The Guomindang in Europe
A Sourcebook of Documents

Marilyn A. Levine and Chen San-ching
INTERNATIONAL AND AREA STUDIES

David K. Leonard, Dean

International and Area Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, comprises four groups: international and comparative studies, area studies, teaching programs, and services to international programs.

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

The Institute of East Asian Studies, now a part of Berkeley International and Area Studies, was established at the University of California at Berkeley in the fall of 1978 to promote research and teaching on the cultures and societies of China, Japan, and Korea. It amalgamates the following research and instructional centers and programs: the Center for Chinese Studies, the Center for Japanese Studies, the Center for Korean Studies, the Group in Asian Studies, and the East Asia National Resource Center.

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Cover photo: Second Congress of the French Chinese Nationalist Party (FGMD)
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ABBREVIATIONS

AAE  Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris
AAUFC Archives Association Universitaire France-Chinoise, Lyons
AN  Archives Nationales, Paris
AOM Archives Nationales Section d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence
BIC Banque industrielle de Chine
CCP Chinese Communist Party
CFC Comité franco-chinois de patronage des jeunes Chinois en France
CLC Chinese Labor Corps
ECCO European Branches of the Chinese Communist Organizations
ECCP European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party
ECYC European Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps
EGMD European Branch of the Chinese Guomindang
EHES French Branch of the Chinese Guomindang
GMD Chinese Nationalist Party, (Guomindang)
GYS The Surplus Society (Gongyushe)
PCF French Communist Party (Parti Communiste Français)
<table>
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<tr>
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<td>Public Record Office, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>QND</td>
<td>Chinese Youth Party (Qingniandang)</td>
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<td>SDP</td>
<td>The Chinese Social Democratic Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFEA</td>
<td>Sino-French Educational Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFI</td>
<td>Sino-French Institute (at Lyons)</td>
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<tr>
<td>SFIO</td>
<td>French Socialist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLOTFOM</td>
<td>Service de liaison avec des originaires des territoires de la France outre-mer (at the AOM)</td>
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Although we value the advice of others, we are responsible for any errors present in the sourcebook.

November, 1999

Marilyn A. Levine & Chen San-ching
I've heard the varying perspectives on the Party, and they can be analyzed in the following categories: The Free-thinking faction: This faction mostly composed of the youth after May Fourth, who stand in the most Leftist positions, who oppose political parties. They object to politics, even to the point of rejecting all tools of revolution, but just prattling about revolution. Those to the slight Right, although they cannot compare to those with Leftist tendencies (in opposing everything), they reject all political parties of the past. Moreover they do not recognize the value [of political parties] in their days; nor do they ask about [the parties] historical mission in the historical process. They obliterate everything. All they have is an idealized political party platform. Yet they themselves do not experiment personally. Although some [of these] people do recognize the value of the Tongmenghui in history, they definitely do not recognize its important position in the people's revolution in the country during the current time period. They are unwilling to subordinate to other people (in reality if one receives the orders of others because of a belief in an ideology, it does not mean being subordinate). Each of them sets upon an individual banner. It is really a case of in the aftermath of May Fourth the new youth organizations “sprouting like spilling bamboo after the rain,” and thus multiplying. Yet one has never seen them following one banner of revolution.

Zhou Enlai, Speech at EGMD Plenary Meeting, Lyons, France (1923)
The Chinese Nationalist Party in Europe (EGMD) was officially formed in November 1923 in Lyons, France. The commitment to a political party and to the potential of revolutionary activity was a big step for those involved. Political party commitment for Zhou Enlai and others was liberating as opposed to stifling as they adopted ideologies and party agendas. Although these young Chinese abroad had initially participated in the ethos of the New Culture Movement, there is another subtext of Zhou Enlai's words, that those who really wanted to change China must look beyond the New Culture Movement to more engaged activity, must be willing, in fact, to break with tradition. It is no surprise that some of the most adaptable political actors in twentieth-century Chinese history perfected their activism in a foreign arena, where distance allowed perspective, activism did not bring death, and organizational and ideological training were accessible. It is the aspiration of this sourcebook to illustrate the process that groups of Chinese activists and intellectuals underwent during this period of transformation. While the book focuses on the development of the EGMD, the ideology of other groups and individuals will be outlined in a section exploring the broader political and intellectual contexts.

This introduction is divided into two parts. The first part presents the historical context of the post-1911 era in China and the political environment in France. The second part includes a discussion of sources, the significance of the area, an overview of the sourcebook, a note on translation, and a comparative chronology.

Historical Introduction

The Chinese Political and Cultural Predicaments

The Chinese people have often looked upon their history as a cyclical process. As the West impinged on China in the mid-1800s, the Chinese were near the bottom of the cyclical curve. Philip Kuhn outlines this process in his work about military formations and the process of decentralization in late imperial China. Among his conclusions is that the Chinese were at a point where they needed new political and social organizations to deal with dynastic
decline. The Qing dynasty was considered foreign, composed of Manchus from the northeast who overthrew the Ming in 1644. Yet the Qing rulers had energized the country and ruled successfully, until problems of population and corruption exploded during the mid-1800s. Although withstanding numerous revolts and foreign conflicts, the Qing were unable to adapt quickly enough either their own or Western institutions to cope with the situation and were subsequently overthrown in the Revolution of 1911.

The establishment of the Republic of China (ROC; 1912) after the overthrow of the monarchy was not a panacea for the problems afflicting China. These problems included, first, a growing decentralization of power, which aided in the rise of provincial militarism and the warlord system that was soon to emerge. Second, democratic institutions were not well or widely understood. Third, Yuan Shikai (1859–1916), who was among those who had little understanding of democratic institutions, was gathering power and did not uphold the parliamentary system as he had promised. Finally, foreign countries took advantage of China’s instability by leasing concessions and increasing their involvement in Chinese political and economic affairs.

Although the Revolution of 1911 did not fulfill its promise, hopeful Chinese patriots directed their energies to issues of immediate political control and a retooling of social and cultural institutions. Two key examples of these efforts were the emergence of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhongguo guomindang, 中國國民黨, GMD) under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen (1866–1925) and the New Culture Movement promoted by intellectual leaders such as Chen Duxiu (1879–1942) and Hu Shi (1891–1962).

Sun Yat-sen has been considered the “Father of the Chinese Republic” by historians in the PRC and ROC. Westerners have held a more ambivalent...

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1 Philip Kuhn, Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796–1864 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1980).

2 Marie-Clare Bergère, Sun Tat-sen (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998); Bergère’s article on the historiography of Sun Yat-sen also provides a very good overview of some of the contentious biographical issues: “L’effet du Sun Yat-sen Quand Orient et Occident se tournent les dos” Études Chinoises 11:1 (Spring 1992): 87–107; see also C. Martin Wilbur, Sun Yat-sen, Frustrated Patriot (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976); Harold A. Schiffrin, Sun Tat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968); an early monograph on Sun Yat-sen and the French that includes some archival sources from France written by Jeffrey G. Barlow, Sun Tat-sen and the French, 1900–1908 (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian
attitude toward Sun Yat-sen, recognizing his intentions and stature, but generally viewing him as a leader who did not succeed in many of his goals. He certainly epitomized the revolutionary ethos of adaptability in overseeing the various incarnations of a revolutionary political party, particularly in his cooperation with the Soviet Union and the creation of a United Front with the Chinese Communist Party (Gongchandang, 中國共產黨, CCP). Sun had founded the Revolutionary Alliance (Tongmenghui, 同盟會) in 1905 to lead an overthrow of the Qing dynasty. Although recognized as a major revolutionary force, in fact the Revolution of 1911, which started with a military revolt in Wuchang, was not initially led by the Revolutionary Alliance, and that weakened its position in the establishment of the Republic. After the Republic was proclaimed, the Revolutionary Alliance was reorganized as the Guomindang. The brilliant Song Jiaoren (1883–1913) was responsible for the crafting of the GMD into a potent political force, winning major victories in the parliamentary elections held in 1912. For this feat he was assassinated by Yuan Shikai. Following Song’s assassination in 1913, and the subsequent abolition of parliament by Yuan Shikai, Sun Yat-sen led the Guomindang to Guangzhou, where, cooperating with Chen Jiongming (1878-1933), he formed an alternate government to the one in Beijing. A second revolution attempted during this period was handily suppressed by Yuan. In 1914 the Guomindang was reorganized into a revolutionary party but had little hope in fighting the warlord menace, which grew even more vicious after the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916. By the early 1920s the GMD had gained in strength,


but Sun Yat-sen and Chen Jiongming fought with each other, and at one point in 1922, Sun barely escaped to Shanghai.

It was at this stage that Sun Yat-sen began in earnest to explore and eventually agree to a policy of cooperation proposed by representatives from the Comintern, to have a United Front with the Chinese Communist Party. Under the agreement, the CCP members would be allowed to join the GMD individually. In return for their cooperation with the CCP, the GMD would receive Soviet Union financial aid, especially to establish the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy, and to carry out armed expeditions against the warlords. Another objective was the organizational overhaul of the GMD with a Leninist organizational vision. At the same time, Sun was working on a final articulation of his Three People’s Principles: Nationalism, Livelihood, and Democracy. The CCP was officially admitted into the GMD at the January 1924 reorganization meeting.

Sun Yat-sen was the undisputed leader of the GMD and was able to hold the United Front together by force of personality against internal opposition by some of his most long-standing comrades. His death on March 12, 1925 resulted in a power struggle within the GMD, particularly among Wang Jingwei (1883–1944), Hu Hanmin (1879–1936), and Chiang Kai-shek (1887–1975). Furthermore, the United Front had created deep fissures within the GMD, and factional disputes intensified after Sun’s death. The factions that emerged were those who were opposed to the CCP participation in the GMD (the Right faction); those who were sympathetic to some of the social agenda of the CCP and approved the participation (the Left faction); and those who stayed in the middle (generally called the moderates). On the far Right of the political spectrum was the Western Hills faction, led by Zou Lu (1885–1954) and Lin Sen (1868–1943), who in the summer of 1925 held a meeting that expelled the CCP from the GMD. They established an alternate party headquarters in Shanghai. The Western Hills faction was penalized at the GMD Second Party Congress in January 1926. Hu Hanmin had been associated with the Right wing, but because a relative of his played a role in the assassination of Liao Zhongkai in mid-1925, Hu was in disgrace. Wang Jingwei, who had made his career by a bold assassination attempt against a Qing official at the turn of the century and was probably the most popular leader within the Guomindang, led the Left faction. Wang, however, was not the political equal of Chiang Kai-shek, the military commandant of the Huangpu Military Academy, who was perceived of as a moderate leader with
a large ambition: to take back control of the country from the warlords. As the Eastern and Northern Expeditions to eradicate the warlords gained momentum and success during 1926 and 1927, Chiang was able to outmaneuver his contenders for power within the GMD and CCP. In April 1927, Chiang Kai-shek initiated a coup against the CCP and established a seat of government in Nanjing. For a few months, Wang Jingwei cooperated with the CCP at his government center in Wuhan, but this alliance did not last beyond the summer of 1927, when Wang joined with Chiang in an uneasy alliance. Thus, the first United Front ended in 1927, and after several unsuccessful uprisings, the CCP, drastically reduced in size, retreated to the countryside, while some party members went underground in the cities.

Another important dimension of Chinese political culture during this period was the New Culture Movement, which was in essence a radical reconsideration of Chinese tradition, primarily by youth, between 1915 and 1921. The traditional Confucian examination had been abolished in 1905, and many Chinese youth had begun to study Western subjects in a rapidly changing educational system. Mass media, increasingly modern transportation, and youth groups helped disperse a new sense of vigor. The New Culture Movement was epitomized by the publication of *Youth Magazine* founded in 1915 by Chen Duxiu (1879–1942). The call for the rejection of the old and the adoption of new values and behaviors was emphasized in numerous articles and social living experiments. For example, one of the most important cultural movements fostered by Chen Duxiu’s publication was the movement against literary Chinese writing and the adoption of vernacular Chinese, led by the Columbia graduate Hu Shi. An intriguing dimension of the New Culture Movement was the engendering of political activism. One of the most intensive manifestations of this activist spirit was the May Fourth Movement, which was a series of demonstrations and strikes led by Chinese students to protest their government’s pending approval of signing the Versailles Treaty, which would have conceded the former German holding of Shandong to the Japanese. The aftershocks of the May Fourth Movement resonated

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throughout major Chinese cities, resulting in detention and arrests, beatings, and ultimately, among the protestors a sense of empowerment. The May Fourth Movement embodied the mixture of nationalism and culturalism that exemplified this generation. National salvation was linked with rejecting old culture and upholding new culture. This was best represented by Chen Duxiu's advocacy of "Mr. Science and Mr. Democracy."

The May Fourth Movement was a high point of unity among the searching youth of China. By 1921, however, fissures appeared, as typified by the debate between Hu Shi and Li Dazhao (1888–1927) on problems and "isms." Hu Shi argued for the exploration of social and political problems before the adoption of any radical assumption of political power, while Li Dazhao advocated the adoption of an "ism" or ideology (in his case Marxism-Leninism) that would lead to immediate political action and control. The social revolution would follow the political revolution. Beginning in 1921 the formation of political parties broke apart the unity of the May Fourth era and led to the mass political movements of the mid-1920s, when political parties and labor unions formed mass associations and fomented numerous strikes in both the cities and the countryside. Thus, 1921 served as a turning point for Chinese youth, with some continuing along the traditional path of the scholar-intellectual and some breaking away onto a new path of adopting ideologies and participating in political parties.\(^5\)

In general, the New Culture era had been a time of fresh exploration as well as heightened concern about the national fate. Foreign intrusion into China was resented, but foreign science, technology, and culture were explored in a frenzy of activity. Amidst the incessant anarchy, poverty, betrayals, and incredible human suffering, the established radical leaders such as Sun Yat-sen and the newly minted youth group cohorts could not easily separate their politics and culture. It was within this background that the movement to work and study in France arose.

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\(^5\) This struggle between the social and political revolutions, the tension that has lasted throughout the rest of the century between the revolutionaries and the intellectuals, is discussed in the context of the Chinese community abroad in Marilyn Levine, "Chinese Students in France: Pedagogy and Politics," in *Culture across Continents: Proceedings of the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies* (Lewiston, N. Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1992), 4:602–607.
The Movement to Work and Study in France

The Formation of the Work-Study Movement. The Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Movement (Qingong jianxue yundong, 勤工儉學運動, hereafter called the Work-Study Movement, 1919–21) had been a product of longstanding social experimentation and commitment by several eminent leaders of the Chinese intelligentsia, including Cai Yuanpei (1868–1940), Wu Zhihui (1864–1953), and most important, Li Shizeng (1881–1973). A prominent educator and Anarchist in his philosophy, the enterprising Li began the first endeavor to have students frugally study in France by establishing a soybean and printing enterprise at the turn of the century to help employ Chinese students. He also established the Travel to France Frugal-Study Society (1912) (LiuFa jianxuehui, 留法儉學會) in cooperation with his Chinese and French colleagues. This society ultimately sent three groups of young Chinese to France and was only halted because of the outbreak of the First World War in Europe. In 1915, another group, the Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Association (Qingong jianxuehui, 勤工儉學會) was formed along the same principles as the Frugal-Study Society; although formed by the promoters of the Frugal-Study Society, it eschewed any concrete actions in its organizational principles.

The idea of diligent-work and frugal-study reemerged at the end of the First World War on a larger scale. The French male population had declined drastically as a result of the fighting, and the Chinese believed that they could take the places of those who had been killed in the war, work diligently in the French factories, live frugally, save their money, and pay for their education in France. In so doing, they would be able to learn directly the secrets of Western technology and civilization and through their knowledge strengthen and possibly save China. In 1916 in Paris, Cai Yuanpei, Li Shizeng, and Wu Zhihui, along with renowned French intellectuals and politicians, organized the Sino-French Educational Association (SFEA). Branches of this organization were established throughout China and France, twenty preparatory schools were established in China, and ultimately over sixteen hundred Chinese worker-students traveled to France between 1919 and 1921. They were encouraged by the SFEA, which placed them in French factories.

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Other promoters of the Work-Study Movement in earlier incarnations and who published in the influential booklet Lü Ou jiaoyu yundong (1916) were Wang Jingwei and Zhang Ji (1882–1947).
and schools. It is important to note that there was a definite Anarchist underpinning to the enterprise; not only were the promoters Anarchists, but also they adopted Anarchist values such as mutual aid and self-sufficiency, which were to have a profound effect on the activities within the Work-Study Movement.

Why was the Work-Study Movement so focused on France? According to the following explanation there were diverse reasons:

It was France, rather than Great Britain, Germany, or the United States, which was perceived as the best place for sojourning Chinese. This fact was reflected not only by the popularity of the Work-Study Movement, but also by the great number of self-supporting Chinese students who went to France. It should also be noted that thousands of Chinese laborers from among the over 175,000 strong Chinese Labor Corps, which had aided the Allies during the First World War, elected to continue working in France, in the early twenties.

The French were perceived as the most friendly of foreigners. "Frenchmen were fraternal and without boundaries toward foreigners, and that was the reason foreign students went to France in the greatest numbers." The spirit of the French Revolution, of French fraternity, equality, and liberty, were sources of real inspiration for the Chinese. There were several aspects of French society that were seen as resonating with the values and goals of the New Culture Movement. The concept of a popular education was highly attractive to the Chinese, who saw this trend exemplified in the French law of 1907 that separated the church and state in education. France was perceived as the most sophisticated Western country in terms of science, philosophy, and general intellectual trends. From the philosophes who prompted the French Revolution to Pasteur and the beginnings of microbiology, from Auguste Comte to Lamarck, the Chinese were excited to immerse themselves in a whole new world of advanced Western culture and knowledge. The more pragmatic goals of the Work-Study Movement were linked with working in factories and pursuing technical educations in France. The Chinese hoped that the growth of Chinese technology and economic development would serve as a basis for raising the standard of living and education in China, and promote the ultimate end of creating an informed and politically active citizenry.^[7]

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Thus the Work-Study Movement included various rationales such as patriotism, philosophical explorations, and the influence of groups and individual relationships, as well as personal aspirations.

The Decline of the Work-Study Movement and the Three Struggles of 1921. The Work-Study Movement was one of the boldest and most promising experiments of the New Culture era. It was not easy for the young Chinese to adapt to a new culture, and in fact, it was not easy to find positions in French factories during the postwar economic decline. Although Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui, and the secretaries at the SFEA endeavored to aid the rapidly increasing population of new arrivals, the situation deteriorated.\(^8\) By early 1921 there was 55 percent unemployment. Among the Chinese worker-students, hundreds were sleeping on the floor of the Chinese Federation building and in tents placed outside on the lawn.\(^9\) The Chinese government was notified of the situation, and further permits to travel to France were denied. But to genuinely aid the distressed Chinese was beyond the means of the SFEA. The turning point came in January 1921 with the visit of Cai Yuanpei, who was in France to oversee several intercultural enterprises. It appears that without much investigation of the worker-student situation, Cai made announcements that essentially abrogated the SFEA's responsibilities toward the worker-students and suggested that they form regional self-sufficiency groups.

While a portion of the worker-students agreed with Cai Yuanpei, a group led by Cai Hesen (1895–1931) at Montargis College demanded government support. They organized a demonstration in front of the Chinese legation in Paris and presented their demands for four years of financial support for each worker-student to the Chinese minister, Chen Lu (1876–1939). When Chen went outside to explain why he would not pledge government support for the worker-students, it appeared to the watchful French police that he was about to be assaulted, and a mêlée ensued. A further complication was the debate and disunity within the Chinese worker-student community. The Montargis

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\(^9\) The Chinese Federation, formed in August 1919, was a central place for many Chinese organizations and for Chinese generally to congregate. Its address—39 rue de la Pointe, Garencieres-Colombes—was often used as an address by worker-students. During the decline of the Work-Study Movement, the floors of the building were covered with sleeping Chinese worker-students, and more unemployed worker-students occupied tents pitched on the front lawns.
faction had proclaimed that they were Marxists, so they did not want to bolster the capitalistic system by working in the factories. They were opposed by a group led by Zhao Shiyan (1901–1927) and Li Lisan (1899–1967), who subsequently formed the Work-Study Alliance (Qingong jianxue tongmeng, 劳工兼学同盟), based on the principles of mutual aid and self-sufficiency. This was the first of three “struggles” that were to take place throughout 1921. It was called the Twenty-eighth Movement because the demonstration occurred on February 28.

Although the Chinese government would not support the worker-students in France, they offered to pay the cost of repatriation. It was the concerned French who helped the Chinese worker-students with subsidies during the spring of 1921, forming the Comité franco-chinois de patronage des jeunes chinois en France (CFC). The CFC put together 250,000 francs to support the Chinese, and through the unstinting efforts of Eugène Bradier, the secretary of the CFC, many Chinese were placed in schools and factories. During the spring and summer of 1921, the failure of the Banque Industrielle de Chine (BIC) also affected the Chinese worker-students, as many had deposited their savings in this institution and suffered more than unemployment when it failed. In these dismal circumstances, the news that the Chinese government was negotiating with the French government for a massive loan angered most elements within the Chinese community in France. They were convinced that the loan would be spent in arming the warlords and refloating the BIC. Mass meetings were organized, and the factions formed during the Twenty-eighth Movement by Cai Hesen and Zhao Shiyan were unified. Journalistic efforts, primarily those of Zhou Enlai (1898–1976), convinced the community that Chen Lu was deceiving them regarding the cooperation of the Chinese government. At one of these mass meetings the secretary from the legation was physically beaten and made to sign a statement pledging not to agree to the loan. In contrast to the Twenty-eighth Movement, this second struggle, the Loan Struggle, was successful in its objective, which was to prevent the signing of the loan. It also presented a unified Chinese community, one energized for a national issue rather than a matter of personal security. On the other hand, the humiliation and alienation of Chen Lu was to have serious consequences when the third struggle, the Lyons Incident, arose in September 1921.

Among the intercultural educational initiatives between the Chinese and the Europeans, there were three loci where Chinese political activities had the
most notoriety: the Sino-French Institute (SFI) established in Lyons in 1921, the Sino-Belgian cooperative endeavor at Charleroi University for Workers, and Montargis College. The Sino-French Institute was established nominally under Cai Yuanpei; it enlisted the support of the prominent Asia scholar Professor Maurice Courant, University of Lyons, and the head of the faculty there, Professor Jean Lépine. The direct work was most often performed by Cai's secretary, Chu Minyi. The Sino-Belgian cooperative foundations were negotiated by Xiao Xudong (Xiao Yu), the first secretary general of the New Citizens' Study Society and secretary to Li Shizeng. Li Shizeng was pivotal in forging the positions and reception of Chinese in the city of Montargis, because of his longstanding ties with the faculty at Montargis College.

The Sino-French Institute was situated in an abandoned fort and it was assumed could hold at least two thousand students. Because of statements made by SFEA officers and Work-Study Movement promoters Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui, the worker-students expected that if they could hold out until the SFI was opened, then they would be able to attend the SFI. In fact, the SFI was developed as an institution for those more highly educated, and high tuition fees were announced at the end of the summer. In addition, it became known that within the initial class were more than a hundred students, escorted by Wu Zhihui. Many of these students were from Guangdong (later Sun Yat-sen) University, which was helping to pay their fees with large subsidies to the SFI.

When these developments were known, the Chinese worker-students were furious. They felt abandoned by the Work-Study promoters. After several mass meetings, it was decided to send a vanguard of a hundred students to Lyons to await Wu Zhihui's arrival at the SFI. More than a hundred Chinese worker-students descended on Lyons on 21 September. They occupied and refused to leave the dormitory and were imprisoned locally. After fruitless negotiations, they were subsequently deported in October. The deportees included a future foreign minister, Chen Yi; CCP theorists and strategists such as Cai Hesen, Chen Yi, Luo Xuezan, and Li Lisan; and a GMD activist from Zhejiang, Wang Jingqi. After this third struggle, known as the Lyons Incident, disillusionment set in within the Work-Study Movement, and there were several waves of repatriation the following year. Still, many within the

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Work-Study Movement later received aid through Boxer Indemnity funds or stuck out the factory work to stay in France. A third response was the proliferation of political parties within the Chinese community, primarily in France, but with key party sections throughout Europe.

The Formation of Chinese Political Parties in Europe. In the aftermath of the Lyons Incident and the general fissures taking place among the May Fourth generation, several political parties were formed; each elected officials, published newspapers, suffered dynamic interparty conflicts, and engaged in recruiting and propaganda activities. Formed from previous youth group bases and newly acquired relationships, these new parties included the Surplus Society (Gongyushe, 工餘社, an Anarchist party, GYS), the Chinese Social Democratic Party (Zhongguo shehui minzhu dang, 中國社會民主黨, SDP), the Chinese Youth Party (Qingniandang, 青年黨, QND), the European Branches of the Chinese Communist Organizations, ECCO, which included the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party (Zhongguo gongchandang liu Ou zhibu, 中國共產黨旅歐支部, ECCP); the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Party (Liu Ou Zhongguo shaonian gongchandang, 旅歐中國少年共產黨, ECYC), and the European Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhongguo guomindang liu Ou zhibu, 中國國民黨旅歐支部, EGMD).

Almost all of these parties were moderately active for almost a decade in a European milieu. As the Japanese invasion of China accelerated in the late 1930s, there was a decline in activity as many Chinese returned home or formed United Fronts of activity. Both the QND and the SDP have lasted until current times.

The Anarchists had not only been active before the Lyons Incident, they also had a publication, Gongyu (工餘, Surplus), that was generally seen as one of the most enlightening and open publications of the early 1920s. Among prominent Anarchists in France were Chen Yannian and Chen Qiaonian, the sons of Chen Duxiu (who both defected to the ECCO), Ou Shengbai, Bi Xiushao, Ba Jin, Li Zhuo, and Hua Lin. After the emergence of party politics, the journal began to criticize the idea of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and in particular, the policies within the Soviet Union. According to Zhang

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Yunhou’s compendium on May Fourth organizations, the GYS was organized in 1922.\(^{12}\)

One of the liveliest polemics took place in 1922–23 with the ECCO, where each party wrote extensively, criticizing the other’s theories. One of the interesting dimensions of Chinese anarchism in France was that several Anarchists from the French milieu—Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, and Zhang Ji—became prominent in the Guomindang.

The Chinese Social Democratic Party, formed in 1922, was quite active in Paris and Lyons. The SDP newspaper, *Fendou* (奮斗, The Struggle) was published for more than one hundred issues. It claimed to have five hundred members. The SDP was recognized by the international organization and sent delegates to the Third Congress of Labour and Social International in Brussels in 1928. Like GYS members, the SDP members were skeptical of the totalitarian nature of the Soviet Union, but they still argued for the Marxist concepts of social justice and class equality. The Chinese Social Democratic Party is still in existence.

The Chinese Youth Party was founded in Paris in the winter of 1923 by Zeng Qi and his close followers including Li Huang, Hu Guowei, and He Luzhi. While the Anarchists and the SDP were fighting a fierce polemical war with the Communists, the QND was able to cause actual trouble for the ECCO when the latter occupied the Chinese legation during the May Thirtieth Incident. The QND members were able to give some key ECCO names to the French police, who subsequently expelled more than seventy ECCO members in mid-1925. Throughout the 1920s QND and ECCO members often had fistfights, and according to Hu Guowei’s memoir the QND were trained in the use of handguns.\(^{13}\) The QND was founded on principles antithetical to communism, including nationalism and class harmony. The QND newspaper, *Xiansheng* (先聲, translated on the masthead as The Pioneer), was published regularly in Paris. The QND was also anti-Guomindang, and it stood as an important third-party force throughout the 1930s and 1940s. The Chinese Youth Party still exists as a political party.

The European branches of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps and the Chinese Communist Party were both formed in 1922, led by Zhao Shiyian.

\(^{12}\) Zhang Yunhou, Yan Xuyi, Hong Qingxiang, and Wang Yunkai, comps., *Wusi siqi de shetuan* [The organizations of the May Fourth period], 4 vols. (Beijing: Sanlian, 1979).

Their activities included the publishing of a newspaper, *Shaonian* (少年, Youth) and then *Chiguang* (赤光, The Red Light), recruitment of Chinese labor, organization of rallies and speeches, and ideological study. The ECCO is significant because of the celebrity of Chinese leaders who entered the party or adopted Marxism before the actual formation, including Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun, Chen Yi, Liu Bojian, Xiao San, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Cai Chang, Luo Xuezan, Li Lisan, and Li Weihan. Perhaps more important is the type of activities, ideological sophistication, and training in Leninist principles that were prevalent within the ECCO. For example, unlike the situation in China (as will be very evident in this sourcebook) the ECCO, along with the Leftist EGMD, controlled the United Front. In fact, Zhou Enlai played an integral role in founding the EGMD as the Paris correspondent in 1923, while he was the secretary of the ECYC, and before the United Front was activated in China. The ECCO's relationship with the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français*, PCF) was also worthy of note, and during the anti-imperialism drives of 1926 and 1927, the PCF, along with other French political organizations, held huge meetings and rallies of sympathy. The ECCO eventually moved its headquarters to Hamburg, Germany, during the late 1920s; it published *Chiguang* until the early 1930s.

The European branch of the Guomindang was formed officially in November 1923 in Lyons, France. The secretary was Wang Jingqi (1894–1925), a worker-student from Zhejiang who had been expelled during the Lyons Incident. He returned to France, apparently under instructions from the GMD to form a European branch. His correspondence illustrates both organizational detail and the process of radicalization. Wang was helped by Zhou Enlai (Paris branch) and Fang Ditang (Belgian branch) as well as by several section chiefs who were sailors and who widely recruited members. The activities of the EGMD included recruitment, propaganda, ideological training, and the publication of a paper, *Guomin* (國民, the Nation). Altogether the EGMD had several hundred members in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Italy. The EGMD was controlled by the Communists and Leftists, but the Right EGMD, led by Fang Ditang, Cao Desan, Xi Wende, Huang Jian, and others, similar to the Western Hills faction, established an independent branch at 3 rue Thouin and published a newspaper, *Sanmin* (三民, Three People's Principles). After the occupation of the Chinese legation during the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925, surveillance
on Chinese political activities was intensified, and Wang Jingqi was expelled once again. Ill with tuberculosis, he died on the journey and was buried at sea. During 1927, the EGMD split into factions, but each faction continued to appropriate the mantle of legitimacy and publish the party paper *Guomin*. Essentially by mid-1927 there were three EGMD factions: the Left (41 rue des Écoles), Right (3 rue Thouin), and Extremist or Communist (330 rue St Jacques, later 26 rue des Carmes).

In addition to the political parties one cannot neglect other influences and the fact that Chinese groups could be aligned with or opposed to each other depending on the circumstance. For example, Father Lebbe (1877–1939), the famous Lazarist priest who founded the Tianjin newspaper *Yishibao* (益世報, Social Welfare), organized a group of Young Catholics in France and Belgium and supported many of them so they would not turn to communism. Records of his personal addresses reveal that there were more than two dozen ECCO and EGMD members who were in some way connected with this Catholic organization. Recognizing the other bases for political connections, including regional, school, and factory affiliation, may help us understand the dynamics of factional formations.

The French Political and Cultural Environment. A wide range of political and cultural activity also animated the French during the early 1920s. Many Western youth were particularly discouraged by the outcome of the Versailles Conference and felt betrayed by their political leaders. The growing inflation and unemployment produced a wide series of strikes among French laborers in the immediate postwar period. Social Democratic parties, the French Communist Party (1920) and Radical Right Fascist parties grew in strength.

The newly formed Communist International (1919) thought that France or Germany would provide the most potent ground for beginning their world

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14 This group also split into factions over the next two years. Various sources (both French and Chinese) often referred to them as "Opportunists" because their policies seemed adaptable—opposing and then supporting the Nanjing government, for example.

revolution. The strikes and political discontent convinced many in the postwar era that this was a possibility. This is perhaps why during this period European secret services increased their intelligence gathering and other activities throughout the world.

Yet there was also a sense of a new age, and a new rise in social and intellectual experimentation. France had always been a leader of fashion and cuisine, as well as philosophy. After the war, Paris became known as the center of world culture, and artists from around the world flocked to the banks of the Seine. France provided an environment brimming with acts of creation: Dadaism and Montparnasse artists, Pablo Picasso and André Gide, Romain Rolland and Henri Barbusse, Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, Josephine Baker and American jazz. As Sheng Cheng, who had written an autobiography in French (1930), later exclaimed, “Everything happened in Paris, the source of everything was in Paris.”

Thus we see that in both China and France the postwar period was one of upheaval and creativity. The rich exterior of events seems to have stimulated an inner dynamism that produced a vibrant social, intellectual, and political milieu in the Chinese community abroad in Europe. As the documents will make clear, it was an era of spiritual and intellectual renewal and committed action, a period well worth the study of scholars today.

Sourcebook Introduction and Overview

The Archival Collections and Sources

This sourcebook is a series of documents on the EGMD—its formation, activities, and ideology. The largest portion is translated from the original Chinese; the rest are in the original French and English, with a smattering of Vietnamese. The material used in the sourcebook came from collected...

17 See the chronology at the end of this section for a more detailed and comparative analysis of French events.
materials in Chinese and French archival collections. In all the collections we used, there was much more material than we have been able to include; other scholars will need to conduct further explorations in each of these archives. The French archives contain hundreds of cartons that include information relevant to the activities of the Chinese. Although the collections do overlap, because many reports were sent to several agencies, one can find original treasures in each archive. The materials gathered in France or in other Western countries are important because they provide insights unobtainable in other ways: Western political analysis or surveillance reports, for example, support (or refute) recollections by Chinese and Westerners in later years. Furthermore, many of the original Chinese materials (newspapers, proclamations, confiscated letters, and meeting reports) have been lost in China in the chaos of war and political movements. It is in fact a real irony that we can get a more objective history because of Western colonial and ideological concerns in the 1920s.

The following collections are used in this sourcebook:

1. Shanghai Guomindang Archives (Yangmingshan, Taibei, Taiwan). The material collected in these archives includes the communications between Wang Jingqi and the GMD headquarters, in the form of letters, telegrams, minutes, announcements, and reports. Zhou Enlai has one report and one letter to the GMD headquarters. Many of these documents had not been used before. One would need knowledge of Wang Jingqi or the European branch to use the index.

2. Chinese Communist Party Archives at Qinghua University (Beijing). There are numerous original materials in these archives. As the members of the Social Science Department also helped conduct interviews for CCP and ECCO compendia and memoir books, there are also some unpublished interviews and original publications, such as the first issues of the EGMDF newspaper *Guomin*, which is included in this sourcebook. The collection also

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18 The two exceptions are document 66, an article from the *Tenching Journal of Social Studies*, which was given to M. Levine at an interview with the author (July 1993), and document 72, which is from the published report of the Third Congress of the Labour and Social International.


20 Permission is needed to use this collection, and photocopying is not allowed (by a national law), so one must copy document contents by hand.
includes extensive materials on the Work-Study Movement, such as the complete set of *Lü Ou zhoukan* (The travel to Europe weekly).

3. Archives Nationales (AN, Paris). There is a special collection of documents on the Chinese worker-students that had been stored in the Alliance Française for decades and finally donated to the Centre de Recherches et de Documentation sur la Chine Contemporaine, Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, where they were organized and catalogued through the painstaking efforts of Geneviève Barman and Nicole Dulioust. There are literally hundreds of dossiers, including sources ranging from school catalogues to signed loan statements, factory and school name lists, and attempts at placement. But the seemingly benign can have great utility. For example, one can trace early addresses left on loan receipts or school and factory listings in box after box of materials. This sourcebook uses the letters of Father Lebbe, presumably written to E. Bradier. Also in the Archives Nationales are other special collections, such as Affaires Politiques. To our knowledge, Nora Wang was the first to cite two particularly useful dossiers in this "F7" series. These documents contain some of the earliest surveillance of Deng Xiaoping; the police report on Wang Jingqi; confiscated letters, reports, overseas GMD election ballots, telegrams, newspaper articles on the Chinese radical activities; and Sûreté reports. There are also other Archives Nationales collections that have been underused, for example in Nanterre.

4. The Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AAE, also known as the Archives Diplomatiques, Paris). The AAE has well-indexed guides to the China series. Some fascinating diplomatic correspondence on the Lyons Incident was first cited by Annie Kriegel, upon her examination of these

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21 In general, access to the Archives Nationales is not restricted; however, this collection may only be viewed with explicit written permission from the Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches et de Documentation sur la Chine Contemporaine. Photocopy privileges for these documents must be included in the written permission, which will be filed with the Président de la salle. Some documents are quite fragile, and it is hoped that researchers will take notes rather than risk ruin to these documents. Research with these documents is made easy by the catalogue by G. Barman and N. Dulioust mentioned above, *Étudiants-Ouvriers Chinois en France, 1920-1940* (Paris: EHESS, 1981).

22 Nora Wang, "Da Chen Lu! Le Mouvement du 30 mai 1925 à Paris," *Approches-Asie* 7 (1983): 1–33. These two dossiers are numbered F712900 and F713438.

23 The AAE has some restrictive policies on admission, ordering materials, and photocopying. The researcher should be particularly aware of the regulations. For example, material must be ordered at least a day ahead of time. Photocopying is done with permission and through an expensive, outside agency.
archives. In addition, in the Série E Asie Chine there are original registers from the SFEA (with Chinese writing as well), cartons of material on the BIC, a fascinating report on the Chinese Labor Corps by L. Grillet, materials on the arrest of Chen Duxiu in 1922 (together with an address list for European correspondents and a telegram urging his release sent by Cai Yuanpei and others), and of course political correspondence and political reports.

5. Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Centre de Recherches et de Documentation sur la Chine Contemporaine (EHESS, "Centre Chine," Paris). A prominent center of research and dialogue, the Centre Chine also has a library on China containing original and secondary materials. In this sourcebook, we have an article from their extensive Guomin collection. The Centre Chine has major holdings of the SDP publication Fendou, the ECCO publication Shuomian, and Chinese labor newspapers. The French academic world is divided into many of these institutes, and there are several centers for different geographical areas of Asia, with different emphases or affiliated with particular universities.

6. The Archives Nationales, Section d'Outre-Mer (AOM, Aix-en-Provence). It may be surprising, but perhaps the most and most useful documents pertinent to Chinese political activities are to be found in these colonial archives. There are useful collections such as Affaires Politiques or Indochine that are relevant—for example, late-nineteenth-century commercial studies, the 1911 Revolution, and overseas Chinese. For the study of Chinese politics, the collection Service de Liaison avec des Originaires des Territoires de la France Outre-Mer (SLOTFOM) includes material ranging from carton after carton of handwritten notes by secret agents to captured documents in the original Chinese. This collection is a treasure trove of information. SLOTFOM has been used by scholars of Vietnam, particularly

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25 Admission to these archives is not difficult, and there are useful catalogue rooms and several indexes. Photocopying is controlled, and there are restrictions on the total number of pages that can be copied in one order.
26 The Indochine collection, in particular, has been utilized for Chinese research; see J. Kim Munholland, “The French Connection that Failed: France and Sun Yat-sen, 1900–1908,” *Journal of Asian Studies* (November 1972): 77–95; and Barlow, *Sun Yat-sen and the French, 1900–1908*. Although for our purposes the SLOTFOM collection was very valuable, there are unsuspected possibilities in other collections. For example, there is a whole classification of documents devoted to the Vichy correspondence with Hanoi (Affaires Politiques). This correspondence is likely to include information on Wang Jingwei and his collaboration with the Japanese.
in the works of William Duiker, David Marr, Huynh Kim Khanh, and Hue-Tam Ho Tai. A large number of the French documents in this sourcebook were found in the SLOTFOM collection, in particular the 1929 Right faction EGMD Report (originally in a folio-size newsprint document). This document, because of its extensive detail of events and names, can be compared to other sources of evidence, and we have found it to have a high degree of accuracy. The report not only provides a wealth of information but will, we hope, stimulate new interpretations on questions of ideology and radicalism. The SLOTFOM collection includes reports on all overseas political activity that may have affected French colonial possessions; monthly reports on revolutionary propaganda and activity abroad cover the world. Such reports provide a very broad view of events. For example, in 1927 one finds information on the respective visits to China by Jacques Doriot (PCF) and Albert Thomas (SFIO), analyses of the political situation in China, French translations of the documents captured in the Soviet embassy during the raid in Beijing, tracking of the Northern Expedition (with photostats of Chiang Kai-shek’s letters to Vietnamese comrades and photos of the Huangpu cadets), and so forth.

7. Archives de l’Association Universitaire Franco-Chinoise (AAUFC, Lyons). These are the archives of the Sino-French Institute and contain general records, letters, and the student dossiers of the institute, which ultimately had 473 Chinese students matriculate. More than a hundred SFI theses are also included. The student dossiers often include original entry forms, progress reports, any observations from the SFI faculty as well as other French intellectuals, postcards, letters written by the students, and political information on the students, if relevant. The AAUFC under the supervision of the University of Jean-Moulin III are at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon. A useful overview of the SFI theses by Jean-Louis Boully, which reprints a seminal article by Danielle Li Chen-sheng, lists all the SFI students


28 Permission to use the AAUFC must be obtained by applying to the Director of Chinese Studies at the Université Jean-Moulin III and the Conservateur of the Fonds at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon. Some access and photocopying restrictions exist.
and is very helpful to researchers. Scholar can obtain insight into the thoughts and activities of leaders such as Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Zeng Zhongming, and Chu Minyi; their French colleagues; and students who later contributed to the intellectual and political horizons of China (including Zhu Xi, chemist; Zheng Yanfen, minister of justice; Ou Shengbai, poet; Yang Kun, ethnographer, and many others).

8. Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon (Lyons). In addition to being the location of the AAUFC, this library also has many original Chinese periodicals and books, including some very rare ones. For example, the holdings of the journal Zhong Fa jiaoyuji (The Sino-French Educational World) have issues from the beginning until well into the 1930s. Some rare political books by Anarchists and Guomindang members and their friends were donated to the SFI during the 1920s and 1930s, and some have unique dedications in original calligraphy.

9. Public Record Office (PRO, Kew Gardens, Great Britain). As a contrast to the French system of surveillance and duplication of reports, in the section on Western surveillance we have selected some sections from intelligence reports found in the British Public Record Office. The PRO has extensively indexed information; however, because of the lack of space, some documents are listed but are no longer in the collection.

This brief introduction to these rich archival collections relevant to Asia should indicate the scope of scholastic treasures yet to be discovered. We hope that this sourcebook will spurred other Asianists to discover new routes to uncovering past historical realities.

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29 Jean Louis Bouilly, Catalogue des thèses de doctorat des étudiants de l'Institut Franco-Chinois (Lyons: Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 1987); included is the essay by Danielle Li Chen Sheng, “Li ang ZhongFa daxue haiwaiyu tongxuelu” [Records of the students at Lyons University, Sino-French Institute], originally published in Ou Hua xuebao (May 1983): 127–150.

30 Jean-Louis Bouilly has prepared a comprehensive catalogue, Ouvrages de la langue chinoise de l'Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon (1921–1946) (Lyons: Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon, 1995). His systematic work and diligence have saved scholars long hours of fruitless searching and opened up areas of investigation.

31 Access to the Public Record Office is relatively easy. Photocopying must be submitted to a central service in the archives.
Introduction

Significance of a Sourcebook on the European Guomindang

The significance of this sourcebook lies in its aspiration and ability to provide a fresh foundation for exploring the political activities and ideas of Chinese leaders in the twentieth century. The inclusion of primary materials allows one to see, unfettered by biased retrospect, the original words used by these political actors, their interactions with one another, and their hopes of changing the world. A few of these documents have been used in part by other scholars in Chinese studies, which attests to their significance. This sourcebook provides broader exposure to the documents themselves, as well as greater availability of these important materials.

The quality and freshness of the material itself is worthy of note. For example, the communications of and about Wang Jingqi convey to us more than the organizational mechanics of party organization: they embody the social texture of political culture. One gains a multifaceted view of Wang Jingqi from his pleas for dues waivers for the impoverished worker-students, his passionate speech on the revolutionary nature of the Guomindang at the Plenary Meeting, his more formal announcements and writings, the French report on Wang's Paris apartment before his expulsion, and the poignant letter from his father inquiring about his son (when the reader knows that Wang Jingqi has already been buried at sea).

There are numerous areas of significance in this field of study, and five of them will be explained in this introduction: (1) the emergence of a new field of study; (2) the study of Chinese political leadership as it developed in Europe; (3) the exploration of the first formation of a Chinese United Front between the GMD and Communists; (4) research on control of the EGMD-ECCO United Front by Communists and Leftists; and (5) an examination of ideology and intercultural interchange.

Emergence of a New Field of Study. In spite of the known importance of overseas Chinese on the Chinese political experience, there has been almost no study of the Guomindang in Europe. Previously, because the study of Chinese political history has often been keyed to contemporaneous events and ideological restrictions, most scholars concentrated on the accepted

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32 For a more detailed discussion of the significance of EGMD studies see the article by Levine and Chen, “Communist-Leftist Control of the European Branch of the Guomindang, 1923–1927.”
historiographical approach of focusing on certain events and figures, to the exclusion of much historical reality. Moreover, scholars in Chinese history often restrict themselves to a narrow range of documents and overlook altogether the existence of archival materials, as if these materials have no relevance to Chinese history. This sourcebook aspires to encourage China scholars to explore differing areas with fresh approaches and resource bases.

The study of the EGMD as a new field is significant because it shows that the historical matrix is complex on several levels. For example, several of the documents on the founding of the EGMD demonstrate that the radicalization process that occurred in Europe included historical determinants connecting seemingly unlikely collaborators such as Wang Jingqi, Fang Ditang, Li Fuchun, and Ren Zhuoxuan. The scope of the documents makes it possible to enrich our understanding of this collaborative process that helped form the EGMD, whose activities followed some different channels from those chosen by the GMD back in China.

_The Study of Chinese Political Leadership in Europe._ A major objective of this work is to encourage a broader look at Chinese leadership. The EGMD area is particularly rich in information on Chinese leadership. GMD and CCP history often focus on a few well-known names, but in fact, hidden in the past are people who at that time were pivotal or even celebrated figures in shaping activities. For example, a prominent leader of the Leftist EGMD was Yi Guangyi, who can certainly be found in _l'Humanité_, in French secret reports, and in a manifesto published in 1927, and who wrote a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek a few days after the April 12 coup, asking if it was true that Chiang had abandoned the revolution, and if so, Chiang should respond to Yi, himself! Today, historians could not identify Yi Guangyi. Yet, as a Leftist in 1927, he broke with the Communist-controlled EGMD before the break in Wuhan and led more than fifty members to his new factional headquarters.

In addition to issues of historical balance in leadership studies, there were more than several famous leaders who emerged out of the EGMD and the European experience. One of the most eminent leaders within the GMD was Zheng Yanfen, future minister of justice, who published extensively in several EGMD journals, completed a degree at the Sino-French Institute, and was elected several times to EGMD positions.

Whether these leaders became renowned later or not, in addition to examining the individual, one can attempt larger-scale leadership analyses,
gaining more concrete foundations for understanding processes such as personal networks (*guanxi*), clique formation, the role of ideology and organization, and leadership cycles. The listing of officials in numerous documents, the nine electoral and factional tables in the 1929 document (document 37), and the glossary will allow scholars to correlate the linkages among variables such as personal relations, political factions, birthdate, education, region, religion, youth group affiliation, factory experience, later political activity, and official position.

One of the most exciting aspects of this research is understanding the first political experience of Chinese leaders, which has an important effect on setting a model for later leadership style. Whether it was propaganda-agitation technique, organization of meetings and rallies, or behavior in factional and interparty disputes, we can gain more insights into the first political actions of leaders such as Deng Xiaoping, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun, Ren Zhuxuan, Zhou Enlai, and many others. Their pattern of success in the United Front may have had a formative influence on their later leadership abilities and adaptability.

*Exploration of the First Formation of a Chinese United Front.* The new data offered by these documents include election of officers, membership lists, and polemical handouts. These documents disclose several historical revelations. First, the GMD-CCP United Front in Europe was formed before the United Front in China. The ECCO-EGMD United Front began with the formation of the party in November 1923, while the United Front in China was officially formed in January 1924. Reading the reports from Lyons and Paris, one wonders: Did the smoothness of the ECCO integration into the EGMD influence Sun Yat-sen, who was sensitive to overseas activities? Did it reinforce his determination to go ahead with the United Front?

Given the activist level among the Chinese community in Europe and the greater freedom for political activity in Europe, one might wonder whether there was a more sophisticated ideological consensus in the EGMD that allowed an earlier United Front. An understanding of the leadership dynamics of the EGMD-ECCO United Front formation provides important contrasts with the GMD-CCP United Front. For example, Zhou Enlai, Wang Jingqi,

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Fang Ditang, and Chinese sailor activists together organized the first EGMD branches, but there is no evidence that the United Front was engineered by Soviet agents, unlike the prompting that took place in China with Maring, Borodin, and others. Later police reports also indicate a lack of Soviet supervision of Chinese radical activities. This evidence alone should lead to a significant area of study.

Research on Control of the EGMD-ECCO United Front by Communists and Leftists. The United Front split the ranks of the GMD both in China and in Europe. However, while moderate and Right factions developed in China, the internal dynamics of the EGMD-ECCO United Front in Europe from 1923 until mid-1927 was one of Communist and Leftist supremacy. For example, the original roster of officials for the EGMD Paris Correspondence Section were all Communists, and Communists occupied almost half of the positions on the first EGMD executive committee. The EGMD, as we have seen, was organized by the Leftist Wang Jingqi and key leaders of the ECCO including Zhou Enlai, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun, and Ren Zhuxuan. The Communists and Leftist EGMD members were able to expel anti-Communist members including Fang Ditang, Xi Wende, and Cao Desan. The documents show that heated dialogue and arguments ranged from citing GMD regulations (to expel Rightist EGMD members) to philosophical rationales and partisan political statements.

To take one example of the implications of the Communist-Leftist control of the EGMD-ECCO United Front, there is the case of Zhou Enlai, who was a major EGMD organizer. When Zhou returned to China in 1924, he assumed one of the highest posts for a Chinese Communist within the GMD-CCP United Front. Did the ECCO returnees have a sense that they were at the vanguard of the United Front? With the leadership dominance of Sun Yat-sen and the lack of a clearly designated successor, one criterion for presumption to leadership, at that time, may have been linked with the sense of mastery gained in the European experience. Did the lack of physical violence in the European milieu lead to a false sense of security? Did the detachment that worked toward greater absorption of ideology and perception also blind the returnees to the more local, more violent realities of China itself? In short, for

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34 This is evident in the very detailed observations of the French and British secret services, which really did survey heavily what went on in the sphere of Soviet agitation.
Zhou and others, what was the effect of the United Front experience in Europe?

*An Examination of Ideology and Intercultural Interchange.* The issue of ideology, as a factor in itself, deserves greater attention. The newly discovered pamphlets and meeting documents describe revolutionary strategy, propaganda work, and details of meetings and activities. Since the focus in Chinese political history is often on the struggles for power and legitimacy, the genuine differences in ideological perspectives are often ignored. But ideas and beliefs clearly played an important role in shaping political commitment and activity for the EGMD and other political parties.

Related to this area of understanding ideological currents within the EGMD is the examination of the effect of European ideas on the Chinese in Europe. The Chinese in France extensively explored Western ideology, while their compatriots back home were restricted by secret police and political rivals, as well as lack of access to Western materials. As the document by Zhang Junqi (document 50) illustrates, the concept of the People’s Livelihood as explained by Sun Yat-sen in his 1924 lectures had a profound influence on the EGMD. Zhang shows a sophisticated understanding of Western terminology, and an original analysis of revolution, and yet he uses this information to better develop Chinese ideological foundations of the Three People’s Principles. Moreover, the Chinese in France were able to act more freely in rallies and demonstrations and received cooperation from their Western radical allies. As mentioned in the historical introduction, Western and colonial radicals even supported large-scale rallies and meetings in support of the Northern Expedition.

Finally, the interactive nature of ideas is important. In the hyperpolitical atmosphere that existed during this period, ideas could both synthesize and be agents of change. For example, both Wu Zhihui and Wang Jingwei often referred to France, and their ideas had broad influence in France. Whether it was proclamations by Wang Jingwei, a pamphlet by Dai Jitao, or Bi Xiushao’s book on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Chinese in Europe were receiving this material, and sending their own to France. This cross-fertilization needs to be better explored and understood.
Organization of Sourcebook

The sourcebook is composed of seventy-two document in three units followed by a Chinese glossary that contains more than 1,150 names. The first unit of the book includes three chapters of twenty-one documents on the "Formation of the EGMD." Most of these documents were collected from the Yangmingshan archives in Taiwan and deal with the mechanics of party formation. The first chapter primarily is correspondence about party organizational dynamics between the EGMD organizer, Wang Jingqi, and the GMD Shanghai headquarters, with some telegrams to Sun Yat-sen. The second chapter focuses on the first formal meetings of the EGMD, and the third chapter is a review of some EGMD statutes and statistics.

The second unit of the book relates the varying factors of EGMD politics, as they were affected by the French and Chinese situations. Because of the different configurations of power that characterized the European Guomindang, the first chapter highlights the expulsion of Right faction members and the control by Leftists and Communists within the party. The second chapter of this unit traces the expulsion and death of the EGMD founder, Wang Jingqi, and the EGMD factional politics that followed the April Twelfth Coup. The final chapter is an exploration of two viewpoints of the radical activities taking place during the 1920s. The first viewpoint, perhaps the most important document of the book, is a long report by the Right faction EGMD in 1929 that was captured by the French police. Complete with factional charts and a discussion of the EGMD formation, this document illuminates the organizational dynamics and ideology of the 1920s for the Chinese in Europe. The second view is a more in-depth look at French and English surveillance of the Chinese community.

The third unit of the book is a broad exploration of ideology. The scope and depth of ideas are covered by looking at diverse examples of ideology, not just from the five Chinese political parties in Europe, but also from other groups that espoused social or political ideas, such as the Catholic community and the Chinese student community. This examination shows that the Chinese were affected by special issues that were not necessarily in a party context and were influenced by the power of cross-cultural ideas.
A Note on Translation

In translating the Chinese our standard has been to produce readable prose, but not to deviate from the word usage in the original. In general, we have tended more toward the literal. Although we have had to change some punctuation in the Chinese documents to make the reading clearer, the idea is to present an unembellished translation that is usable and reliable. Thus, for example, we have been redundant when the original wording was redundant. Another guideline has been to avoid burdening the text with superfluous brackets. The same principle holds true in the French documents, which are exactly as in the original archival material. If there is a mistake, instead of placing [sic], we have made corrections in italics with braces (e.g., \{\}).

Some usages to note:

1. Explanatory and translation notes are put in the notes section, while footnotes are reserved for original footnotes from the documents.

2. Sections that have been summarized rather than translated are in italics.

3. Parentheses are comments made in the original; square brackets are used for the translation clarifications; and italicized braces are used for mistakes in grammar, spelling, or printing in the original.

4. Regarding capitalization, party names and ideological adherents are capitalized (e.g., Communists, Anarchists); however, ideologies are not capitalized (e.g., communism, anarchism). With some exceptions, correspondence sections or committee names are not capitalized, unless they include a city in the title, (e.g., Paris Correspondence Section).

5. Terminology:

\texttt{bu} 部—branch; in some contexts can be “section” \texttt{fenbu} 分部—section
\texttt{buzhang} 部長—big context: chief (e.g., \texttt{zongbuzhang} 總部長—general bureau chief; in small context: head (e.g., \texttt{pingyibuzhang} 評議部長—discussion bureau head)
\texttt{dahui} 大會—plenary session
\texttt{daibiao dahui} 代表大會—congress
\texttt{ganshihui} 干事會—management council
\texttt{jiancha weiyuanhui} 監察委員會—inspection committee
\texttt{jiaoji ke} 交際科—public relations section
qingdang 清黨—party purification
weiyuanhui 委員會—committee
zhixing weiyuanhui 執行委員會—executive committee
zhuzhibu 主法總之部—FGMD, French General Branch of the GMD
zhuren 主任—big context: director (bureaus, party head); in small context:
chair (committees or chairing meetings)
zongbu 總部—general bureau or branch, depending on the context
### Table I.1. Chronology of Events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>China</th>
<th>Chinese in France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>Joseph Caillaux is premier</td>
<td>April Uprising in Canton led by Huang Xing. October 10—Wuhan Uprising begins.</td>
<td>LiuFa jianxuehui (Travel to France Frugal-Study Society) established by Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui, Cai Yuanpei. Chinese youth sent to France through Siberia under the Frugal-Study Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Raymond Poincaré is president and Aristide Briand is premier</td>
<td>Republic of China is established—Sun Yat-sen provisional president. February—Qing emperor abdicates and Yuan Shikai becomes president. Guomindang (Chinese Nationalist Party) organized from the Tongmenghui, Revolutionary Alliance.</td>
<td>Frugal-Study Program continues; three groups of Chinese arrive.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td></td>
<td>Song Jiaoren assassinated by confederates of Yuan Shikai. Reorganization Loan. Second revolution attempted and fails.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>First World War begins</td>
<td>Yuan Shikai dissolves the parliament. GMD reorganized as a revolutionary party.</td>
<td>Frugal-Study Program halted by the war.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>World War continues</td>
<td>Twenty-one Demands delivered by Japan. Yuan Shikai begins campaign to become emperor. New Culture Movement begins.</td>
<td>Qingong jianxuehui (Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Society) formed by founders of the Travel to France Frugal-Study Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Joffre named Marshal of France</td>
<td>Yuan Shikai dies. Duan Qirui is premier, Li Yuanhong is president. Warlord period (1916–27)</td>
<td>Hua Fa jiaoyuhui (Sino-French Educational Association) formed. Cai Yuanpei and A. Aulard first presidents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Chinese in France</td>
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<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>War continues</td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen sets up an alternate government in Guangdong</td>
<td>Between 175,000 and 200,000 Chinese labor corps units begin working for the Allies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Georges Clemenceau is premier</td>
<td>Duan Qirui government declares war on Germany and Austria</td>
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<tr>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Wilson's 14 Points announced Armistice reached</td>
<td>Sun Yat-sen flees to Shanghai Xu Shichang is president</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Versailles Conference League of Nations formed</td>
<td>Chinese students demonstrate against the Versailles Treaty on May Fourth GMD reorganized as the Chinese Nationalist Party</td>
<td>Work-Study Movement to France begins; preparatory schools established in China Chinese activists prevent the signing of Versailles Treaty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Paul Deschanel becomes president; Millerand becomes premier Railways strike Formation of French Communist Party at Tours</td>
<td>Anhui-Zhili clique war (Zhili clique victorious)</td>
<td>Chinese Work-Study Movement high tide; almost 1600 students reach French shores by end of year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Briand is premier</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party founded in Shanghai Sun Yat-sen establishes alternate government in Guangdong</td>
<td>January—Two announcements by Cai Yuanpei February 28 Movement CFC formed to aid Chinese; summer loan struggle; Lyons Incident in October; expulsion of 104 Chinese worker-students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Chinese in France</td>
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<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Poincaré becomes premier</td>
<td>Zhili-Fengtian war&lt;br&gt;Cao Kun government&lt;br&gt;Li Yuanhong is president&lt;br&gt;Sun Yat-sen defeated by Chen Jiongmeng&lt;br&gt;Negotiations continue for United Front between the CCP and GMD</td>
<td>Anarchist Party formed&lt;br&gt;ECYC formed (summer)&lt;br&gt;ECCP formed (winter)&lt;br&gt;Chinese Social Democratic Party formed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>French occupation of the Ruhr valley</td>
<td>February Railroad Strike Massacre&lt;br&gt;Sun-Joffe Manifesto&lt;br&gt;Cao Kun is president&lt;br&gt;Borodin arrives in Guangdong</td>
<td>Wang Jingqi organizes the EGMD sections&lt;br&gt;First wave of ECCO members go to Soviet Union; Zhou Enlai becomes secretary after Zhao Shiyan&lt;br&gt;Lincheng Railway Incident sparks mass meetings in Paris&lt;br&gt;Plenary session in November (Lyons) formally establishes the EGMD&lt;br&gt;Formation of the Chinese Youth Party (December)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Edouard Herriot is premier; Doumergue is president</td>
<td>GMD Reorganization at the First National GMD Congress&lt;br&gt;GMD–CCP United Front&lt;br&gt;Second Zhili-Fengtian war&lt;br&gt;Triumvirate rule in Beijing; attempts made to negotiate with Sun Yat-sen</td>
<td>EGMD: First Congress&lt;br&gt;Conflicts between members of executive and inspection committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Paul Painlevé is premier</td>
<td>Death of Sun Yat-sen (March 12)&lt;br&gt;May Thirtieth Incident&lt;br&gt;Assassination of Liao Zhongkai and exile of Hu Hanmin</td>
<td>ECCO, EGMD, QND, and SDP all publish materials and hold anti-imperialism rallies&lt;br&gt;ECCO occupies Chinese legation; many members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>France</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>Chinese in France</td>
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<tr>
<td>1925 (cont.)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Wang Jingwei GMD chairperson</td>
<td>expelled</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Western Hills faction holds meeting and expels Communists</td>
<td>Wang Jingqi expelled and dies onboard ship</td>
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<td>August EGMD meeting presided over by Deng Xiaoping</td>
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<td>Expulsions of Rightists, who establish EGMD branch at 3 rue Thouin</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Poincaré is premier</td>
<td>Zhongshan Boat Incident</td>
<td>Rallies and mass meetings in support of anti-imperialism continue; delegation of EGMD Chinese sent to Geneva to protest the unequal treaties to the League of Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nanjing and Shanghai are captured from warlords during the Northern Expedition</td>
<td>Rallies and mass meetings in support of the Northern Expedition reach 5,000 attendees in Paris—February</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>April Twelfth Coup breaks the United Front; Chiang Kai-shek establishes government at Nanjing, even though GMD government also exists at Wuhan</td>
<td>In May—Yi Guangyi leads EGMD Leftists to a reorganized EGMD at 41 rue des Écoles</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>In August—Wang Jingwei and the Wuhan government also break with CCP</td>
<td>Radical EGMD at 330 rue St. Jacques</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Various CCP uprisings fail; the CCP goes underground and to the countryside</td>
<td>Several anti-Chiang rallies are held; debates and fisticuffs occur</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Nanjing Decade” begins</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
UNIT 1

FORMATION OF THE EUROPEAN GUOMINDANG

The process of political party formation is clearly demonstrated in these twenty-one documents on the formation and first meetings of the European Guomindang. Chapter one is a series of letters and telegrams from Wang Jingqi to the Guomindang Bureau in Shanghai. Wang had met with premier Sun Yat-sen and addresses several of his letters directly to Sun. Chapter two includes reports from Wang Jingqi and Zhou Enlai on the founding meetings of the European Guomindang. These plenary sessions reports and proclamations are fascinating for their recording of speeches and dialogues on activism and ideologies. Documents in the third chapter are excerpts from captured party guides and reports.
1. Establishing the Branch

The materials in this chapter are related to the founding of the EGMD. Included in this chapter are correspondence between Wang Jingqi and the GMD offices on the mechanics of organizing the EGMD. Among the diverse points Wang raised were a plea for the waiver or reduction of party dues, the entry of the ECYC into the EGMD, the possibility of sending weapons back to China, and other procedural matters. As the documents show, direct relationships have been clearly established between Wang Jingqi and Guomindang officials such as Sun Yat-sen and Wang Jingwei.

Document 1 (6520): Wang Jingqi to the two gentlemen, Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo [Excerpts] (September 1922)

At the end of last month, I respectfully sent two letters in a row and enclosed in them about sixteen sworn oaths. Now the names again are listed as follows:


[skips a page] When I first came to the Sino-French Institute my acquaintances were few, thus now I am making an effort to [make acquaintances] among the Chinese workers and small businessmen residing in
France, and among the sailors aboard the postal liners sailing back and forth between China and France, in order to make it easy for our party people to travel the South Seas and Western Europe. If you want to buy handguns and bullets, etc. . . . this is also easy to do.

If you want to buy small military equipment, I can manage to send them directly to Shanghai. (The two organization heads on the André le Bon and Paul Lecat can be responsible for this matter).

Wang Jingqi, 1922


P.S. Recently in our school there is rising unrest. It is difficult to conduct party affairs. Please allow a few months to proceed. October 28, 1922

Document 3 (8704): Wang Jingqi to the General Affairs Bureau Chief, Mr. Juzheng

Dear Mr. Juzheng, General Affairs Bureau Chief:

I feel very honored to be appointed as the preparer of this party’s Correspondence Section in Lyons, France. I am both deeply moved and embarrassed. However, overseas Chinese residing in France are few in number, aside from the Work-Study Movement students and the four to five thousand Chinese laborers, whose financial difficulties have reached the boiling point. I assume that you have known very well about this before, and it is not necessary to go into the details. Recently I have been trying hard to disseminate the ideology of our party. When persuading them to join the party, everyone says it is their greatest wish. However, how are they going to do it if they cannot submit the ten yuan dues for party entrance? Privately, I
think that since the item of party dues is stipulated in the general regulations, how can it be reduced or waived? Yet another thought is if the dues cannot be negotiated for reduction or waiver, and if these people do not have the ability and opportunity to join our party, one could advance a step and say that [the party would] lose the cooperation and strength of an undaunted body of four to five thousand vigorous sons who are willing to risk their lives [for the party]. To take a step back and think, among these four to five thousand people, although one cannot guarantee that among them there will be outstanding heroes, one dare say there are many unworthy elements. If one day they are absorbed into another party, then the increase in obstacles to this party will not be slight. Based on this reasoning, I am so bold as to request the Premier’s consideration and judgment to see if it is possible to make a special exception, and allow the poor students and Chinese workers residing in France to waive or reduce their party entrance dues. I also respectfully ask your honorable bureau to quickly investigate and reply so that we can proceed accordingly.

Respectfully wishing you
All the best
March 5, [1923]; submitted by Wang Jingqi, Correspondence Section Preparer, Lyons, France
My earnest hopes for a careful answer. Please do not look lightly upon our request.

Document 4 (8705): Wang Jingqi to Mr. [Sun] Zhongshan

My Dearest Premier, Mr. Zhongshan:

I had always held fast to the principle of concentrating solely on academic studies and not paying attention to national affairs. The year before last I was residing and studying in Paris. Because of my opposition to losing the country in the loan issue, I was deeply loathed by both the Chinese and French governments. As a result, I was first imprisoned in Lyons and then deported back to our country. There were more than 106 of us. Because of this, I was
awakened to the idea that national affairs should be more primary and more important than reading books. If national affairs are not resolved, then despite one's wishes, the desire to solely concentrate on studies is also unobtainable. Upon arrival in Shanghai, I immediately invited fellow students and friends to throw ourselves under your leadership to undertake revolutionary activities.

Unexpectedly, the traitor Chen (Jiongming) promoted chaos, Guangzhou fell, and the Northern Expedition, which was on the verge of success, failed in one day. Because of this, I again planned to come to France in order to spread ideology and contact comrades for the future development of affairs. When I was leaving, I was humbly honored to accept that the Premier had condescended to appoint me to steer this branch, as the preparer of the party's French Lyons Correspondence Section. I was both deeply moved and humbled! During the journey, I took the opportunity to proselytize Chinese sailors on the French ocean liners André Le Bon and Paul Lecat. More than thirty people made their pledges, in addition to three organization heads.

Currently, I am living at the Sino-French Institute at Lyons University. I want to pursue research on various science subjects on the one hand, and to spread the ideology of our party, on the other. I hope to establish a Chinese Guomindang Branch at Lyons, and expand it to big port cities such as those in Germany and Belgium. However, except for the Work-Study Movement students and four to five thousand Chinese workers, the overseas Chinese residing in France are few in number. I assume that the Premier is already familiar with how difficult the economic situation is for the students and workers, so I will not repeat it. Each time I exhort the students and workers to enter the party, everyone says that this is their greatest desire. However, what can they do if they cannot pay the ten yuan for party entrance dues?

I implore the Premier to examine and judge this matter to see if any special exception can be made to permit the poor students and workers residing in France to waive or reduce their dues for entering the party. If gracious permission were granted, not only I myself would feel boundless gratitude, but everyone else residing in France would have the utmost appreciation. I respectfully await your answer, and wish you,

All the best,

Submitted by: Wang Jingqi, Preparer for the French Lyons Correspondence Section, March 5, 1923
Excerpts from a telegraph

The Lyons Correspondence Section preparer relates the experiences of traveling to France and the poor economic situation of the Chinese workers and Frugal-Study students, and requests the stretching of the rules for party dues to facilitate the operation.

[Response]

Praise and encouragement. Still manage according to the regulations of this party’s correspondence section or those of the branches. If there are many people joining the organization, then plan for expansion. As for party entrance dues, manage according to statute five of party entrance regulations. I hope that the circumstances of preparation will be reported at all times.

Notes

1. This is a reference to the loan struggle of 1921, one of the “Three Struggles” in the Chinese community. See the Introduction.
2. The Lyons Incident, the third struggle of 1921 within the Chinese community in France, signaled the decline of the Work-Study Movement. See the Introduction.
3. It would appear that this response is composed by Sun Yat-sen.


Honorable Greetings to Mr. Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo:

Between the third and fourth of January I received in a row three registered letters within which twenty-two party cards and an appointment certificate were enclosed. Today I also received a handwritten letter with two more party cards in it. I have on the one hand distributed the party cards and on the other hand have immediately followed the order in collecting retroactive party dues and yearly donations. However, I have previously asked to have ten copies of party regulations sent down, in order to proceed to contact all sides.
Until today they have not arrived. I hope that [you] will send down several [party regulations] soon.

Recently there have been more fellow students in this place who wish to join the party. But because of the basic dues, their heart is willing but the capability is not there [xin yu lizhuo] so they all had to abandon the idea. Most of the students residing in France are both working and studying. Clothing, eating, and living (expenses) are yet insufficient. Both of you gentlemen have also heard and known about this. Ten yuan is a small amount, and from the perspective of the business and working people, is not worth much. However, for the worker-students it cannot be earned without working for several months. Since [your] letter stated that no exceptions could be made, I thus have no choice but to comply with the rules. However, progress is slow, and I hope you will not blame me.

Sun Abao, the steward on the French postal liner Paul Lecat, [his] alternate name Mr. Mianzhi, was requested by myself yesterday to go to the General Bureau to pay you gentlemen a visit. I hope that [you] will treat him well. It will help a great deal with matters regarding this party's military equipment, finance, and shipping expenses. [You] must not regard him as a common person. This man, though not a scholar, yet is very generous and righteous. He could throw you massive amounts of money and is the leader of sailors on the French postal liners. If you could condescend to visit with him once or twice, who knows, it may benefit you a great deal in return. His address is as follows:

Shanghai, Hongkou, Wuchanglu, sanyuan gong duimian tongrenli, 736 hao, c/o Mr. Weng Aquan
The family will know who to give it to.

As for me, I am also one of the poor worker-students, not only with insufficient economic resources, but also feeble abilities. For this reason as soon as I act, I unavoidably make mistakes. I hope that you gentlemen will forgive me and guide me from time to time. I will be extremely grateful.

All for now.
Respectfully submitted and meanwhile wishing you all the best.

February 7, [1923] submitted by Wang Jingqi

P.S. Mr. Sun Abao is currently in Shanghai; [he] will be leaving Shanghai and returning to France in early April.
Greetings to the General Affairs Bureau Chief:

At the end of this February I received the return letter from Mssrs. Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo. The letter informed me that it would not be possible at all to stretch the rules in reducing or waiving the ten yuan basic party entrance dues and yearly contributions and so forth. Therefore, except for constantly propagandizing this party's goals, every other proceeding had to stop because of the financial situation. I am really sorry!

The day before yesterday I received the newly promulgated regulations which make it more convenient for peasants, workers, soldiers, and poor students to enter the party. I was so happy! Moreover, the wording in the new pledge forms and [the decision] not to ask for fingerprints are particularly appropriate. I would like some guidance on the following. The ECYC altogether has more than eighty people. Since this month, I have investigated their organization, and it could be called rather complete. Their activities and those of our party are not that far apart. Because of this, I have met with them many times. On the tenth of last month, special representatives were sent to Paris to attend their yearly meeting. The majority of them want to enter this party or cooperate hand in hand with this party. The day before yesterday I received their letter saying that they would specially send two representatives to Lyons to meet and discuss everything. As for the results, please allow me to report in the coming days. I ask the General Bureau to verify [decide] whether to allow them to join our party or cooperate with them or totally refuse their request.

Regarding the students of this school, the majority are from Guangdong. The official monthly subsidies from Guangdong have not arrived for nine months, and for this reason they are not very concerned with the People's Party. Add to this, I do not understand Cantonese, which presents special obstacles. Henceforth, in conducting my work I plan to start with the Chinese laborers and fellow worker-students. Regarding the formal establishment of a correspondence section, please allow an extension for another few months. Because the comrades scatter all over the place, it is very inconvenient to contact them on matters. Hastily reporting.

Again, best wishes,
Establishing the Branch

Sent by Lyons University student, Wang Jingqi
April 25, 1923

Notes

1. The European Branches of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps. This is very suggestive for United Front research. Did this correspondence make the GMD officials at headquarters more leary or more accepting of the Communists as possible United Front collaborators?

2. This second meeting of the ECYC was held in February 1923 in Paris, chaired by Zhao Shiyan (1901–27). Zhou Enlai was elected general secretary of the ECYC at this meeting.

3. The Sino-French Institute was heavily subsidized by the Guangdong government. For a list of subventions, see Zeng Zhongming and Zou Lu, Faguo liang zhong Fa daxue [The Sino-French Institute] (Guangdong: Guoli Guangzhou daxue haiwaibu zhiyi, 1925).

Document 7 (5032): Wang Jingqi to Peng Sumin

General Affairs Bureau Chief, Mr. Peng Sumin:

The last letter reported that I would return to Shanghai on March 6. I assume that the letter has been received.

Today I received the information that the Paris Correspondence Section has already reached more than forty people. To make it convenient to manage affairs, it is really necessary to reorganize. Thus, the Paris Correspondence Section temporary director, Li Fuchun, and preparer, Zhou Enlai, have convened a meeting of all comrades residing in Paris to further enact reorganization. The results are as follows:

1. Section Chief: Nie Yunzhen [Nie Rongzhen?]
2. Treasurer: Bian Zhongfei
3. Propaganda: Mao Kesheng
4. Secretary: Xi Wende
5. Public Relations: Liao Renxian

We humbly ask for a formal appointment which would facilitate the operation and [the officers] performing their particular duties. As for the
appointment certificates and other things, it can wait until I personally go to the bureau and obtain them and then append a report.

Speaking about publications, they are the truly necessary materials for propaganda. Currently, regulations have already been decided and are appended as follows:

**Designated Name:** Guomin  

**Purpose:** To propagate this party’s Three People’s Principles, and Five Power [Constitution] and to contact the entire European Party membership as its purpose.

**Finances:** Request to this bureau for a 3,000 French franc subsidy for start-up funding; plus a request for the entire European Party membership to contribute a monthly fee of 2 francs 50 centimes per person as the operating fee.

**Management:** Divided into two sections: routine affairs and editorial sections.

1. The Routine Affairs Section is concerned with publishing, accounting, printing, and other work. It will be managed by the General Affairs Section.

