relief Committee, 1944.

湯士威爐中華青年救國會合影。



Above Official opening of the Townsville Chinese Youth Relief Committee, 1944.
 湯士威爐中華青年救國會開幕合影。

Below Citizen Association of Queensland for the relief of the distressed in China, 1944.
 昆士蘭華僑協會舉辦救濟中國募款活動。(Collection of Norma King Koi)



Above KMT officials receiving a photograph of Chiang Kai-shek from the Chinese Consul General 1941. From left to right: Ding Zu-Pei, Hong Zi-Lung, Harry Fay, K. T. Loh, D. Y. Narme, Pao Jun-Jian, Martin Wang, Zheng Wei-Shao, Mar Leong Wah.

1941年澳洲總支部接受總裁玉照典禮。左起：領館隨員丁祖培，副領事洪子隆，航運會主席雷妙輝，特派專員駱介子，本部常委歐陽南，總領事保君健，副領事王良坤，本部監委鄭渭韶，本部常委馬亮華。

Below Dinner for welcome to new Chinese Consul-General and farewell to former Chinese Consul-General at Nankin Café in December 1941.

總支部代表參與設宴於南京樓之歡送保君健暨歡迎段茂瀾領事晚宴。



Above First Chinese Minister presented his credentials to the Governor General (Lord Gowrie) at Government House in Canberra on 16 September 1942. (Collection of Mr. Wai Wang)
首任駐澳洲公使徐謨於1942年向聯邦總督遞交就任國書。

Below Farewell to Chinese Consul-General, Tsiang Char Tung in Fiji, 1940.
1940年飛枝華僑歡送蔣家棟領事合影。



Members of Chinese community in Fiji with the Australian journalist William Henry Donald in 1941. Donald was friend and advisor to Dr Sun Yat-Sen, later he also became a close advisor to Chiang Kai-shek. This photograph was taken in 1941 when Donald was on his way back to China to resume his role as an advisor to Chiang Kai-shek. He was captured in the Philippines en route to China by the Japanese in 1942 and held prisoner for three years till the end of WWII. He successfully concealed his identity from the Japanese during his captivity, as there was a substantial prize on his head, dead or alive; the Japanese thought his service to the Chinese an influential element in their fight against the Japanese invaders. Donald was already dying when he was liberated though. He died in 1946 in Shanghai where he was buried with a state funeral.

1941年飛枝華僑與擔任孫中山多年顧問的澳洲記者端納合影。端納於1903年離開澳洲前往中國後，一生未再回到澳洲。1940年他離開中國，1941年太平洋戰爭爆發，他準備回中國，但途經菲律賓時被日軍俘虜。1945年離開菲律賓集中營時已經生命垂危，後葬在上海。此照片為他前往菲律賓前與飛枝華僑社群合影。



Dinner for the Fiji branch at the 16th convention in 1945.

1945年飛枝支部第十六屆代表大會聚餐合影。

Above Fiji branch committee members of the 16th convention gathered for photography 1945.

1945年飛枝支部第十六屆代表大會合影。

Below Dinner for the Fiji branch at the 16th convention in 1945. From left to right on the table: Fong Shu Fung (Peter Fong), unknown, Fung Jack Ting, unknown, Mrs B. S. Seeto, Fong Sai Tin, Mrs Harm Bing Nam, Fong Sue Kee, Mrs Yee Kum Wing, Vice-consul, Yee Kum Wing, Mrs Fong Sue Kee, Ham Bing Nam, Mrs Fong Sai Tin, Ivan Ham Nam, Fong Shu Wing, unknown.

1945年飛枝支部第十六屆代表大會聚餐合影。

Rebuilding Australasian KMT in the Post-War Era

1946–1958

The end of WWII brought the Australasian KMT the opportunity to rebuild its regional organisation and its community profile. But the Chinese civil war, which recommenced almost immediately after Japan capitulated, and the Cold War which also started shortly thereafter, both had a detrimental effect on this revival process. Two regional conventions were held between 1946 and 1958. Both attempted to redefine the role of Australasian KMT in the post-war period.

Immediately after the end of Pacific War, the Australasian KMT was directed by the Central Committee of the Chinese KMT to carry out an investigation of its membership – deaths, displacements and loss of properties. There was also a flurry of other activities. Branches in Sydney and Melbourne, as well as those in country NSW and Victoria, all went through the process of electing new committees. Money was raised, mostly in Sydney, more than 1,000 pounds, to meet the debt of the headquarters branch. The Sydney branch – as distinct from the headquarters branch – had its committee and activities curtailed. Branches in Fiji and PNG were re-established and they arranged official meetings in 1946 and 1947 to investigate their membership and property losses during the war. The Australasian KMT received

numerous letters requesting information on dead relatives and their property. In 1946 it arranged compensation for committee members who were captured and killed by Japanese in PNG. It also assisted in the establishment of the Chinese Association of New Guinea in Sydney in 1946.



Fiji KMT branch celebrating the victory of the Allied Army.

飛枝支部慶祝聯軍勝利。



Chinese students of Yat Sen Primary School in Fiji in 1946.
飛枝華僑逸仙小學學生及教職員合影。

In 1947, delegates from Victoria, NSW, New Zealand (Auckland and Wellington), Fiji, Western Australia and PNG gathered in Sydney for the seventh convention. It was eight years since the sixth convention in 1939. The convention found that declining membership and hardship to members caused by loss of properties during the war was seriously obstructing the rebuilding of the Australasian KMT. The headquarters branch alone had a debt of 4,475 pounds. The convention however balked at the idea of selling the headquarters building, and again confirmed the decision of fifth convention that no one had the authority to do so. Instead, it was decided to sell two of the five properties the Australasian KMT owned in Canton. This decision was strongly supported by Victorian and Melbourne KMTs.

