

論文の英文要旨

論文題目	中国国民党形成史の研究—〈孫文革命〉の展開と党国体制の成立
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The "Sun Yat-sen Revolution" was generated from the Asian-Pacific network of the South Chinese, which had been formed as a result of the overpopulation since mid-Ch'ing. Excluded from the existing order of local society based on kinship organizations, the mobile population formed secret society groups and Overseas Chinese communities outside of the dynastic rule, identifying themselves with the "Han race". The young intellectuals who had emerged from this mobile population organized the Revive China Society and started their revolutionary movement to overthrow the Manchu dynasty and establish a republic of the "Han race".

On the other hand, as a result of industrial development and educational and military modernization, local elites were increasingly centrifugal. At the same time, in stead of the traditional examination and bureaucracy systems which had separated local society from state politics through the rule of avoidance, adoption of parliamentary system to allow local elites' participation in central politics was required. The most radical elements among them hoped to establish a constitutional republic and

collaborated with the Revive China Society to organize the Chinese Alliance, even though soon broke up and returned to movements in their native provinces. Under their leadership, the 1911 Revolution broke out, in which provinces, or society, overthrew the court, or state, and established the Chinese Republic as a virtual federation, through "independence and partition on the premise of reunification". Therefore, this revolution can be described as "society against state".

Since the Chinese Republic adopted constitutional republicanism and parliamentary democracy to institutionalize political participation of the nation, political parties, as nation-wide organizations, played the role to connect society and state. The Chinese Alliance was reorganized into the Nationalist Party and set up lots of branches in each province to infiltrate into local society, which made it a medium for local elites to participate in politics. However, since the Nationalist Party excluded the mobile population of lower classes and relied on local elites, its organization became equivalent to the existing power structure and hierarchy of local society and lost its own leadership. Therefore, when the radical Nationalists started the Second Revolution against Yuan Shih-k'ai, most local elites who had little opportunity to participate in central politics did not respond to the Nationalists' mobilization. Soon after the revolution failed, Yuan Shih-k'ai dissolved the parliaments, which separated society from state again.

After the Second Revolution, the Chinese Republic became a federation based on the equilibrium between Yuan Shih-k'ai's central government and the local elites' provincial powers. Meanwhile, the Sun Yat-sen group established the Chinese Revolutionary Party based on Sun Yat-sen's absolute leadership, against which lots of ex-Nationalists opposed. Since its strict principles of leadership were applied solely to elites, although the Chinese Revolutionary Party succeeded in mobilizing the lower class people for the "overthrow Yuan, eliminate Lung" movement, it could not set up unified headquarters to recover Kwangtung. Therefore, when the equilibrium between state and society was lost because of Yuan Shih-k'ai's attempt to proceed to the imperial throne, Kwangtung Province could not be unified to participate in the Preserve State Movement of

the South-western military elites. As a result, even though the Chinese Revolutionary Party achieved some military success, it could not acquire power in Kwangtung.

When the parliaments were dissolved again because of the strife between the Northern military elites, the Preserve Law Movement was started by the South-western military elites to restore the equilibrium between the central government and provinces by recovering the parliaments as a medium for local elites to participate in central politics. Although Sun Yat-sen established the Primary Military Government in Canton, it was a domestic asylum government separated from local society and was soon usurped by the South-western military elites.

On the peace talk between the Peking and Canton governments, Sun Yat-sen published *The Sun Yat-sen Doctrine*, which argued his revolutionary philosophy, "to know is difficult, to do is easy". It was to emphasize that Sun Yat-sen, who had created revolutionary theories as a "knower", was superior to the political and military elites who were leading the Peace Talk as "dowers". According to this "doctrine", following Sun Yat-sen, the "fore-knower", the members of the revolutionary party, as "late-knowers", should lead the revolutionary movement to establish a new regime and educate the ordinary people who were "non-knowers", which was to be the philosophical basis of the party-state system.

After the breakdown of the peace talk, Sun Yat-sen organized the Kuomintang and established the Continued Military Government in Canton. However, while Sun Yat-sen sought for state power, Ch'en Chiung-ming concentrated on the autonomy of local society. Their discord made the Regular Government, which had been reorganized from the Military Government, another domestic asylum government, and state and society were still separated. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang infiltrated into Kwangtung society relying on local elites of each county and, on the other hand, absorbed lots of people of lower classes by supporting labor movements. However, since the Regular Government was not controlled solely by the Kuomintang, the party could not solve the separation of state and society. Therefore, Sun Yat-sen had to establish the Primary Generalissimo's Headquarters for the Northern Expedition to leave Kwangtung, which failed as a result of Ch'en Chiung-ming's revolt.

On returning to Kwangtung to establish the Recovered Generalissimo's Headquarters, Sun Yat-sen allied with Soviet as well as the Anhwei and Mukden cliques, both of which were supported by Japan, in order to resolve domestic and international isolation, isolating the Peking Government, which was controlled by the Chihli clique with the help from America and Britain. Meanwhile, the Kuomintang was reorganized "from below to above", infiltrating into Kwangtung local society. Through this reorganization, the Kuomintang became based mainly on peasants and workers who had been organized into peasants' associations and unions, but soldiers, merchants and intellectuals also shared considerable parts of the Kuomintang. This means the Kuomintang stimulated various social groups' politicization, although the party remained superior to and independent from them to construct its own power structure and hierarchy within local society. At the same time, the Kuomintang controlled the Nationalist Government and the Kwangtung Provincial Government, both of which, like the Kuomintang itself, adopted the committee system and absorbed political and military elites. This made the Kuomintang the sole medium to participate in politics. Thus, the Kuomintang established the party-state system in Kwangtung Province to control and connect state and society, which would be spread to the whole country through the Nationalist Revolution.