2. The Editorial Section is concerned with composing, editing, and other work. It will be managed by the Propaganda Section.

**Nature:** Bimonthly.

Yesterday evening I received another report from the London, England, section preparer. It has been decided that at 3:00 PM on 3 February at Piccadilly Circus [Tanhua lou] a temporary discussion meeting will be convened to organize a formal organization in London, England.

Also I received a report from the Berlin, Germany, section preparer. Since January a public speaking forum has been organized which openly propagandized the Three People’s [Principles] and Five Power [Constitution] and to German society in general explained the past achievements of this party.
I am also appending an invitation to those old comrades residing in Europe to enter the alliance and two preparatory selected publication materials.

Hastily reporting.

Again best wishes,

February 2, 1924    Wang Jingqi

Document 8 (6650): Fang Ditang and eleven others’ letter to the General Bureau [excerpts]

To the Executive Gentlemen of the Guomindang General Bureau:

[T]he Three People’s Principles and Five Power Constitution are good medicine to save the nation. We are very sympathetic to the Guomindang. We are honored that Mr. Wang Jingqi has introduced us into the party. We are able to follow a great man and humbly seek the protection of our country.

Whatever pledge forms, except for those that will be personally related by Mr. Wang, please arrange to send here. We are just giving a brief explanation here. We hope that directions will be granted immediately.

Fang Ditang, Zhu Zengxiang, Yan Rongyi, Li Tingyin, Zuo Shaoxian, Lin Quanying, Fan Runshan, Xie Zeyuan, Shi Mingde, Lin Shengduan, Qiao Picheng, Yang Zifu

June 23, 1923

Université du Travail, Charleroi
Document 9A  (6648): Wang Jingqi to the two gentlemen Sun and Zheng

The results of the meeting held yesterday were very good. The youth organization residing in Europe had more than eighty people immeasurably in favor of the goals of this party. They all entered this party as a single body.

Today I came to Marseilles. Of the several stewards on the French postal liners, all have entered this party. I [Qi] have determined that we will arrive in Shanghai on the twenty-ninth of this month, that is June 23 on the lunar calendar. I will probably stay there for three weeks, and then return to France.

June 17, 1923 Wang Jingqi

Notes

1. A probable reference to the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps (see document 10 herein).

Document 9B (8708): Communications to Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo from Wang Jingqi

Greetings to Messrs. Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo:

I am extremely gratified to have received your handwritten letter together with ten copies of the new regulations and one hundred pledge forms. The party Correspondence Daily Paper and the party reports have not come for two months, and I do not know why. I hope you will look into this.

As to the new regulations of this party, it is my intention to distribute a number of copies of these to fellow students in Belgium and Russia respectively, in order to expand our sphere of operation. I hope that you can send another twenty copies of the new regulations and two hundred more
pledge forms. Could I trouble you to please include this in the letter to the General Affairs Bureau Chief? I will not send any wishes separately.

April 25, 1923  Wang Jingqi

Messrs. Sun Tieren and Zheng Dafo:

On 24 May, I sent a letter speaking about the matter of the ECYC merger with this party. I assume that you have received it and I beg you to make a decision soon, in order [for me] to follow.¹

Tomorrow or the day after, I will be heading toward Marseilles and propagandize our party’s ideology to the Chinese sailors working on the French postal liners. I will report on the results in the coming days.

I am sending the special letter of the Treasury Section and Party Affairs Section, together with twenty francs. Please send me the receipt and the certifications when it is convenient.

Furthermore, the Chinese residing in France are spread throughout various places, and contacts and propaganda all are done through the mail. Previously only ten copies of party regulations were received, and they were not enough to distribute. . . . Please speedily send twenty more copies of party regulations and two hundred pledge forms. Hastily submitted.

Wishing you excellent health.

6 June, Wang Jingqi.

P.S. To make the calculation easier, each person’s annual dues has been temporarily set at 5 francs.

Notes

¹. This appears to be truly different from the GMD-CCP United Front proposed back in China, where the Communists did not merge with the GMD, but had dual membership in both organizations. That Wang is under the mistaken impression that these ECYC members did disperse their group is obvious in his later 1923 and 1924 reports.
Document 10 (7800): A Letter from Wang Jingqi to the Premier and others [August 4, 1923]

Premier, General Affairs Bureau Chief and Party Affairs Bureau Chief, Gentlemen:

Last year on 5 August, I left Shanghai for France. Since I arrived in Shanghai on 5 August this year, it has been exactly one year. The experiences during this year, except for a brief summary given below, I personally will give a report at the Bureau tomorrow.

I. Report of Preceding Party Affairs

Table 1.2. Party Structure Overview

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of propaganda</th>
<th>Propaganda result</th>
<th>Name of temporary representative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>Toward the non-party faction students, 9 now have joined the party</td>
<td>Zhou Chonggao 周重高 (Hunan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ECYC, 80 people currently plan to disperse and enter the party</td>
<td>Zhou Enlai 周恩來 (Zhejiang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese workers, 14 people</td>
<td>Lin Qiao, 林樵 (Zhejiang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>University for Workers at Charleroi (Belgium) students, 11 people</td>
<td>Fang Ditang 方棣棠 (Guangdong)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipboard</td>
<td>Five French postal line first stewards and sailors, totaling 16 people</td>
<td>Sun Abao, 孫阿寶 (Zhejiang)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. Zhou Chonggao’s correspondence address:

Monsieur TCHOW
Institut Franco-Chinois
Lyons, France
Establishing the Branch

Mr. Zhou Enlai’s correspondence address:
   Monsieur E. L. Tchow
   Boite Postale, 9
   Paris 13e, France

Mr. Lin Qiao’s correspondence address:
   Monsieur Lym V. Siau
   4, rue Granmann
   Strasbourg, France

Organization Head Sun Abao’s correspondence address:
   (Shanghai):
      Shanghai Hongkou, Wuchanglu, Sanyuan Gong, Duimian Tongrenli, 736 Hao, c/o Mr. Weng Aquan
   (France):
      Monsieur Sung Ah Paw
      1er Chauffeurs Chinois
      &c, &c, Paul Lecat
      Messageries Maritimes
      Marseilles, France

II. Representing comrades at the University for Workers at Charleroi, Belgium, in submitting a letter in person to the General Bureau:

Fang Dihua²
   Monsieur Fang Ti Tchang
   Université du Travail
   Charleroi, Belgique

III. Personally introducing Mr. Sun Abao, plenipotentiary for the following five French mail liner organization heads:³

Mr. Sun Abao represents:

Paul Lecat—First steward, Mr. Sun Abao [孫阿寶]

André le Bon—First steward, Mr. Sun Jinyou [孫金友]

Porthos—First steward, Mr. Lin Yonglai [林永來]

Aramis—First steward, Mr. Yü Deli [虞德利]
Amazone—First steward, Mr. Yü Deli

All are members of this party.

IV.

Mr. Sun Abao represents the five above-mentioned first stewards and is happy to do the following things for this party: 1. Representing specific commodity buyers and do certain things (details are to be presented in person). 2. Contact first stewards (from Ningbo) from more than thirty English and German ocean liners to join this party.

V.

On June 10, the representatives of the ECYC—Zhou Enlai (Zhejiang), Yin Kuan (Anhui), and Lin Wei (Hunan)—came to Lyons for discussions of party merger affairs. An excerpt from the letter of these representatives follows (the original letter is to be submitted in person):

Comrade Jingqi:

We first will discuss the European affairs. According to our group consciousness, we want to exert every effort to promote all tasks of the democratic revolution during this time. This is an incontrovertible fact. Only, currently all we can do in cooperation with the GMD members in Europe are within the limits of the following three headings:

1. Propagandize the necessity of the democratic revolution in contemporary China as the strategy for the movement.
2. Absorb the Chinese residing in Europe who have the revolutionary spirit into the Guomindang.
3. Energetically pursue the task of organization and training on behalf of the Guomindang.

Based on these three principles stated above, we may plan what currently needs to be done according to changing circumstances. Current work, such as expanding the power base of the European Party; training party members; printing journals (materials); and making plans for revolutionary work are all suitable to start. Regarding the first two tasks, we feel that because of the lack of energy in GMD affairs, we really should exert more efforts on these while seeking studies in Europe. As for the latter two things, you should, when returning home this time, have more discussions with the party cadres and the premier, Mr. Sun. The most
Establishing the Branch

important point is to let the party members in Europe have something to do; the especially important task is the preparation of publication funding.

Zhou Enlai

Addendum: The original letter was very long, and there was not enough time to have it totally copied here. The three organization representatives—Zhou Enlai, Yin Kuan and Lin Wei—have now joined the party in order to express their sincerity. They are going to bring the pledge forms with them and submit them in person.

VI. Other Miscellaneous Requests

1. 50 sets of regulations
2. 500 pledge forms
3. Domestic/Overseas Party organization addresses and newspaper correspondents
4. Names of old party members in France, Belgium, and Germany
5. Appointment of Mr. Fang Ditang of the University for Workers as the Belgian Guomindang branch preparer
6. Appointment of Mr. Zhou Enlai and Mr. Yin Kuan from Paris, as the Paris Guomindang branch preparers
7. Sixteen certificates for Fang Ditang and others
8. Troubling you for directions on this party's publication name
9. Three precious portraits of the great Premier Sun (Lyons, Paris, Belgium)
10. Minguo ribao [newspaper]
11. Guomin zhoukan
12. On 1 September I will sail back to France. Please give an introduction letter for each of these places: Hong Kong, Guangzhou, Hainan, Saigon and Pening [Penang?], in order to conduct some investigations on the way.
13. Problem of publication funding
14. Problem of publication lead type

If there is any place that is not appropriate, not complete, or not detailed in the above six items, I will report in person tomorrow or the day after tomorrow. I will not talk more about them [now].
August 4, 1923, hastily reported by Wang Jingqi, preparer for the Lyons, France [Correspondence Section] on board the *Paul Lécat*.

Notes

1. Addresses are sometimes given in both Chinese and French.
2. The character here is *hua not tang* and is most probably a printing error or alternate name for Fang Ditang.
3. The Chinese sailors were a very important conduit of communication and political activities. They delivered messages and documents, and were recruited into various Chinese political parties. The French surveillance apparatus set spies upon the dockyards to look out for and follow suspicious-looking Asian sailors. There are literally thousands of handwritten surveillance reports in the SLOTFOM collection of the AOM.
4. Perhaps this refers to the buying of weapons to ship back to China (see document 1 herein).
5. Although Wang is under the impression, as he mentions in the table summary, that the ECYC was dispersing, this was not the case. The organizations of the ECCO lasted until 1927, and thereafter under some guise well into the 1930s.
6. This joining of the Guomindang would have had to take place before March 1923, when Yin Kuan left France for the Soviet Union. Thus, Zhou Enlai, Yin Kuan, and Lin Wei appear to have entered the Guomindang earlier as Communists than their CCP compatriots.
This second chapter of unit one includes letters, announcements, and minutes relating to the first EGMD meetings. We were particularly fortunate to find document 11, the minutes to the first EGMD plenary session held in Lyons, France, on November 25, 1923. This meeting reveals a very interesting roster of attendees and officials, and significant speeches on their radicalization by Wang Jingqi and Zhou Enlai. Another highlight of this section is the report submitted to the General Affairs Section Chief by Zhou Enlai in January 1924 (document 16). This is the record of the plenary session of the Paris Correspondence Section; it ends with Zhou’s salutations to the Three People’s Principles. Given that Zhou Enlai was the secretary of the ECYC at this time, this is a crucial chronicle of his activities and status.


During the afternoon of November 24, (1923) the preparer of the European Branch of the Chinese Guomindang, Wang Jingqi, first appointed Zhou Chonggao as the chair of the plenary session, and Guo Longzhen, Zhang
Ruoming, Wu Wenan, He Zhichang as official hosts, and Han Lüchen and Lin Wei as recorders.

The meeting place had been set at the Sino-French Institute at Lyons University. However, because of restrictions stipulated in the Sino-French agreement that neither the Chinese or French nationals were permitted to carry forth with meetings of a religious or political nature in this place, the meeting was moved to the Place de Trion, a big coffee shop.

The guests who came to the meeting on 25 November numbered more than sixty people, including male and female students and worker friends. The comrade representatives equaled nineteen people: Zhou Chonggao, Hu Dacai, He Zhaoqing, Wu Wenan, Han Lüchen, Zhou Quanda, Yu Gongmin, He Chichang, Zhao Yangxuan, Guo Longzhen, Wang Jingqi, Jiang Lüwen, Zhang Ruoming, Xiao Xisan, Lin Wei, Lu Xiafei, Lan Tiefu, Wang Canfen, and Zhou Enlai. From 9:30 AM the meeting proceeded according to the set agenda.

1. The chairman declared the meeting open [baogao kaihui].

2. Before the preparer [of the EGMD], Wang Jingqi, made his report, Jingqi first spoke at length of the motives for his personal inclination toward revolution. In summary he stated that

I was one of the worker-students who were expelled and repatriated because of the Lyons Incident. For a month and a half I was a prisoner in the Lyons military encampment and aboard the ship. Actually, it was the kind of revolutionary education I could never have hoped to attain in a lifetime. In other words, why I am for the revolution, and what I strive for in the revolution is clearly an answer given to me by the Lyons Movement. Last winter when I returned to France, I became companionable with the Chinese sailor-workers aboard the ocean liner. I became familiar with the vigilant workers' adventurous, gallant, and pure nature. It shows that the workers themselves are able to take responsibility for the revolution. The Chinese workers themselves are indeed able to bear responsibility for the Chinese revolution. Therefore, when I came to Lyons and came into contact with students at the so-called Highest Educational Academy, I only found them as drunk in a dream, careless and shirking responsibility. Because of this, I increasingly feel workers are loveable, and students are detestable.

Now to shift directions, I would like to report the process of preparation.

(A) I returned to China in August with two important tasks: One was to discuss publications of this organization with the domestic [apparatus]; the second task was to mix with seafarers on the ocean liner. In the first task,
because this branch is in straitened financial circumstances, we can only carry out a small portion of our responsibilities. It also is hoped that this branch will come up with a budget plan for the compiling and printing tasks. The plan is to be submitted to the branch for verification in order to deliberate on the subsidy and the final accounts. As for printing, Comrade Wang Zhaoming has already agreed that he would borrow the lead typesetter from the Sino-French Institute for our use. With regard to the second matter of mixing with the sailors, this has shown hopeful signs as well. One can say that the ocean liners of the entire world have no option but to employ Chinese sailors. Just considering the two countries of England and France, all together they employ more than three to four thousand Chinese sailors. Union strikes among the globe's sailors are enough to cripple communication among the sea lanes and can play a very important role in the revolutionary movement. We ought to pay particular attention to the fact that currently, only a little over twenty people among the sailors have joined this party.

(B) Among the formal overseas organizations set up by the Chinese in Europe, the Sino-French Institute is ranked first, and next comes the University for Workers at Charleroi [Charleroi Université de Travailleurs] in Belgium. My first loci of propaganda work were in these two places. Currently, Belgium's University for Workers has already established a correspondence section, which contains about twenty party members. Lyons, where this branch preparation section is located, has nineteen party members. Paris has twenty party members, and they have already established a correspondence section as well. Our party members in Germany, although few in number, are in the process of forming a correspondence section. In addition, Russia and Holland have five or six party members, and hopefully will undergo further development in the future. Altogether, counting both sexes, our comrades equal 112 people. As for the accomplishments of propaganda, the most outstanding ones belong to Fang Ditang of Belgium University, Zhou Enlai of Paris, Sun Yongbao and Sun Jinyou as organizers for the ocean liners; He Chichang, Wu Wenan, and Zhou Chonggao of the Sino-French Institute take a deserved second place [as organizers].

3. Zhou Enlai, preparer of the Paris Correspondence Section, gave his report: (1) origins of the correspondence section; (2) establishment of the correspondence section; (3) draft regulations of the correspondence section; (4) provisional officials of the correspondence section; (5) plans of the correspondence section.

Origins of the correspondence section can be divided into two periods: (a) deliberations made before comrade Jingqi returned to China this time and
missions that were brought back by comrade Jingqi upon his return to France.

Regarding the establishment of the correspondence section there are also two points that can be articulated: (a) the recruitment of party members, which currently stands at twenty-two people in total, including Hu Lun, Zhao Guangchen, Gu Wenbin, Xiong Rui, Fu Lie, Zhou Weizhen, Lei Dingkun, Liu Yun, etc.; and (b) on the twenty-second of this month, the correspondence section in Paris was established. The party members in Paris gathered together and held a meeting. At that time, Zhou Enlai proposed a general set of regulations which were approved by everyone, and submitted this to the party representative assembly of the EGMD plenary session.

Correspondence section regulations [omitted]

Correspondence section provisional officials: Li Fuchun as section head; Nie Yunzhen as secretary; Mu Qing as treasurer; Xiong Weigen as propaganda head; and Mao Kesheng as public relations head.5

Plans for the correspondence section: external propaganda, recruiting comrades, contacting party members, and collecting reports.

4. Report of the Belgium Correspondence Section preparer, Fang Ditang (Zhou Chonggao brought a letter late, which is the reason for this supplement). Ditang called for a meeting of all the party members abroad in Belgium at 9:00 AM on 11 November. Currently, the preparation for the correspondence section is already completed, and the comrades are very enthusiastic toward the Guomindang. The results of the election of officials are as follows: Section Head—Fang Ditang; Secretary—Yang Zifu; Treasurer—Zuo Shaobxian; Propaganda—Zhu Zengxiang. (After Jingqi announces the Paris and Belgium Correspondence Section officials respectively here there will be no special announcements. Hopefully, party friends will take note of this).

5. Soliloquy Representing Lyons Working Brothers:

The Chinese Guomindang is a large political party which was organized by a minority of the intellectual class within the Tongmenghui. When dictatorship was at its peak under the Qing government, it merited our greatest admiration. But if we look at history after the establishment of the Republic, then what has the Guomindang accomplished for the people? One may say that we have not even obtained the few freedoms which are stipulated in the Constitution—freedom of assembly, freedom of organization, and
freedom of the press. This is evidenced by the big massacre during the Tangshan coal strike. Moreover, the massive bloodletting in February of the Beijing-Wuhan railroad workers further proved the ruthless heartlessness of the evil warlords.

[Jingqi responded with the following remarks:]

To say that freedom has totally been unobtained, this is very true. But who is at fault? Is it the Guomindang? Is it the people? Or is it not the Guomindang? The GMD has the responsibility only for guiding the way, and arousing the [people's] spirit of struggle, but has not had the unlimited resources to guarantee the freedom . . . of assembly. Furthermore, the majority of the common people have not sympathized with or aided this party in protecting the Constitution against Yuan [Shikai], the Northern Expedition, the fight with Chen [Jiongming?], etc. . . . If this is excusable, how about those scholars who regarded themselves as knowing everything, ancient and modern (like in the Times Liang Qichao accused Sun Yat-sen of “Trying to satisfy his own desire of being the President”), [or] Hu Shi, the so-called giant of the New Culture Movement (see Nüli), who praised Chen Jiongming as a revolutionary. Recently, many people have criticized this party for overlooking propaganda for the masses. The first question I want to ask is are these masses more observant and smarter than the scholars and doctorates? Can the masses distinguish right from wrong immediately upon listening to the contrary arguments suggested by the scholars and doctorates? I want to proclaim that I am not opposed to propaganda for the masses. I want the critics to consult the 1915 letter from Chen Yingshi to Huang Keqiang (appended to Sun Wen’s theories). These old party comrades from the Tongmenghui, who shared [the same] hardships and goals, still believe in Mr. Zhongshan’s idealism. Yet under such severe attack, who is still willing to pay attention to the propaganda of the masses? When Mr. Zhongshan resigned in Nanjing, he wanted to lead comrades in expanding education and promoting industry to consolidate the reigning party. In truth, he really treasured the propaganda for the masses. Therefore, one dares to say that the accusation of [the Party] ignoring [propaganda to the masses] is not valid.

Several other gentlemen, such as Li Guocai, Hou Jingxiang, Di Fuding, Zhai Junqian, Wang Deyao (who was ill and did not attend), are very sympathetic to the People’s Party and had prepared long speeches, but due to time limitations, they voluntarily gave up their speeches and allowed the people in the party to converse.

6. Comrades’ Speeches

1. Zhang Lushan [omitted]
2. Zhou Enlai:
I've heard the varying perspectives on the Party, and they can be analyzed in the following categories: (a) the free-thinking faction: This faction mostly composed of the youth after May Fourth, who stand in the most Leftist positions, who oppose political parties and object to politics, even to the point of rejecting all tools of revolution, but just prattling about revolution. Those to the slight Right, although they cannot compare to those with Leftist tendencies in opposing everything, reject all political parties of the past. Moreover they do not recognize the value [of political parties] in their days; nor do they ask about [the parties'] historical mission in the historical process. They obliterate everything. All they have is an idealized political party platform. Yet they themselves do not experiment personally. Although some [of these] people do recognize the value of the Tongmenghui in history, they definitely do not recognize its important position in the people's revolution in the country during the current time period. They are unwilling to subordinate to other people (in reality if one receives the orders of others, due to a belief in an ideology, it does not mean being subordinate). Each of them sets upon an individual banner. It is really a case of in the aftermath of May Fourth the new youth organizations "sprouting like spilling bamboo after the rain," and thus multiplying. Yet one has never seen them following one banner of revolution; (b) the non-revolutionary faction; (c) the constructive faction: (1) those who are enthusiastic about party affairs; (2) those who nominally are registered on the party registers, but not accepting responsibilities—this type of person constitutes the vast majority of the Party.

7. Miscellaneous: The various resolutions passed at this time included the following special points: (1) the change that the bureau chief will be elected at the plenary session; (2) change the term of officers to one year; (3) the addition of a military affairs committee; (4) the branch organization is temporarily established at Lyons; (5) the announcement that the EGMD branch is officially established today. The results of the elections are as follows:

**Discussion Bureau**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discussion Bureau Chief:</th>
<th>He Chichang</th>
<th>France</th>
<th>Guangdong</th>
</tr>
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<td>Assistant Discussion Bureau Chief:</td>
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<td>Hu Dacai</td>
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<td>Lin Wei</td>
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The First Official Meetings

Executive Committee

Chief:
Ren Zhouxuan France
Xie Zeyuan Belgium

Assistant chief:
Wang Jingqi France
Fang Ditang Belgium

General Affairs chair:
Zhou Enlai France

Party Affairs chair:
Wu Wenan France

Treasurer:
Sun Yongbao France (p.o.b.)

Propaganda chair:
Li Fuchun France

Public Relations chair:
Zhu Zengxiang Belgium

Political Affairs Committee head:
Xiong Rui Germany

Legal Affairs Committee head:
Jiang Luwen France

Military Affairs Committee head:
Sun Jinyou France (p.o.b.)

Agricultural-Industrial Affairs head:
Zhu Chongguang Germany

Women’s Committee head:
Guo Longzhen France

After the elections, it was decided that an announcement about the establishment of the branch should be made to the outside. [The announcement] will be drafted by the executive committee and passed by the discussion bureau committee. At 6 PM the meeting was adjourned. This evening the head of the executive committee commanded Lin Wei to act as Chinese [language] secretary to the executive committee.
Notes

1. The Diligent-Work Frugal-Study Movement (1919–21), promoted by Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui, and Cai Yuanpei, attracted more than sixteen hundred Chinese youth to France in the hopes of working in the undermanned French factories and using their wages to attend French schools. They hoped to attain technical educations and contribute to the modernization and salvation of their country. The movement did not take into proper consideration the economic circumstances within France or the administrative skill that would be needed to deal with hundreds of Chinese arriving each month. For a more detailed view of the Work-Study Movement see the Introduction. The Lyons Incident (September–October 1921) was a movement to secure places at the newly opening Sino-French Institute at Lyons University for the worker-students, who were in dire straits by the fall of 1921. The worker-student community had decided to send a vanguard of a hundred to be at Lyons when Wu Zhihui arrived with a contingent of a hundred students from China. However, before Wu arrived they were implacable about vacating the campus and were imprisoned in a local military barracks, from which they were deported in mid-October and repatriated to China. The Lyons Incident was the third in a series of political incidents in 1921. For more information, see the Introduction.

2. This interesting depiction of the students at the Sino-French Institute reveals two interesting phenomena: the lingering resentment toward the students who were given priority to matriculate at the institute and a tendancy by those who were not allowed to enter the institute because of the high entrance requirements and the lack of individual funding for many from the Work-Study pool of potential recruits to view them as “capitalists.” Furthermore, given the future expulsions of members of the Lyons contingent from the European branch of the Chinese Guomindang, and the antistudent tenor of Wang Jingqi’s opening remarks, one wonders about the latent resentment toward the students at the Sino-French Institute at Lyons University. Did it arise out of genuine ideological divisions? Or could it have stemmed in part from the “humiliation” of the Lyons Incident in 1921?

3. Wang Zhaoming is the alias of Wang Jingwei. The relationship between Wang Jingwei and the SFI students is a topic that deserves research. Liu Hou (Dabei), the Chinese Secretary of the SFI, was a close follower of Wang Jingwei.

4. This emphasis is to distinguish from the first time Wang Jingqi returned to China from France, which was during the expulsions in 1921 stemming from the Lyons Incident.

5. Almost the entire provisional official roster are Communists. It is not only remarkable that the Paris Correspondence Section was controlled so strongly by the Communists, but also that at least two of these officials, Xiong Weigeng and Nie Rongzhen (see note 1, document 16), were residing in Belgium, not in Paris. Xiong Weigen is more often known as Xiong Weigeng (熊渭耕). Nie Rongzhen was to move in 1924 to Paris and forgo his studies at the University for Workers at Charleroi.
The Chinese Guomindang has existed for thirty years in history with the founding of the Chinese Revival Society as its beginning point. Everyone already knows and there is no need for ourselves to elucidate the party’s historical position and value. In our country’s reform history, the party has followed the tide of historical evolution, energetically shouldering the historical mission in undertaking revolutionary enterprises. However, its historical position and value already belong to the past. Its present and future mission, driven by the evolution of times, is to make even greater accomplishments and a more thorough revolution; this kind of revolution and accomplishments can only be realized through the revolutionary power of the entire China, united in common efforts under the banner of the Guomindang. Therefore, the Chinese GMD on the first of January of this year made a reorganization proclamation.

From the 1911 Revolution until today it has already been twelve years. Within these twelve years, not only have the evil remnants of the Beiyang warlords been increasingly rampant, [but] those who have newly joined the party also have had many traitorous acts as well. With poor conscience and rampant greed, they betrayed the nation’s people and became new warlords. These new and old warlords, out for their own selfish interest, either colluded with or worked against each other, resulting in endless calamity for the nation and the people. Even the president could be bribed and parliament members could sell themselves. Lawless and shameless, the people’s nation cannot really be dignified by this term. The original aim of our party’s revolution was to expand the rights of the people. However, with today’s national culprits as an impediment on the road, it is an obvious sign that the revolutionary task of our party is not yet complete.

Secondly, our party was indignant at the previous dictatorship of the Qing dynasty, exposed its policy of “Preferring to give to friends rather than grant to house slaves,” and overthrew the Qing dynasty. However, though the Qing dynasty fell, its descendants, the evil remnants of the imperial system, from Yuan Shikai to Cao Kun, have grasped the state power of the nation and have continued up to now. Their traitorous behavior and the various powers’
invasion activities even surpassed those during the Qing period. Therefore, although our party has consistently upheld the principle of nationalism, we not only have not been able to achieve the unity of our entire nation and real independence on the positive side; we have not even been able to, on the negative side, eradicate the unequal treaties with other countries. On the contrary, we are sinking to a colonial status [controlled] by the various powers. If we can tolerate this, what else can we not tolerate? If our party aims to achieve real independence for our nation, how can we dare think that revolution has already succeeded, thus hindering our own undertaking of national salvation?

And speaking of the People's Livelihood, things are even more destitute and impoverished. Penetrated by culpable thievery, many enterprises have fallen, even to the point where the level of economic development declined. Without getting rid of the original warlord calamity and the suppression of the various powers, the desire to develop enterprises and to enrich the country can only be empty words, and it is difficult to see any concrete result. Our party premier, Mr. Sun Zhongshan, from the first year of the Republic has repeatedly shown people the plan to rebuild [the nation]. However, because currently enemies have not been eradicated, today the revolution is still in progress, and efforts are being devoted to these affairs. Consequently, his great strategy for saving the country has not been implemented to console the nation's people. But although today our party is still in the process of revolution, it has definitely not overlooked the People's Livelihood. In fact it is for the sake of the People's Livelihood that we have to energetically pursue revolution first in order to completely sweep away the obstacles.

To sum up, the Three People's Principles are consistent and eternal principles of our party in safeguarding the nation. If one cannot be achieved, it's enough to be an ailment [because it signifies] the lack of thoroughness of our party's revolution. Yet, until today none of these three [principles] have been carried out. This really is our party's utmost shame in facing the people. Although our party has in former historical times worked hard for the revolution, yet the reason that our party can lead the people lies in its having thorough revolutionary proposals. If [the party] abandons the revolution halfway, it is not only shameful in facing our nation's people, but also more indebted to the many revolutionary martyrs. Since this is clear, then there is not much further need to say [anything] about the responsibility our party
The First Official Meetings

bears to serve the nation. The establishment of the EGMD most clearly undertakes none other than this kind of historical mission.

Only we live overseas, and cannot directly put energy into the revolution. We can do nothing more than make preparations for the revolution. For instance, if the political system and military preparedness of economically advanced nations can help our party succeed, we must exert every effort to study; if the industrial and commercial enterprises can be used by our country, we should all the more gather information [on them]. [We should] seek opportunities for international propaganda about our party's just and honorable ideologies. If the various powers have acts of invasion against our country, we should exert all efforts to manage resistance. Moreover, [we must] unite the compatriots residing in Europe to exert concerted efforts in the national salvation movement. Furthermore, what our party is working hard for is not for the interest of one person or one party; we hope to do nothing other than guide the unified efforts of the entire people. It is not too much to say that the Three People's Principles is the ideology for the Chinese people's salvation.

O our dear compatriots in Europe, facing the current course of events, I assume that you will not be deluded by the appearance [of things]; I assume that you would not regard national revolution as extraneous.

Document 13 (7817-1): Letter transmitted from Wang Jingqi to the General Affairs Bureau Chief to Distribute to Each Bureau Chief

An announcement was sent out to the correspondence sections of Paris and Belgium, in mid-December last year, that their New Year's celebration was to be held simultaneously with the Lyons (section) on New Year's Day, and the opportunity would be taken for vigorous propaganda.

Yesterday, New Year's Day, this branch invited [people from] all walks of life in Lyons to a meeting. More than forty guests and comrades attended. The meeting began at nine in the morning and transpired in the following way:
First, [Wang] Jingqi reported the progress of party affairs after the Plenary session.¹

Next, several comrades gave their speeches.

1. Ren Zhuoxuan² explained the urgent needs of the contemporary national revolution. He internally stimulated the comrades to emphasize the two tasks of training and propaganda.

2. Han Lüchen explained how the Three People's Principles and Five Powers Constitution will serve as good medicine to save China from peril.

3. Gu Wenbin reminded everyone of the significance and lessons of today's commemoration in arousing the consciousness of everyone.

4. Li Qijue rightfully emphasized enterprise and education.

5. Cai Chiping rightfully paid attention to mass movements, especially thinking and planning for the workers.

6. Wu Wenan rightfully emphasized proselytizing students and peasants, and then the workers.

7. Ding Baozhen narrated his own difficulties.

Lastly, the chair drew together several of the larger themes which can be paraphrased:

Today, we should arouse a kind of revolutionary spirit in everyone. For instance, if one speaks of the people's rights, a revolution must take place; if one speaks about the policy on soldiers and workers, a revolution also must take place; and if one speaks about education and enterprise, a revolution especially must take place. Therefore, a revolution is a current necessity. It is a question of a primary resolve which must [incorporate] every method. We must then link arms and go together to the battle line.

After the meeting dispersed, I called together the executive committee for a provisional meeting to study the question of internal unity and external propaganda.³ Please allow the details of the Paris and Belgium Correspondence Sections to be submitted separately.

With our best wishes.

The First Official Meetings

Notes

1. November 25, 1923 (Lyons, France).
2. Ren Zhuoxuan was later to become the general secretary of the ECCO (1924–25).
3. This raises an interesting issue about the "unity" of the meeting. The bare outline of the general speakers' comments indicates that it may have been more in the nature of a debate rather than one speaker following another.

Document 14 (7817–2): Letter transmitted from Wang Jingqi to the Party Affairs Chief Sun (Jing)

During New Year’s day, [the branches] from Lyons, Paris, and Belgium simultaneously held a vigorous propaganda activity, the details of which have already been respectfully submitted to the General Affairs section chief. New comrades have arrived daily and have joined the party. By the end of the month, the Party Affairs section director [zhuren] will send the information. Would it be possible for [the General Affairs Section] to send five hundred more forms, and a hundred volumes of General Regulations? The ten speeches of Mr. Sun [Yat-sen] is also essential for the purposes of propaganda; can we trouble you to send at least one hundred more volumes, the more the better?

 Signed: Wang Jingqi, January 2, 1924

Notes

1. One might assume that the first series of party materials was for theoretical study.
Comrades residing in Europe:

Since our party established the European branch, comrades joining the party have been unusually active, and party affairs have also gradually gained in scope. From this one can see the power of our comrades' unity and the strength of our comrades' struggle. According to the letters of comrades from all sides, they all think that this branch needs to issue a publication to better reap the effects of the strategy and energy of the masses. Currently this matter has already been submitted to Mr. Wang Jingwei in a letter by the Executive Bureau, discussing the loan of a lead typesetting machine kept at the Sino-French Institute. At the same time, another letter was sent to the bureau in Shanghai tentatively asking for a yearly subsidy of 3,000 francs. Within four months at most, we should be able to get the news. If everything goes smoothly, then in four months, our party's open and honorable publication will certainly be in print. But in case the two plans cannot be actualized at the time, for the sake of achieving internal unity and external propaganda, we cannot do without a publication. Toward this activity everyone must exert their efforts. I am willing to exert my entire effort and do my best to cooperate with everyone. Meanwhile, I have an opinion to express at random. Since we are managing a newspaper in Europe, we ought to pay attention to international propaganda. In addition to publishing in Chinese, we ought to publish a Western version of the paper (English, German, French), simultaneously or temporarily, and send this gratis to European peasants, workers, businessmen, politicians, students, and various important organizations. Thus, they will be able to know the constructive spirit of our party, and understand the real situation in the Orient. In my opinion, this is a job that comrades residing in Europe ought to pursue. What does everyone else think of this? All in all, with a sufficient spirit of struggle, there is nothing that cannot be successfully undertaken. Let us struggle forward!

Wang Jingqi, Branch Chief of the European Branch of the Guomindang
January 17, 1924
Notes

1. Does this mean that there was also a secret publication?

Document 16 (5038-1): Letter to the General Affairs Section Chief prepared by Paris Correspondent Preparer, Zhou Enlai (January 18, 1924)

Comrade Mr. [Peng] Sumin, Chief of the General Affairs Section:

The previous letter, which reported the recent events of the Paris Correspondence Section, I believe has already arrived!

Currently, the party members daily are growing within the Paris Correspondence Section, and as of yesterday the membership reached thirty-six people, with the Lyons section also growing day by day. Originally when [Zhou] Enlai undertook the mission given to him by the General Bureau, [it was believed] that it would be better for the organization of the Paris Correspondence Section to control all members in France. However, recently the configuration has been changing, and the Lyons area party membership will in a twinkling equal that of the Paris membership. Both areas are separated, and [when] under command of one organization, the execution of duties is rather difficult. For this reason, Enlai and the branch chief, [Wang] Jingqi, after some written dialogue with the Lyons comrades, have decided that it would be easier to establish a separate correspondence section in Lyons. Based on this, Enlai called the first meeting of the Paris Correspondence Section on the evening of the 17th this month in Paris, to formally announce the establishment of the correspondence section, which would control party members in Paris and its vicinity, but not those in Lyons.
Following is a brief report of events of that evening meeting, and it is hoped that the newly elected officials will be secured in their appointments!

**Summary of the First Plenary Session of the Paris Correspondence Section of the Chinese Guomindang, January 17, 1924, in Paris**

1. Members attending numbered fourteen. They included representatives for twenty people from the rear [areas] and eleven members from the suburbs, who were unable to attend the meeting. Ten people were able to return ballots, with one person unable to return the ballot because of a trip to Belgium.

2. Zhou Enlai, the Paris Correspondence Section preparer, reported on the process of organizing the correspondence section.

3. Li Fuchun, temporary director of the correspondence section, reported on the developing situation of party activities in Paris.

4. [We] discussed the regulations of the correspondence section and passed the following articles:

   4.1 This correspondence section is under the instructions of this General Party Bureau, and is composed of all party members in Paris and its suburbs.

   4.2 This correspondence section, under the direct command of the European Branch of the Party, will handle all party affairs of this correspondence section.

   4.3 This correspondence section will establish positions of section head secretary, treasurer, public relations, and propaganda. Together they will form a Management Council [幹事會]. They will be elected by the entire party membership in the section (before) petitioning the General Bureau for the official appointments.

   4.4 This correspondence section will meet bi-annually in a plenary session as a whole body. When necessary, the Management Council will require the convocation of an emergency meeting. If the suburban members are not able to attend for some reason, representatives must be entrusted to attend the meeting in their stead. But each member may represent no more than 5 people.
4.5 This correspondence section must daily report on the progression of its activities to the executive committee of the European branch [of the Guomindang].