Reflecting the changed relative position between the Australian KMT and the Chinese KMT, on the issues that were especially important to the Chinese community in Australia – the future of the war-time refugees and the White Australia policy – the convention was content to rely on the Chinese KMT and the Chinese government to pursue



Representatives and staff of the seventh annual convention for Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia and South Pacific Islands in 1947. Back row from left: Lu War-Yue, Say Tin Fong, Tan Ming, Chen Rong-Xiang, Liu You-Chang, Zhou Jing-Yang, Yu Guo-Le, Fu Guo-Sheng, Hu Wan, Tan Chut, Lee Chut. Sitting: Chen Min-Xiang, Liu Jin-Liang, Chen Zong-Quan, Yan Ji-Chang, Mar Leong-Wah.

1947年第七屆代表大會代表團於澳洲總支部開會場所合影。第二排從左到右：盧華岳，方瑞田，譚明，陳榮享，劉有成，周敬揚，余國樂，符國晟，胡玩，譚楫，李少勤，前坐者：陳明相，劉錦梁，陳宗權，顏繼昌，馬亮華。

them. Although many delegates were vocal in demanding urgent action to fight for their rights in the post-war period, they agreed to submit a petition to the Chinese government to request that it negotiate with the Australian government through diplomatic channels. No noticeable outcome resulted. In 1948 the Chinese Consul-General in Melbourne, Martin Wang, reported to the Chinese Foreign Affairs Ministry that he had lodged official complaints in response to the decision of the Minister of Immigration, Arthur Calwell, to deport some six hundred Chinese refugees from Australia. Some of these refugees had married and conducted successful businesses while

in Australia. In the meantime, diplomatic representation between Australia and China was upgraded to ambassadorial level, and in July 1948 the first Chinese Ambassador, Dr Kan Nai-Kuang, arrived. A few months later, he made a plea for the review of Australian immigration law, which also brought no visible result. However, in 1949 Martin Wang, Consul-General in Melbourne, was more successful working behind the scene to help obtain a court injunction restraining Arthur Calwell from proceeding with the deportation of five more Chinese.

The civil war between the communists and the nationalists in China had further ramifications for the rebuilding of the Australasian KMT. Some influential members became disaffected and alienated. For instance, in 1948 Samuel Wong of the Sydney branch refused all further official positions with the KMT. He preferred to work for the 'Chinese Australian Immigration Society' (established in 1947) to fight the White Australia Policy. In 1949, the *Chinese Times* published its last issue in Sydney. The withdrawal of the defeated KMT government from the Chinese mainland to Taiwan



Martin Wang.
王良坤先生。

that year was accompanied by an avalanche of membership loss in the Australasian KMT, which continued even after the situation on Taiwan had stabilised. Many Chinese Australians were anxious about their families in the now communist-controlled China, and did not want to be known for an association with the KMT.

The loss of the Chinese mainland to the communists had a more direct impact on the operations of the Australasian KMT. It was already deeply in debt at the end of WWII. Although the seventh convention (1947) had decided to sell some of its properties in Canton

to pay the debt, the chance to do this was lost when the civil war was lost. Understandably, the response to the call for donations from the members was not good. So it was decided to rent out not only the ground floor but also second and third floor of the Haymarket building – leaving only the small fourth floor for KMT's use. This proved to be financially effective, reducing the debt of 4,475 pounds in 1950 to 778 pounds by 1957. But for these seven years, the Australasian KMT operated with very limited space, sharing the fourth floor with the *Australia-China Times* that had been started up (in 1955) to replace the venerable *Chinese Times*.

However, the Australasian KMT was never absent from Chinese community events. Australia had maintained diplomatic relations with the Nationalist government on Taiwan, so for years leading Chinese Australians in various cities with sizable Chinese communities would join KMT leaders at the Chinese embassy or consulates-general to celebrate the 'Double Tenth' – the Republic of China's National Day – to show their sympathy and support. As a rule, as Eugene Seeto recalled, these public gatherings were organised in the name of the Chinese community as a whole rather than just by the KMT, in contrast to how it was done in the 1930s. While many Chinese Australians still supported the Republic of China, most did so in homage to Dr Sun Yat-Sen's legacy, or in admiration to Chiang Kai-Shek leadership in defiance of Japan, and hoped that with the reforms that had been achieved in Taiwan he might yet regain China. The reputation of the KMT itself as an organisation was much discredited.

The involvement of China in the Korean War (1950–1953) no doubt had an influence on Australia's continued support for the KMT government as the legitimate Chinese government. The Chinese KMT, now in Taiwan, had the chance to rebuild its connections with the Australian KMT from 1955 onward. The then consul-general in Sydney, Martin Wang, with the support of his friends in the Chinese community such as Mar Leong Wah, D. Y. Narme, Jang Wai-Shui, Charlie Ngkin, Henry Minglai and Harry Fay, initiated the establishment of a weekly

publication called *Australia-China Times*, produced by the Australasian KMT. The *Australia-China Times* published almost exclusively news and information from Taiwan, and was an important tool for the government in Taiwan in its propaganda war with the Communist regime for the heart and mind of the Chinese community in Australia. The Australasian KMT also served as an alternative, non-official distribution point for publications, language text books, musical records and movies sent by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the government in Taiwan. From 1955, Ming-Chuen Yu was appointed by the Chinese KMT to be the Executive Secretary of Australasian KMT. He also edited the *Australia-China Times*.



The *Australia-China Times*.
《澳華時報》。
澳華時報。



Ming-Chuen Yu.
余鳴傳先生。

The post-war Chinese communities in Sydney and Melbourne were both numerically larger than the pre-war ones. Although many Chinese were forced to leave Australia after WWII under the White Australia Policy, some were allowed to remain, and there was also some traffic in the other direction. After 1949, Chinese with some family connections in Australia who wished to escape the communists could immigrate under various legal pretexts, transiting mainly through Hong Kong. Bruce Lew, a Melbourne Chinatown identity in the 1970s to the 1990s and a senior member of the Melbourne KMT, was one.