4.6 This correspondence section shall establish its management institutions in Paris.

4.7 Correspondence section regulations must be amended at a plenary session.

5. Results of the elections for officials are as follows:
   1. Section chief: Nie Yunzhen [Nie Rongzhen]
   2. Secretary: Xi Wende
   3. Treasurer: Bian Weifei
   4. Public Relations: Liao Renxian
   5. Propaganda: Mao Ke (Sheng)

6. Party members reported on all party affairs.

7. General discussion and decisions:
   7.1 Management Council meetings must be convened every 2 weeks.
   7.2 Paris party members must convene a regular meeting once a month. Whether it will be open or not is to be decided by the Management Council.
   7.3 Each year in commemoration of the Republican Revolution an open public speech forum must be held.
   7.4 To suggest to the branch that the [Guomindang] Internal General Bureau and the Overseas Branch be asked to subsidize the costs of publications.
   7.5 The meeting of today will be considered the First Plenary Session of the Correspondence Section.
   7.6 Announcement of meeting’s dispersion.

Sincerely reported, and hoping for your supervision!

Ending with salutations for the Three People’s Principles!

(Signed) Zhou Enlai, Preparer for the Paris Correspondence Section

January 18, 1924, in Paris
Notes

1. We believe that Nie Yunzhen is a mistake for Nie Rongzhen, who according to memoirs and other materials was involved in GMD organizational activities during this period. Was this a mistake based upon dialect differences, lack of personal recognition (unlikely by the end of 1923), or because this was an alternate spelling of Nie's name?

2. Xi Wende was a prominent Right-faction GMD member. He was later excoriated by members of the ECCO, including within some of the first articles of Deng Xiaoping. One can also find evidence that Xi Wende found support from Father Lebbe in Paris.

Document 17 (5038–2): Letter from Zhou Enlai

The situation of the Correspondence Section Plenary Session is as narrated above. Moreover, formal officers have already been elected. Henceforth, the Management Council will take responsibility for reporting the progress of the situation to the branch, and the branch will pass it on to the General Bureau. To this point, Enlai has completed his mission given to him by our premier, Mr. Zhongshan, and the General Bureau to organize the Paris Correspondence Section.

Sincerely reported, and hoping for your supervision!
Closing with salutations for the Three People's Principles!

Zhou Enlai, Paris Correspondence Section Preparer
January 18, 1924, in Paris
Chapter three includes some statute listings and early statistics. Of particular note is the table on the overseas GMD bureaus (document 19), their membership numbers, propaganda sections, and so forth. This table covers the number of central, general, principal, and secondary bureaus organized overseas. It has statistics on memberships, journals, party schools, and propaganda posts. It is extraordinary that more members joined the GMD in Cuba than in Thailand. The membership statistics for European countries is particularly low. This table was part of a 1924 report of the GMD Overseas Bureau that was captured by the French and translated into French. The report contained organizational charts and statistics for ten countries and included the activities of almost forty-four thousand GMD members. This chapter contains the first documents in French and the first French-captured Chinese documents in the sourcebook.

**Document 18 (13830): Chinese Guomindang Overseas General Branch Rules Ratified on July 20, 1923**

**Rule One**  
The overseas general branches, according to statute three of this party's general regulations, and ratified by this Bureau, are established at various major cities abroad.

**Rule Two**  
Each overseas general branch will have nine Management Council members, who will organize a management council
discuss and decide regulations, and manage party affairs.

Rule Three The Management Council members will be elected by the entire party membership within the control realm of the overseas general branch, using anonymous voting ballots. Those who obtain the most votes will be elected. After the election, the official appointment will be made by the premier.

Rule Four The Management Council will have the first Sunday of each month as its regular meeting day. If three or more members agree, a provisional meeting may be called. The chairmanship will be rotated among the various Management Council members. Resolutions from the Management Council meetings will be submitted to the general manager for execution.

Rule Five Each overseas general branch will have one general manager who will be specially appointed by this bureau. The general manager will execute all affairs of the general branch. However, when dealing with things that should be discussed and decided by the Management Council, yet for some reason the Management Council cannot convene a meeting, the general manager, after executing these affairs, must ask for retroactive endorsement when the Management Council does hold a meeting.

Rule Six The domestic general branch’s rule number 2, number 3, number 6 through number 8, number 11, and number 14 are suitable for the overseas general branch’s use. However, regarding the appointment of various officials, after obtaining the agreement of the Management Council, the general manager must ask the premier for appointment.
Appended rules from the domestic general branch (ratified the same day):

Rule Two The general branch directly belongs to this Bureau and receives the supervision and direction from this Bureau in conducting all party affairs in the districts of governance.

Rule Three The jurisdiction of the general branch is determined by this Bureau.

Rule Six Each general branch will establish a General Affairs section, Party Affairs section, Treasury section, Propaganda section, and Public Relations section. It will also establish a Political Committee, Legal Committee, Peasant-Laborer Committee, and Women's Committee to manage affairs respectively and to investigate and discuss things. Other committees can be established after the general branch obtains approval of this bureau.

Rule Seven Each section will establish a section chief and an assistant section chief. The committees will establish a committee head and an assistant committee head. [As for] the many committee members, the general branch chief (called the general manager for the overseas general branch) will solicit their official appointment from the premier.

Rule Eight The general branch officials all hold their posts for a period of two years. However, they can be reelected.

Rule Eleven The general branch will hold a liaison meeting between sections and committees, organized by each section's section chief and assistant section chief and each committee's committee head and assistant committee head. In addition to the meeting, each section head or committee head can at any time convene a meeting of their respective section or committee.

Rule Twelve Expenses of the general branch will be borne by the party members belonging to it. The way of levying collections will temporarily be determined by the various general branches. However, the party entrance dues and yearly contributions cannot be misused. The method for collecting this money must be verified and decided by one person of this bureau.
Rule Thirteen  The general branch, within the conditions of not violating the various regulations of this party, can decide various regulations on its own. However, these must be submitted to this Bureau for ratification and record keeping.

Rule Fourteen  These general rules must pass through more than one-third of the Central Management Council members or five or more of the general branches, in order to be changed. These must be submitted to the premier and passed on to the Central Management Council meeting for resolution.

These general rules shall be put into effect upon [their being made] public.
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<th>Bureaux principaux</th>
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2. Toward all the oppressed masses in imperialist countries to propagandize on the evils of imperialists in order to raise their consciousness and resistance.

3. To establish contact with the oppressed masses in matters of friendship, politics, and other aspects.

4. To spiritually and materially help the oppressed masses when necessary.

Section Ten: Contact with all Revolutionary Organizations within Imperialist Countries

1. Steps for contact
   a. Investigate the internal contents of the revolutionary organization; for example, the background of formation for the organization, proposals, strength, leadership, organization, current tactics, and so forth.
   b. Get close to or contact the organization and its members.

2. Methods for contact
   a. Hold mutual discussions of problems, introduce revolutionary theories.
   b. Convene a meeting and invite the leaders of the organization to give a speech or, when there is an opportunity, attend assemblies and speeches of the organization.
   c. Spiritually or materially help the organizations when necessary.
   d. Other [methods].

3. Points to keep in mind during contact
   a. Before any contact one must be deeply acquainted with the substance of the revolutionary organization.
   b. If one cannot [do things] in the open because of the situation that this party or that organization is in, appropriate methods should be devised.
   c. When contacting that organization, try hardest to preserve the guiding position and an independent spirit of this party.
   d. Without the permission of the party bureau, our party members cannot enter that organization.
Section Eleven: Aiding the Revolutionary Movement [within] Imperialist [Countries]

1. Methods for aid
   a. Openly or secretly aid through speech.
   b. Openly or secretly aid through actions.
   c. Openly or secretly aid through funding.

2. Points to pay attention to during aid
   a. Before any aid, first use the Three People’s Principles to closely watch and estimate if there is anything that does not fit in with the implementation of the Three People’s Principles, in order to determine whether aid should be rendered and the degree of aid.
   b. During aid [we] should preserve the independent spirit of this party.

Document 21: Note Confidentielle No. 1301/S [P. Arnoux, Chef de la Sûreté au Tonkin] (Février 2, 1929) [Congrès Koumintang, 1929; SLOTFOM VIII, 6]

Summary: This is a listing of representation at the GMD Congress of March 1929. The French were very concerned about the influence of the GMD politics on the colonies, and they monitored the linkages between the GMD and GMD overseas branches.

J’ai l’honneur de vous donner ci après, le nombre de délégués que doivent nommer les Emigrés Chinois des différents pays pour prendre part au Congrès Kouomintang qui se réunira à Nankin, le 15 Mars prochain.

La même règle a été appliquée en Chine et à l’étranger pour déterminer le nombre des délégués à élire.

Toute section comprenant moins de 500 partisans réinscrits choisit un délégué, qui pourra assister au Congrès mais seulement à titre consultatif.

Une section de 500 partisans réinscrits nommé {e}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Numéro</th>
<th>Délégués avec pleins pouvoirs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Délégué avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>4,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>6,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>10,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>20,000 délégus avec pleins pouvoirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Au dessus de 20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aucune section ne peut nommer plus de 10 délégus.

D'après cette règle le

- Canada nomme 7 délégus
- San Francisco nomme 5 délégus
- Mexique nomme 5 délégus
- Cuba nomme 4 délégus
- Hawaï nomme 4 délégus
- Japon nomme 2 délégus
- Philippines nomme 4 délégus
- Iles Néerlandaises nomme 9 délégus
- Presquile de Malacca nomme 8 délégus
- Australie nomme 5 délégus
- Cochinchine & Cambodge nomme 8 délégus
- Hanoi nomme 1 délégus
- Haiphong nomme 1 délégus
- Siam nomme 5 délégus
- Birmanie nomme 2 délégus
- Inde nomme 2 délégus
France (Belgique, etc.) nomme 2 délégués
Afrique du Sud nomme 2 délégués
Pérou (Lima) nomme 1 délégué
Londres nomme 1 délégué
Liverpool nomme 1 délégué
Ile Maurice nomme 1 délégué
Madagascar nomme 1 délégué
Corée nomme 1 délégué
Timor nomme 1 délégué

Les Emigrés Chinois auront donc 83 représentants au Congrès, dont 10 pour l'Indochine française, où il doit y avoir en tout 11,000 partisans Kouomin réinscrits.

Le Chef de la Sûreté au Tonkin, Signé: P. ARNOUX
UNIT 2

POLITICS OF THE EUROPEAN GUOMINDANG

This part of the sourcebook focuses on the politics of the EGMD and consists of documents 22-43. Chapter four focuses on EGMD intraparty politics and the theme of the Communist-Leftist-controlled United Front from 1924 through 1927. Chapter five explores each EGMD faction that emerged during the aftermath of the April Twelfth Coup of 1927 in China. The final chapter of this unit examines this dynamic United Front and activist Chinese environment with two alternate viewpoints, a captured Rightist faction report written in 1929, and a series of European surveillance documents.
4. INTRAPARTY POLITICS—DISCIPLINING THE RIGHTISTS (1924–1927)

Chapter four focuses on the beginning of intraparty factionalization, particularly disciplinary actions against the Right, a pervasive theme in other documents. Document 22 is one of the earliest documentary mentions of Li Fuchun’s political activities. Wang Jingqi upheld Li Fuchun and his compatriot Ren Zhuoxuan against the Rightist EGMD leaders. Wang cited GMD statutes and invoked the Leninist concept of discipline. This points to the intertwining of both Leninist organizational strength and ideological strength in GMD activities. As documents 24-26 demonstrate, 1925 marked a turning point as the May Thirtieth EGMD activities resulted in the expulsion of Wang Jingqi from France; and as the Communists and Leftists took even more control at the Fourth Assembly Meeting, in 1925, which was chaired by Deng Xiaoping.

Document 22 (7605–2): The Third Announcement of the Inspection Committee of the French General Branch of the Chinese Guomindang, March 4, 1924

Since a conflict has erupted between two members and three alternate members of the Executive Committee and the chairman of the general branch, the Inspection Committee has undertaken to judge the rights and wrongs of
the Executive Committee and has adopted certain measures. These five members (and some others) have issued as many as three announcements in the name of the Executive Committee and the name of Executive Committee members between 24 January and 8 February. Both before and after their expulsions they showed an eagerness to fabricate evidence to incite our comrades in a plot to overthrow the chairman and the Inspection Committee. However, each comrade observed resolutions and relied on regulations in serving discipline. Furthermore, they discerned the truth and clearly saw their [the five members'] wrongdoing. Meanwhile, the Inspection Committee made a further special announcement analyzing in-depth the rights and wrongs in detail. Therefore, since the three announcements of 24 January, 1 February, and 8 February, except for about one-twentieth of the people at the general branch, who for various special reasons have announced their approval of [the five members], almost the entire body of comrades has treated them by an attitude of ignoring them. This allowed for the smooth operation of the general branch. This is not only a phenomenon of our comrades' diligence, but also is a signal of future party development. . . . Following is an itemized and detailed account of the Inspection Committee's attitudes and evidence regarding this matter.

1. According to the party regulations, statute eighteen, "general branches equal a province," and, statute forty-seven, "the Provincial Inspection Committee . . . investigates the party affairs of the Provincial Executive Committee and the diligence or laziness of its members." These [statutes] stipulate that the Inspection Committee was duty-bound to call a meeting to investigate the charges against the chairman contained in the announcements by these five members. Whether this incident was discovered by the Inspection Committee or an accusation by others, it could not have been ignored.

2. The Inspection Committee on 1 February (1924) held a meeting based on the so-called Executive Committee announcement of 24 January, on the one hand; and the public pronouncements of the chair [of the Inspection Committee] on the other hand. Therefore, the information in the special announcement that was issued by the Inspection Committee is irrefutable, and [the announcement] is entirely the Inspection Committee's responsibility.

3. According to the party regulations, statute 73 . . . "After an exhaustive investigation by the branch Inspection Committee, it is the duty of the branch Executive Committee to judge and punish." Therefore, the 1 February and 4
February Inspection Committee resolutions were the result of their own investigation and it was entirely in accordance with regulations to transmit their resolutions to the Executive Committee for execution.

4. The Inspection Committee consisted of five members, the formal members—Li Fuchun, He Chichang, and Zhu Chongguang—and alternate members—Ren Zhuoxuan and Lin Wei.¹ Last year in Paris, frequent meetings were held with the representatives Li Fuchun, He Chichang, along with Ren Zhuoxuan and Lin Wei. After Li Fuchun left France, Ren Zhuoxuan succeeded him as a formal Inspection Committee member. [Thus] in Paris there were still the three representatives, Ren Zhuoxuan, Lin Wei and He Chichang. At the 1 February and 3 February meetings, except for Zhu Chongguang, the whole body attended; therefore that meeting of the Inspection Committee was legal.

5. According to the third statute of the regulations of the general branch Inspection Committee organizing rules, the secretary of the Inspection Committee ought to be chosen by the committee. Thus, Ren Zhuoxuan, as he was selected by the committee as the committee secretary, cannot be denied. In addition, two Executive Committee members and three alternates used the Executive Committee name or individual names to attack this committee [the Inspection Committee] and [they] have been completely ignored. Because this affair has already been totally resolved, it is no longer a problem. . . . In these announcements our comrades can still obtain two lessons:

5.1 They [the five members] considered it a heavenly duty to sabotage things and create trouble. While they were creating difficulties, and when the chair hindered them, they attacked the chair. When the Inspection Committee criticized them, then they opposed the Inspection Committee. When the committee secretary, Ren Zhuoxuan, convened a meeting for the purpose of investigating their dispute, they refused to recognize the Inspection Committee secretary [i.e., Ren Zhuoxuan]. Those who fulfilled their duties and observed discipline were the miscreants in the eyes of these troublemakers.²

5.2 They attacked others with the slogan, “Communist Party.” “Communist Party” . . . was the accusation that they leveled at others. Therefore, they opposed the chair, saying that the chairmanship was “becoming Red” and “manipulated” by the “Communist Party.” The opposition to the Inspection Committee and its secretary was based on the
Intraparty Politics—Disciplining the Rightists (1924-1927)

reason that the Inspection Committee members were of the “Communist Party.” But we should take note of the fact that it was not until the chairman, the Inspection Committee, and its secretary criticized them [these five members] for their troublemaking that they were accused of “becoming Red,” “being manipulated,” or “being (members) of the Communist Party.”

Notes

1. Advocates for the expelled faction later said that there was one other member of this committee—Fang Ditang a student at Workers’ University in Charleroi—who reportedly opposed the expulsions. See document 37. Document 37 does not list He Chichang, but it does list Li Fuchun, Zhu Chongguang, Ren Zhuoxuan, and Lin Wei on this committee. It is irrefutable that at least Li, Ren, and Lin were Communists.

2. Those expelled included Xi Wende, Zhang Xingzhou, and Cao Desan.

3. In fact, as noted above, Li Fuchun, Ren Zhuoxuan, and Lin Wei were Communists, as were several other Guomindang leaders in Europe. Moreover, it is interesting that the main actors in expulsion proceedings for these “Right” faction troublemakers were mostly Communists.


[Excerpts]

This bureau is an organization of this party on the Western European continent, and it manages party affairs for Western Europe . . . Since February of this year this general bureau has sternly exercised discipline, in order to conduct internal reform. However, there are people who do not understand this situation, and they lackadaisically distributed announcements, spread rumors, in order to undermine this general bureau. Recently we heard that those who were expelled are once more preposterously using the name of this General Bureau and collaborating with the counterrevolutionary parties. At the same time they also want to contact the comrades in Paris and areas outside Paris to secretly organize, plot their restoration, and destroy the unity of this party. Although these kinds of occurrences do not constitute much force, nevertheless if there is no attempt at remedying the situation, then the
damage could become really great. Moreover, there are comrades in Paris and its environs who still do not know the true situation and fall under the spell of these people. . . . Because of this the following measures have been decided:

1. The general bureau will convene a meeting of party members in Paris and invite all the comrades of the two branches in Paris and Billancourt to audit the meeting.

2. The general bureau Executive Committee chair will personally go to the branches in Lyons, Marseilles, Belgium, and Germany and convene a meeting for the members of each branch.

The above convocation of party member meetings and the travel of the chairman have the following objectives:

1. To report party affairs.

2. To explain misunderstandings: to report the February expulsion of five people, and dispel all rumors. Each comrade's opinion can be expressed at the meetings.

3. To enact training.

4. To give party cards.

5. To strictly enforce discipline: any party member who does not observe the regulations, or does not observe the resolutions, cannot be allowed to remain inside the party in any way.

6. To supervise the branches; each branch is a subordinate organization to the General Bureau, and all their activities must receive the supervision of the General Bureau.

The French General Bureau of the Chinese Guomindang

Executive Committee Chair, Wang Jingqi

March 4, 1925

Notes

1. This name of Chinese Guomindang in France, which we have abbreviated as FGMD, rather than EGMD, is an interesting usage. See document 24 herein.

2. See Document 22 herein for an explication of this affair.
Summary: A report on an interview with Wang Jingqi [Wang-Chin-gyi] at the White Cross Hotel, where he was ill with tuberculosis. Wang was linked with Ren Zhuoxuan, who was noted as the head of the ECCP and had been arrested in their occupation of the Chinese legation. In Ren’s apartment written materials in Chinese were confiscated including letters for Wang Jingqi. Wang was identified as Youang Tsing Yi, secretary of the EGMD, which the report characterizes as Communist, and Wang’s apartment was entered, whereupon the interrogator encountered several people, who were questioned and detained. Printed material was also confiscated.

J’ai l’honneur de vous informer que conformément aux instructions [s] téléphoniques de M. le Sous-Préfet à Corbeil, je me suis rendu, ce jour, à Saint Vrain, pour notifier au nommé WANG-CHIN-GYI [Wang Jingqi], sujet chinois, un arrêté d’expulsion.

J’ai trouvé cet individu à l’hôtel de la Croix-Blanche où il est descendu, depuis le 8 courant.

WANG-CHIN-GYI, qui est atteint de tuberculose aigue {è}, était couché, dans un état de dépression physique extrême et hors d’état de se tenir debout.

Ayant appris, au cours d’une rapide enquête que WANG CHIN GYI, qui se fait appeler en outre WANGCHINKY, était en relations suivies avec un nommé YEN TCHO SIEN [Ren Zhuoxuan], domicilié à Paris, 18 rue de Bièvre, chef du Parti communiste chinois en France, arrêté, hier, comme étant l’organisateur du coup de force contre la légation de Chine, j’ai procédé à une visite domiciliaire de sa chambre.

J’ai découvert diverses lettres écrites en chinois dont deux notamment émanent du 18 de la rue de Bièvre; un agenda portant de nombreuses adresses et inscriptions en langue chinoise; deux tracts communistes et différents ouvrages chinois.

Dans la chambre se trouvaient de nombreuses enveloppes jaunes, portant la mention: adresser la réponse M. WANGCHINKY, 14 rue Rollin-Paris 5, ainsi que de des liasses {que des liasses} de papier à lettres.
Il semble résulter de mes investigations que le nommé WANG CHIN GYI ne serait autre que le nommé YOUGONG TSING YI, secrétaire du KUO MIN TCHANG, association communiste chinoise, dont le siège était 14 rue Rollin à Paris.

Lorsque je me suis présenté dans la chambre de WANG CHIN GYI, j’ai trouvé un de ses compatriotes, nommé (handwritten -Font Yeh Seng), âgé de 20 ans. Cet individu qui a dit venir de Saint-Malo, où il était étudiant, résidait, depuis deux jours, à l’hôtel de la Croix-Blanche, à Saint-Vrain - Il prétend être venu spécialement pour secourir WANG CHIN GYI qui serait originaire du même village que lui.

Comme (handwritten -Font Yeh Seng) n’avait aucune pièce d’identité en sa possession, je l’ai fait garder à vue à la Gendarmerie de Juvisy en attendant vos instructions.

Au cours de mon enquête à Saint-Vrain, j’ai appris, en outre, que trois autres chinois résidaient en garni, 1 rue Neuve.

M’étant présenté à cette adresse, j’ai rencontré ces trois étrangers qui m’ont décliné comme suit leurs états-civils:

1. LIN TSOU LIEH, né le 8 août 1899, à Hounan (Chine) étudiant, titulaire de la carte d’identité No. 424702 délivrée le 28 septembre 1920, par la Préfecture de la Loire;

2. WANG RING, né le 14 juillet 1901, à Kiang-Si (Chine) dessinateur, titulaire de la carte d’identité 425641, délivrée le 29 août 1921, par la Préfecture de la Loire;

3. HOU LOU HIAN, né le 18 décembre 1902, à Pékin (Chine) chaudronnier, titulaire de la carte d’identité 949631, délivrée le 5 janvier 1920, par la Préfecture de Police.

Ces trois chinois qui résident à Saint-Vrain depuis près d’un mois, ne se livrent à aucune occupation ni travail. Ils recevaient de nombreux compatriotes. Ils professent des idées communistes et sont adhérents au KUO MIN TCHANG de Paris.

Interpellés sur leurs moyens d’existence, ils ont déclaré qu’ils recevaient de l’argent de leurs parents domiciliés en Chine.

LIN TSOU LIEH m’a montré une enveloppe de lettre chargée expédiée de Shanghai.
Dans la chambre de l'un d'eux, j'ai découvert un paquet d'affiches imprimées en caractères chinois que je vous transmets à toutes fins utiles.\(^2\)

J'ajoute que ces trois étrangers qui n'ont pas fait viser leurs cartes d'identité lors de leur arrivée à Saint Vrain, s'apprépent à quitter le territoire français.

Le Commissaire Special

Notes

1. Led by Ren Zhuoxuan, the ECCO had entered the Chinese legation and forced Chen Lu to sign a telegram in support of the May Thirtieth strikes. The result was the imprisonment and expulsion of Ren Zhuoxuan and other ECCO members. Ren was defended by a lawyer from the PCF and lauded in l'Humanité. This dossier, AN F7 12900 contains much information on the incident. Also see Nora Wang, “Da Chen Lu, Le mouvement du 30 mai 1925 à Paris,” Approches Asie, 7 (1983): 1-33; and Wang Yongxiang and Kong Fanfeng, “Zhonggong lü ou zhibu fandui guojia zhu yi pai de douzheng,” [The Struggle of the ECCO Against the Nationalist Clique] Zhongguo xindai shi juyin baokan ziliao no. 3 (March 1982): 11-18.

2. The Chinese letters and materials such as EGMD ballots, as well as some translations, exist in dossier AN F7 12900.


To: The Gentlemen in charge at the Guomindang General Bureau, Shanghai, French concessions, 44 Huan Long Rd.

From: Sheng county, Nan district, Changan village, Sealed by Wang

Gentlemen in charge at the General Bureau:

I submitted a letter previously, which I assume you have condescended to read. My young son, Wang Jingqi, has been in France managing party affairs. This year between April and May he became ill and until today he has not completely recovered. On 25 October of last year, I received a letter from Jingqi, saying that he would go from the French capital to Marseilles, and
would on 20 October board the liner headed by Sun Jinyou. This liner would sail from Marseilles to Shanghai. I remember that Sun Jinyou’s ship, [is called] the André LeBon. I read in the Shanghai paper that this ship arrived in Shanghai on the 21st of this month. But up until today Jingqi has not come home, and I have not received any letter from him either. I have been very suspicious and restless, day and night. But I am not familiar with Shanghai and there is no way to make any special inquiries. I have to trouble you gentlemen in charge to consider the feelings of comradeship and to find out for me if Jingqi finally did or did not board the André LeBon to come to Shanghai.

I am eagerly looking forward to the reply of you gentlemen. My young son Jingqi has comradely friendship with [you] at the respectful bureau, and this is the reason that I dare to annoy you with this request. Please forgive me. I respectfully wish you all the best.

For a return letter please send it to Sheng County, Xihou Street, Cuimogarden, and it will be passed on to me.

November 27, [1925]
Wang Chunlin

Document 26: Minutes of the EGMD Fourth Assembly Meeting (August 17, 1925); from documents seized in Saigon, translated and annotated into French; Annexe N.4 à la lettre 1481/SG du Mai 11, 1927 “Saisie de Divers Documents Trouvés dans les Bagages du Chinois SIAO TAI TSEN passager à bord de l’Angkor (Décembre 27, 1926)” Secret [SLOTFOM VIII, 6]

Summary: These meeting minutes were captured by the Sûreté in Saigon and translated into French. After an introduction to their capture and significance, the document contains the minutes to the EGMD Fourth Assembly Meeting (August 17, 1925) which was held after the departure of Wang Jingqi. The meeting was attended by delegates from Paris, Lyons, Belgium, Billancourt, Holland, and a special Qingtian section. Deng Xiaoping presided over the meeting as president. After a summary introduction by the General
Intraparty Politics—Disciplining the Rightists (1924-1927) 91

Committee, a report was submitted for each subcommittee. The Qingtian group was praised, while the Lyons section was generally condemned for "absolutely nothing good to note." Altogether the sixteen orders of business on the agenda ranged from the reading of the will of Sun Yat-sen, to expulsion orders for fifteen party members for treason, to a resolution in support of Wang Jingqi and of gratitude for his contributions. Election results were given.

Une visite effectuée à Saigon dans les bagages de l'étudiant chinois SIAM TAI TSEN passager à bord de l'Angkor, précédemment domicilié 32 Boulevard Voltaire à Asnières (Seine), et muni d'un passeport délivré par le Consul Général de Chine à Paris le 27 Décembre 1926, a amené la saisie de divers ouvrages dont quelques-uns ont trait à l'activité du parti Kuo Min Tang en Europe.

Ce sont des textes lithographiés se rapportant au fonctionnement en France de sections du Kuo Min Tang (voir pièces annexes).

Le plus intéressant de ces documents est un compte rendu de la 4ème Assemblée Générale représentative du "Comité Général du Kuo Min Tang" en France.

A cette assemblée où se trouvaient les délégués des sous comités de Belgique et de Hollande, des éloges ont été votés au sous Comité des Pays Bas pour l'activité déployée par lui dans la campagne anti impérialiste.

Hanoi le 11 Mai 1927, Sureté Général, Gouvernement Général de l'Indochine

"Compte Rendu De La 4e Assemblee Representative Generale du Comite General du Kuo Min Tang En France (Aout 17, 1925)"

Conformément au statut du Parti, l'Assemblée représentative Générale a eu lieu le 16 Août. Elle était plus sérieuse qu'on ne l'avait pensé jadis; c'est

* Le Comité Général de France appartient à la droite puisqu'il entretient des relations avec le partisan TRAN LU exclu par le Comité exécutif central de Canton.

Les Chinois en France se divisent généralement: (1) en partisans du Kuo Min Tang; (2) en partisans dits "nationalistes" qui ont pour organe de propagande le journal Sin Shing (先聲) et pour devises doctrinales "Exterminer les traîtres de l'intérieur et résister aux Puissances de l'extérieur".

Il y a eu tout récemment une polémique violente entre les journaux des deux partis tant à Shanghai qu'à Canton.
que, cette fois-ci, il n’y a pas eu d’agitateurs qui avaient trouble les assemblées précédentes. Afin que tous nos partisans sachent ce qui s’est passé à l’issue de cette assemblée, nous tenons à leur en rendre compte.

Le Secrétariat

I. Assistance
A. Sous Comité de Paris, 15 délégués
B. Sous Comité de Lyon, 4 délégués
C. Sous Comité de Belgique: 3 délégués
D. Sous Comité de Billancourt, 6 délégués
E. Division extraordinaire de “Thanh Diên”, 13 délégués
F. Sous Comité d’Allemagne: pas de délégués par suite de la grande distance.
G. M. TRAN QUI PHUONG (陳桂芳—Chen Guifang) représentant des ouvriers chinois de la Hollande.

II. Ouverture De La Seance
A. Siège de la réunion: N. 96, Rue Monge, Paris (5è)
B. Date de la séance: Le 16 Août 1925 de 8 h. à 12 h. et de 14 h. à 19 h.
C. Président: DANG HY HIEN (鄧希賢—Deng Xixian); Vice Président: QUACH THANH CHANH (郭清正—Guo Qingzheng); Secrétaires: LIEU PHO THANH (柳團青—Liu Puqing) et PHUONG CHI CUONG (方至剛—Fang Zhigang).
D. Ordre du jour:
   1. Discours d’ouverture
   2. Lecture du testament de Sun Yat Sen par le Président
   3. Lecture des 3 derniers décrets Nos 10, 12, 13, du Comité exécutif central
   4. Rapport du Comité Général et critique de ses travaux

b Billancourt, ville comprenant une nombreuse colonie chinoise, vu le nombre des délégués à l’Assemblée Générale, est en même temps le siège du Secrétariat qui a ses bureaux 18 rue Traversière. A noter que la maison voisine est habitée par des tonkinois anciens navigateurs (voir rapport N. 877/S du 27 Novembre 1924 pièce annexe N. 1).
5. Rapport des délégués des différents sous-comités et critiques de leur action

6. Invitation faite au partisan TRAN QUI PHUONG [陳桂芳] représentant des ouvriers chinois de Hollande, à rendre compte de la situation du Parti en Hollande

7. Délégation sur le Sous Comité de Lyon

8. Délégation sur les affaires d'organisation et d'émancipation

9. Délégation sur les affaires de propagande

10. Délégation sur les frais du parti

11. Délégation sur le journal “Kuo Min” (國民—Guomin)

12. Délégation sur l'affaire de la trahison des partisans - affaire soumise par le Comité Général

13. Election des délégués-exécutifs et de délégués Inspecteurs de la 4ème Session{.}

14. Questions soulevées en cours de séance

15. Photographie

16. Levée de la séance{.}
III. Commentaires De L’assemblée Générale Dur Le Comité Général

Les rapports faits par la délégation du Comité Général, après avoir été examinés par l’Assemblée générale ont appelé les commentaires suivants:

A: Les bonnes qualités du dit Comité étaient au nombre de 7:

1. Avoir su d’avance maintenir rigoureusement la discipline en expulsant les agitateurs, de sorte que les affaires du parti ont pu se développer normalement

2. Avoir pu introduire la plupart des partisans au sein de la masse.

3. S’être efforcé d’attaquer les anti-révolutionnaires tels que les partisans communistes “THANH NIEN DANG” (青 年 黨—Qingniandang) et les agitateurs expulsés du parti

4. Dans ses agissements et ses travaux de propaganda il y a eu des résultats appréciables

5. Les partisans, notamment YOUNG KING KY (王 京岐—Wang Jingqi) qui travaillaient au Comité Général se sont toujours montrés prêts à se sacrifier pour la cause du parti.

6. De bons rapports ont toujours existé entre lui et le Comité Exécutif Central ainsi que les Sous Comités et divisions placés sous sa direction

7. Les vrais révolutionnaires ont su se grouper de jour en jour.

B: Ses mauvaises qualités étaient au nombre de 2:

1. Le recueillement des adhésions était tellement irrégulier voire même négligé, que les pêcheurs en eau trouble en profitaient pour entrer dans le parti dans le secret dessein de travailler pour leurs intérêts personnels en se servant du nom de notre parti

2. Les travaux d’émancipation laissaient beaucoup à désirer encore

IV. Commentaire De L’assemblée Générale Sur Les Differents Sous Comités

Après avoir entendu les rapports des différents sous Comités et de leurs divisions, l’Assemblée Générale commente ainsi leurs travaux:

A. Sous Comité de Belgique:

1. Ce sous Comité a obtenu de bons résultats dans ses œuvres de propagande et d’émancipation
2. Il a su profiter de l'occasion propice pour attaquer de son mieux les anti révolutionnaires tels que les partisans communistes "THANH NIEN DANG" et les agitateurs expulsés du parti

3. Il s'est efforcé toujours de soutenir le Comité Général et a travaillé à entretenir de bons rapports avec les autres sous Comités. Donc, l'Assemblée Générale lui adresse des éloges et le témoignage de son estime.

B. Sous Comité de Billancourt:
1. A protégé le Comité Général de tous ses efforts
2. A su se débarrasser d'avance de la partie malsaine
3. Dans ses paroles comme dans ses actes, il a toujours su trouver des moyens d'attaquer contre les anti révolutionnaires
4. La dextérité avec laquelle il se comportait devant certains graves événements est à louer.

C. Sous Comité de Paris:
1. Siégeant tout près du Comité Général, il a prêté beaucoup d'aides à ce dernier
2. Il a bien su servir de guide à une majeure partie de partisans dans la lutte
3. Dans ses principes comme dans ses actions, il s'est toujours efforcé d'attaquer les anti révolutionnaires

D. Sous Comité de Allemagne:
1. Depuis sa réorganisation, ce sous Comité a obtenu de bons résultats dans ses travaux d'émanicipation et dans ses œuvres de propagande vis-à-vis de l'extérieur
2. Il a fait obtenir à notre parti la sympathie des organisations internationales des classes ouvrières
3. Dans le journal "MING TÍNH" (Ming Xing), il s'est efforcé de propager les principes de notre parti et d'attaquer les anti révolutionnaires
4. En soutenant de tous ses efforts le Comité Central il a eu de(s) rapports cordiaux avec les autres sous comités.

Voilà les quatre bonnes qualités de ce sous comité. Cependant, cette fois-ci, ce dernier n'a envoyé aucun délégué pour prendre part à l'Assemblée
Générale, ni chargé un autre partisan de l’y représenter; ceci est non sans dommage.

E. Division extraordinaire de “THANH DIEN TU BA” (青田駐巴—Qingtian zhu Ba)

1. Cette division a soutenu le Comité Général de toute sa force
2. Très soucieux des affaires du parti, il a fourni pas mal d’aides au Comité Général
3. Ses versements de frais de parti, ont été effectués au terme prescrit
4. Sachant parfaitement distinguer les révolutionnaires des anti révolutionnaires, il a usé de toute sa force pour attaquer ceux-ci d’une manière intransigeante. En tenant compte de ces belles actions, l’Assemblée Générale a pris la décision de lui accorder des récompenses.

F. Sous Comité de Lyon:

En ce qui concerne le passé de ce sous Comité, outre les services précieux d’une partie de ses partisans, qui avaient permis de réaliser des résultats convenables dans l’œuvre de propagande, il n’y a absolument rien de bon à noter. Tout dernièrement, il s’est révélé encore des faits illégaux. L’Assemblée Générale a, par une délibération spéciale, statué sur son cas qu’il n’est pas nécessaire de commenter.

V. Deliberation De L’assemblée Generale Sur Le Sous Comite De Lyon

Vu les rapports des délégués du Comité Général et de ceux du Sous Comité de Lyon, l’Assemblée Générale a trouvé que, parmi les actes antérieurs de celui-ci, il y avait au moins les 4 faits illégaux suivants: voir circulaire No. 39 du Comité Général (1). Cela a extrêmement indigné l’Assemblée Générale à l’issue de laquelle, il a été décidé, conformément aux dispositions A de l’article 4 des statuts du parti, de procéder à la dissolution du Sous Comité de Lyon et d’y envoyer des délégués spéciaux pour recommencer l’enrôlement des partisans du dit Sous Comité en procédant à la réintégration des uns et à l’exclusion des autres (voir à ce sujet la circulaire No. 39).

VI. Decision D L’assemblee Generale Sur L’organisation du Comite General

1. Conformément aux dispositions A de l’article 43 des statuts, les membres du Comité Général devront désormais désigner, par une élection faite dans son sein, des délégués permanents chargés de l’organisation du Secrétariat.
Les délégués, à leur tour, nommeront un secrétaire responsable de la direction des affaires. Le titre de “Président” d’aujourd’hui est annulé.

2. L’organisation intérieure devra se baser sur le principe d’améliorer strictement la situation intérieure et de licencier la partie malsaine.

3. Le Chef de la Section d’organisation devra contribuer de tous ses efforts aux travaux d’émancipation des partisans.

VII. Decision De L’assemblée Générale Sur L’émancipation Des Partisans

1. À l’avenir, les travaux d’émancipation devront être assurés en conformité du principe d’observer le testament de Sun Yat Sen et de poursuivre l’oeuvre révolutionnaire jusqu’au bout.

2. Il s’agit de se livrer aux études sérieuses des plans de la révolution populaire et à celles de la situation politico-économique internationale.

3. Les partisans sont priés de faire publier, le cas échéant, dans un journal du parti, le résultat de leurs études.

VIII. Decision De L’assemblée Générale Sur La Question De La Propagande

1. Il faudra attaquer violemment les anti-révolutionnaires notamment les partisans de la “Jeunesse” (青年—Qingnian) (1) et les partisans qui venaient d’être expulsés de notre parti.

2. Tâchons de fournir aux étrangers des explications sur le projet et l’objet de notre révolution.

3. Il faudra faire dissiper tout malentendu de l’extérieur vis-à-vis de notre parti, en nous basant sur les 3 derniers décrets Nos. 10, 12 et 13 du Comité Exécutif Central ainsi que sur les proclamations et testament de Sun Yat Sen.

4. De propager, dans les milieux des peuples et classes opprimés du monde entier, le mot d’ordre “Unissons nous sur la même ligne de guerre”.

IX. Decision De L’assemblée Générale Sur Le (Les) Décrets Nos. 10, 12 & 13 Promulgués Par Le Comité Exécutif Central

Il a été unanimement adopté la décision de s’y conformer sans discussion (ces décrets seront distribués à part).

X. Decision De L’assemblée Générale Sur Les Frais du Parti

1. Le procédé de faire verser les frais du parti une fois par an, est annulé et remplacé par celui de percevoir de chaque partisan la somme de 2 francs par mois.
2. Les sous Comités et leurs divisions sont chargés de la perception et de la remise au Comité Général, une fois par mois, des cotisations recueillies.

XI. Decision De L'assemblée Générale Sur Le Journal "Kuo Min" (國民—Guo Min)

1. L'œuvre la plus importante de notre Comité Général consiste à l'émanципation de nos partisans en vue de les repatrier et de les faire participer à la révolution. Les sujets objectifs de la propagande, vis-à-vis de l'extérieur, diminuent de jour {de jour en jour} et c'est pourquoi nous pourrons réduire la publicité.

Pourant, en vue des attaques contre les réac{tionnaires} et pour la publication des directives de notre parti, il est nécessaire que le "Kuo Min" paraîsse sans période déterminée. Sur ce, l'Assemblée Générale a décidé que le journal bi-mensuel "Kuo Min" se transformerait au "journal non périodique" qui devra paraître au moins une fois dans l'espace d'un mois et demi.

2. Les dépenses du dit journal seront supportées par les affiliés du Comité Général à raison de un franc par mois pour chacun d'entre eux.

XII. Decision De L'assemblée Générale Sur L'affaire De La Trahison Des Partisans


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1. Le "Kuo Min" (figurant sur le compte rendu de l'Assemblée Générale)  
2. Le "San Ming" (三民—San Min) dont le Gérant est le docteur en droit Daniel Müller N. 71 rue de Cardinal Lemoine—Boîte postale No. 18 Boulogne (Seine)
XIII. Decision de l’assemblée générale dur le changement de nom de la division extraordinaire "Thanh Dien Tu Ba"

Cette division sera connue sous le nom de "Sous Comité extraordinaire de Thanh Dien" (青田特別支部—Qing Tian tebie zhibu).

XIV. Résultat de l’élection

L’Assemblée a procédé à l’élection des délégués suivant(s)

A. Délégués exécutifs de la 4ème session:
   - Vuong King Ky (王景岐—Wang Jingqi)
   - TRANH TE (陈齊—Chen Qi)
   - Thich Sanh (施益生—Shi Yisheng)
   - Trinh Thai Phac (鄭太樸—Zheng Taipu)
   - Duong Duc Ba (唐洛波—Tang Yubo)
   - Ly Tuan Kiet (李俊傑—Li Junjie)
   - Quach Thanh Chanh (郭清正—Guo Qingzheng)

B. Délégués exécutifs suppléants:
   - Duong Khiét (揚潔—Yang Jie)
   - Duong Luong (揚剛—Yang Gang)
   - Lieu Pho Than (柳圃青—Liu Puqing)
   - Ngo Son Bao (吳宋保—Wu Zongbao)

C. Délégués inspecteurs:
   - Dang Hy Hien (鄧希賢—Deng Xixian)
   - Luu Minh Nghiem (劉明嚴—Liu Mingyan)
   - Diep Truc Xuan (葉植春—Ye Zhichun)

D. Délégués (I) inspecteurs suppléants:
   - Dang Thiem Than (鄧邵聖—Deng Shaosheng)
   - Dam Trong Lam (覃仲霖—Tan Zhonglin)

XV. Decision de l’assemblée générale sur les questions diverses suivantes:

A. Adresser, au nom de l’Assemblée Générale, une lettre au partisan Vuong King Ky (王景岐—Wang Jingqi)
   1. pour le consoler de sa maladie;
2. pour lui exprimer l’estime de l’Assemblée Générale pour les efforts et sacrifices qu’il a fait pour la cause du parti;

3. pour lui exprimer l’indignation de l’Assemblée Générale vis-à-vis de son expulsion par les impérialistes français, au moment où il était encore malade.

B. Au nom de l’Assemblée générale, télégraphier aux deux délégués LAM UY (林蔚—Lin Wei) et CAO N GU HAN (高愬罕—Gao Yuhan) en les chargeant de rendre compte à la Grande Assemblée Nationale que, malgré la lourde oppression des impérialistes français, nous avons pu néanmoins convoquer la 4ème Assemblée Générale et que celle-ci a unanimement décidé de se conformer aux prescriptions de testament de Sun Yat Sen et de poursuivre l’oeuvre révolutionnaire jusqu’à la fin.

C. Au nom de l’Assemblée Générale, publier une proclamation basée sur les récents décrets du Comité Exécutif Central donnant le compte rendu de l’Assemblée Générale, en guise de propagande auprès des Chinois résidant en Europe.

D. Au nom de l’Assemblée Générale, adresser, aux organisations internationales de la classe ouvrière, une lettre pour leur exprimer notre respect et les merci de l’aide qu’elle nous ont prêtee pour la libération du peuple chinois.

E. Au nom de l’Assemblée Générale, adresser, aux ouvriers chinois en Hollande, une lettre rendant hommage à leur anti-impérialisme et leur exprimant notre espoir de les voir poursuivre à bonne fin l’oeuvre commencée et entretenir avec notre parti des relations amicales.

Après diverses discussions, le Président prononçait la levée de la séance et les Assistants poussaient à haute voix les cris de:

Vive le Président Sun Yat Sen!

Vive le Kuomintang!

Vive la révolution populaire de la Chine!

Vive la libération des peuples opprimés du monde entier.
Notes

1. This is an interesting usage for an *inspection* or *fouille*. Was the atmosphere of a visit maintained throughout the search? Why the usage of this more polite type of language?

2. Deng Xixian is Deng Xiaoping's alias.
5. **Unity And Disunity (1926-1930)**

The death of Sun Yat-sen and the later 12 April Coup created a great amount of tension within the Chinese community in France. Although some fought with their fists and some practiced with handguns, most of the conflict in France was polemical. The following ten documents (26–36) illustrate the three major factions: Radical, Leftist, and Rightist. The Leftists were the most powerful in terms of numbers; more than sixty members formed a reorganized EGMD in 1927. The Left EGMD section begins with a telegram from Yi Guangyi demanding a satisfactory account from Chiang Kai-shek about his actions in breaking the United Front. This telegram illustrates the different plane upon which the Europe-based Chinese activists saw events in China and in some ways how they misunderstood the realities of events in their homeland. It helps to explain their different view of ideology and practice upon their return.
Document 27: Le Ministre De L'interieur (Direction de la Sureté Générale) à Monsieur le Ministre Des Colonies (Direction des Affaires Politiques - 1er Bureau), No. 2.358, A/S du Kuo-min-tang, (groupe communiste chinois en Europe) [SLOTFOM VIII, 6]

CONFIDENTIAL

Summary: Following is a Sureté report on a memorial meeting for Sun Yatsen a year after his death. The general theme of this meeting was anti-imperialism of the radical faction, and speeches were also given by representatives from the French and Italian Communist Parties, as well as representatives from Indochina, Algeria, and Morocco.

La section du Kuo Min Tang a organisé, le 14 Mars courant, un meeting à la Maison Commune du XV° arrondissement, pour commémorer la mort de Sun Yat Sen, fondateur du Kuo Min Tang.

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre, ci-joint, émanant des Services de la Préfecture de Police, la copie d'un compte rendu de cette manifestation.

—P. le Ministre de l'intérieur:

Le Secrétaire Général du Ministère de l'Intérieur,

Directeur de la Sureté Générale {Sureté}

Le 13 Mars 1926

La section du (groupe communiste chinois en Europe) a organisé, hier, de 20 h.45 à 22 h.30, à la Maison Commune du XV° arrt., 18 rue Cambronne, un meeting pour la commémoration de la mort de Sun Yat Sen, fondateur du Kuo Min Tang.

Ce meeting, placé sous la présidence de Fou Ta Tsaï, assisté de Too Yu et de Yang Koe Tcho, a réuni quarante personnes.

Après que le président eût rappelé le but de la réunion, les assistants, sur son invitation, se levèrent et observèrent une minute de recueillement.

Yang Kie, fit l'éloge du Dr. Sun Yat Sen, exposant l'action menée par ce dernier en Chine, puis un orateur connu sous le pseudonyme de Tchu Kang et se disant représentant de la Jeunesse Communiste chinoise, invita les
communistes français à joindre leurs efforts à ceux des communistes de tous les pays pour combattre l'impérialisme international.

Un représentant de la Jeunesse Communiste française estima que les communistes chinois devaient arriver à s'emparer du pouvoir en Chine et affirma que la IIIe Internationale réaliserait un jour les buts qu'elle poursuit.

Un représentant du Parti Communiste français et un du parti Communiste italien, firent l'apologie de SUN YAT SEN "qui aurait pu devenir un second LENINE".

AN PEI LING, Indochinois, parla de l'oeuvre accomplie par le "Grand Révolutionnaire asiatique", puis un Algérien souhaita que la révolution chinoise sortît victorieuse de la lutte engagée et vînt au secours des peuples opprimés. Enfin, un Marocain clôtura la série des discours en déclarant que ses coreligionnaires s'associaient à la commémoration de cet anniversaire.

Sur l'invitation du président, les assistants chantèrent l'Internationale, puis la sortie s'effectua sans incidents.

Notes

1. In the margin is the notation, "C'est sans doute un chinois."

Document 28: A. S. d'un meeting organisé par la délégation du "Kuomintang" (Avril 25, 1927) [SLOTFOM VIII, 6]

Summary: Following is a surveillance report on an EGMD meeting at 330 rue St. Jacques to protest the treason of Jiang Jieshi in the April coup. Speakers included Xia Ting, Hoang Quang Giu (a prominent Vietnamese radical), P. Semard, who was the head of the French Communist Party, and "Zhang," who headed the ECCP (from Belgium). The meeting was attended by fifteen hundred people.
La délégation d'Europe du "Kuomintang" qui a son siège 330 rue Saint-Jacques, organise pour le 27 Avril courant, à 20 H 30, salle de la Maison des Syndicats, 33 rue de la Grange aux Belles, un grand meeting pour "protester contre la trahison du général Chang Kai Shek" et exposer aux travailleurs parisiens la situation en Chine.

Depuis quelques jours "L'Humanité" publie des appels en faveur de ce meeting.

Parmi les orateurs qui doivent y prendre la parole, figurent:
Sia Ting, délégué du Kuomintang en Europe;
Hoang Quang Giu, agitateur annamite;
Semard, secrétaire général du Parti Communiste Français;
Tchang, du Parti Communiste Chinois. Ce dernier qui réside en Belgique aurait demandé à Sia Ting l'autorisation de venir à Paris prendre la parole au nom de son organisation.

En raison des événements qui se déroulent en Chine on prévoit que 1.500 personnes assisteront à ce meeting, mais on ne croit pas que des incidents puissent se produire.


Summary: A general note on the awakening of activism as represented by an appeal by the Chinese to the League of Nations protesting the unequal treaties; on the leadership of Xia Ting and the 330 St. Jacques EGMD; and about difficulties of employment within the Billancourt Chinese community, those laid off by the Renault factory. There were numerous energetic appeals to the Chinese legation for aid, but these appeals were denied, including a plan to provide free meals at local Chinese restaurants.

Les événements de Chine semblent être un encouragement à la Colonie chinoise de la région parisienne qui manifeste depuis quelque temps une plus grande activité.
Ce réveil révolutionnaire a été fortifié par l'arrivée à Paris d'un délégué du “KUOMINTANG” qui s’est présenté à la Société des Nations à Genève pour remettre une déclaration protestant contre les traités qui lient la Chine aux puissances étrangères, et réclamant l’indépendance du peuple chinois. Il s’agit de SIA-TING [霞挺—Xia Ting ], étudiant, 50 rue Jacob à Paris.

SIA-TING a pris la parole au meeting organisé à Bullier le 27 Janvier dernier par le Comité de Défense des Victimes du “Fascisme” et de la “terreur Blanche”.

La collusion entre les révolutionnaires chinois et le parti communiste paraît établie par le fait que SIA-TING faisait partie le 7 Février 1927 d’une délégation qui se rendit à l’ambassade de Chine et qui était conduite par M. Fournier, député communiste de la Seine.

Le siège du “KUOMINTANG” à Paris est toujours situé 330 rue Saint-Jacques où de nombreux chinois se rendent quotidiennement.

La propagande est surtout active à Boulogne-Billancourt où il existe de nombreux chômeurs chinois licenciés des usines Renault. Ces éléments se réunissent quotidiennement dans les restaurants chinois de Billancourt.

Ces temps derniers, des délégations de chômeurs ont été reçues à plusieurs reprises, à la Légation de Chine pour réclamer des recours qui leur furent refusés faute des fonds nécessaires.

Le 2 mars une nouvelle délégation de chômeurs s’est présentée à la Légation de Chine réclamant des secours, du travail ou alors les moyens de rentrer en Chine.

L’Ambassadeur de Chine fit intervenir auprès des restaurateurs chinois de Billancourt qui furent invités à donner à manger aux chômeurs chinois aux frais de la Légation. Ces restaurateurs chinois s’étant présentés aux bureaux de la Légation la semaine dernière pour toucher ce qui leur était dû, il leur fut répondu qu’on ne pouvait les payer, faute de fonds. Ils ont fermé les portes de leurs établissements à la date du 1er Mars.

Cette situation laisse la plupart des chômeurs chinois de Paris, 200 environ dont 150 dans la commune de Billancourt, dans une profonde misère.
Beaucoup d'entre eux sont sans argent et sans domicile.
Signé: Désiré

Notes
1. This document is a very light carbon copy; although there were very few accent marks in this copy, we believe that they were in the original and so we have inserted them for smoother reading in this instance.


Summary: An analysis made in May 1927 about the Chinese community in Billancourt. As a result of unemployment and the removal of some people to a chemical factory in Toulouse, the numbers of Chinese had decreased by almost half. The analysis includes the various addresses where the Chinese were grouped together, the three restaurants they frequented, and comments on their activities, especially their politics, as the events in China were in so much chaos. Noting the schisms in the party, the analysis linked the 330 rue St. Jacques EGMD with the Wuhan Central Committee and collusion with the ECCO.

La colonie chinoise de Billancourt qui a compté jusqu'à 500 personnes n'en comprend plus à l'heure actuelle que 250 environ.

Cette diminution est due à la récente crise de chômage qui a obligé plus de 200 chinois à quitter la Région Parisienne et à se rendre en province pour y chercher du travail.

D'autre part, une cinquantaine de célestes ont été envoyés par le Ministère du Travail dans le midi de la France pour être employés dans les usines de produits chimiques de la Région de Toulouse.

A vrai dire la colonie chinoise de Billancourt s'étend de l'autre côté de la Seine aux premières rues de la Ville d'Issy-les-Moulineaux.
Tous ces étrangers logent dans divers hôtels meublés de ces deux localités dont les principaux sont situés aux adresses suivantes.

à Issy-les-Moulineaux
40, rue Jules Gevelot
18 et 24 avenue du Bas Meudon

à Billancourt
8 rue Jules Ferry
14 -16 -20 - 28 et 31 bis rue Traversière
5 rue Nationale
27 et 41 rue St. Cloud

Les deux meublés sis 31 bis rue Traversière et 41 rue de St-Cloud à Billancourt hébergent chacun plus de 40 chinois.

La plupart des chinois de la localité sont des ouvriers manuels employés aux Usines Renault à Billancourt ou aux Usines Citroën du Quai de Javel à Paris.

Quelques uns se disant étudiants, bien qu’ils ne suivent les cours d’aucune école, reçoivent quelques subsides de Chine et passent la majeure partie de leur temps dans leurs chambres à lire et à jouer.

Enfin, une dizaine d’individus sont sans travail et touchent une indemnité de chômage de la Municipalité de Boulogne.

Les lieux de rendez-vous général aux heures de repas sont les trois restaurants chinois situés 14 rue Traversière, 9 rue Damien et 41 rue de St. Cloud à Billancourt.

Les chinois de la colonie de Billancourt suivent avec grand intérêt les événements {événements} qui se déroulent actuellement dans leur pays. Ils sont tous nationalistes et partisans du KUOMINTANG. Certains ne cachent pas leur sympathie pour le Parti Communiste et le Gouvernement des Soviets qui soutient la révolution chinoise mais le plus grand nombre admet que les moeurs et les traditions chinoises sont incompatibles avec les doctrines de Moscou.
La scission qui s’est produite en Chine au sein du Parti Kuomintang, et qui a eu sa répercussion à Paris, ne semble pas avoir divisé les chinois de Billancourt. La tendance qui emporte de beaucoup la majorité dans le milieu est celle de la fraction de Gauche du Kuomintang qui est représenté à Paris par une délégation installée 330 rue St-Jacques et présidée par Sia-Ting.

On sait que cette fraction se réclame du Comité Central Extrémiste de Hankéou.

Les quelques chinois qui se rallient à la fraction modérée dont le siège est situé à Paris 3, rue Thouin, sont considérés par leurs compatriotes comme des fascistes.

Tous nient d’ailleurs qu’il y ait une collusion quelconque entre la représentation du “KUOMINTANG” 330 rue St-Jacques et le Parti Communiste.

Ces chinois lisent chaque jour plusieurs quotidiens et notamment les journaux d’extrême gauche. Dans leurs restaurants, pendant les repas, ceux qui parlent français traduisent certains articles de presse à leurs compatriotes ne comprenant pas notre langue.

Quoi qu’il en soit, on n’apprend pas que ces étrangers mènent une action politique extérieure quelconque ni qu’ils organisent des réunions dans cette localité.

Il sont bien représentés par les habitants français de Billancourt qui les considèrent comme très calmes.

Enfin presque tous sont animés de bons sentiments envers notre pays. Ils ont été satisfaits des mesures d’assistance qui ont été prises à leur égard lors de la crise du chômage et ils approuvent généralement la politique suivie jusqu’à ce jour par la France dans les affaires de Chine.
Document 31: Telegram from Yi Guangyi to Chiang Kai-shek
[Archives Nationales F7 13438] (Avril 25, 1927)

Summary: A note on April 25, 1927 from “Yei” [Yi Guangyi] inquiring if Chiang Kai-shek was not continuing the revolution, and insisting on a response.

“Est-il vrai que vous ne continueriez pas la révolution chinoise? Sinon, répondez en détail à Yei, 1 Beaumier, Paris, afin de faire une propagande internationale. Kuomintang en France Yei 1 rue Beaumier Paris, Paris 14°”.


Summary: A detailed analysis of the formation of the EGMD at the 41 rue des Écoles address, with some background information on the other two factions. The officials of this EGMD were cited as Li Xinghui, Yi Guangyi, Peng Xiang, and Huang Tingjing(?), and their personal information was given. Their group claimed to have 800 members in Europe and 150 in the Paris region. The report gave a precis of this group’s meeting held on 17 and 18 June to reorganize the EGMD. Fistfights between varying factions were discussed in the last two paragraphs.

J’ai l’honneur de vous adresser sous ce pli, pour information, les renseignements que j’ai fait recueillir sur la composition et le fonctionnement du “Comité pour la réorganisation du parti Kuomintang en Europe” qui parait seul qualifié aujourd’hui pour représenter le Kuomintang affranchi de l’influence communiste.

Ce groupe, dirigé en fait par Li-sin-Houé¹ qui en est le principal animateur, est en outre administré par un proesidium de trois membres:
Vous avez bien voulu me demander de vous transmettre tous renseignements recueillis sur le fonctionnement et la composition d’une troisième fraction du “Kuomintang” dont l’existence vous a été signalée, 41 rue des Ecoles, et qui repudie les deux autres comités de la rue St. Jacques et de la rue Thouin. Vous ajoutiez que le nommé Ya Kwang Yee [Yi Guangyi], secrétaire général de ce groupement avait, au début de juin, effectué une déclaration de principe en lançant des circulaires imprimées dont ci-joint un exemplaire.

J’ai l’honneur de vous adresser ci-dessous les résultats de l’enquête effectuée au sujet de cette information.

En mars dernier, deux fractions se disputaient à Paris la représentation du Kuomintang: une fraction nationaliste modérée, se réclamant du Comité Central de Nankin ayant son siège, 3 rue Thouin et dirigée par Son-Kono-Tchou [Song Guoshu] et une fraction extrémiste (extraniste) se réclamant du Comité Exclusif de Hankéou, ayant son siège; 330, rue St. Jacques et dirigée par Sia-Ting [Xia Ting].

Tandis que la fraction nationaliste de la rue Thouin était relativement modérée, celle d’extrême (extrême) gauche adoptait les vues du parti communiste français et favorisait ses tentatives d’agitation, bien qu’elle ne fut pas dépendante à Paris de ce parti.

Depuis cette date, la fraction extrémiste de la rue St. Jacques s’est partagée en deux tronçons. Certains éléments ralliés à la politique de Sia-Ting n’avaient accepté de collaborer avec les communistes que pour appuyer l’action du Comité Exécutif de Hankéou. Lorsque le Général Chang-Kai-Shek entra en lutte ouverte avec les extrémistes et transporta le siège du Kuomintang à Nankin, les Chinois de Paris non communistes se séparèrent des extrémistes et...
formèrent un nouveau groupement se propasant \emph{proposant} d’appuyer Chang-Kai-Shek et de lutter en France contre les communistes chinois. Ce groupement, intitulé "Comité pour la réorganisation du Kuomintang en Europe" a installé son siège, 41, rue des Ecoles.

Les communistes chinois sont restés groupés, 330 rue Saint-Jacques autour de leur chef Sia-Ting. Celui-ci se rend fréquemment, 120 rue Lafayette et publie dans le journal "l’Humanité" des articles ne laissant aucun doute sur la nature de ses opinions.

Quant à la fraction nationaliste de droite, elle est composée d’anciens membres du Kuomintang exclus de ce parti depuis plus de deux ans et qui avaient formé un comité à Shanghai lors de la prise de cette ville par les troupes nationalistes. Le Général Chank{-}{^}Kaï-Shek fit fermer le siège de ce comité et emprisonner ses membres. Les dirigeants se réclament donc à tort du Comité de Nankin.

En réalité, le "Comité de réorganisation du Parti Kuomintang en Europe" paraît seul qualifié aujourd’hui pour représenter en Europe le Kuomintang affranchi de l’influence communiste.

Ce groupe a à sa tête le nommé Li-sin-Houei, né le 11 juin 1899 à Tchenton-Tirie (Chine), célibataire, étudiant titulaire d’une carte d’identité, demeurant, 11, rue Descartes.

Il a son siège, 41 rue des Ecoles au domicile d’un de ses membres. Un appartement meublé de quatre pièces, d’un loyer mensuel de 800 frs a été retenu à cette même adresse pour y installer définitivement les bureaux du groupement.

Le “Comité pour la réorganisation du Paryi \emph{Parti} Kuomintang en Europe” a, dès sa formation, lancé une proclamation dont le texte a été répandu sous forme de tracts dans la colonie chinoise à Paris, en province et même à l’étranger.

Cette proclamation est rédigée comme suit: “Déclaration du Comité pour la Réorganisation du Parti Kuo-Mintang en Europe”.

Les dirigeants du “Comité pour la réorganisation du parti Kuomintang en Europe” assurent que ce comité groupe actuellement 800 membres en Europe dont 150 pour la région parisienne. Ces derniers ont tenu, les 17, 18 Juin 1927, salle du Grand Orient, 15, rue Cadet, un meeting auquel auraient assisté
Unity and Disunity (1926-1930)

31 délégués venus de province et de l'étranger, notamment d'Espagne, de Turquie et d'Allemagne.

Chen-Shu-Nun et Pou-Siam [Chen Shunong, Peng Xiang], victimes d'une agression de la part des éléments communistes, assistaient à ce congrès comme délégués de la colonie chinoise de Lyon.²

Au cours de ces débats, diverses résolutions furent votées et envoyées par télégramme au Comité Exécutif du Kuomintang de Nankin, le Samedi 18 Juin. Parmi ces résolutions, les plus importantes sont:

1. Demande au Comité de procéder à l'expulsion définitive du parti Kuomintang de tous les éléments communistes;
2. Continuation de la révolution jusqu'à la chute de Pékin et la démission (?) de Tchang So-Lin;
3. Réalisation absolue des principes de Sun-Yat-Sen;
4. Réorganisation démocratique de toutes les sections du Parti tant en Chine qu'à l'étranger;
5. Envoi en France d'un délégué officiel du Comité de Nankin qui, entrant en relations avec le Gouvernement Français, s'occuperait du rapatriement des ouvriers chinois qui sont pervertis par la propagande communiste.

Le "Comité pour la Réorganisation du Parti Kuomintang" en Europe, est en fait dirigé par Li-Sin-Houë qui en est le principal animateur.

En outre, il est administré par un proèsidium de trois membres élus à l'issue du congrès, 16, rue Cadet, les 17 et 18 juin dernier et qui sont:

Secrétaire Général: Yei-Kwan-Yee, 25 ans, né à Tchang Pha (Chine), célibataire, titulaire de la carte d'identité n° 370.120, docteur en droit, demeurant, 41, rue des Ecoles.

Trésorier: Hang-Chang-Tsuan, né le 1er mai 1905 à Lo-Tsin (Chine) célibataire, titulaire de la carte d'identité n° 2.705.377 délivrée le 31 juillet 1926 par la Préfecture de Seine-et-Oise. Arrivé en France en Juillet 1925, il a d'abord résidé à Vienne (Isère) où il suivait les cours du lycée de cette ville. Il est actuellement étudiant à l'Université et loge depuis le 23 avril dernier, 3, rue Tranversale à Chatou (S. et O.).

Ces trois chinois sont très favorablement représentés au point de vue de la conduite privée.

La scission, survenue récemment au sein de la fraction de gauche a provoqué entre les membres des deux tendances une haine farouche qui s'est déjà manifestée par des incidents survenus le dimanche 19 juin dernier à l'angle de la rue de l'Ecole de Médecine et du Boulevard St. Michel. Deux chinois de la fraction non communiste ont été assaillis et frappés par des compatriotes communistes.

Il est possible que de nouveaux incidents aient lieu ces jours-ci à l'occasion du congrès que doit tenir à Paris la fraction extrémiste. Des délégués de divers pays, notamment d'Allemagne et de Hollande, examineront ensemble la situation le créée par la scission survenue entre le Comité de Hankéou et le Général Chang-Kaï-Shek.

Notes

1. Li Xinghui [李星辉], a member of the EGMD German branch, was responsible for expulsions from the SFI; see document no. 63 for an explication of his role.
2. This altercation really appears to have taken place between Chen and Peng themselves, not the ECCO, according to their dossiers and newspapers at the time. The fight resulted in injuries and some hospitalization. See, for example, “La Guerre de Chine a Paris,” Le Petit Parisien, Juin 20, 1927. For more information, see Levine, The Found Generation, chap. 6, and the biographical appendix.
Document 33: Manifeste du Congrès de la Confédération du Kuomintang en Europe (Juin 30, 1927) [SLOTFOM 111, 67]

Summary: This Leftist tract was written during the summer of 1927 and signed by Yi Guangyi. Unlike the preceding document it applauds the anti-imperialist victories of the Nanjing regime and discusses the necessity of reorganization. It is also notable that Yi compares the struggle in China to the European situation. The discussion of imperialism is in line with the polemics of the preceding two years and was a focus of the Leftist EGMD.

Sur l’ordre du Comité Central exécutif du Kuomintang à Nanking, nous avons organisé un comité pour la réorganisation du parti Kuomintang en Europe, en vue d’éliminer les communistes, les politiciens scandaleux, les spéculateurs politiques, les hommes méprisables, en un mot, tous les indésirables, du sein de notre parti que nous avons déclaré officiellement le 22 Mai 1927.

Les tâches de la réorganisation étant terminées, ces temps derniers, nous avons convoqué un congrès qui est composé de 38 membres, représentant 12 fédérations siégeant dans différentes villes européennes, notamment à Paris, à Berlin, à Madrid, à Vienne, à Budapest, à Constantinople, à Bruxelles, etc. Ce congrès a eu lieu les 17 et 18 courant, dans la salle du Grand Orient, 16, rue Cadet, à Paris.

Les délégations ont manifesté leur désir unanime d’appuyer le Comité Central exécutif du Kuomintang à Nanking et le gouvernemenet national de Nanking.

Après cette réorganisation intérieure, notre parti pourra activer d’ores et déjà la marche de la révolution nationale qui a pour but d’élérer la Chine au rang des grandes puissances, et de revendiquer la liberté intégrale. Pour y parvenir, le premier pas est d’abolir les traités inégaux en combattant l’impérialisme mondial. En vue d’entreprendre la lutte contre l’impérialisme international, il nous est indispensable de nous appuyer sur le peuple tout entier et de coopérer avec les nations qui traitent avec nous sur un pied d’égalité. C’est seulement avec l’appui du peuple qui pourra nous assurer la victoire sur le militarisme intérieur et avec la cooperation des nations qui traitent avec nous sur un pied d’égalité que nous pouvons combattre
l'impérialisme international. Les nations qui traitent avec nous véritablement sur un pied d'égalité, sans arrière-pensées, ne pourront guère être que des nations opprimées.

Or, les nations opprimées ont un territoire de 90.000.000 de kilomètres carrés sur 134.000.000 de kilomètres carrés d'étendue du globe et une population de 1.250.000.000 sur 1.750.000.000 que comprend la planète. L'Angleterre, avec une étendue de territoire de 314.380 kilomètres carrés possède, à elle seule, 36.069.000 kilomètres carrés de colonies, c'est-à-dire près de 120 fois plus que son territoire proprement dit. Et elle gouverne 429.000.000 de coloniaux avec une population de 45.000.000 d'hommes, c'est-à-dire qu'un anglais possède plus de 9 esclaves. C'est ainsi que l'Inde qui a une population dépassant 315.000.000 d'habitants, est gouvernée par moins de 300.000 anglais. Tous ces chiffres ne tiennent compte que des colonies propement dites, non-comprises, les semi-colonies comme la Chine, qui, avec une population de plus de 400.000.000 d'hommes, est gouvernée virtuellement par quelque vingtaine de mille d'étrangers. D'ailleurs, dans les pays impérialistes, on trouve des classes de populations qui, quoique autochtones, sont elles-mêmes opprimées. De telle sorte, que nous devons coopérer avec cette majorité écrasante de la population mondiale, pour nous libérer en renversant l'impérialisme international.

En raison des intérêts opposés, l'antagonisme des impérialistes n'a cessé de s'accentuer. C'est ainsi qu'à cause de la divergence des impérialistes, la conférence du désarmement est ajournée "sine die." La conférence économique elle-même, n'a eu d'autre intérêt pratique, que le partage des butins impérialistes. D'autre part, la conférence navale prouve plus que jamais l'antagonisme des rois des routes maritimes.

Du reste, les conflits albano-yougoslave, anglo-russe et russo-polonais ne sont autre chose que l'appétit insatiable des impérialistes. La rivalité des impérialistes n'a jamais été plus grande qu'à l'heure actuelle.

En second lieu, le militarisme chinois, lui non plus, n'a jamais connu défaite pareille à celle qu'il subit en ce moment. En effet, Ou Pei Fou [Wu Peifu] est écrasé complètement; Sun Chun Fang [Sun Chuanfan] est chassé au Japon et Chang Chun Chang est mis en déroute. Tandis que Tchang Tso Ling [Zhang Zuolin] prépare sa retraite prochaine en Mandhen. De l'autre côté, le général Feug Yu Siang [Feng Yuxiang], que l'on prétend bolchéviste, soutient néanmoins officiellement le gouvernement de Nanking, en combattant sous les
ordres du commandant en chef Tchiong Kaï Shek [Jiang Jieshi], les nordistes et les extrémistes.

Dès lors, nous sommes convaincus que la Chine sera unifiée par le gouvernement de Nanking avant même la fin de l'année. L'Unification de la Chine signifiera la fin des traités inégaux. Nous disons la fin des traités inégaux, car, nous nous proposons de négocier avec les puissances étrangères, de nouveaux traités sur un pied d'égalité, pacifiquement, sans recourir à la violence, tant que cela nous sera possible. C'est dans ce sens, que nous envisageons la libération de la nation chinoise.

Paris, le 30 Juin 1927
Pour le Congrès de la Confédération.
Le Secrétaire Général du Comité exécutif: Yei Kwang Yee
41 Rue des Ecoles Paris Vᵉ
Téléphone: Gobelins 13-95

Document 34: EGMD Announcement, December 2, 1930 [SLOTFOM VIII, 6 (1)]

To All Concerned—A Public Letter from the Central Committee
The following decisions were made at the meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Inspection Committee:

It is determined that nine people—Wang Canfen, Chen Jie, Guo Guanyi, Li Dongfang, Zheng Yanfen, Hu Jingan, Chen Jilie, Zhang Junqi, and Wu Zengcheng—will be members of the Executive Committee of the general branch; furthermore, Qiu Zhengan, Chen Junhou, Ma Keqiang, Lin Yejian, and Wu Qiusheng will be alternates to the Executive Committee.

It is determined that five people—Cai Mengchi [Jiang Mengchi?], Chen Jinfu, Huang Xixiong, Xu Zhongyong, and Wu Xiufeng—will be members of the Inspection Committee of the General Branch. Furthermore, Wu Riming, and Zhang Bingnan will be alternates to the Inspection Committee.
Besides that separate announcements will notify each committee and each comrade so that everybody will know, it is especially decided that a meeting will be held at 2:30 in the afternoon on 7 December (i.e., Sunday) in the Fifth arrondisement of Paris: 16 Rue de la Sorbonne, Paris Vᵉ. The FGMD Executive and Inspection Committee members will be inaugurated. It is hoped that each comrade will actively participate and remember [the occasion] together in order to stimulate the progress of party affairs.

—The Chinese FGMD Party Affairs Directing Committee

Document 35: Note on Right EGMD, Février 29, 1928 [SLOTFOM V, 43]

Le Comité Général du KOUMINTANG en Europe a son siège social en France 3 Rue Thouin à Paris (5ᵉ).

Cette organisation a des sections dans tous les pays d'Europe; elle compte environ 5000 membres dans les différents pays.

En France le total de ses adhérents atteint à peu près 400, exclusivement chinois, mes {les} Indochinois et les Japonnais ne sont pas admis.

Cette association est administrée par un Comité de 7 membres qui sont:

- Secrétaire Général: VONG ZIAN
- Trésorier: TUN FANG SI TANG
- Membres:
  - YAN SEN
  - SONG KUO CHOU
  - LIU SI CHANF
  - CHEN TIEH
  - CHANG WEN CAP

Ces 7 membres sont chargés de l'administration et de l'organisation de la propagande, ils ont créé pour la diffusion de leurs idées plusieurs journaux {journaux} qui paraissent irrégulièrement faute de subsides. Ils ont en outre
Le Comité de rédaction de ces différentes feuilles est le même que celui qui administre et dirige le Comité Général du KOUOMINTANG en Europe.

Cette organisation suit la politique de SUN YAT SEN, en Chine et son secrétaire Général, VONZIAN, étudiant en droit prépare le Doctorat en France; en qualité de boursier du KOUOMINTANG en Chine.

Le KOUOMINTANG de la rue Thouin représente en Europe l'élément {l'élément} modéré alors que le KOUOMINTANG Communiste de la rue St Jacques n'existe plus, quelques uns de ses membres se sont ralliés au KOUOMINTANG de la Rue des Ecoles 41 que les chinois qualifient d'opportuniste "parce que" disent-ils il n'a pas de programme défini; son attitude varie avec les événements {évenements}; si les membres et dirigeants y voyaient un intérêt ils seraient communistes. Les membres du Comité général, Rue Thouin sont des adversaires irréductibles du Communisme ils disent que la Chine ne peut pas s'accomoder du régime soviétique, sa civilisation, ses moeurs et le tempérament du peuple chinois s'y opposent.

Notes

1. According to the 1929 FGMD report, (document 37) the July 1927 Seventh Roster of Officials includes almost all of these names which are, given the difficulties of transliteration, appear to correspond with Huang Jian—黃健, Fang Ditang—方棣堂, Yang Qian—楊潜, Song Guoshu—宋國禕, Liao Shiqin—廖世勤, Chen Tie—陳鐵, and Zhang Wenjia—張文甲.
does not just simply manage party affairs within the French borders; its area of command includes the branches in Paris, Billancourt, Germany, Belgium, and other places.