When the Korean War started in 1950, he was in Hong Kong, having escaped from China after the communist takeover. The Hong Kong economy was in a jitter because the UN had placed an embargo on trade with China, so he accepted his father's offer to sponsor him for an employment visa to work as a shop assistant in his father's Chinese grocery store in Little Bourke Street, Melbourne's Chinatown. One of the ramifications of the White Australia Policy was that the mostly male Chinese population in Australia were not allowed to bring their family members or their fiancées to Australia, and they were not allowed Australian citizenship regardless of how long they had been living here. So if they were unable to find a wife in Australia but wished to fulfil their filial duties according to Chinese traditions and have children to carry on their family names, they had to return to China to marry and then to return to Australia, alone. Neither their wives nor their children could come back with them. However, for those who could afford it, there were various loopholes, such as an employer's sponsorship visa. About the same time, Dennis Wing Leong Chan, now an elder member of the historic Kong Chow Society and in his younger days prominent in Melbourne Chinese community's younger set, came to Australia on a student visa obtained with the help of his uncle, Mathew Wing Dann, a leading merchant in Melbourne. Perhaps reflecting the Australian authorities' sense of priority of those bygone days, Dennis Chan had to wait in Hong Kong for six months for his visa, while Bruce Lew got his with little delay.



Mathew Wing Dann.
陳榮亨先生。

Bruce Lew's and Dennis Chan's stories reflect the experience of the generation of immediate post-WWII Chinese immigrants in Melbourne. While they had relatives here, still it was a strange land for them. Their English was not as fluent as the pre-war Chinese immigrants and the Australian-born Chinese, and post-war Australia, still recovering from the effects of the war, was a land of shortages and rationing. Paradoxically, the White Australia Policy created for them a handy refuge – Chinatown – where the Chinese congregated because they were not welcomed elsewhere. It was a wonderful place for the homesick. Here was the food that they liked, people to talk to, and community activities. Here Chan and Lew met Martin Ching Yee Louey, whose grandfather, David Louey Harney, had been an executive member of the Melbourne KMT since WWII. The Louey family rented the ground floor of the Melbourne KMT's building in Chinatown as their residence. Martin Louey and Bruce Lew, a teacher when he was in China, established the Victorian Chinese Youth Association as a sub-group of the Melbourne KMT on Chinese Youth Day 1956. As Martin Louey and Dennis Chan shared a passion for photography, Dennis Chan also became involved in many KMT activities. Together they organised a photographic exhibition of the life of Chiang Kai-Shek in October 1956, to gain support for the Chinese Nationalist government from the Australian community. They also collaborated with the Chinese consulate in Melbourne and the Melbourne KMT to encourage the Chung Wah Kung Hwei (the Chinese Citizens' Society of Victoria) to support the Nationalist government in



David Louey Harneg.
美利濱分部雷宜爵先生。

David Louey Harneg.
美利濱分部雷宜爵先生。

Taiwan. Through the Victorian Chinese Youth Association, whose office was located in the basement of Chung Wah Kung Hwei's premises, they linked up with the Young Chinese League which represented young Australian-born Chinese, and held joint functions. Bruce Lew recalled that the joint committee set up to welcome and host the Republic of China team to the 1956 Melbourne Olympics was particularly successful in uniting young Chinese in Melbourne.

Life of George Wing Dann

George Wing Dann was born in Australia. He went to China with his father, Chen Ah Kew in 1901. He grew up in his father's village of Hwang Chun, Xinhui district, province of Guangdong in China. He and his brothers, Matthew Wing Tang, William Wing Young and Peter Wing Shing came back to Australia after their father passed away. In the 1920s he and his brothers set up Wing Young & Co in Little Bourke Street in Melbourne, with interests in banana plantations and wholesaling, fruit and vegetable marketing, furniture making and food manufacturing. The business of Wing Young & Co gradually grew through the 1930s. Its business network expanded to connect with other states of Australia, the Pacific Islands and Hong Kong. In 1921 Wing Dann and his brothers became members of KMT. During the 1930s Wing Dann was elected to the committee of the KMT's Victorian branch, where he served for several decades. He was also leading member of the Chinese Citizens' Society of Melbourne and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce of Melbourne. Wing Dann was not only an important leader of the Chinese Australian community but also a good friend of local politicians and businessmen. In 1955 he was appointed Commissioner of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission of the Republic of China (Taiwan). He visited Taiwan and met President Chiang in 1956. When the Republic of China's Olympic Games delegation came to Melbourne, Wing Dann arranged to host them in contribution to the development of education and sport in the Chinese community.



Above Welcome ceremony for the Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) held by the Melbourne KMT in 1956.

世運代表抵達墨爾本，黨部及僑界前往接機盛況。
(Collection of Mr. Bruce Lew)

Right Melbourne KMT officials and Chinese Consul-General George Tung-Wei Lew in the front of Chung Wah Kung Hwei.

美利濱分部代表與劉東維領事參訪中華公會合影。
(Collection of Mr. Bruce Lew)



Similar stories are to be found in the Sydney Chinese community, though here there was an additional element made up of the many families who had moved from the Pacific Islands during the war and for various reasons were able to stay in Australia after the war ended. Many younger members of this group joined the KMT and took on roles in the organisation. For example, Eugene Seeto and Tam Ming were from Papua New Guinea, and Say Tin Fong was from Fiji. Taking advantage of the favourable political conditions created for the now Taiwan-based Nationalist government by the Korean War, they were able gradually to rebuild the KMT's community profile.

In 1953 and 1955, the Australasian KMT hosted the visit of Hong Kong soccer team to Australia; and in 1956 the Republic of China's Olympic team visited from Taiwan. Throughout the 1950s, the KMT built closer relationships with the Chinese Women's Association of Australia, the Chinese Citizens Association of NSW and the Young Chinese Association of Sydney (whose former name is the Young Chinese Relief Movement). All this greatly broadened its appeal in the Chinese community.



The visiting Soccer team of the Eastern Athletic Association (Hong Kong) and Sydney KMT officials in 1953.

1953年香港東方體育會征澳足球隊與總支部委員合照。



Above Welcome ceremony for the Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) in Sydney, 1956. 總支部代表前往歡迎世運代表團抵達雪梨。

Below Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) in Sydney, 1956. 世運代表團於雪梨。



Above Welcome ceremony for Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) at the Sydney KMT hall, 1956.