Among the comrades residing in France, Germany, and Belgium, most are students and workers, and the majority come from the class of youth. Among its elements there are also comrades [who have participated in the] first and second revolution, and Chinese workers and sailors who had participated in the European war. At the same time after the reorganization of this Party, the Communist Party once announced that [its members] would enter this party as individuals to strive for the Three People's Principles. Therefore, there are also some Communist elements [in the FGMD]. On the one hand it is pleasing that the party membership is increasing dramatically. However, on the other hand, the French Party affairs disputes also arise from this. Thinking about it even today, one still has lingering regret!

In the past, the party membership in France did not exceed sixty or seventy people. After the reorganization it suddenly increased to more than two hundred people. After the [French] General Branch was established there was another increase to over four hundred people. Meanwhile the *Guomin banyue kan* [The nation bi-monthly], which is the propaganda organ of this party, was also changed to a weekly paper. The development of party affairs can be considered to have progressed with time. However, the Communist Party's entry into this party was really not based on the honest intentions to join as individuals in order to implement the Three People's Principles. In fact, they had an entire plan to usurp [the power of] the GMD. They felt that the party affairs in France was becoming increasingly better, and it was very detrimental to them—the Communist Party. They thereupon utilized the party organization in the hope of controlling the European Party affairs. They used the GMD banner to activate the Communist plan. Thus at the opening ceremony of the Second Congress of the FGMD held in January 1925, they created chaos at the meeting. [They] also surrounded Wang Jingji (the Executive Committee member), and with coercion as well as lure by promise of gain—the only habitual trick of the Communist rebels—[made him] illegally expel five members in the name of one Executive Committee member. The various kinds of illegal behavior stimulated resistance of party branches at each level. They contacted the faithful comrades and asked to implement a party purification movement, to expel all the corrupted elements and to
together consolidate a stable party basis. Unfortunately, at that time the Central Party Bureau had already been controlled by the Communist elements. The overseas bureau head, Lin Zichao had already accompanied the premier to the north, and in Guangzhou most of those in charge of the Central Committee did not want to split the strength of the revolution. Besides, they were far across the ocean, and it was hard to understand the real situation. They had no way to manage and each went to the extreme, resulting in the entangled disputes of party affairs in France, which could not take any more pressure.

Those party members who had been forced by the Communist Party to leave the FGMD published *Sanmin kan* [The Three People's Principles] to use as propaganda, and *Guomin kan* [The nation] became a publication of red propaganda. So there existed two FGMDs: one that favored the Guangzhou Central Committee, who used Communist rubles as support; and the other which upheld the Fourth National Congress (Western Hills) before the funeral pyre of the premier, and upheld the righteousness of the Three People's Principles. Party members rose from more than two hundred to more than five hundred, and the branches increased to over ten. This was the general situation of the party affairs in France at that time.
Chapter six is composed of seven documents, including the longest and perhaps most significant of the collection. This is document 37, the Rightist perspective on EGMD history and activities as written in a 1929 report that was captured by the French and placed in a SLOTFOM dossier. With several rosters that include hundreds of names, the document has very useful listings of officials, factional affiliations, organizational charts, and fascinating anecdotal material. In addition to the dynamism and commitment expressed in this account, there are perhaps some profound questions on current historiographical frameworks that could be raised. What makes a faction radical? How useful are characterizations of “Rightist” and “Leftist,” beyond the descriptions given at the time? Do these labels exclude the sharing of regional affiliations, school groupings, ideology, organizational dynamics, or even continued personal and professional relationships? What about the element of time and the forming of an individual over a lifespan, and changes in an individual’s cultural and political orientations?

The other six documents in this chapter include examples of surveillance, primarily by the French, with some excerpts from the British Intelligence Service reports (document 41) as a contrast. One selection, handwritten notes from two agents in Paris, underscores the daily level of information gathering and gives a different perspective on the issue nature and mentality of the whole surveillance enterprise. Readers will perhaps be surprised at the often astute analyses and depth of penetration into the Chinese activist community by the Europeans.

The French Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party [Guomindang], FGMD\(^1\) has reached five years since the Party Purification in the spring of 1925. Enduring many difficulties, from the very beginning until the end, we have struggled very hard. Owing to the spirit of the premier [Sun Yat-sen] in heaven,\(^2\) we were able to prevail one by one over the Communist elements and opportunists. All overseas compatriots residing in Europe, recognizing the Three People's Principles and the political platform of our party, have returned to the fold, instead of being swept away by an evil and corrupting power. The FGMD has done glorious work in the history of Party Purification, and absolutely will not tolerate any arbitrary slander and accusation. Therefore, at the impending opening of the Third National Congress, we dare to relay the situation and experiences of the European Party affairs and work. This is succinctly reported as follows:

**History of the EGMD**

Examining the history of our party activities in the European mainland, it started as early as twenty to thirty years ago. When the Premier [Sun Yat-sen] traveled to Europe he gathered those studying overseas in Europe and there was an organization. But at that time the name of the Chinese Nationalist Party [Zhongguo guomindang] had not been formally decided, and the organization not completely formed. Therefore in the European societies there was no establishment of a formal party section. At the time when the 1911 Revolution succeeded, although comrade Zhang Ji and others had traveled in Europe, yet they only acted as individuals and did not reflect the work of the party. Thus the formal establishment of the EGMD began in 1923. When the organization was first established, the Branch was located in Lyons, France. Paris, Berlin and Brussels all established Correspondence Sections.
The Experiences and Situation of the FGMD and Disputes with the False FGMDs

From the establishment of the FGMD until today, there have been eight European congresses. Since the Party Purification began in 1925, there have been absolutely no disputes. Only the false FGMD people have not been faithful disciples of the Three People’s Principles, hence the frequent conflicts. The numerous changes are incomprehensible. How can those who are not familiar with the European Party affairs know about this? Therefore we will explain the true and false FGMDs here so that it can be seen clearly.

1924: The First European Congress. After 1924, when this party reorganized itself, the comrades residing in Europe began to observe party guidelines. In Paris the First Congress assembled in the Hall of Scholars [la salle des sociétés savantes] and with advice from comrade Shao Yuanchong the EGMD was formally established. It controlled five branches including those in France, Belgium, and Germany. At that time there were about two hundred party members. Afterwards because the English and Russian party branches were not within the management purview of the General Branch, it was felt that the appellation European general branch of the GMD, EGMD [Zhu Ou zongzhibu] was not too appropriate and the name was thus changed to the French General Branch of the Chinese Nationalist Party, FGMD [Zhongguo guomindang zhu Fa zongzhibu], which still controlled the German, French, Belgian, and other branches, as well as party members scattered throughout various places in Europe. On “Double Ten” in 1924 comrade Lin Sen, chief of the overseas bureau, came to France to oversee party affairs, and again provided some guidance. Moreover, he gave a public speech at the Billancourt branch. Thereafter party membership quickly increased. The comrades residing in Europe also doubled their efforts toward party affairs.

The First Roster of Officials: The First European Congress (1924)

Executive Committee
Wang Qubing
Cao Desan
Xi Wende
Wang Jingqi
Zhang Xingzhou
Chen Shu
Yang Dongchen
1925: The Second European Congress. Since the reorganization of our party, the most unfortunate thing was the joining of the “Communist” traitors. They violated their sworn oath and spoiled everything. Originally the premier, in the spirit of universal goodwill, permitted them to join [the party] as individuals. Our comrades, observing the orders of the premier, trusted them without any doubt. The domestic and overseas party bureaus all did the same. Who would know that the seeds of disaster were planted in doing so? Since the rebellious disciples of communism entered the EGMD in large numbers, they have subsequently strictly enforced their own party objectives, squeezed out our true comrades, forcing us into Left and Right factions. Those who looked up to them were spoken of as “Leftists” and those who opposed them were labeled “Rightists.” Moreover, in broad daylight, they [the Communists] openly propagandized that “the Three People’s Principles were insufficient to address the paucity within the world revolution.” Later, German comrades also discovered a “traitorous Communist” order to its party members in the traitorous party. The general outline was as follows:

1. Our comrades (meaning the CCP members) must not tell the GMD members that one is a member of the CCP.
2. During outside propaganda our comrades must first encourage others to enter the CCP. If the person does not want to join the CCP first, then temporarily introduce them to enter the GMD.
3. Our comrades in the GMD must energetically pursue propaganda and absorb the best youth in order to increase the power of this party.

These orders were discovered in the books of Zhou Enlai. (During this time period Zhou had many books stored in Germany). Immediately, the German comrades interrogated Zi Daokun of the CY [Communist Youth], and Zi himself also admitted the wrongness of this kind of activity. Our party comrades still trusted him without any suspicion. Not intending to cause a bluster, they returned these orders to the Communist traitors, Zi Daokun, Liao Huanxing, and others. As a result, the various party sections in France,
Germany, Belgium, the CP elements of each section were able to remain in the party. Then the premier passed away [1925]. The CP each day grew more wanton. They even attempted to manipulate each of the party sections. Thus, [they] gave advice to Wang Jingqi, asking that he call for the Second Party Congress. When the congress opened, the “Communist” traitors saw that our comrade representatives constituted the majority, and they could in no way monopolize [the meeting]. They then created trouble and forced the meeting to a close. (This is the Communist traitors’ habitual trick. At any meeting, if they could manipulate it, they would do so. Otherwise they would deliberately cause disorder and make the meeting disperse without results.) When the congress dispersed in chaos, the treacherous Communist members of the inspection committee, Li Fuchun and Ren Zhuoxuan, again manipulated Wang Jingqi to, in the name of an executive committee member, expel from the party register four Executive Committee, members—^Xi Wende, Zhang Xingzhou, Cao Desan, and Wan Qubing. (At that time in the general branch there were seven members of the executive committee; the inspection committee member Fang Ditang, and others opposed these illegal actions.) In the German branch there were three people:—Liao Huanxing, Xia Qifeng, and Gao Yuhan (on the executive committee)—who were responsible for expelling two other executive committee members, Huang Ying and Lin Sen, from the party register. Moreover, more than eighty comrades were disbanded from Berlin’s second section. (At that time the entire German branch had little more than one hundred people.) They did all this without a resolution by the inspection committee or the permission of the general branch. They usurped the party headquarters of the central branch and recruited the totally red Communist traitors. They stole the control of Guomin yuekan, which had stopped publishing, to proselytize the dictatorship of the proletariat. These types of illegal activities then caused a furor among the more than one hundred members of the Sumier and Billancourt sections. These “Communist” reprobates again disbanded these two party sections with false orders. Thereupon the entire body of European comrades was angered. Petitions were made one after another to the First Central Executive Committee in Guangdong, asking for fair judgment, and the petitions numbered no less than several dozens. But the Central Committee totally disregarded [these petitions]. (It was not until afterwards that it became known that all documents were intercepted and destroyed by CP elements in overseas bureaus.) Our comrades saw the overwhelming dictatorship of the CP and the
lack of attention by the Central Committee. Concerned with the future development of the European Party affairs, we were forced to undertake purification of the party. Therefore, committee members Xi Wende, Wang Qubing, Zhang Xingzhou, Cao Desan, Fang Ditang, Yang Dongchen, and Chen Shu convened the entire European Third Emergency Congress in Paris and changed the organization to the FGMD.

_Toward the Three People’s Principles—The Official EGMD Historical Development_

**April 1925: The Third European Congress.** During the Third European Congress, ninety percent of our comrades participated. All of those who opposed and did not attend were the Communist traitors and their lackey traitors. At the meeting it was decided to expel the Communist traitors from the party register. It was also stipulated that the characters _sanmin_ [Three People’s (Principles)] should always be the name of the party paper in order to express the loyalty and faith of the disciples in practicing the Three People’s Principles. The Communist traitors’ usage of the name “Sanmin society” stems from this.

**April 1926: The Fourth European Congress.** At the time of the Fourth Congress there also appeared a Communist traitors’ congress. Regarding the “Decision of the People’s Party Movement,” they related the following:

1. As our comrades (which is what these Communist traitors called themselves) enter the GMD, they must not discuss the Three People’s Principles. If someone questions this, one can take a section of nationalism and explain it.
2. We ought to from the start to finish take the FGMD into our own hands.

Since then we have discovered proof of the Communist traitors’ betrayal of the party several times. The Fourth Congress elected the formal Executive Committee and then sent three representatives—Zhang Xingzhou, Xi Wende, and Huang Ying—to return home to report to the Central Committee. They prepared to participate in the Second National Congress. Comrade Xi [Wende] went to Guangdong to report to Lin Zuhan, a member of the Standing Committee. Although Lin was a Communist Party member, he also felt that our comrades were fully justifiable. [He] permitted [our comrades]
to report to the Central Party Bureau. Afterwards Xi Wende requested to be present at the congress, and that the credentials of Gao Yuhan as a representative be rejected.\textsuperscript{10} He did not succeed. Moreover, Tan Pingshan, not following party regulations, had Huang Ying expelled from the party register.

The Fourth Roster of Officials: The Fourth European Congress (May 1926)

\textit{Executive Committee}

Tu Mingyang  
Jiang Jingrui  
Fang Ditang  
Wen Mingsheng  
Bo Jinzhi  
Deng Ronghui  
Dai Changzhen

\textit{Inspection Committee}

Deng Jufang  
Fu Yizhang  
Zhou Hui  
Huang Ying  
Jiang Mengchi

\textit{Party address:} 3 rue Thouin

\textit{Party paper:} Sanmin banyuekan

\textbf{May 1926: The Fifth European Congress}

The Fifth Roster of Official: The Fifth European Congress (August 1926)

\textit{Executive Committee}

Zhang Ye  
Yang Zifu  
Deng Ronghui  
Jiang Jingrui  
Yu Zhongji  
Yang Qianhang Shenwei

\textit{Inspection Committee}

Zhang Daicen  
Fang Ditang  
Wan Can  
Shi Nanyang
April 1927: The Sixth European Congress

The Sixth Roster of Officials: The Sixth European Congress (April 1927)

Executive Committee
Zhang Shenwei
Feng Hanying
Wan Can
Yang Qian
Song Guoshu
Yu Zhongji
Cao Desan

Inspection Committee
Huang Jian
Fang Ditang
Wu Riming
Tu Mingyang
Wu Zijun

Party address: 3 rue Thouin
Party paper: Sanmin xunkan [Published in Chinese and Western languages]

July 1927: The Convening of a Reorganization Congress on the Order of Nanjing Central Committee, Overseas Bureau Chief, Comrade Xiao Focheng

The Seventh Roster of Officials: The Convening of a Reorganization Congress on the Order of the Nanjing Central Committee, Overseas Bureau Chief, Comrade Xiao Focheng (July 1927)

Executive Committee
Fang Ditang
Yang Qian
Wang Canfen
Song Guoshu
Chen Tie
Zhang Wenjia
Liao Shiqin
Inspection Committee
Zhang Shenwei
Jiang Hongwen
Jiang Mengchi
Xiao Xisan
Liu Zhaoxi
Party address: 3 rue Thouin

Party paper: Sanmin zhoukan [Published in Chinese and Western languages]

August 1928: The Eighth European Congress

The Eighth Roster of Officials: The Eighth European Congress (August 1928)
Executive Committee
Fang Ditang
Wang Canfen
Li Dongfang
Wu Zengcheng
Zhang Wenjia
Xin Yuqi [returned home, alternate is Ye Yunli]
Ling Delu [returned home, alternate is Sun Youru]

Inspection Committee
Zhang Shenwei
Jiang Hongwen
Jiang Mengchi
Zhang Mingzhu
Xiao Xisan [returned home, alternate is Huang Yunshan]

Party address: 3 rue Thouin

Party paper: Sanmin zhoukan [Published in Chinese and Western languages]

FGMD Historical Development of the Communists

The Communist Party. The expelled Communist traitors and their lackeys, such as Wang Jingqi, reorganized a false FGMD. They borrowed our party’s name to propagandize communism in the false party paper Guominkan. The false party section had not been established very long when Ren Zhuoxuan and Wang Jingqi fought, and the false party section again was split into two factions.
After the Communists expelled Wang Jingqi and others, they used their real Communist banner to publish Chiguang bao promoting communism and the Soviet Russian political platform. Afterwards, [they] surrounded and attacked the Chinese embassy in France [during the May Thirtieth Incident], and more than a hundred people were expelled by the French government out of the borders.¹¹ These more than a hundred people then went to Russia. Those who were not expelled subsequently dispersed without a sound or trace. The Communist traitor headquarters was then destroyed.¹²

The Communist Faction False FGMD. In May 1926, Guangdong University sent more than ten people to matriculate at the Sino-French Institute at Lyons University, including Chen Shunong, Long Zhanxing, and Xie Qing. After Chen, Long, and Xie arrived in France, along with others, they joined the Communist traitors Liu Puqing [Paul Lieu], Xia Ting, Li Xinghui, Fan Ying, Chen Weiming, Hu Dacai, Liu Mingyan, Li Yukai, and others to organize a false party section.¹³ [They] stealthily made the party seal and borrowed our party’s name to propagate Communist ideology. Peng Zemin, chief of the Guangzhou Central Committee, overseas bureau, provided financial assistance. Their power continued to surge forward. This false party section was located at 330 rue St. Jacques, and their false party paper was Guominkan. In May 1927, the false party section internally was again split into two factions.

The Communist Faction: False FGMD. This faction of the false party section still was located at 330 rue St. Jacques. The false party paper was Guominkan. The most important elements of this faction were:

Communist EGMD members in 1927: [Recorded in the 1927 Party Purification Special Publication]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yang Kun</th>
<th>Liao Huanxing</th>
<th>Wang Shengdi</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xie Qing</td>
<td>Pan Fang</td>
<td>Xia Ting</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peng Shiqin</td>
<td>Xu Hongzao</td>
<td>He Tingzhen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long Zhanxing</td>
<td>Xie Yongchang</td>
<td>Zheng Daoru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yan Jijin</td>
<td>Dong Guiyang</td>
<td>Zhang Rong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shan Cuimin</td>
<td>Chen Zhubing</td>
<td>Chen Weiming</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeng Boliang</td>
<td>Zhan Weiming</td>
<td>Li Pingheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lai Weixin</td>
<td>Liu Puqing</td>
<td>Xiao Ziqian</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Although the Communist Party borrowed our party's name to proselytize, as soon as they sent out announcements or handbills, they were beat up or halted by the comrades of the FGMD. There was no way for them to proselytize the outside, so on 26 December 1927 [they] made an announcement voluntarily leaving our party and dispersed the false FGMD. The false party section at 330 rue St. Jacques then dissolved.

After the 330 rue St. Jacques Communist faction of false FGMD voluntarily dispersed on 26 December 1927, four or five people, including Li Pingheng, Long Zhanxing, He Tingzhen, and Yan Jijin, again organized a false FGMD in the summer of 1928. The false party section's address was 26 rue des Carmes, and the false party paper was Guominkan.

The Qingtian: False FGMD. After his expulsion, Wang Jingqi and a group of Zhejiang people, including Chen Qi, Chou Yuesan, Lu Xuezheng, and Xiang Changquan, organized a false FGMD. Actually, it was the Qingtian Guild. For this reason the overseas Chinese compatriots in France called them the "Qingtian General Branch." Afterwards, suspected of being a Communist, Wang Jingqi was expelled by the French government out of the country. Wang died while on the voyage over the Mediterranean. He left the Qingtian General Branch which was inherited by a few worthless Diligent-Work Frugal-Study students such as Chen Qi, Chou Yuesan, and Lu Xuezheng. The party section address was in the western suburb of Paris near the Chateau factory.

After Chen and Chou and the others returned to China, one by one, the false party section then ceased to function. In 1927, a certain member of the Central Inspection Committee came to France from Russia. The Communists ordered this certain member, in the name of the Central Inspection Committee member, to take away the seal of the false party section. Therefore the false party section was closed down. Lu Xuezheng, Lin Hongguan, Wang Zhenxiong, and others once came to our FGMD to complain, saying that the Communist traitors were truly evil. [They] wanted to register in our FGMD, and our FGMD allowed them to do so. [Unreadable print] Then the Communist traitors' power rose again. Lu Xuezheng was clever and cunning at devising stratagems. He wanted to use the opportunity to return to China.
as a representative in order to get official promotion and obtain wealth. He led twenty or thirty small merchants from Qingtian, who were selling small inkstones on the streets of Paris, to surrender to the Communist false FGMD at 330 rue St. Jacques, and became a disciple of “rouble” ideology. When Lu Xuezheng arrived in Nanjing, it was the time when the Party Purification campaign was taking place. He was incarcerated.

The Opportunist Clique of the False FGMD. After Li Xinghui, Tang Jinbo, Xiang Changquan, Yi Guangyi, Zhang Nan, Wu Xiufeng, Yang Quanyu, Zhang Zhongdao, and several dozen members were expelled by the CCP, they privately made a party seal and organized a false FGMD at 41 rue des Ecoles in Paris. The false party paper was Guominkan. The Chinese compatriots residing in France called them the opportunist clique because this clique did not have an ideology, and made opportunism as their special enterprise. When the Communist traitors’ power was on the rise, they attached themselves to the Communist traitors in order to achieve their ambitions to seek official posts and become wealthy. The members of this faction were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Opportunist False FGMD Clique</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peng Xiang</td>
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<tr>
<td>Zeng Yi</td>
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<td>Xu Jinyuan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liu Keping</td>
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<td>Zheng Yanfen</td>
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<td>Chen Shaoyuan</td>
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<td>Chen Shunong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wu Wenan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tang Xueyong</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liu Wentao</td>
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<tr>
<td>Yuan Zhuoying</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liu Hou</td>
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<tr>
<td>He Jingqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fan Huiguuo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cai Shichun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lin Shuxiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fu Chuanbo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pan Xinghua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Chen Lie                        |
| Fan Xinqu                       |
| Yang Chao                       |
| Fan Xinshun                     |
| Jiang Kun                       |
| Tang Hongyun                    |
| Cheng Hongshou                  |
| Zhou Song                       |
| Feng Zuozhou                    |
| Shang Wu                        |
| Feng Erquan                     |
| Wu Xiufeng                      |
| Huang Tingjing                  |
| Xiang Changquan                 |
| Zhu Baoyun                      |
| Jiang Xianghe                   |
| Yi Guangyi                      |
| Jiang Junhuan                   |
| Shang Qixu                      |
| Hou Changguo                    |
| Xia Anxiu                       |
| Liu Kaizhong                    |
| Ye Rikui                        |
| Li Shixiong                     |
| Chen Zuojun                     |
| Liu Chong                       |
| Bao Guanru                      |
| Qi Zhonghou                     |
| Tang Jinbo                      |
| Li Linghe                       |
| Zhao Sen                        |
| Ye Yuanlong                     |
| Chen Jilie                      |
| Xiong Zuoping                   |
| Zhang Junqi                     |
| Wang Qixian                     |
Zhang Qixiang  Guo Qingzheng  Guo Yicen
Xiong Guangxuan  Chen Tizhi  Zhu Qian
Xiong Baoyi  Shi Shangkuan  Lin Ji
Zhou Qixiang  Zhang Zhongdao  Xu Xu
Tan Shouren  Xiong Danru  Fu Yingwei
Chen Jiwun  Lai Zhenjiang  Wu Zongbao
Huang Gongda  Lin Hongguan  Li Xinghui
Tao Shaoqin  Xin Shuzi  Zhang Nan
Zhang Guoqing  Chen Shigan  Zhang Hanqi
Shen Xiang  Yang Quanyu  Wang Zhenxiong

The Opportunist False FGMD Clique. In the summer of 1928 a group of opportunists, such as Chen Shunong, Xiong Baoyi, Tang Jinbo, Xiang Changquan, and others deceived the Central Committee and monopolized an advisory committee member. They were exposed by Zhang Nan, who openly published their secret correspondence. Therefore, the opportunist's false party section at 41 rue des Écoles once again split into the two factions: the Chen and Zhang cliques.

The Chen False FGMD Clique. The components of this clique included only six or seven people with Chen Shunong and Chen Qi as leaders. The false party headquarters was at 41 rue des Écoles and their false party paper was Guominkan.

The Zhang False FGMD Clique. The constituents of this clique included more than twenty people, with Zhang Nan, Zhang Zhongdao, Wu Xiufeng, Peng Xiang, Zhang Junqi, and Zheng Yanfen, among others, as the key members. This false party section received a big blow when Zhang Nan was arrested by the French police for selling opium. These addicted opium sellers also called themselves GMD members, and greatly harmed the reputation of our party. This false party section was also located at 41 rue des Écoles, and their false party paper was Guominkan.
**On Internal Tasks**

**Organization.** After the Party Purification in 1925, the FGMD included only party branches in Paris, Billancourt, Lyons, Germany, Belgium, and Holland and their section affiliates. In 1926, the National Revolutionary troops undertook the Northern Expedition. To develop propaganda, a section was established in Hamburg, Germany, and one in Marseilles, France, so as to communicate effectively with Antwerp, Belgium, and Amsterdam, Holland. Furthermore, sections were added in Leipzig, Germany, and Garenne-Columbes in the western suburb of Paris, for the purpose of expanding propaganda. In 1927, in Montargis and Nevers (?) (France) respectively, an independent section was established. Last year, another independent section was established in Copenhagen, the capital city of Denmark. Currently, Northern, Central, and Southern Europe are all within the sphere of our party's influence. Our comrades equal about 1,500 people.

The party sections at all levels controlled by the FGMD, the organizations under their leadership, as well as the structure of the FGMD executive and inspection committees are listed as follows:

**THE FGMD STRUCTURE**

**France**
1. Paris branch
2. Billancourt branch
   a. Three People's Principles School
3. Lyons Branch
   a. Saint-Fons section

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*a* Internal and external tasks will be highlighted. To speak here of government at each level of the party sections on internal and external tasks would be too long, so there is unavoidably some omission.

*b* This section later produced traitors who succumbed to the Communists and were disbanded by the FGMD.

*c* Because of the opposition to Chen Shunong as the guiding committee member, these members are not registered.

*d* During the progress of the Northern Expedition, party sections at all levels had established a Committee to Support the Northern Expedition. Now that the Northern Expedition has been successful, these committees to support the Northern Expedition have also ceased to exist.
b. Three People’s Principles School

4. Marseilles branch
5. Nevers (?) independent section
6. Montargis independent section

Germany
1. German branch
   a. Build the Nation newspaper society
   b. Leipzig section
   c. Chinese National Liberation Movement Association in Germany
   d. Chinese Merchants Association in Germany
   e. Chinese Students Federated Union in Germany

2. Hamburg branch
   a. The Hamburg Overseas Chinese Federation

Belgium
1. Belgium branch
   a. Committee to Support the Abolition of the Belgian Treaty
   b. Chinese Student Association

Holland
1. Amsterdam branch
   a. The Chinese Guild
   b. Protect the People newspaper society

2. Hague independent section
   a. The Chinese Association

Denmark
1. Denmark Independent Section
   a. Three People’s Principles newspaper office
   b. Three People’s Principles book and newspaper society
   c. Committee to Support the Suppression of Communism and to Save Guangdong
   d. Overseas Chinese Committee against Japanese Sending Troops to Shandong in France
   e. Chinese Federated Labor Union
   f. Committee to Support the Abolition of the Belgian Treaty
Organization of the Executive and Inspection Committees

Organization section
Public Relations section
Propaganda section
Recording secretary section ➔ Secretariat for the ➔ 1. Editorial committee
Treasury Section
Standing Executive Committee
   a. Chinese language section
   b. Western language section
Industry and commerce section
Investigation section
Training section ➔ 2. Training committee
Inspection Committee ➔ Secretariat

Propaganda. Every time there was an important event taking place in China, our comrades in Europe would, at any time or in any place, congregate Chinese for a public forum, print and send out various kinds of propaganda materials. For example, “The May Thirtieth Massacre” [unreadable print] During the earliest times mimeographic printing was used, and it was published once a month. Afterwards when lithography was utilized the publication was extended to once a week. In 1927 a Western language edition was added to reach the European masses with propaganda, but it was free of charge in nature. In doing so, our comrades made extreme self-sacrifices. In Germany there is Jianguo [Build the nation], which is the organization paper for the German branch. In Holland there is Humin [Protect the people], an organization paper for the Amsterdam branch. When necessary, the FGMD issued special publications such as “A Special Issue on Abolition of the Unequal Treaties,” “A Special Issue on Party Purification,” and “A Special Issue on Suppressing Communism and Saving Guangdong.” In Billancourt, Lyons, and Saint-Fons there are organizations such as the Three People’s Principles Schools to educate overseas Chinese workers residing in France, and to proselytize ideology. Furthermore, comrades are dispatched at all times to various European countries to proselytize. There is a special effort to [activate] overseas Chinese like workers, merchants, and sailors. Thus, the overseas Chinese working and business sectors in Europe are all able to stand under the
leadership of our party and view the traitorous Communists as poisonous snakes and ferocious animals.

**Aid to the Northern Expedition.** Since the Nationalist government sent troops out on the Northern Expedition, the FGMD immediately wired to the masses inside our country, asking for their unanimous support. Meanwhile, we submitted letters to both comrades Chiang K'ai-shek and Tan Zuan [asking them] to pay attention to the Communist traitors’ betrayal in their stern. As for the overseas Chinese, we assiduously exhorted contributions. Each party section was ordered to organize a Committee to Support the Northern Expedition. We sent members to various places to speak about the significance and aims of the Northern Expedition. As for the donations, they were sent to the Lyons Committee to Support the Northern Expedition to be transferred to the Nationalist government.

**Internal Training.** The FGMD pays a great deal of attention to the work of training. The party sections at various levels under control [of the FGMD] all organized training committees. Each week, except for the Premier [Sun Yat-sen] Commemoration Week, a training meeting must be held. Each comrade takes turns to make public speeches and take minutes so as to build talent in public speeches and propaganda activities.

**Discipline.** For those in the revolutionary party, discipline should be their first heavenly responsibility. The success or failure of the party ties in with this point. During the past five years, European comrades have suffered externally from the oppression of imperialism and internally from the devastation of Communist traitors. Surrounded by these extremely adverse conditions [simian chu ge], we stand in the position of an orphan. We do not bend under overwhelming power, nor allow poverty to crush us. Still we have been able to unite like one and fight bravely with the bandits. This kind of staunch belief is mostly the result of energetic training and firm observance of discipline. Those party members who disobeyed discipline or betrayed the ideology have been expelled immediately from the party.

**Finances.** With regard to the FGMD’s management of party finances, [we] have received neither external donations nor money from the [Guomindang] Central Committee. For the past five years, the revenue came entirely from the
worker-students in Europe who donated their daily savings. The operating fees are of three types: newspaper subscription fees, party dues, and special donations. Party dues amount to five francs a month. Newspaper subscription fees are decided by the FGMD according to the number of people in the party section. Only the worker-student comrades are very poor themselves, and it is after all difficult for them to continually help with the party sections' finances. Hereafter if the EGMD development is expected, the GMD Central Committee should provide some practical support.

On External Tasks

Although the European-based party factions are many, it is our party which is able to lead the masses, exert great effort in promoting revolution, and protect the workers' interest. Therefore, most of the overseas Chinese in Europe have expressed their sympathy with our party. Later, when our army's Northern Expedition succeeded, and the Communist traitors inside China were temporarily in a powerful position, some rich opportunists among the overseas Chinese, who were addicted to officialdom, and one or two disloyal party members bent their knees and surrendered to the Communists. Those Communist traitors wore our party's label, and were swindling and bluffing everywhere. Despite all these, in terms of our power in Europe, our party comrades are still able to command everything. The situation of their activities can be reported as follows.

Expulsion of the Traitorous Rogue Xu Shuzheng. The traitor Xu in 1925 secretly went to Germany on the order of the warlord Duan [Qirui]. He bought military equipment in order to kill our compatriots. When the German branch received the news, they called the entire overseas Chinese in Germany for a meeting at the embassy in Germany. They decided to expel that rogue Xu. Meanwhile, they issued a Western-language proclamation that announced Xu's crimes, which brought a great deal of harm to the country. It alerted the Germans, exhorting them to have absolutely no contact with Xu, which would cause repugnance among the Chinese. They also ordered the ambassador to Germany, Wei Chenzu, to place heavy surveillance [on Xu]. Xu's schemes did not succeed. He subsequently escaped to other places.
Opposing a German Signature to the Washington Conference Treaty. The Washington Conference was the second conference after the European Peace Conference to share the plunder and to carve up China among the various countries. After the European war, Germany in the wake of its defeat had very low national morale. Its colonial shores were all occupied by various other powers, and it could not even protect [its possessions] on Jiaozhou Bay in China. To restore its already lost territorial advantages, after the war Germany attempted to develop toward China a stealthy desire to participate in the Washington Conference treaty, so as to gain a portion of the profit. After obtaining the news, the FGMD ordered its German branch to strenuously oppose this action. The German branch therefore issued a proclamation to expose the ambitions of German imperialism. It also issued a stern warning to the German government and proselytized energetically to the German people. This matter gradually subsided.

Striking at the Running Dog of Sun Chuanfang: Zhou Tieming. In 1926 the running dog of the warlords, Zhou Tieming, came stealthily to Paris to buy airplanes for that rogue Sun (Chuanfang), scheming to block the righteous troops of the Northern Expedition and slaughter our compatriots inside the country. After the FGMD received this news, the Executive Committee resolved to order an assassination. It also sent Jiang Jingrui, Yu Zhongji, and Liu Wenqing to take the responsibility of surveillance. One day when this rogue Zhou was coming out of the factory after visiting the Billancourt Airplane Factory, comrade Jiang and others, together with worker comrades Lei Bin and others from the Billancourt branch, took advantage of Zhou’s unpreparedness and dragged him from his car. They fiercely beat him up and his head was spouting lots of blood, when he was then rescued by people. Thus, they did not beat this traitor to death. Afterwards negotiations were again directed toward the French government to ask it to prohibit the military equipment from leaving the country. However, because after all imperialists and warlords were in mutual collusion, this protest was ineffective.\textsuperscript{18}

The Task of Abolishing the Sino-Belgian Treaty. Our party platform is about the search for China’s freedom, equality, and independence. Regarding all the unequal treaties, we must especially use the shortest amount of time and the strength of all the people in the entire country to abolish them. The Chinese-Belgian treaty also is a tool that fetters our country. This treaty was to expire
on 27 October 1926. Therefore, all our party comrades should abide by our party platform and testament of Premier [Sun Yat-sen], in agitating for the abolition of this treaty. Thus, Belgian branch comrades Yang Zifu, Zhou Dunxian, Huang Jian, and others established in Brussels the Committee to Support the Abolition of the Belgian treaty. They called for overseas Chinese residing in Europe to agitate both the Belgian and Chinese governmental offices to abolish the Belgian Treaty. Furthermore, all the European Party sections controlled by the FGMD established Subcommittees to Support the Abolition of the Belgian Treaty. The traitorous government in Beijing was thus frightened, and did not dare to negotiate with the Belgian government in Brussels for a treacherous sell-out. In September 1926, the news of the League of Nations decision was made public. After the news reached the FGMD, they purposefully sent comrade Zhang Ruiju together with the Belgian representative, comrade Huang Jian, the Lyons representative, comrade Wang Canfen, and German representatives, comrades Wan Can and Zhan Xianzhe, to Geneva to oversee and stop its [the negotiation's] progress. Afterwards, in Geneva, they announced to all the presses in the world the English barbarous massacre of our compatriots in Wanxian. At the same time [they] explained this party’s ideology and platform regarding internal and external work and urged Wang Jingqi and Zhu Zhaoxin to raise a protest at the meeting. The result was very satisfactory. On October 27, the expiration day for the treaty, the Committee to Support the Abolition of the Belgian Treaty in Belgium convened a meeting in advance for overseas Chinese representatives residing in Europe in the capital of Belgium, Brussels. They started a radical demonstration movement to arouse the attention of both Chinese and foreigners. Besides those comrades residing in Belgium, the other FGMD sections in Germany, Holland, and France all sent representatives to participate in the meeting, to put pressure on Wang Jingqi to proclaim the abolition of the treaty, and to organize a demonstration on the 7th October commemoration day. The Belgian police arrested several dozens of our party comrades including Yang Zifu and Zhang Daicen. After their release, the FGMD again sent Jiang Jingrui, Yang Zifu, Fu Yizhang, Zhang Daicen, Liu Wenqing, and Yang Kairong and others to return home as treaty-abolition representatives, in order to arouse the attention of our compatriots back in the country.
International Propaganda. We sent representatives to Brussels to participate in the Anti-Imperialism League Congress [la Ligue contre l'oppression coloniale et l'imperialisme] convened on 10 February 1927. For this Anti-Imperialism League Congress, the FGMD deliberately sent more than ten comrades including Deng Ronghui, Cao Desan, Yu Zhongji, Zhou Dunxian, and Huang Jian, to represent the party. They brought several thousand printed pamphlets to the capital of Belgium (Brussels) for the congress, in order to propagandize to all the oppressed people about our party platform and the goals of the Northern Expedition at the meeting. Unexpectedly, on the second day of the congress they were squeezed out by the efforts of the CCP member, Liao Huanxing in the name of the Central Executive Committee representative and uniting with the Communists’ false FGMD representatives. At the same time, in collusion with outsiders, they said we were the Rightist faction of the Nationalist Party coming to cause trouble and should not be permitted to attend, and so forth. Representatives attending the congress from various other countries were mostly Communist disciples and were therefore firm as a colony of badgers. Even though some were non-Communists, they did not understand the internal situation of this party. At the time, the meeting secretary said to Liao “Looking at their pronouncements, they are the true representatives of the GMD.” Liao replied, “Don’t pay attention to them.” Because Liao had the protection of the Central Committee he was able to have the FGMD representatives expelled from the congress in the end. Afterwards, [they] audited the meeting as individuals. Then as the representative of the Central Committee of this party, Liao Huanxing raised some argument; one was called the “dictatorship of the proletariat,” a second was called the “class struggle.” Yet regarding the ideology of this party and objectives of the Northern Expedition, he did not express anything. Fortunately, the FGMD issued several thousand manifestos in French. Therefore, this trip [to the congress] for the purpose of propaganda was not in vain.