總支部歡迎世運代表團盛況。

Below Welcome ceremony for the Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) held by the Sydney Chinese community, 1956.

雪梨僑界歡迎世運代表團晚宴盛況。



Standing (Left to Right): Mr E. Kaw, Mr R. Oong, Mr G. A. Wong See, Mr H. Ming Lai, Mr T. Hoy Lee.
Sitting: Mr N. Lee (Hon. Secretary), Mr T. F. Wong See (Vice-President), Mr W. J. Lee (President), Mr R. H. Mar (Hon. Treasurer), Mr L. W. Ling.



Above Executive members of the Australian Chinese Association of NSW. Standing (left to right): Mr E. Kaw, Mr R. Oong, Mr G. A. Wong See, Mr H. Ming Lai, Mr T. Hoy Lee.

中澳協會紐修威執行委員會委員近照，1949-50及1950-51。

Below Chinese Consuls-General, Martin Wang and George Tung-Wei Liu visited the Victoria branch in 1951.

1951年前後任領事王良坤與劉東維參訪維多利亞支部。



Above Tea party at the Victoria branch with Chinese Consuls-General, Martin Wang and George Tung-Wei Liu in 1951.

1951年前後任領事王良坤與劉東維參訪維多利亞支部舉辦之茶會。



Below Guests gather for photography in the photo exhibition to celebrate the 70th birthday of President Chiang. The exhibition was arranged by Victorian Chinese Youth Association.

域多利亞省華僑青年學會舉辦之「蔣總統生活照片展」與領事及美利濱分部代表合影。



Above Chinese Consul-General and Melbourne branch members launched the photo exhibition to celebrate 70th birthday of President Chiang.

領事劉東維為域多利亞省華僑青年學會舉辦之「蔣總統生活照片展」剪綵開幕。



Below Melbourne welcome ceremony for the ROC (Taiwan) Olympic team in 1956.

(Collection of Mr. Bruce Lew)

1956年墨爾本領事、僑界與黨部於黨所前歡迎世運代表團盛況。



Above Melbourne welcome ceremony for the ROC (Taiwan) Olympic team hosted by the Chinese Consul-General (first row from right) together with Arthur Calwell (second from left of first row), General Secretary of headquarters – Ming-Chuen Yu (middle of first row) and members of the Melbourne branch in 1956.

1956年墨爾本領事、總支部書記長與美利濱墨爾本黨部要員僑界與黨部要員於黨所歡迎世運代表團合影。

Below Melbourne welcome ceremony for the ROC (Taiwan) Olympic team hosted by the Chinese Consul-General together with Chinese societies and KMT in Melbourne in 1956.

1956年墨爾本領事、僑界與黨部要員於黨所前歡迎世運代表團盛況。



Above Dinner for the Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) in Melbourne 1956.
1956年美利濱分部歡迎世運會選手代表晚宴合影。

Below Dinner for the Olympic team from ROC (Taiwan) in Melbourne 1956.
1956年美利濱分部歡迎世運會選手代表晚宴合影。

Working Below the Radar in the Cold War Years

1958–1972

In June 1958, the 8th regional convention for the Australasian KMT was held in Sydney. Probably due to the interest this event created in the community, some thirty new members joined the Sydney KMT. John Yen was one of these new members. He remembered that the ceremony for swearing-in the new members was held in the office of the Sydney Chinese consul-general because there was insufficient space for it at the KMT headquarters building.

Representatives from branches in Rabaul, Auckland, Wellington, Brisbane, Suva, Tahiti and Melbourne attended the convention. The Central Committee of the Taiwan KMT sent a special representative, Lin Wei-Dong, to attend. The Taiwan KMT had earlier sent Ming-Chuen Yu to serve as Secretary-General of the Australasian KMT. Yu's salary and living expenses were shared by the Taiwan KMT and the larger local branches – Sydney, Melbourne, Auckland and Rabaul.

As the rules of Australasian KMT allowed grass-root members to participate directly in the election of the headquarters branch's office-bearers, and because the costs of travel to Sydney to attend committee meetings were prohibitive for many, Sydney members had traditionally dominated KMT's headquarters branch committee. Election results from the 8th convention continued this trend, but with the influx of a large number of new and younger members. These new

committee members brought with them a strong sense of renewal which was welcomed by delegates from the more distant branches. Three new executive members were elected – Eugene Seeto, David Sang and Charles Chan, all from Sydney. Eric Yee also from Sydney was elected treasurer and chairman of the Youth Committee. Both Charles Chan and Eric Yee had only joined the KMT just prior to the convention. They replaced the former leadership team of Mar Leong Wah and David Young Narne who had been in charge of the headquarters branch for more than twenty years.



Delegates at the 8th National Convention of Australasian 1958, Sydney.
1958年總支部召開第八次代表大會代表合影。

The new members' influence brought needed reforms to the structure and financial management of the regional headquarters branch, along more democratic lines. While leadership of the branch was still exercised by the Secretary-General and an executive committee of three, a seventeen member management committee was elected whose members were nominated from each branch rather than only



Delegates for the 8th Convention in front of the headquarters, 1958.
1958年總支部第八次代表大會代表於黨所前合影。

from Sydney members. The convention also overturned rules that allowed senior committee members to use the headquarters property as collateral for private bank loans. A property management committee was established. This had immediate effects. Legal documents related to the headquarters property were retrieved from the custody of the consulate-general and the banks, and renovation of the building was soon underway.

The final decision of the 8th convention was that a Double Tenth celebration in the name of Chinese community of NSW would be arranged to take place in the renovated hall in the headquarters building. This was duly carried out and was so successful that it led to further celebrations of Double Tenth and Chinese Youth Day in the following years. The hall of the headquarters building also became the venue for popular film nights, showing Chinese-language drama and documentary films. Similar Chinese film nights hosted by the KMT in



General Secretary of headquarters – Ming-Chuen Yu (middle) and members of Sydney branch in 1958 at a movie night held by the Sydney KMT at the Chinese Presbyterian Church, 1958.

總支部書記長與委員於華人長老教會舉辦電影放映會合影。



Movie night held by the Sydney KMT at the Chinese Presbyterian Church, 1958.

總支部於華人長老教會舉辦電影放映會盛況。



Movie night held by the Sydney KMT at the Chinese Presbyterian Church, 1958.

總支部於華人長老教會舉辦電影放映會盛況。

Melbourne, Darwin and Perth also proved extremely popular. Initially these films were sourced from Taiwan, and mostly with Mandarin dialogue. Later Cantonese films made in Hong Kong were also shown. Eugene Seeto recalled that as film nights became a popular source of entertainments for the Chinese community, they also helped improve the financial situation of the headquarters branch, even though the entry fee was small. The films from Taiwan were supplied at no cost by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.

As the KMT de-emphasised its political role, its leading members set about rebuilding their relationships with other leading community organisations, such as the Chinese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Masonic Society and the clan societies. As the two Chinese governments – the Communist on the Chinese mainland and the Nationalist on Taiwan – duelled for the heart and mind of the overseas Chinese, the latter through the KMT and official offices, the former through various front organisations such as the Youth Chinese League, merchants and business people tried their best to maintain good relationships with both sides. On the one hand, with Australia still officially in the better-dead-than-red camp they were obviously averse to being seen as Communist-friendly; on the other hand, even if they were politically inclined against the Communist regime, many of them had families in Communist China to worry about. So in 1958 the NSW Chinese Sport Association was established as an autonomous sub-group by the Australasian KMT. The Association had free use of the third floor of the KMT building to provide a reading room and a table tennis room, and also for social dancing and movie showing. Its membership reached more than two hundred in 1959, and included both young Australian-born Chinese and Chinese students from overseas. They also arranged sport teams for intra- and inter-community competitions in basketball, soccer, tennis and table tennis. The Young Chinese League located up the road in Dixon Street provided similar facilities for the left-leaning young Chinese.



Above Members of the NSW Chinese Sport Association.
中華體育會成員合影。

Below Social gatherings of members at the Sydney KMT hall, 1960s.
雪梨黨員於總支部餐敘 (Collection of Mr Eugene Seeto)

Through personal contacts, seminars, films, exhibition and English newsletters, the Australasian KMT promoted positive images for Taiwan to both the Chinese community and the Australian community. The Nationalist government received diplomatic and political support from Australia for all of the 1950s and 1960s. Political support came from both sides of Australian politics, openly from the Liberal Party, and more discreetly from the Australian Labor Party. Wilfred Kent Hughes, then Minister of Interior, was the first Australian Minister to visit Taiwan, in early 1955. In 1956, Sir John Latham, former Minister for External Affairs, led an official delegation to Taiwan, loudly proclaiming Australia's support for the Nationalist regime. In 1957, the Australia Free China Associations were established in Melbourne, organised by KMT leaders and with



Victorian and Melbourne branches' newly appointed committees gather with the Chinese Consul-General at a world anti-communism convention in Melbourne, 1959.

1959年域多利支部與美利濱分部新任委員就職典禮暨慶祝自由日與反共運動革命大會聚會合影。

political support from across the Australian political spectrum. Not to be outdone, leading members of the Sydney KMT established the Overseas Chinese Anti-Communist Association of Australia. In 1960, branches of the Free China Associations were also established in Sydney and Brisbane.

Although at the time probably the majority of the members of the Australian Labor Party were inclined to recognise Communist China – the People's Republic of China – its leadership was more ambivalent. In 1960, Laurie Short, Labor politician, union leader, and one-time communist-sympathiser, but now a leading member of the Sydney Australia Free China Association, visited Taiwan as guest of the KMT, and returned bearing favourable opinions. Arthur Calwell,



Above Arthur Calwell and daughter joined Bruce Lew's family party in Melbourne.

澳洲第一任移民部長與女公子參與墨爾本黨部要員聚會。
(Collection of Mr Bruce Lew)



Left Arthur Calwell and Harry Fay in 1960s.

澳洲第一任移民部長與雪梨黨部要員雷妙輝合影。
(Collection of Marina Mar)

who became leader of the Labor Party in 1960, was friendly with many leading Australasian KMT members in Sydney and in Melbourne. Harry Fay and George Wing Dann, respectively leading members of Sydney and Melbourne KMTs, were major donors to Calwell in his election campaigns, at a time when Chinese were rarely involved publicly in Australian politics.

In 1959, Chen Chih-Mai arrived in Australia as the Chinese Ambassador, only the second after Dr Kan Nai-Kuang, who had left in 1951. Australia had prudently declined to accept the appointment of a new Chinese Ambassador until then, in order not to give offence to the People's Republic of China. He immediately made an official call on Calwell at Parliament House. Calwell and Chen maintained close contact until Calwell resigned from the leadership in 1967. While Leader of the Opposition, Calwell often attended official Chinese embassy events, at which he was generally the senior Australian politician present. Belying his reputation as a hard-hearted enforcer of the White Australian Policy, he also attended many Chinese community functions, and went out of his way to help some Chinese with obtaining exceptional circumstances visas, especially for family reunion. Ambassador Chen recalled that Calwell told him of his support of a two-China policy, though this was desired by neither of the Chinese governments. Calwell also told Chen that a Labor government under his leadership would not refuse to give a hand to Taiwan. This was never put to the test as Labor did not win government until 1972 and by then Calwell was no longer leader. Chen was a very successful ambassador for the Nationalist government. During his term of office Australia opened its first embassy to China in Taipei in 1966. One year later, Prime Minister Harold Holt visited Taiwan, the first Australian Prime Minister to visit the Republic of China (Taiwan).

After Ambassador Chen's arrival in Australia, the Australasian KMT and its branches changed their approach to gaining support in the Chinese community from promoting Taiwan as a base for retaking



Australian Prime Minister Harold Holt meets President Chiang Kai-Shek in Taipei in 1967.
1967年澳洲總理荷特拜會蔣中正總統。(National Archives of Australia: A8281,35)



Chinese language school established under the auspice of the Chung Wah Kung Hwei (Chinese Community Society of Victoria) but sponsored and hosted by the Melbourne Kuomintang branch. Here Bruce Lew, the school's principal, is giving instruction to a mixed group of Australian and Chinese students in 1962.