Contact with Oppressed Peoples of the World. The FGMD frequently has contact with oppressed peoples residing in Europe such as those from India, Annam [Vietnam], and Java. Currently, our Annamese comrades already number several dozens who desire to join our party. They want to help the Chinese national revolution. They made comments in their Paris published newspaper, Soul of Vietnam, sparing no effort in praising and supporting our party. They
also telegraphed the Nationalist government, extending congratulations on the victory of the Northern Expedition.

**Contact with French Revolutionary Organizations in Proselytizing This Party's Ideology.** First the FGMD took the Announcement of the First Plenary Session, general regulations, and other propaganda materials and had these items translated into French. They were distributed to various French organizations in France, such as the French Communist and Socialist Parties, Labor Party, Social Democrats, and League of Human Rights. In 1926, when the Northern Expedition began, the French masses all said that our party was a Communist Party. Therefore the FGMD repeatedly sent comrades Deng Ronghui, Zhang Ye, and others to respectively liaison and explain our party's ideology. Subsequently, they [the French masses] all began to understand our party's ideology, and they all expressed enthusiastic sympathy. For this reason, when each party held a regular weekly meeting, they all came to the FGMD, asking that someone be sent over to make public speeches. Furthermore, the League of Human Rights made two important suggestions to the [French] government: (1) to give up the French concessions in China and (2) they asked the government to recognize the Nationalist government. Later the FGMD asked the League of Human Rights to convene a mass rally of Parisians to further proselytize the masses. The rally was held in the salle des sociétés savantes, on 18 February 1927 and was attended by several thousand Parisians. The FGMD sent comrade Zhang Shenwei and others to attend and speak on topics including the Three People's Principles, the invasion ambitions of British and Japanese imperialism, and the crimes of selling our country by the Chinese Communists. When the meeting ended, the sound of French cheering and slogan-chanting was extremely enthusiastic. That the masses expressed sympathy with our party was already obvious. As for Germany, Wan Can, Zhan Xianzhe, Zhang Daicen, Kang Shipin, Zhou Jingyu, Shi Nanyang, and other comrades have been energetically pursuing outside [contacts] all the time and also have had positive accomplishments.

**Contact with the French Press Circles and Explaining the Significance of Party Purification.** Since the Party Purification at the Central Committee in 1927, the FGMD has considered external propaganda even more important. Because the French newspaper L'Humanité (the Communist Party organization tabloid) daily spread rumors to destroy our party's reputation, the FGMD has,
on the one hand, printed 100,000 announcements in both Chinese and French and distributed them everywhere in Europe, explaining the Communist traitors' rebellious plots to usurp the party and various traitorous activities within our party. We also have given an explanation about all the slanders, which was recorded in detail by all the press. On the other hand, we invited journalists to a city mass rally to expand the propaganda. The French newspapers reported it in a very detailed fashion and offered precise comments. The European masses were very moved, and most people maintained fair judgment without being deluded. The false party section controlled by the Communist traitors, seeing that their scheme was unsuccessful, discussed with the French Communist Party, and they held a so-called Denouncing Chiang Meeting in Paris. More than a thousand PCF members attended the meeting. More than thirty ECCO members, including Xia Ting, Chen Weiming, Li Pingheng, and Fan Ying were there. The FGMD sent forty keen-witted and capable comrades, who were carrying a thousand propaganda leaflets, to disrupt the meeting. They demanded to make speeches but were not allowed to do so by the Communists. Our comrades therefore loudly protested, thus turning order into chaos. The chair (a French person) had no alternative. He gave in to the demands of our comrades. Our comrades attending the meeting were free to go up to the podium and deliver speeches. They first gave a narrative on the Chinese domestic situation and the creed of the premier on allowing Communist Party members to enter our party. Secondly, they spoke of the process of the Communist rebels to usurp our party. Finally, they talked about the GMD which, on the one hand, defeated red and white imperialism, and on the other hand, expelled the Communist Party, while they additionally continued with the Northern Expedition and cleaned up the Central Plains. After our comrades finished their speeches, the PCF members liked very much what they had heard. However, their leader still gnashed his teeth in cursing; thereupon both sides struck blows with each other. Our comrades were few and could not withstand the many enemies, and bore many injuries.

Little could one imagine that about twenty to thirty opportunist party members in Paris, including Liu Hou, Li Xinghui, Tang Jinbo, and Chen Shunong, proclaimed themselves to be Guomindang members. Not only did they not come forward to join forces with the FGMD comrades, but instead contributed money to aid the Communist traitors in wiring the so-called
Denouncing Chiang Telegram (text of the telegram and contributors' names were recorded in Guominkan, April issue).

Attending the Meeting of the International Socialist Party. Last year in August, the International Socialist Party convened a meeting in Brussels. The FGMD purposely sent comrades Fang Ditang, Huang Jian, and Ding Fuyuan to attend the reception for international Socialist Party leaders, together with comrades Zou Lu and Zhang Ye. They brought lots of propaganda materials of various countries. The Socialist Party leaders in various countries such as Emile Vandervelde of Belgium, Arthur Crispien of Germany, [Jean] Longuet of France, Brockway of England, Abramovitch of Russia, Berger of the United States, and Modigliani of Italy began to understand our party's ideology and platform. Therefore, this meeting adopted resolutions regarding China's problems, advocating abolition of the unequal treaties and return of each country's concessions. Although the Chinese Socialists tried their hardest to slander our party as cruelly killing peasants and workers, none of the other countries' Socialists believed them.

Overthrowing the Communist Party. Since the Party Purification, the Communist Party often borrowed the label of our party, and cheated in the outside. Many times, the FGMD sent comrades to meet them head on. Eventually we suppressed the Communist traitors, rendering them unable to act. On 26 December 1927, the 330 rue St. Jacques false FGMD, realizing that they could not continue to borrow our party's name, announced their voluntary dissolution. Thus, this traitors' nest collapsed.

Overthrowing the Five-Color Flag. On the 1928 Commemoration of the Chinese Republican Revolution (the Double Ten holiday), the Chinese Nationalist Clique in Paris [the Chinese Youth Party] convened a meeting in the salle des sociétés savantes [Hall of Scholars]. They issued a declaration that had "Favor the Five-Color Flag" and "Overthrow the Guomindang" as slogans. The FGMD immediately ordered Paris and Billancourt comrades to go to the salle des sociétés savantes. They beat the Nationalist clique into dispersal, overthrew the Five-Color Flag, and at the same time hoisted the Blue Heaven, White Sun, and Red Flag [i.e., the Guomindang Republican Flag]. Thereafter, the Chinese Nationalist clique's structure was overturned.
A Summary of the Overseas Chinese Community in Europe

The overseas Chinese in Europe, except for those in England and Russia, live scattered throughout France, Belgium, Germany, Holland, Italy, Switzerland, Austria, Poland, and other places. In France, the sailors are mostly concentrated in Marseilles, their comings and goings are irregular, and the regular residents constitute about one to two hundred people. Workers number about a thousand people, and are mostly located in the places near Paris. The students, by and large, are spread throughout Paris, Lyons, and other big cities, with Paris and Lyons having the most, about a few hundred people. There are few business people about two to three hundred people. In addition, there are a small number of wandering officials and politicians.

In Germany, students are mostly congregated in the big cities such as Berlin, Munich, Frankfurt, Leipzig, and Göttingen, with Berlin having the most, containing about several hundred people. Concentrated in Berlin and scattered throughout various places the traveling merchants number about six to seven hundred people. Sailors sail back and forth between Shanghai and Hamburg. Those who stay in Hamburg and have a small business number about seventy to eighty people. In Belgium, more than 200 students live in the three cities of Liège, Brussels, and Charleroi. There are many sailors traveling back and forth to Antwerp, and between seventy to eighty people live there regularly. In the Hague, Holland, the overseas Chinese students number more than a hundred. (They do not know Chinese because they grew up in the South Seas [Indonesia] and the Dutch did not allow them to study it.) In Amsterdam and Rotterdam there are two to three thousand sailors. In Italy there are about a hundred students. In addition, in Poland, Switzerland, Spain, and Portugal, there are a small number of overseas people altogether numbering no more than five hundred people. In Vienna, the Austrian capital, there are a number of students and businessmen. Altogether on the European continent our country’s overseas people comprise more than 20,000 people, with laborers and sailors in the majority, and students in the minority.

Although the elements are very complicated among the workers and sailors, most belong to our party. Even those who do not belong to our party
are still under the control of various party sections in Europe. Earlier, a portion of the businessmen in France were deluded by the CP, but are now completely awakened. Workers who receive directions from the CP number no more than ten people. Only the students have many factions, and about three-tenths belong to our party. Those who do not belong to our party but are sympathetic with our party constitute four-tenths. There is a small fraction that belongs to the CP. However, combining those in all places, they do not exceed forty people.

A small portion [within the Chinese community] belongs to the CYP [the Nationalist clique headed by Zeng Qi]. They number a little more than the CP [members] but still do not exceed several tens of people. Also, there is a small group who belong to the Social Democratic Party, and who number more than ten people in France. In other countries there is no such organization. There is also another faction that is the Anarchist Party. We do not know their number, but they often borrow our party's name to develop their power. There are still a small number of people who belong to the Jing Society (i.e., the Chen Jiongming party). They claim that they have more than a hundred people, but actually they just have twenty to thirty people. In addition, there is a portion of students who belong to the Church Association (Lei Mingyuan's disciples) and are often with those who opposed our party. They have more than one hundred people in Belgium and Italy respectively. However, the majority are forced by life [circumstance]. Therefore, they receive subsidies from the Church Association and have willingly become its slaves. Furthermore, there is a type of student who has no party affiliation and does not ask about government politics. Also there is a small number of students who are sons and relatives of officials, and they do not do anything except for eat enough and dress warmly. Moreover, there is a group of self-proclaimed "scholar" students who bury their heads on their desks all day and hardly realize that there is still revolutionary work in the human world. Although their diligence should not be blamed, yet they sometimes oppose the actions of this party. The ones to pay most attention to are the Church Association students, who often receive instructions from outsiders to create trouble for our party (for example, in 1926 this group opposed the abolition of the Chinese-Belgian unequal treaties). Yet they do not dare to oppose [our party] openly, so they do not warrant our fear. Only the CYP people (Nationalist clique), are still secretly receiving aid from the warlords and bureaucrats. The Communist Party, previously relying upon the internal aid
from the Central Committee and help from the Third International, many times openly opposed the FGMD. Since the Party Purification, the Communist traitors who came to Europe in exile have tried hard to destroy our party’s reputation. The Socialist Party has also attacked our party. For example, in August 1928, the International Socialist Party convened a congress in Brussels. The Chinese Socialist Party people gave out propaganda that our party cruelly killed workers and peasants. Fortunately, comrade Zou Lu and others attended the International Socialist Party leaders’ reception and strongly reprimanded their wrongdoings. Thereupon each country’s Socialist leaders began to understand the ideology and platform of our party.

The CYP organ newspaper in Europe is *Xiàoshèng*. The CCP has *Chiguang* (already halted publication for a long time)\(^\text{30}\) and *Guomin*. The Social Democratic Party also has an irregularly published paper, *Fendou* (it stops and starts in fits). However, none of these groups is sufficient to give us any fear. Currently, our party has already controlled most of the power among the entire European Chinese community and can manage everything. For example, the Third Congress was able to decide on the guiding strategy for the European Party affairs. As for the rest of the small and ugly monsters, what can they do to our party?

*The Attitudes of Various European Party Factions toward Our Party*

Within various countries on the European continent, our party comrades are mostly concentrated in France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland. Very few are scattered in other countries. Therefore, regarding the attitude of those party factions in various countries toward our party, those in France, Germany, Belgium and Holland are more obvious. In France, the PCF was earlier on fairly sympathetic to us. Later because of the Party Purification work of our party, its attitude changed from sympathy to one of extreme attack. As to the Social Democratic Party and Labor Party, they have recently been sympathetic to us, but they still put their country’s interest first. The GMD still has not aroused itself from the fond illusions of imperialism. They have no sympathy toward us, and often attack us urging their government to intervene with force. Currently France has a coalition cabinet; Prime Minister Poincaré is of the Nationalist clique, with the Nationalist Party and the Republican Party as its major components. Its suppression of the Communists is rather strict. Often
the French newspapers, as a result of counterpropaganda from England and Russia, almost equate the Nationalist Party with the Communist Party. Previously the newspapers were rather suspicious about our country’s national revolutionary movement and expressed no sympathy whatsoever. Not until afterwards, when this party seriously undertook the work of Party Purification and the FGMD issued all sorts of propaganda did they recognize the ideology of our party. Today they give sympathy and aid. As for the French government, before our party sent out troops on the Northern Expedition, it forcefully repressed the FGMD [and] often surreptitiously sent spies to specially watch FGMD activities. 31 Not until the success of the Northern Expedition and after the clean-up of the “Communist” poison, did the repression decrease a little. Recently, the sections in France not only can have open activities, but the French government and masses both view the section (on 3 rue Thouin) as a pure Nationalist Party. Reporters frequently come to inquire and clarify the circumstances whenever any important event takes place in our country.

The people from the Belgian Socialist Party express sympathy toward our party on the surface, but actually do not have good feelings toward us. They only follow the bankers’ lead. It was for this reason that they were unwilling to abolish the unequal Belgian treaties and enter into new agreements. (Because the Belgian investments in our country are so numerous, there is a deep fear that once the old treaties are abolished, and the privileges guaranteed are lost, the Socialist Party leader Vandervelde would be the foreign minister).

Holland is a place of congregation for the Second International. Governmental power is also in the hands of the Social Democratic Party. But currently in Europe the Social Democratic Party indeed cannot bear revolutionary responsibilities. So they only pay lip service [to our party]. Toward the overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia, they are especially repressive, leaving no room for our overseas compatriots to have any activities.

After the Great War, Germany was repressed by the Versailles Treaty and dared not offend other nations. Thus, their foreign policy is very prudent. Furthermore, the Sino-German unequal treaties were abolished long ago. Recently, attempting to gain our country’s markets in order to compete with other countries, they [the Germans] have mostly expressed sympathy with our Nationalist movements (the Germans call themselves an oppressed nation, so they want very much to ally with weak and small nations in order to rise again). [Their sympathy] does not really come from the heart, but temporarily
they do not constitute a big obstacle to our country either. Among the various German political parties, the Social Democratic Party still controls the most power and holds state power. Although President Hindenberg is the leftover evil of the imperialist system, yet, political power resides in the cabinet. As for the Nationalist Party, since the end of the European war, it has experienced a major setback, but it is deeply entrenched. Moreover, the Germans are obstinate by nature, and the majority sympathize with the Nationalist Party. So the power of this party cannot be stymied. In addition, the German Communist Party (KDP) was indeed very active when the European war came to an end and German finances were in panic. Later when they changed to the mark and the finances gradually had a positive turn, people's economic hardship gradually softened, and the Communist Party then did not have an opportunity to develop. Yet they still have some power. The KDP previously had positive feelings toward us and were enthusiastic in aiding us. But they had other intentions. The year before last, their leaders exhorted the workers, saying, “It will not be long before China's revolution succeeds. The time for communism is coming, and imperialism is quickly collapsing. We will be in China shortly to enjoy the happy days.” The Germans daily experience economic repression in clothing and food deprivation. Previously implanted in their minds, was the story of the German emperor Wilhelm's invasion of the golden world of the East. It was an unobtainable dream. Now in hearing of such an opportunity, how can they not aid enthusiastically? In reality, it is nothing but harboring ambitions toward China. But since the year before last, when the KDP split apart, and the Right faction leader was lured into arrest by the Soviet Russians in Moscow, it gradually caused the German Communist’s suspicion toward Soviet Russia. [The KDP’s] influence has been reduced a little compared with before. Aside from this, the Nationalist Party, Socialist Party, and Common People’s Party have very little power.

In general, in Germany each party faction has a relatively better attitude toward us than [is the case in] other countries. Austria looks to the leadership of Germany. Italy is widely known to be under the dictatorship of the Black Shirts Party and is attempting to follow the lead of prewar Germany. The English, except for the Labour Party, have few people who are sympathetic to us.

To sum up, among all countries in Europe, Soviet Russia does not allow other people to carry on activities inside the country at all. Only Germany and France are places where various nationalities concentrate. Our party’s external
propaganda should start from here. We cannot overlook Switzerland which, as the home of the League of Nations, is an important locus for our party's external propaganda. We cannot give up England either. It also would be good if our people can find opportunities for activities in Italy.

MARCH 1929

Notes

1. The usage of the name French General Branch of the Chinese Guomindang hereafter FGMD, distinguishes this Rightist GMD faction's perspective, as discussed below, in the post-1924 rightist reorganization. The official name of the organization was European Branch of the Guomindang, or EGMD, which this group also recognized. We translate the FGMD in the plural, as the document states that several countries are involved in the party's sections. The term they often use is shubuy which we translate as FGMD rather than "belonging sections." The usage is fairly consistent, although sometimes they used European branch for the post-1924 period.

2. The death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 left a leadership vacuum in the Overseas bureau, although not as dramatic as that in China.

3. This lack of clarity of events is well taken, especially after 1927. The confusion arose not only from the profusion of factions, but from the fact that different factions sometimes published Guomin from the same address.

4. Shao Yuanchong was part of the Western Hills faction and expelled from the GMD in 1926.

5. The anniversary of the 1911 Revolution, which created the Chinese Republic. The Guomindang has always considered 1912 as year one, so that one calculates a date by adding 1911 to the date given. So "Republican Year 70," for example, would be 1981.


7. The reorganization of 1924 affected the Guomindang by allowing not only a United Front with the CCP, but also Leninist training and direct aid from the Soviet Union. Does the explicit singling out of the entry of the Communists in this passage indicate that the FGMD members did not dispute the Leninist doctrine of party organization? Did it mean that attention to a social, mass movement–based ideology still persisted in this Rightist Guomindang faction?

8. Li Huang also discusses this issue of discovered Communist documents see his memoir Xuedunshi huiyiulu (Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue, 1975).

9. Lin Zuhan and Tan Pingshan were the only Communists to head GMD bureaus during this period, these were two out of eight bureau chief positions according to Saich, Origins of the First United Front in China, 1:17, n. 13.
10. Gao Yuhan was a key ECCP member in Germany, whose letters to the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee were intercepted by the British. For example, see Yu Hankao letter to Ya Chun (4 May 1925), Public Record Office (London), FO 371/10944, p. 37.


12. This is not actually true; massive rallies organized by the ECCO and Communist-Leftist-controlled EDGMD continued through 1927. Both the ECCO and the “extremist” or ECCO branch of the EGMD also continued activities in the late 1920s and early 1930s.

13. Paul Lieu (Liu Puqing) and Sia Ting (Xia Ting) were two members of the Communist faction within the EGMD who were important in the United Front. Liu Puqing was married to a French woman, and he was consistently noted by the French secret service, as was Xia Ting, who was expelled from France in 1927.

14. These addresses generally can be identified with political orientation: the Rightist faction at 3 rue Thouin; the Leftist faction at 41 rue des Écoles; and the extremist faction at 330 rue St. Jacques (and then moved to rue des Carmes). Moreover, certain addresses were noted for clusterings of radical Chinese by the French Sûreté, and Chinese restaurants in Paris were even characterized for their political orientation.

15. The implication here is that this group is either supported by or hoped to have obtained funding from the Soviet Union, but did not have a genuine ideology.

16. The emphasis on rhetoric is very interesting, not only in this document, but in the general reportage of EGMD activities. This idea of genuine oral persuasion as a key activity of each meeting may be a dimension of the French-influenced political dynamic. See, for example, Peter Gay, “Rhetoric and Politics in the French Revolution,” American Historical Review 66:3 (April 1961): 664–81.

17. We think this is a misprint, and have translated the character as interest, “yi” [益] rather than plunder, “dao” [盗].

18. Questions of ideology and personal linkages both are raised by this constant stance of anti-imperialism. How important was anti-imperialism in the China-based GMD at this time period? As Chiang K’ai-shek counted on the support of Western powers, does this insistence on the notion of imperialistic design by the West indicate a lack of closeness between leaders of the GMD and the EGMD and a streamlining of political line according to country in the external propaganda efforts?

19. One must distinguish between Wang Jingqi the founder of the EGMD and Wang Jingqi the foreign diplomat to Belgium, who later went on to head the last phase of Labor University; see Ming K. Chan and Arif Dirlik, Schools into Fields and Factories: Anarchists, the Guomindang, and the National Labor University in Shanghai, 1927–1932 (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1991), chap. 8.

20. Established by Henri Barbusse among others, this Brussels conference of the Ligue contre l’oppression coloniale et l’impérialisme should not be confused with another organization established in Geneva during the spring of 1927, the Ligue internationale des femmes pour la paix et la liberté. The situation is still more confused by a major congress, also in the spring of 1927, of the Ligue internationale contre l’oppression coloniale by the Communist International–controlled youth organization. Some participants overlapped including Félicien Challaye, Roger Baldwin, Jawaharlal Nehru, Mohammed Hatta, and Romain Rolland.
21. *The Soul of Vietnam* (*Viet Nam Hon*) was founded in January 1925 by Nguyen The Truyen, an important Vietnamese Trotskyiste. The paper was later managed by the Annamite Independence Party but was not affiliated with the French Communist Party; see Hue-Tam Ho Tai, *Radicalism and the Origins of the Vietnamese Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 232–33.

22. An account of this meeting can be found in *Notes of Agent Désiré*, 23 February 1927, ANSOM SLOTFOM VIII, 6. In fact, the meeting was sponsored by the French Communist Party and presided over by Henri Barbi.

23. Actually the meeting, held on 27 April and attended by more than fifteen hundred people, contended that the 12 April Coup was treason, and the accompanying propaganda was entitled “Manifeste du Parti Kuomintang en Europe contre la trahison de Tchien-Kai-Shek.”

24. This was the Third Congress of the Labour and Socialist International. The Western names below are taken from lists provided in the *Third Congress of the Labour and Socialist International: Reports and Proceedings*, 3 vols. (Zurich: Secretariat of the Labour and Socialist International, 1928). The meeting was held 5–11 August 1928. It appears that China was not a voting member of the Executive Committee, but the SDP prominent representatives included “Yang Gantao” [Yang Gengtao] whose speech of 1927 in Paris is included herein as document 72. It is very interesting that Paris appears to be the official locus of the Chinese SDP.

25. The CYP made an open proclamation of themselves as a “Party” in a special issue of *Xiansheng zhoubao*, no. 311 (9 January 1930).

26. The Five-Color Flag was the first flag of the Guomindang. It symbolized all five ethnic groups in China, but was later abandoned by the Guomindang.

27. See document 71, which deals with the Chinese sailors and the Communists. It may be that Liao Chengzhi had linkages with that group.

28. This is really a questionable statistic. The ECCO certainly existed into the 1930s, although it appears it was subsumed in France as a language section of the PCF. After 1930, the ECCO journal, *Chiguang*, was still published from Germany but also distributed in France.

29. Lei Mingyuan is the Chinese name for Father Lebbe, a Belgian priest who was the founder of the Tianjin newspaper *Tishibao* and who started a Catholic Youth Association in 1921 to aid indigent Chinese worker-students in France and Belgium. He was interested both in conversion and in stopping the youth from converting to communism. A long list of more than two hundred of these Chinese recipients exists in the Archives Nationales, AS 47/B23 (Paris). There are some surprising linkages between those who accepted aid and their later political affiliations.

30. This is not true (see note 28).

31. There was indeed a wide-ranging information-gathering system. See documents 38–43.
Summary: An analysis of the three factions that developed in Paris after the 12 April Coup. According to the report, the extremist faction (330 rue St. Jacques) had Communist connections (developed at Hankou) and were inactive after the expulsion of Xia Ting in 1927. A new extremist faction had formed at 26 rue des Carmes. The other part excerpted here discussed the Right faction (3 rue Thouin), which was opposed by Chiang K’ai-shek, but was still able to form sections abroad, based on integral nationalism.

Jusqu’en Décembre dernier, trois fractions se disputaient à Paris la représentation du Parti Kuomintang en Europe; c’étaient: la fraction communiste qui avait son siège 330, rue St. Jacques, la fraction de droite qui avait son siège 3, rue Thouin et la fraction modérée dont le siège se trouvait 41, rue des Ecoles.

La fraction communiste, qui se réclamait du Comité Central de Hankéou, adoptait les vues du Parti Communiste français et favorisait ses tentatives d’agitation sans toutefois dépendre à Paris de ce Parti.

Depuis la chute du Comité extrémiste de Hankéou et la guerre faite en Chine aux éléments communistes par le gouvernement nationaliste de Nankin, cette fraction avait cessé toute activité et plusieurs de ses membres avaient rallié la fraction modérée installée rue des Ecoles.

La fraction extrémiste était dirigée par le nommé SIA-TING né le 17 Janvier 1903 à Anking (Chine), étudiant qui était en relations avec les dirigeants du Parti Communiste français et avait même publié dans le journal L’Humanité des articles ne laissant aucun doute sur la nature de ses opinions.

En raison de cette attitude, SIA-TING fut expulsé par arrêté du 9 Septembre 1927. Cette censure fut rapportée le 3 Janvier 1928, mais SIA-TING avait quitté son domicile 13, rue Rollin à destination de la Belgique. Sa résidence actuelle n’est pas connue.

Après son départ, la fraction extrémiste a été désorganisée et dissoute.

Quelques uns de ses anciens membres ont essayé de regrouper les extrémistes chinois en une nouvelle organisation dont le siège aurait été installé 23 rue des Carmes où logent deux d’entre-eux, les nommés HO-TING-YSANG, 25 ans né à Hoyou (Chine), étudiant et CHI-CHIN-YEN, 20 ans, né à Yan-Chou
Les autres membres de l’ancienne fraction ont pour la plupart, rallié la fraction modérée qui a son siège 41 rue des Ecoles et qui les a acceptés à condition d’observer les directives du Parti Kuomintang et de s’abstenir de toute propagande communiste.

Il est possible que plus tard les éléments communistes tentent d’y créer une scission et essayent de se regrouper en une organisation dissidente. D’ailleurs, les événements qui pourront se dérouler parmi les chinois résidant à Paris ne seront qu’à l’image de ce qui se passera en Chine où des divergences profondes se sont manifestées entre les membres du Comité Exécutif Central de Nankin.

La fraction comprenant les éléments de droite qui s’intitule elle-même la fraction du “nationalisme intégral” a toujours son siège, 3 rue Thouin.\(^1\)

Elle s’est composée tout d’abord des membres qui avaient été exclus deux ans auparavant du Parti Kuomintang et que le général CHANG-KAI-SHEK avait combattu impitoyablement puis elle a réussi à grouper un assez grand nombre de chinois ayant des opinions de droite et à former des sections dans divers pays étrangers. Toutefois elle ne manifeste actuellement que peu d’activité.

Ses dirigeants, tout en soutenant le mouvement nationaliste en vue de la libération et de l’indépendance totale de la Chine, se montrent adversaires du Comité Exécutif Central de Nankin, qui selon eux est très instable, sujet à de fréquentes modifications et compte quatre anciens membres du Comité extrémiste de Hankéou ayant pactisé avec les soviets. Ils accusent aussi le général Chang-Kai-Shek de poursuivre la réalisation de ses aspirations personnelles et de sauvegarder ses propres intérêts au détriment de la réorganisation intérieure de la Chine.

Notes

1. The idea of integral nationalism was a key component of French fascism during this period and the 1930s. See, for example, Zeev Sternhell, *Neither Right nor Left: Fascist Ideology in France*, trans. David Maisel (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986).
Document 39: Léon and Vincent: Notes of Two Agents [1928, 1930] [Excerpts] [SLOTFOM II, 6; II, 9]

Summary: Examples taken from cartons of agents’ handwritten notes, observations, and conversations by agents for the Sûreté. The first excerpt is an observation that the day is too sunny and bright to talk about politics or literature seriously. The second excerpt is a conversation at and around student-frequented restaurants with two Vietnamese, particularly trying to elicit information from an unemployed Vietnamese woman.

1. [Handwritten notes of “LEON,” 29 May 1928, Paris]

Tout ce change avec le temps, mais c’est aussi le temps qui fait tout—le soleil a commencé à paraître. Ses rayons sont {illegible}? Sans doute. Non seulement les vêtements deviennent clairs, mais les cheveux lisses et polis. On n’y parle plus de la politique, ni de la littérature, mais chacun parle {à la folie}. Ça coûte, mais, loin du pays, loin de sa famille, loin des chers de la vie.

2. [Handwritten notes of “VINCENT,” 26 February 1930, Paris]

J’ai été dîner au restaurant chinois rue du Sommerard avec un camarade VO VAN TOAN; ce restaurant est en passes de devenir un restaurant nègre car les annamites et chinois ne le fréquentent plus, du fait que les noirs y sont trop nombreux et les étudiants annamites font une campagne pour empêcher leurs camarades de s’y rendre sous prétexte que les annamites ne sont plus là entre eux. Tous se rendent maintenant au restaurant de Pékin, rue Cujas, ou chez Pascal, rue des Écoles. Après dîner j’ai été faire un tour sur le boulevard St. Michel et j’ai rencontré une annamite, CHI BA sans travail en ce moment. j’ai essayé à différentes reprises à engager la conversation avec elle, pour savoir un peu ce que pensent les annamites de Paris, maintenant qu’ils sont au courant des événements de l’Indochine. Elle m’a raconté que durant deux jours où elle était sans travail elle a été passée les soirées chez LE LUAT et y a dîné également.
Document 40: Political Analysis from M. Martel, Minister to China, writing to M. A. Briand, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France (1927–1928) [Excerpts] [SLOTFOM III, 69]

Summary: Two excerpts from reports submitted by the minister to China during the pivotal events of 1927 and 1928. Martel made the observation that it was “Sovietism,” not an “integral communism,” that was being exported to China. According to Martel, although in administrative principles there was not much difference between Chiang K’ai-shek and the militarists, the former used the Soviet strategy of propaganda to acquire power. Martel quoted a GMD general that it was not arms but propaganda that made them successful. Finally, after reflecting on the process of power and change of government, Martel concluded that the current leadership had the elements of a stable government. In the second excerpt, Martel discussed a speech about the inapplicability of communism to China by Wang Jingwei, whom he judged to be the most eminent among Sun Yat-sen’s disciples.

1. [18 May 1927] Au moment où s'affirme le succès remporté sur le groupe extrémiste par la faction du parti Kuomintang dirigée par le Général Chang Kai-shek, il convient d'examiner quelle est la portée politique, quelles pourront être les conséquences de cette évolution. Tout d'abord, bien que j'emploie moi-même le terme de communiste universellement adopté par les chinois et les étrangers pour designer l'aile gauche du parti Kuomintang, il est indispensable, pour dissiper une équivoque, de préciser que le véritable communisme n'a pas été introduit en Chine. La doctrine des dirigeants russes de la révolution chinoise, sans en excepter Borodine, n'est pas pour l'instant tout au moins de marxisme, ou le communisme intégral: quoique peu respectueux en fait de la propreté privée, ils n'en on pas jusqu'à présent attaque le principe. C'est le sovietisme, et non le communisme, que les agents de Moscou ont développé en Chine. La transformation sociale et économique qu'ils ont opérée partout où ils l'ont pu, consiste dans la création de soviets corporatifs qualifiés d'unions, étroitement associés entre eux et places sous les ordres des grands chefs.

Au point de vue constitutionnel et administratif, les Kuomintang, en dépit des théories purement académiques développées par ceux d'entre eux imbus de culture occidentale, ne se sont nullement montrés différents des autre gouvernements militaires chinois. C'est uniquement par l'organisation
sovietique qu'ils en different, c'est par elle aussi qu'ils exercent une emprise plus grande sur les portions de territoire qu'ils conquièrent.

Dans un document que V.E. a bien voulu me communiquer, un Général Kuomintang parlant à un révolutionnaire annamite, lui affirmait: “Ce n'est pas avec des armes, mais avec la propagande que nous autres contenais nous avons réussi!” C'est une explication parfaitement exacte de la stratégie Kuomintang; la conquête de Shanghai et de Nankin, sans aucune bataille véritable, en est l'exemple le plus récent.

En somme, ce n'est même pas la substitution d'un parti à l'autre. Doctrine et politique demeurent identiques. Le pouvoir, avec ses avantages, a simplement été confirmé entre les mains des généraux, au détriment des agitateurs civils. Les changements opérés dans le personnel dirigeant ont permis de rejeter sur le groupe exclu du parti, la responsabilité de violences maladroites au moment où la force des Puissances étrangères, rendue plus sensible par la présence de troupes et de nombreux navires de guerre, constituait une menace inquiétante. Les événements nous apprendront si, le groupe de nankin contient, mieux que celui auquel il se substitue, les éléments d'un gouvernement stable.

2. [January 1928] Dans un grand discours qu'il a tenu à Wuhan, Wang Tsing-Wei, qui est certainement l'un des plus éminents parmi les disciples de Sun Yat Sen s'est efforcé de marquer que les trois principes du maître ne contiennent en eux aucun terme de bolchevisme et que c'est en dénaturer le sens que de les interpréter comme étant inspirés par les théories communistes.

Il est évident selon Wang Tsing-Wei que la Chine n'est pas réceptive des idées communistes. Dans ce pays, à l'opposé de ce qui existe en Russie, il n'y a pour ainsi dire aucune différence de classe entre les éléments constitutifs de la nation, et l'on ne voit pas en dehors des 'impérialistes' contre qui pourrait être dirigée une lutte sociale. [Martel goes on to describe Shanghai and Canton as less receptive to the anti-Communist message because the Communists are stronger in these two cities.]
Bolshevism forms a convenient rallying cry for uniting all the various forces of unrest and discontent, but I do not gather that its doctrines have made much appeal as yet in the Far East on their own merits.

It is rash to dogmatise about anything to do with China, but so far as the spread of Bolshevism (the genuine Russian variety) to that country is concerned, I have always been sceptical. Disorder emits there in plenty, and always will so long as the present misgovernment and bleeding of the provinces under rascally Military Governors continues. But apart from these forces of disorder, the whole social system is opposed to Bolshevism. The unit is the family and the backbone of the country is the thrifty peasant proprietor. So long as he has enough to eat and is left in peace, politics are the last thing he wishes to dabble in. By nature he is contented and industrious. He is opposed to all social upheavals which, regardless of their particular merits or demerits, mean trouble for him and the possible destruction of his home and crops. So that by instinct the Chinaman is opposed to any change of social system. Furthermore, the tenets of Confucianism, which count for a great deal still, do not conduce to Bolshevism. A "superior man", in the Confucian sense, is the antithesis of a Bolshevik.

But where there is a field for Bolshevism is in the big towns and in the zone of the Chinese Eastern Railway in North Manchuria. In the former the riff-raff, and in the latter the railway workmen, are good material for the Bolshevik to work upon.

I have talked to many educated Chinese as to the likelihood of Bolshevism gaining a foothold in China, and opinion is divided among them. The majority do not believe there is any serious danger. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the Government are and have long been extremely nervous.

The enclosed paper by Mr. Denham (of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Government of India) is an extremely able review of the facts discovered by him during his residence at Shanghai. And it is no reflection upon him if I venture the criticism that he takes such men as Sun Yat
Sen a little too seriously. What he says is certainly the most gloomy forecast we have yet received of the possibility of Bolshevism in the Far East.

Only recently we instructed the Legation at Peking to furnish us with regular secret Quarterly Returns on various subjects. Bolshevism was one of these, and the idea is that each Consulate shall furnish an Intelligence Report on the matter. This should enable us to keep our finger on the pulse of China and be of value.

Of course there is no disguising the fact that whatever way the wind is setting in China it is quite useless for us to try and check it. We cannot cope with Bolshevism in our land, much less in China! And there are not wanting those who will welcome any opportunity of fomenting internal trouble in China for their own ends.

In acknowledging Mr. Clive’s despatch we might enquire how far he endorses Mr. Denham’s views of the situation. (I think myself that, like every special investigator, he exaggerates somewhat.)

W. H. Lampson
1 December 1920

2. Excerpt from report signed A. D. Blackburn, Secretary on Extremist Chinese Societies, “Summary of Intelligence of the Shanghai Intelligence Bureau (July 1920)”

Chinese Extremist Societies: (Summary, June 1920, Para. 1.a.). A copy of the third number of the Chinese Esperanto anarchist monthly, the EVOLUCIO has come into the possession of the Bureau, having been found at Singapore in the possession of one Hung Chi Ying during a raid on his premises. This number, published in Shanghai in March 1919, purports to be a memorial number in honour of Sifo (Shih Fu) who was, according to the description given of him, an extreme anarchist; he was himself wounded in an attempt to assassinate General Li Chun in Canton in 1907 and advocated the use of the assassin’s bomb and dagger for the purpose of promoting socialist communism.

A short account is given in Esperanto of the history of the organised anarchist movement in China, and as it is of considerable interest in that it explains some points previously obscure, the following summary is given.

“Before the birth of the Chinese Republic not many Chinese knew about socialism and anarchism. In 1907 Li Shih-Tseng and Wu Chi-Hun[Hui]
founded in Paris a weekly anarchistic review in Chinese, entitled HSIN SHIH CHI (The New Age). Though the then Chinese Government forbade its entry into China, it is claimed that it sowed the seed of anarchism in China. It existed for three years.