中華公會附設中文學校校長劉新耀上課情況。
(National Archives of Australia: A1501, A4083/1)

of the Chinese mainland, to promoting itself as a source of Chinese cultural heritage and language. In 1959, both the Sydney KMT and the Melbourne KMT began plans to open Chinese-language schools. This was fertile ground, as overseas Chinese communities tended to be culturally conservative and therefore found the Chinese communist regime's antipathy to tradition, considering all old ways as anti-revolutionary, distasteful. The Sydney Chinese school – the first after WWII – was opened at the KMT hall in 1960. Two years later Chung Wah Kung Hwei (Chinese Community Society of Victoria) in Melbourne also opened a Chinese school with support from the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission. Bruce Lew was the school's principal.

In 1957, Chinese with fifteen years' residence in Australia were allowed to apply for naturalisation. As most Chinese in Australia did not or could not return to China after 1950, this policy allowed them the opportunity for a secure future. Eugene Seeto opened his own restaurant at Manly while still working with the KMT. He recalled that he often worked at the KMT from evening until midnight with Ming-Chuen Yu, the Central Committee-appointed Secretary-General. He also acted as Secretary-General when Yu went back to Taiwan for a short period in the 1960s. As a social welfare initiative that echoed the Chinese tradition of respecting the aged, on Chinese New Year 1963 the Sydney KMT issued free vouchers to its older members to obtain goods from the three Chinese grocers in Chinatown at Haymarket – Say Ting, On Yee Lik and Hong Sing and Co. These older members received the vouchers as New Year's gifts for several years. In 1964, the KMT's Central Committee in Taipei decided to make the Auckland and Rabaul branches direct-reporting branches, thus taking them out of the of Australasian KMT structure. The branches in Fiji and Tahiti had been made direct-reporting branches sometime previously. The Victorian branches elected to remain, together with other Australian branches, as sub-branches under the leadership of the Sydney headquarters. The Australasian KMT thus became just the Australian KMT, though it retained its regional organisational name as

well as retaining a role in coordinating regional conventions. A significant difference in leadership between the Sydney and Melbourne branches in this period was that whereas from late 1950s younger Sydney members had taken over the leadership in KMT, in Melbourne, junior members became leaders of pro-KMT societies but did not compete with the branch's senior leadership.

In 1965, a Canberra branch was established and later also a Perth branch. However, these branches were respectively under the direction of the Chinese embassy and consulate, and were never very active in the community. In 1965 also, Secretary-General Ming-Chuen Yu was appointed as a vice-consul so that he could stay in Australia without having to apply for a new visa. Thus in the 1960s the tie between the Australian KMT and the Nationalist government in Taiwan continued to be something of a client-master relationship.

Nevertheless, from 1960 to 1972 this relationship was mutually productive. The Australian KMT branches were instrumental in helping the Nationalist government in Taiwan to maintain its claim to legitimacy by promoting the economic and social advances it had achieved on Taiwan, both to the Chinese community and to the mainstream Australian community. And, with the support of the nationalist government in Taiwan, the Sydney and Melbourne KMT branches were able to undertake activities focussing on the cultural heritage and identity needs of their respective Chinese communities. Although the membership of all Australian KMT branches went into a steady decline throughout the 1960s, numerous new groups with KMT affiliation were being formed, indicating that the KMT continued to be influential in community leadership. It is quite usual even today to hear older people formerly active in the Chinese community of Sydney and Melbourne recalling that 'we were all Kuomintang in those days'.

Mr Eugene Seeto (left) at the 8th National Convention in 1958.

司徒惠初先生(左)於第八次代表大會。



General Secretary of headquarters, Ming-Chuen Yu (middle) and members of the Sydney branch.

書記長余鳴傳(中)與黨部代表。



8th National Convention of the Australasian KMT, 1958.

第八次代表大會開會盛況。



Delegates of the 8th National Convention of the Australasian KMT visit Chinese Consul-General Hsueh Shou-Heng.

第八次代表大會代表拜會薛壽衡領事。



Delegates of the 8th National Convention of the Australasian KMT and the special representative, Lin Wei-Dong.

第八次代表大會代表與中央代表林為棟合影。



Delegates of the 8th National Convention of the Australasian KMT visit Chinese Consul-General, Hsueh Shou-Heng.

第八次代表大會代表拜會薛壽衡領事。

Delegates of the 8th National Convention of the Australasian KMT visit Chinese Consul-General, Hsueh Shou-Heng.

第八次代表大會代表拜會薛壽衡領事。



Sydney branch members and Sydney Chinese Consul-General, Hsueh Shou-Heng. First row from left: Ping Wah-Tian, Yang Shui-Yi, Yu Hai-Le, Hsueh Shou-Heng (Chinese Consul General), Chen Zhao-Kun, unidentified person, unidentified person, Yu Ming-Chuen.

雪梨領事薛壽衡與黨部代表。前排左起：馮華添，楊水益，余海樂，薛總領事，陳兆焜，不詳，不詳，余鳴傳。



Top Welcome ceremony for the new Sydney Chinese Consul-General, Tian Bao-Dai.

總支部歡迎田寶岱領事。



Below Social gathering of staff of the Bank of China and KMT members in Sydney. 雪梨中國銀行與黨部成員聚餐。



Above KMT members involved in an event of Cantonese Opera for donations to renovate Rookwood Cemetery. The event was held by Chinese Masonic Society. 總支部代表參與致公堂舉辦之義演，為修復華人墳場募款。

Below Chinese Consul-General and Melbourne branch members attend to the ceremony of new staff of Chung Wah Kung Hwei. 墨爾本中華公會新任理監事就職，領事周彤華與黨部代表前往觀禮。



Above NSW Chinese Sports Association participating in the Orchid festival pageant at Parramatta in 1960. 雪梨黨員與中華體育會參與Parramatta嘉年華。

Below Australasian KMT representatives with President Chiang of Republic of China at the 9th Party National Convention of KMT in Taipei in 1963. 大洋洲代表參加中國國民黨第九次代表大會，與蔣中正總統合影。



Above Mr Eugene Seeto and other overseas Chinese representatives with the Premier of the Republic of China, Mr Sun Yun-Suan in the 1970s.

司徒惠初先生代表總支部回台開會，與孫運璿及其他華僑代表合影。

Right Minister of Economic Affairs, Kwoh-Ting Li, visited Australia in 1965.

總支部秘書長歡迎經濟部長李國鼎參訪澳洲，促進兩國經貿交流。



Left Welcome ceremony for Mr Chang Tao-fan, the President of Legislative Yuan of Republic of China, who visited Sydney in 1959.

1959年立法院長張道藩與夫人參訪雪梨，僑界歡迎晚宴盛況。

Below Douglas Darby (right) visited Taipei in 1970. He supported the KMT regime in the 1970s and helped to found the Australia Free China Society in 1973.

Douglas Darby (右) 於1970年參訪台北，是支持國民黨政權的澳洲重要盟友，並於1973年協助建立澳洲自由中國會。





Above Mr Douglas Darby (left) at a welcome ceremony for the members of National Water Life Saving Association (N.W.L.S.A) in Sydney.

Mr Douglas Darby 於歡迎中國水上救生協會晚宴上。

Below Welcome ceremony for the members of National Water Life Saving Association (N.W.L.S.A) visited Sydney. The Association was first launched in 1970 in Taipei with the aid of Surf Life Saving Australia (S.L.S.A) introduced by Mr Douglas Darby.

中國水上救生協會參訪雪梨，僑界歡迎盛況。此協會為Douglas Darby於1970年在台北協助建立。

9

The Australian KMT in the Age of Multiculturalism and the Asian Century

1972 and Beyond

The Australian Labor Party won national office in 5 December 1972 after twenty-three years in opposition. Gough Whitlam became Prime Minister and immediately unleashed an avalanche of policy changes affecting almost every aspect of Australian politics and society. Amongst these epochal changes was Australia's recognition of the Communist-governed People's Republic of China – the PRC – on 21 December 1972. From the Australian KMT's point of view, this was a cataclysmic decision, especially as Whitlam, in his eagerness, and without much thought, fell into line with the PRC's hardline position on One China – Beijing or else! Calwell's well-meaning, though equally naïve, musing on Two Chinas thus sank without a trace. Eugene Seeto recalled it to be a chilly time for Australian KMT members and their pro-Free China friends. However, like a few others, he did not turn away from the KMT. Instead, later in the 1970s he sold his restaurant business and started to work full-time for the KMT without pay. Also from this period on he started to preserve the KMT's archives and historical objects.

At this time, the Nationalist government in Taiwan had embarked on the economic development miracle that would in a few years time make it one of Asia's four tiger economies, together with South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore. In China the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was rolling on. The reality that Taiwan was a much better business partner than China, could not be ignored. So in September 1973, the Far East Trade Company, since then renamed 'Taipei Economic and Cultural Office' (TECO), was quietly allowed to open in Melbourne as an all-but official representative of the Republic of China (ROC) on Taiwan, although the use of both ROC and Taiwan was frowned upon. After some initial hesitation, the Australian KMT became active again both in Sydney and in Melbourne. The situation was somewhat similar to that of the 1920s, when the KMT was at odds with the official Chinese government representation. In Sydney, Eugene Seeto and his team got back to work to make sure that the Taiwan story continued to be told in Australia. In Melbourne, Bruce Lew and other members also ensured that the Melbourne KMT Branch remained active, albeit more limited in scope.

In the meantime there came a change of fortune for the Australian KMT from an unexpected quarter. Following the fall of South Vietnam in 1975, all three Indo-China states – Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos – fell under the control of Communist regimes. Over the next few years, more than three million people left, many escaping by small boats. The UNHCR estimated that at least 10% never made it through the journey. Australia accepted and settled more than 150,000 of the

surviving refugees, mostly from Vietnam. At least half of these new settlers were ethnic Chinese who, as merchants and intellectuals, were particularly persecuted by the new Communist regimes. Unsurprisingly, these new members of the Australian Chinese community preferred the cultural and political stance of the Australian KMT to that of the PRC-leaning groups. Like most overseas Chinese communities, the Indo-Chinese Chinese communities of Saigon and Phnom Penh were culturally conservative, so they responded more positively to the cultural activities offered by Taiwan through the Australian KMT rather than to the class-warfare slogan-laden materials from the official Chinese consular offices. So, the Sydney KMT – incorporated as the Chinese Nationalist Party of Australasia – again became an important player in the affairs of Sydney's Chinese community. In 1979, the Sydney KMT established the Chinese Cultural Centre to offer public services for the Chinese and the ethnic Chinese Indo-Chinese refugee communities. It also established, in the same year, the Yu-Mei Chinese School, both teaching Chinese language and sponsoring cultural activities. Eugene Seeto was the director-manager of both these initiatives.



Victoria and Melbourne branches members and friends gathered for photography.
域多利支部與美利濱分部成員與友人聚餐合影。(Collection of Mr Bruce Lew)



11th anniversary of the Yu-Mei Chinese School in Sydney.
雪梨育梅學校十一週年慶合影。



Dancing performance of Chinese student from the Yu-Mei Chinese School in Sydney.

雪梨育梅學校學生表演舞蹈。

Meanwhile, things were also changing in Taiwan. Chiang Kai-Shek had died in 1975. After an interim, his son Chiang Ching-Kuo, who held the post of premier at the time, took over leadership of the regime and cautiously commenced the process of political democratisation. In the 1970s, the post of Secretary-General of the Sydney KMT, in effect the chief executive officer of KMT's Australian regional operations was held by the Central Committee appointee Lew Koong Arng. When Lew returned to Taiwan in 1979, Eugene Seeto was appointed as acting Secretary-General by the local members. His appointment was later confirmed by the KMT Central Committee in Taiwan, an unusual response as the Central Committee was as a rule extremely negative about any show of autonomy by an overseas branch. During 1980s Taiwan's growing economy and trade status induced Australia to improve its connections with Taiwan. In 1981, the Australian Chamber of Commerce and Industry Office – later renamed Australian Commercial and Industry Office (ACIO) – was established in Taipei, as a counterpart of Taiwan's TECO in Australia. Both governments gave their unofficial offices reciprocal rights to issue

visas, including unrestricted tourist visas, to their respective citizens, and to carry out other consular services. In 1984 Taiwan's economy became tariff-free. Taiwan was the world's fifteenth largest economy, and Australia-Taiwan trade, in both directions, was greater than the corresponding Australia-China trade. In 1987, Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission was able to open an office in Sydney as the Cultural and Educational Centre. Eugene Seeto was appointed as the centre's first director. He gave up his leadership position in the Sydney KMT, and was subsequently appointed to an advisory body of the Central Committee whose membership is reserved for former high-ranking members of the Party.



Mr Seeto, on behalf of the Cultural and Educational Centre, welcomed representatives of Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission.

司徒惠初先生代表雪梨華僑文教中心歡迎僑委會代表餐會。



Above Sydney branch members attend the launch of See Yup Temple in Glebe, Sydney 1983.

1983年總支部代表參與四邑關帝廟擴建開幕儀式。

Below A representative of Taiwan's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission presented a memorial arch to See Yup Temple in Glebe, 1983.

1983年中華民國僑務委員會頒贈四邑關帝廟紀念牌坊合影。



Sydney Chinese community gathered for donation to Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children (now the Children's Hospital, Westmead). From left to right are Henry Ming-lai, Dr John Yu, Mr Eugene Seeto and King Fong. (Collection of Mr King Fong)

雪梨華人為亞歷山大兒童醫院募款活動中，余國樂、余森美博士、司徒惠初和方勁武合影。

Notwithstanding all this, the official relationship between Australia and China was also improving, as China's economic liberalisation gathered momentum under Teng Xiaoping's leadership after 1978. Therefore the Australian KMT's community activities in conjunction with Taiwan had to be undertaken with discretion. The Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989 put a temporary hold on the development of a closer official Australia-China relationship. However this did not enable the Australian KMT to expand its community influence, largely because the situation faced by the KMT in Taiwan had also changed.

Chiang Ching-Kuo had died in 1988 having put Taiwan's political regime irreversibly towards full democracy. For the first time in its history, the KMT faced the challenge of competing for office in open

elections. To such a party, the relevance of overseas branches whose members are essentially foreign nationals, was limited. So long as the KMT held national government in Taiwan, overseas branches such as the Australian KMT could have a role to play in supporting Taiwan. But in 2000, when the KMT in Taiwan lost office to the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), even that role disappeared. The DPP-led government had no reason to foster the support of the overseas branches of a rival political party.

The Australian KMT's leadership had not been blind to these impending changes. They had also realised that, with Australia's adoption of multiculturalism, the Australian KMT, as a custodian of Chinese Australian history, had an important role in helping the Chinese community to define its place in Australian national history. The Chinese community, coming from many different countries and of many different historic backgrounds, is already multicultural, so its experience could be valuable to other Australians as they work together to build a common society. Chinese Australian history also has a special relevance to our understanding of the history of White Australia and its transformation into multicultural Australia. As far back as the 1970s, Eugene Seeto had set the Sydney KMT on course to preserve its historic documents and its organisational heritage. In 2006, the late Dr Henry Chan of the Chinese Australian Historic Society (CAHS) was invited to examine the KMT's archives. In association with scholars at La Trobe University, Dr Chan and his CAHS team initiated a project funded by a Community Heritage Grant of the National Library of Australia to identify, catalogue and preserve the historical archives of the Australasian KMT. The project confirmed the heritage value of these archives. In 2010, the Melbourne KMT and the Sydney KMT became community partner organisations to support La Trobe University, under Professor Judith Brett's leadership, to win a three-year research grant from the Australian Research Council for a project to analyse and open up these nationally significant archives to academic and community researchers. Thus, the Australian KMT



Above Annual meeting of The Oceanic Regional Association of Overseas Chinese in Sava, Fiji. One of the important aims of this Association is promotion of Chinese culture. Delegates gather for photography at Yat Sen Primary School.

大洋洲華僑聯合年會於斐濟開會，各代表於逸仙學校合影。

Below Annual meeting of The Oceanic Regional Association of Overseas Chinese in Sydney, 1983.

大洋洲華僑聯合年會於雪梨召開，各代表合影。

now has a new direction and a new life as an Australian community organisation serving the Australian community.

This history of the Australasian KMT views the turbulent history of China becoming a nation state through the experiences of Chinese Australians living – surviving – in the land of White Australia, often excluded, sometime tolerated, but only rarely included. From the beginning, the Kuo Min Tang used every opportunity to mobilise Chinese in Australasia to share in the task of building a modern and powerful homeland. Their experience of life in a modern democratic society was a resource that set them apart from their former countrymen. Urbanisation had transformed the social patterns of the Chinese community in Australia. Living mainly in cities, Chinese Australian residents acquired the social and cultural skills suited to the rhythms, customs and manners of Australian urban life, replacing the social networks based on clan and kinship with more open forms of public association and a commitment to public and civic duties. The Japanese invasion, WWII, the Chinese civil war, and the Cold War had tested and sometimes distracted the Australian KMT. Nevertheless, KMT members were not backward in helping the post-war Chinese community to take part in mainstream Australian society with justifiable confidence. Through all these events, they have held to the political ideals of Sun Yat-Sen to build a nation of liberty, democracy and compassion. In Taiwan, their dream has been largely realised; in China, perhaps someday it also will be; but most of all it is in Australia now that they can best see the realisation of these ideals. And so the Australian KMT stories, alive and well, will continue on.