In May 1912 SHIH FU founded a group of Fuj-Min in Canton to spread anarchism in the country. This group had great influence and published much anarchist propaganda. . . . Shih Fu died in March 1915. [More history of the anarchist movement, linkages to overseas groups follows, with coverage including Voco de la Popolo (The People's Voice), La Homaro (Man), Paco (Peace), La Evolucion (Evolution), Min Sheng She (People's Voice Society). The various publications and people in Switzerland, the Netherlands, East Indies (Indonesia), Philippines, and Singapore are explored.]

There are two interesting points which need further elucidation, namely

1). whether and if so to what extent these anarchist groups exploited the anti-Japanese boycott movement in 1919 for their own ends, and

2). whether and if so to what extent they have any direct connection with or receive inspiration from Russian Bolshevism.

On both these questions there is great divergence of views; in China it has hitherto been felt that the evidence at our disposal does not justify us in giving an affirmative answer to either of them, while in Singapore and the Netherlands East Indies a decided affirmative is given to the first and probably to the second also. [Discussion of a circular from the Jiuguohui (Save the Country Society) as proving both points of view. The second point is not supported according to this report.]

Chinese anarchism is in theory today much what it was ten years ago; but the fall of the monarchy in China gave it a tremendous impetus, and now the success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia has afforded to Chinese anarchists, as to every other body of the dissatisfied throughout the world, ample material for preaching revolt against constituted authority and existing forms of government. To this extent, and in our opinion only to this extent, does Chinese anarchism receive inspiration or assistance from Russian Bolshevism.

In China as in any other country with reasonably free institutions, a body of anarchists may talk and write and intrigue for years without seriously affecting the welfare of the State, and were conditions in China normal we would be tempted to say that little danger was to be apprehended from the recent growth of anarchism. But times are not normal, and the continuing
state of unrest affords anarchism the most fertile possible field. It is nevertheless still restricted in China to an extremely small proportion of the population, almost exclusively in the ports, (the peasantry, who form the large bulk of the population, being entirely untouched) and it is much less likely to have any permanent effect on the form of government of the country than to lead to syndicalism and other kinds of labour unrest, annoying chiefly to foreigners carrying on business in the treaty ports.

A. D. Blackburn, Secretary

[An attached appendix has an English-Chinese glossary]

3. SIS Report No. CX/11361 dated 24 February 1925 [Extract]

1). A general reorganisation of Kuo Min Tang took place at the commencement of 1924. The Constitution of the Party was altered at the Canton Conference. The manifesto of this new Constitution was personally drafted by Borodin, the Soviet envoy in Canton. Sun Yat Sen concurred with and promulgated this Constitution.

2). From its issue can be dated the organised birth of a Communist Kuo Min Tang party for China, based on a Constitution which follows that of the Russian Communist Party.

3). The original ideals of Kuo Min Tang, under which Sun Yat-sen launched his National Party against Yuan Shi Kai, are possibly not dead. But, with China in its present chaotic state, it can safely be assumed that what may be called the "Moderate" Kuo Min Tang programme will not, for some considerable period, hold any prominence on the political stage. In fact, although Kuo Min Tang originally boasted that it would merely use the Soviets as means of gaining power, and would then discard them, the reverse has proved the case.

4). Clearly the Communist wing of the Kuo Min Tang, whose real birth coincided with the forcible entry into the Kuo Min Tang of Chen Tu Hsiu, the Soviet paid agitator, has now gained the ascendancy in the movement, and has become a very definite danger to the European powers who have large interests in the Far East. And it is evident that the year 1924 has seen a very grave extension throughout China of the principles of destructive anarchy as exemplified by the doctrines of the 3rd International.

5). The first step to be taken by the Communist directors was to effect a consolidation with extreme Kuo Min Tang, and by January 1925, this consolidation had become res facta.
6). The following are, briefly, the main results up to date:

a). In Peking: The National University (wherein Anarchism was first preached by Ts'ai Yuan P'ei and Chen Tu Hsiu) has become the correspondence centre for world-wide Communist propaganda, no less than for the education of local communists.

Internally, from the Peking National University has spread an organised Communist Movement throughout China, touching in especial the student class and the sinister sub-organisation of Communist Kuo Min Tang called "Socialist Youth".

Externally, repeated proofs of Communist interchange of propaganda have come to light. Chinese students in America, Canada, France, Germany, Malaya, and the Dutch East Indies correspond with Peking University.

A further exterior result is to be found in the increasing number of Moscow and/or Peking trained Communists sent to the South Seas to foster Communism among school teachers, students and labour in general. A systematic attempt is being continued thoroughly to corrupt the minds of Chinese school-teachers throughout the South Seas. Details omitted, it may be categorically stated that the resultant danger to European rule is of the gravest nature. Communist "cells" have been formed to encourage sabotage strikes, and active anti-Government action.

b). In Shanghai: The Shanghai University, of but a few years standing, has become the Headquarters of local Communism. This University and the Communist Party in Shanghai are by now so closely identified that they can be considered as one unit. While Chen Tu Hsiu is now President, and Tan Ping San is now Secretary of the Communist Party's Executive Committee in China, the Shanghai branch is under Chu Ch'iu Pai, a Kuo Min Tang Communist teacher in Shanghai University.

The University and the Communist branch centre on the following programme:

Propaganda amongst Students and Labour
Dissemination of anti-British and anti-American feeling, as being "Capitalist" nations
Advancement of the Socialist Youth
Co-operation with and exploitation of Kuo Min Tang
Collection of Commercial Statistics with the allied objects of Communist Kuo Min Tang: i.e.

Organising "groups" of Kuo Min Tang members:
Organising Labour Unions, Chambers of Commerce, Municipal Councils, and Schools, to extend Kuo Min Tang's power to such organisations and direct their activities.

In Shanghai also is mainly centered the feverish activity of the past six months evidenced by certain Communist Societies. The Controlling elements are in nearly all cases Kuo Min Tang, Communists.

The Shanghai University issues anti-foreign literature in the form of *The Guide Weekly*, *The Vanguard*, *The Chinese Young Man* among a discovered list of no less than 14 Chinese, 25 English, 16 Russian publications, and 1 German Manifesto. These are both issued and sold; their number proves their popularity; parcels intercepted in the post show that South Eastern Asia is being flooded with this pernicious literature, directed almost in toto against the White Powers.

c). General Activities: Concurrent with the above, the “Anti-Imperialist League,” which has its headquarters in Peking, its most active sphere in Shanghai, and branches at Hankow, Changsha, Nanking and Canton, the “Citizen’s Diplomatic Society for Chapei,” and the “Abolition of Unfair Treaties League” are propagandizing feverishly under combined Kuo Min Tang and Communist leaders on the following lines:

- China must be completely freed from Foreign Powers.
- Capital and Militarism must be overthrown.
- The aggressive policy of Europe must be frustrated.
- “All oppressed races” Chinese, Koreans, Turks, Indians, must combine to overthrow Modern Imperialism.
- British, American, French, Japanese influence must be undermined.
- A worldwide Union of Workers must be established.
- All Labour Unions throughout China must join.

In fine, these Leagues are labor leagues, anti-capitalist, Communist in character, intimately connected with Kuo Min Tang, definitely anti-British, and openly eulogistic of the Boxer outbreak. They work to attract the students and Labour Unions.
Document 42: “Note sur la Propagande Révolutionnaire” (December 1929) [SLOTFOM III, 144]

Summary: Report on the general dissatisfaction with Chiang K’ai-shek among the Paris Chinese community and support for Wang Jingwei (who was at that time in Austria, although he had living quarters in St. Cloud). Among others mentioned were Zeng Zhongming, Song Qingling, and the widow of Liao Zhongkai. The report also mentioned a commemoration ceremony for the birth of Sun Yat-sen, and groups that attended this ceremony.

La colonie chinoise de Paris n’a donné lieu à aucune remarque particulière. On constate cependant dans l’ensemble des divers groupements une hostilité de plus en plus marquée à l’égard de CHANG KAI CHEK. Cette hostilité ne serait d’ailleurs que la répercussion de la situation générale en Chine où le dictateur devient de plus en plus discuté. Les milieux chinois de Paris assurent que CHANG KAI CHEK sera incessamment renversé par l’opposition qui grandit au sein du parti Kouo Ming Tang. Les espoirs de l’opposition vont au leader de gauche WANG CHING WEI, résident habituellement à St. Cloud, actuellement en Autriche. En vue de préparer, éventuellement son retour en Chine, WANG CHING WEI compte envoyer à Nankin, à la fin de l’année, son secrétaire M. TSEN TSON MING, domicilié à Paris, 65 avenue de Saxe. L’attitude observée actuellement par le dictateur CHANG KAI CHEK a incité Mme VV° SUN YAT SEN à quitter la Chine. Cette dernière est arrivée à Paris dans les . . . elle demeure dans un hôtel de l’avenue d’Iena en compagnie de Mme WOU,1 veuve d’un membre du comité central, oppositionnel, assassiné à Canton en 1925.

Le 12 novembre, les diverses fractions du Kouo Ming Tang à Paris ont tenu des réunions privées pour commémorer l’anniversaire de la naissance du Docteur SUN YAT SEN. Les fractions installées 14 rue de la Sorbonne et 3 rue Thouin ont fait une réunion commune à la salle des fêtes de la Mairie du VIème arrondissement. La légation et le consulat de Chine y étaient représentés: on remarquait entre autres, la présence de M. WANG, juge au Tribunal de la Hague, venu spécialement à Paris à cette occasion. Les orateurs qui prirent la parole à cette séance firent l’éloge de l’action politique accomplie par SUN YAT SEN.
Notes

1. This is a reference to He Xiangning, the widow of Liao Zhongkai. Interestingly, her son, Liao Chengzhi, was managing some ECCO propaganda in Hamburg and Rotterdam the following year.


Summary: This report was from handwritten memoranda of surveillance operations in December 1931. These are some observations on a Chinese, “Ah San,” a member of the CCP, who visited Marseilles and discussed organizational matters with the Communists there. Linkages with the Japanese and Indochinese Communists and the importance of the Chinese mariners as a line of revolutionary activity were also discussed. According to the report, Ah San commented that war with Japan was inevitable.

L’un des chinois mentionnés dans ma lettre no. 1627, du 19 Décembre courant, est connu sous le nom de Ah San (orthographe phonétique) (Marseille 3237).

Il a été vu, en dernier lieu, le 19 au soir au restaurant chinois de l’rue Torte Y.8, en compagnie de quatre de ses compatriotes dont Tsai Tcha (Marseille 3210). Il vanta la parfaite organisation du Parti Communiste Chinois en Chine et la sévère discipline observée par ses membres. Ce groupement, dit-il, est en relations suivies avec le Parti Communiste Japonais et le Parti Communiste Indochinois, entre eux ils échangent renseignements et instructions par l’intermédiaire de militants navigateurs. Il indiqua que quelques uns en service sur des navires faisant les lignes Chine-Japon, ou Chine-Indo-Chine auraient été arrêtés par les Autorités Japonaises et Françaises, pour avoir été trouvés porteurs de documents révolutionnaires.

Approuvé par Tsai-Tcha, Ah-San exprima l’avis que quand le Parti Communiste Chinois serait au pouvoir, le guerre avec le Japon serait inévitable.

Ah-San, d’une taille de 1m.70 à 1m.75, paraît âgé de 30 à 31 ans.
UNIT 3

IDEOLOGY AND THE EGMD

The third unit of the book includes documents 44–72 and explores the issues of ideology and the EGMD. Ideas were important to the Chinese activist community, whether they belonged to a party or not. The published letters of an admired leader such as Wu Zhihui, an explanation of the Wuhan split with the Communists by Wang Jingwei, an interview with Father Lebbe in China, all had salience within the Chinese community in France, as these people had stayed in France for varying lengths of time and were considered members of the expatriate community. In addition, ideas as expressed among the political parties and intellectual circles in France had broad influence on the thinking and activities of the Chinese who resided there. Arguments on ethics and strategies were to provide a foundation for political participation. Thus, the concept of the ideology section is to broaden the focus to several groups, including key GMD leaders of the older and younger generations, religious interests and intellectuals.

We include a unit on ideology because political behavior does not just simply mirror official memoranda. We need to explore the development of ideas, the varying shades of meaning and persuasion in the different types of writings that played a role in developing party politics. Thus, the writings of varying EGMD factions, and other interested groups with different bases of affiliation, (religious, academic, or alternate political parties) ought to be examined.
7. Ideology and Special Issues

This section has three parts. First there is a public letter written by Wu Zhihui to Hua Lin on the consistency between Anarchist identity and supporting the GMD. Second there is a speech delivered in December 1927 by Wang Jingwei on the break with the Communists. His comments on the United Front, Sun Yat-sen’s strategy, and the events in Wuhan are compelling. These two documents are important because Wu and Wang were key models for activist Chinese at this time, and both of these documents were in fact found among the donated materials in Lyons. The third area focuses on religion and politics, with some letters written by Father Lebbe, and a later interview in Nanjing with Father Lebbe and Ma Xiangbo, shortly before their deaths. The interview in particular highlights theology and the war against Japanese aggression as a unifying force.


Dear Mr Hua Lin:

Since you mentioned me in your letter to Mr. [Zhang] Boquan in the Shishi xinbao, I felt that I have no choice but to respond clearly in a few sentences myself. First let me attach your letter in the following:

Dear brother Boquan:

You and I have been acquaintances for many years and our mutual feelings are not poor, although in the future on the topic of ideology, there may be times when we
are enemies. Personally, I have absolutely no bad feelings for you. Therefore, I deeply expect you to work assiduously for the progress of your party, in order to develop the principles of your party. Only Hu Hanmin, in the *Minguo ribao* special issue said that Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui are members of the Anarchist party, who even today still recognize us as comrades, and that anarchism is even further from us than the Communist party, but a few gentlemen who have a relationship with anarchism have no reason to fear, etc. etc. However, in my opinion, these remarks are ridiculous. Where do they place the moral character of Li and Wu? One should know that when the two gentlemen, Li and Wu developed relations with your honorable party, they immediately disengaged themselves from the Anarchist party. Everyone has freedom of belief, and should not be imposed upon. But if one must make remarks to have two incompatible ideologies mix together forcefully, is it not tantamount to declaring that the moral characters of Li and Wu are bankrupt? I hope that you transmit this to Mr. Hu. Whether it is a matter of ideology or personal friendship, one ought to be careful in their pronouncements. Sincerely, and with salutes to freedom

Your humble brother, Hua Lin. May 13 [1924].

After reading this letter, I want to first answer in one sentence: this time it is you who have misunderstood. Mr. Hanmin's words were entirely correct. I believe his words were extremely prudent. Also, Mr. Boquan's future ideology will never be antithetical with yours. Mr. [Li] Shizeng can answer for himself, but I daresay his reply would not be much different than mine. Wu Zhihui is one who takes the party very seriously. From the beginning of the Republic until today, during the last thirteen years, I have openly published more than ten times, proclaiming, "Even if I, Wu Zhihui should be burned to ashes, I would still be a GMD member. At the same time, I am also a believer in anarchism." If when I developed a relationship with anarchism, I discontinued my relationship with the GMD, then I would indeed be morally bankrupt. This is simple, and sir, please do not misunderstand.

We often see each other, and yet have no opportunity to discuss party affairs. So when I see a difference in our opinions, it becomes imperative that I take this opportunity to discuss a bit. What is the Guomindang? From the beginning to the end, I recognize that it is both a revolutionary party and a radical party. No matter in which country or in what society, in the end there are three naturally established factions. One is the conservative party which is counterrevolutionary. The second is the moderate party which seeks mediation. The third is the radical party that loves revolution. These three parties, though speaking ill of one another, but as the common saying goes, "If
it is garbage, it always piles together,” they naturally converge without previous agreements. Even if people love to organize a party, yet after all, they are all the same. [A person’s] opinion of a party is influenced by the character and environment, and there is no difference between good and bad, beautiful and ugly. For example in the conservative party, there are plenty of both saints and rascals, whose personalities are incompatible, and yet whose ideologies mix together well like water and milk. Another example is that in the moderate party there are both martyrs and crooked scholars, who seem to be dissimilar in their actions, but both like to preserve the facade of the scholar-gentry. And as for the radical party, naturally there are those “fearless” ones to the extent that ruffians and bullies are all rolling together in one pile. Gentlemen! Are there Anarchists and the Communists in the conservative party? Even if there were they would be only spies in disguise. In the moderate party, there are many who study theories of socialism, but are they labelling themselves as Anarchists or Communists? Even if they did, they would be like hypocrisy snakes. For instance, the Daily Times Newspaper [Shishi xinbao] frequently and selectively printed words of Wu Zhihui, Hua Lin and Bao Pu, which were supposed to be communication between individuals. Therefore, “All garbage piles together,” the Anarchist Party, Communist Party, Revolutionary Party, are all in the end mixed together. Who has the interest to make the distinction? In the vision of the conservative party, we all deserve to die. In the eyes of the moderate party, we are all troublemakers. Do you really believe that reporters for the Daily Times Newspaper could tell the differences among the real ideologies of the five people that you listed in your letter: Hua Lin, Zhang Ji, Hu Hanmin, Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui? Not at all. Therefore, in history, all Anarchist parties have evolved from revolutionary political parties, and there has been no single Anarchist party that was not willing to help the revolutionary party. Mr. Hua Lin, do you not in fact belong to the “old” GMD (Tongmenghui and others are alternate names for the Guomindang)? However, we ourselves have added the name of Anarchist Party, and we then have restricted ourselves. We only help with their revolution, not their efforts to become rich officials. Isn’t the current Guomindang a party of promoting officialdom and wealth? Indeed, it is. It is nothing else than a captive revolutionary party. If, when encountering injustice on the road, we do not raise our sword for justice, then how can we call ourselves an Anarchist party? The Communists are also doing
their best to enter [the GMD], which is also the case of raising their swords when seeing injustice on the road.

So Mr. Hanmin warned the pure Guomindang not to discriminate. He has really had a clear understanding of revolution, and was making something out of it.

Speaking to this point, you must be laughing at two points. One is that even beaten to death, you would never believe that those who join whatever party do not have ambitions to become rich officials. Not only do you not believe this, if cornered, I would also say I don't believe it either. Another point is if one wants a revolution, then why not do it directly instead of having an Anarchist revolution? This is an often asked question. I will discuss both questions. For the sake of convenience, I will first answer one question.

Anarchism is based on beliefs and moral principles. Although it is not afraid of destruction, yet it is formed with numerous kinds of destruction and education. It is not like the Leninist style which adopts arbitrary dictatorship and simply raises a banner. If you say that forcefully raising a banner is also necessary in the evolutionary process, then it leads to my question. Thus, the Communist party is unavoidably opposed to the Anarchist party, while the Anarchist party can forgive the behavior of the Communist party. This is more progressive. The fact that we use labels in the process is to reduce the scope, due to the influence of the environment. In addition, the Communist party has no choice but to approve of this. Even the GMD also put up a small label, just like we did; putting up a small label. Therefore, Mr. Kropotkin's ardent entry into the Russian revolutionary party against the Tsar is no different than what the Guomindang did. [The key thing is to encourage revolution, because ultimately it will lead to organizational change and no government, as a matter of anarchist evolution. Wu ridicules the approach of Dr. Hu Shi, who hides in the past, though he talks about “attacking the foreign devils with machine guns.” Wu criticizes the internal fighting among the conservative, moderate, and radical parties, and the empty talk; the “poetic” approach is to no avail; and the drastic change from the “well field” system to communism is equally ineffective. To seek “ren” [human compassion] with compassion is hopeless. A group of youth cannot tolerate China’s going back to the situation before the Hundred Days Reform, nor would they allow China to repeat the history of India or Korea. A combination of circumstances forced the GMD to reorganize, and this will give China a new life. Wu maintains that as anarchists, they should not disconnect themselves from the GMD during this critical moment in history. He pleads with Hua Lin for his cooperation.
Wu then addresses the second issue, the aspiration for wealth and power. He sarcastically questions, "How can a piece of white cloth remain white after being taken out of a big cauldron of black dye?" At a time of prevailing corruption it would actually be suspicious if one did not act according to self-interest, whatever party he enters. Perhaps only the GMD reorganization would provide a ray of hope. After all, to reorganize would be better than to retain the status quo.

As for the issue of imperialism, Wu believes that it makes sense that Bertrand Russell was on the one hand advocating peace, while on the other hand promoting the manufacture of machine guns in the Soviet Union. Wu laughs at the universalism advocated by R. Tagore, who thinks that arrangements should be made for one person to go to China, promoting the making of machine guns, while another goes to Japan, encouraging the making of poetry. Wu asks mockingly, "If the Japanese are all writing poetry, then how is it still necessary for the Chinese to learn how to make machine guns?"

Wu believes that real friends do not have to belong to the same party, but those who sink deeply into their selfish indulgences could better serve the party by withdrawing so as not to blacken the party's reputation.

Notes

1. This letter is cited in Ming K. Chan and Arif Dirlik, Schools into Fields and Factories, chap. 3, n. 3.

2. Hua Lin, a prominent anarchist, was an official of the SFEA and later a student at the SFI. There were two Hua Lins, so it can be confusing. We found a copy of this GMD compendium at the Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyons, in the SFI collection, as well as an interesting work by Hua Lin, which indicates that this Hua Lin was an anarchist.

3. Zhang Boquan, otherwise known as Zhang Ji, was an important anarchist in Paris and was also known for his role in Guomindang politics.

4. This appeal for unity is rather interesting, and it appears to have been effective. A history of the GMD published four years later by Hua Lin was very complimentary about Wu's Western Hills faction: Zhongguo guomindangshi [History of the Chinese Nationalist Party] (Shanghai: Shangwu, 1928).
Document 45: "The Experiences of the Wuhan Break with the Communists"—Wang Jingwei's Speech at Sun Yat-sen University (1927)

Mr. Chairman and Comrades:

Today I came to this meeting and heard the speeches of the chair and comrade Zeng. The parts that concerned me made me too embarrassed to accept. Now that I have this opportunity to come and make a report to my comrades, whom I had not seen for over a year, I will therefore abandon all polite talk.

Today's report ought to address every detailed aspect, but because of time constraints, I can really only cover one topic, which is "The Experiences of the Wuhan Break with the Communists." It is a real necessity to report on the situation during recent months of tolerating the Communists and splitting with them. Even though I have been in Guangzhou for several days and delivered numerous speeches, I have not been able to report the detailed facts on this experience. The facts of this experience are numerous, and everyone must desire to know them. From April onwards, the work of the Wuhan comrades has not been totally understood by those comrades in the rear areas in Guangdong. Thus, I have decided to speak about this theme of "the experiences of the Wuhan break with the Communists."

[Wang after some more disclaimers begins with the policy of allowing the Communists to enter the GMD. According to Wang there is a distinction between ideology and policy. An ideology is immutable, policies can be flexible. Because of the need to overcome the warlords, the policy of admitting Communists was a good tactic and was successful. But there would come a time when the roads followed by each party would mean a parting of the ways, and this was obvious from the start. In this section Wang traced the historical development of the United Front, the meeting with the Russians, and the final decision to allow the Communists in the GMD.]

Soviet Russia announced that it did not want to propagandize communism in China, but wanted to help the GMD complete the national revolution. From this time onwards the CCP also used this pretext for entering the GMD. At this time in Shanghai I saw Mr. Zhang Boquan. He was very above board, saying that he was partially responsible for [the policy of] tolerating the Communists because it was he who introduced the first CCP member, Li Dazhao, to join the GMD. At that time, after seeing the Premier, Li Dazhao said that he was entering the GMD and willing to work for the Three People's Principles and for the National Revolution, but he would not withdraw his
membership from the Communist International. The Premier said it was alright. This was therefore the starting point of the policy of allowing the Communists [to enter the party].

[A brief discussion of the initial factionalism on the decision to allow Communists into the party and a longer section analyzing the divisions within the Soviet Communist Party between right wing, Trotskyites, and Stalinists. He iterates that the Soviet decision was also based on policy, not ideology.] All in all, our allowing the entry of the Communists is a policy; their entry into the GMD is also a tactic. This is a clear fact. But when to part company with each other? This is really a big question. How to answer it? Then we ought to answer it based on the historical environment. If the environment of the times changes, then the policy must change. This is an absolute principle. [Wang uses the analogy of a ship. If there are two ships with different destinations, then there is no conflict. But if there is only one ship but two destinations then a conflict must ensue.]

It is true that the GMD and CCP both wanted the national revolution. But there is only one China, and there is only one national revolution. [Now that the revolution has reached the point of decision between the Three People's Principles and communism, the split was inevitable. Wang intimates that the decision to split was affected by the instability of the Chinese situation and especially highlights warlord problems, and the assassination of Liao Zhongkai.]

In the winter of 1925 Guangdong was unified. During the spring of 1926 at the second National Congress, the policy of admitting the Communists was determined. At that time Guangdong had already been unified. Then the so-called saying “after a tide subsides, there must be a windstorm” was materialized. The Western Hills faction thereupon decided on the policy to unify with Chiang and overthrow Wang. At the time we were both struggling together. They wanted to separate us and thus decided on a strategy of uniting with one and attacking the other. This type of strategy succeeded on 20 March! I knew that in the future Comrade Chiang would clearly understand, so I voluntarily resigned and left Guangzhou. After my departure, for a long while I did not communicate with comrades inside the country. Because I knew that in the end Comrade Chiang would understand, I kept silent and did not utter a word in order to avoid [any instigation] to keep us apart. If everyone says that I should not have resigned and left the country, which resulted in deepening fracture of the party, then I am willing to shoulder this blame! After I left Guangzhou, I went to study in France. The feelings of the students were the same. Around July or August, I read in the French
newspapers of the victory of the Chinese revolutionary army, and I thought
that I could study at ease, though there were times when I read of the death of
comrades in battle in the newspapers, and felt greatly saddened. In September
and October, I became seriously ill and could not think. After December I
gradually recovered. I received telegrams from the Central Committee and
Comrade Chiang Kai-shek, in a row, urging me to return. This year in
February, Comrade Chiang again sent a telegram, saying that if I did not
return he would also leave! At that time my heart was very sad, and I could
not continue my study. My spirits and book reading could no longer exist
together. Afterwards, I received another telegram saying that the Party would
split apart. Therefore, I could not help but return.

I returned to Shanghai on 1 April. At that time I met with several persons
including, Chiang Kai-shek, Wu Zhihui, Cai Jiemin [Yuanpei], and Li
Shizeng, comrades who had been [working] together for more than twenty
years. After the meeting, Comrade Chiang and the others raised two proposals,
asking for my approval. One was the expulsion of Borodin and the other was
splitting with the Communists. For a total of five days, from the first of April
until the fifth, we were discussing these two things. Comrade Chiang was very
firm on these two issues and considered that they must be implemented
immediately. But I considered that a policy change of such magnitude could
not be lightly taken. If one wanted to change then we ought to convene a
meeting of the Central Committee to decide. Comrade Chiang and others
replied that the Central Committee had already convened the third meeting
with full participation, and was controlled by the Communists. I said that if
this was the case then we could propose to convene a fourth meeting to have
a new resolution replace the old one. Moreover, Nanjing was already
conquered, and the Party Central Committee and People's Government could
be moved from Wuhan to Nanjing. Thus, the Fourth Meeting could be held
in Nanjing. Whatever resolutions the meeting would reach, I would have no
option but to follow. [However] if the decisions were not promulgated at a
meeting, I feared that the break with the Communists would not be successful;
on the contrary, the Party would sink into the conflicts of separation. This was
something which I could not approve. Thereupon I took responsibility and
went to Wuhan, and proposed to the Central Committee to take the Central
Committee and the People's Government to Nanjing. I also proposed to
convene a Fourth Meeting of the Central Committee's entire body to discuss
and decide the two issues raised by Comrade Chiang and others.
Chiang and the others strongly disapproved of my going to Wuhan, yet I believed I had to go. Therefore, I embarked on the sixth of April. Onboard the ship I wrote three letters. Two letters were sent immediately after I landed, one to Comrade Chiang Kai-shek and the other to Comrade Zhang Jingjiang. The basic meaning of the letters was it would be best to hold a meeting of the entire Central Committee around the 15th of April in order to solve everything. Afterwards I wrote a letter to Comrade Li Shizeng, explaining that the spirit of the 1924 Reorganization could not be sacrificed, Party discipline had to be observed, and the party organization could not be destroyed. This letter was not published in Nanjing. I only saw Comrade Li Shizeng's response to me, published in his journal *Geming* [Revolution] at the end of which he explained that my original letter could not be published without my permission. He could only list a few points, saying that, "The proposals of Mr. Wang Jingwei and Mr. Wu Zhihui are different. Wang emphasizes party organization and discipline, while Wu emphasizes the method and process of revolution. I approve of the proposals of Wu." There is no longer any need for the original letter to be published. But from this original letter, one can see that at that time my proposals actually had many disagreements [with the others], and the bases of dissension. On 10 April I went to Wuhan and heard that the Party Central Committee and People's Government had already decided to move to Nanjing. I was very gratified, thinking that the tragedy of a split could almost be avoided. Unexpectedly, however, after the 12th, I received the news that the GMD had split with the Communists in Nanjing and Shanghai. I also got the news that the Party Central Committee and People's Government had already been established in Nanjing. I daily sent telegrams to oppose and halt this action. By the fifteenth the news was confirmed and on the seventeenth the Wuhan Party Central Committee decided to relieve Comrade Chiang of his responsibilities.

From the above events, in my opinion at that time, I would consider that Comrade Chiang was not right. But when I look at things today, not only would I think that Comrade Chiang was not in the wrong, it was I who was incorrect. Because at that time Comrade Chiang and the others saw that I was unwilling to listen to their admonishments, and was determined to go to Wuhan, not only were they disappointed in the Wuhan comrades, but also disappointed in me. Therefore, they did not wait for the results of my going to Wuhan but immediately took action in Nanjing. Furthermore, the result of my going to Wuhan met the prediction of Comrade Chiang and others: it
increased the power of opposition to Comrade Chiang. So in my later critique, I did not say that Comrade Chiang was incorrect, but I was not right. This is a fact, not some comments that go against my conscience. [Wang gives a brief explanation of the proclamation with Chen Duxiu. He had been alarmed at the increasingly radical statements of the CCP but was reassured by Chen personally. Wang mentions that because of Party discipline, the Northern Expedition continued even though Chiang was stripped of his authority after the governments in Nanjing and Wuhan went their separate ways. The splitting with Communists went through a threefold process: the first phase was to punish the CCP disciples and their remarks and actions against the GMD ideology; the second was a peaceful break with the CCP; and the third was the more serious methods used to purge the Communists. The precarious military situation enjoined the final split.]

On 1 June the Soviet Russian representative M. N. Roy suddenly arranged a conversation with me and said, “Moscow had a resolution given to me and Borodin, has Borodin shown it to you yet?” I said, “No.” He said, “I can show it to you.” He then gave the resolution to me. One copy was in Russian, while the other was in Chinese. The Chinese copy was translated by themselves. After I read it I believed that a serious moment had arrived. I said, “Could you give it to me?” He at the time hesitated a little, and finally replied, “Tonight I will send it to you as I want to correct some characters.” It was indeed sent to me in the evening. Now I am giving the original text of the resolution to the chair, so that each comrade can examine it. That proposal had several points that are important to note. The first point spoke to the issue of land revolution, proposing that the People's Government not issue orders, but implement from below, exercising the confiscation of land. This actually was the reason for the Hunan uprising, and was the reason for disconnecting the peasants movement from the GMD. The second point was that the land of military officials and soldiers was not to be confiscated, in order to avoid their opposition. The third point was on the reform of the Executive Committee of the Chinese GMD Central Committee by increasing the peasant-worker leaders in the Executive Committee. In actuality this meant increasing the CCP members, even though it was not clearly stated. Moreover, it was openly stated that the current GMD structure must be reformed. The fourth point wanted to arm 20,000 CCP members, and select 50,000 peasants and workers to arm. The peasants and workers were actually referring to CCP elements. The fifth point was that the GMD leadership should organize a revolutionary court to suppress those military officials who opposed the
Communists. That is to have the GMD leaders act as the assassins of the CCP, and use ourselves to kill ourselves. [Wang realized that the time for splitting with the CCP had arrived. Roy had to leave, and Wang knew that the situation was getting serious. He relates the events of the 15 July meeting and the expulsion of the CCP. Because of CCP intransigence the peaceful situation changed to one of violence. In retrospect it appeared that the most dangerous period had been May and June. A German paper printed a dialogue between Trotsky and Stalin in which Trotsky asked Stalin why he still wanted to help the Wuhan GMD, and Stalin replied it was because the Wuhan GMD was already in the hands of the CCP. Clearly the CCP misunderstood the situation. But Wang emphasizes in the last section that the break with the Communists was not the same as Zhang Zuolin's or the imperialists' anticommunism, but was for the Three People's Principles. He ends with his plea for the members to be energetic and loyal, to observe discipline and unify under the Three People's Principles. All of this must be done constructively. Finally, Wang states that his greatest hope was to solicit the opinions and critique of others.]

Document 46: Letters From Father Lebbe on Chinese Students in Need in France (1921–22) [Archives Nationales, 47 AS 7 B/23 (1a, 3a, 4a, 5a)]

**Summary:** Four letters written, presumably, to E. Bradier on the economic difficulties of supporting the Chinese students. Father Lebbe supplied Bradier with his personal address list of Chinese names and information. One of the students mentioned by name was rightist EGMD member Xi Wende.

Paris, le 11 Février 1921
Bien cher Monsieur¹

Devant m'absenter à partir de demain soir pour une quinzaine de jours et ne voulant pas vous faire attendre le petit renseignement que vous demandez, je prends la liberté de vous envoyer ce vilain brouillon, quitte à vous le recopier à mon retour si vous le jugez utile: j'avais chargé un étudiant de mes amis de recopier cette liste d'après mon livre d'adresses: les n° sont sans utilité pour vous; ce sont ceux de mon livre d'adresses. Telle qu'elle est là cette liste est encore inc omplète, et surtout plusieurs adresses ont du être changées. Ce petit peu sera toutefois un témoignage de la sincère bonne volonté avec laquelle
je serais heureux de vous donner tous les renseignements que je possède pour l'avancement de l'oeuvre commune.

Recevez bien cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mon religieux dévouement in Xᵉ.

Vincent Lebbe

Paris, le 29 Décembre 1921
Bien cher Monsieur

Ci-joint la circulaire et la liste de étudiants—je crois sans intérêt d'y ajouter les noms de ceux qui placés l'année dernière comme payants sont sortis lorsqu'ils ont manqué de ressources.

Je ne sais comment nous excuser de vous avoir fait attendre si longtemps. J'étais persuadé que je vous avais envoyé la circulaire! Et quant à la liste, un peu de paresse, un peu d'occupation aussi (je n'ai presque jamais été à Paris depuis notre dernière entrevue{1}) sont la cause du retard.

Je profite de l'occasion pour vous souhaiter, ainsi qu'à votre belle soeur, une année féconde en joies et bénédictions. Votre tout dévoué in Xᵉ.

Vincent Lebbe

Paris, le 19 Janvier 1922
Bien cher Monsieur

Voici d'abord ci-joint la liste des nouveaux placés, 274. J'ai avancé pour Dai Zhankui le montant du second semestre des cours du matin (puisqu'il lui est impossible de suivre ceux du soir) à l'Alliance Française. De même je compte les faire suivre à Xi Wende² dont l'entretien est totalement à mes frais.

Pourrais-je espérer de votre bonté que le Comité me rembourse le montant des frais du cours du soir pour ces deux jeunes gens? Je n'aurais plus ainsi qu'à supporter la différence (qui est grande comme vous le savez). Cette oeuvre des étudiants me cause déjà tant de dépenses que je vous serais profondément reconnaissant si vous croyiez pouvoir ainsi me soulaguer quelque peu.

Recevez, bien cher Monsieur, l'assurance de mon religieux dévouement in Xᵉ.

Vincent Lebbe
Paris le 7 Février 1922
Bien cher Monsieur
Je vous envoie la liste des derniers étudiants placés. En même temps je vous rappelle mon humble demande au sujet des deux étudiants à qui je fais le cours d’Alliance Française. Mon temps est tellement haché, je suis si rarement à Paris, que je n’ai pu vous en parler de vive voix. Croyez que l’aide que vous me donneriez serait accueillie avec la plus vive reconnaissance, car mes charges sont *terriblement* lourdes et reposent sur mes seules épaules: et je suis mauvais quêteur.
Agréez cher Monsieur, l’assurance de mon religieux dévouement.
Vincent Lebbe

Notes
1. We think the correspondent was Eugène Bradier, who was on loan from the the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs to be the secretary of the Comité franco-chinois de patronage.
2. Xi Wende was a prominent EGMD rightist who was expelled in a maneuver by the Communist-Leftist EGMD. Along with Zhang Xingzhou and Cao Desan, he was often a target of ECCO propaganda around 1924.


It was really an unexpected great opportunity. As the reporter was preparing to talk with the elder [Ma] Xiangbo¹ for the third time, Father Lebbe² was organizing a huge rescue team far in the border regions, independently and untiredly struggling amidst the rain of bullets, for justice and the glory of the Chinese nation. [Father Lebbe] wanted to meet for a private talk with the elder [Ma] on the second day after he arrived in the capital, after having cancelled many other appointments! Naturally this could not be let pass by lightly. Furthermore, the Bishop in Nanjing would also be present!
The weather in those few days had been unusual, as the natural result of the high pressure from the North. The cold winds had not ended, when they were followed by rain and snow, hence the uneven cold and hot atmospheres.

The time happened to be at the conclusion of the elder’s prayers. When we arrived, we could still see that on the wall of the waiting room hung a note “The Elder is Praying.” From this we can imagine that those who admire the elder’s talent, virtue and longevity, and who come here to visit, must be countless. One does not know how many who came happy, but left disappointed when it happened to be [the elder’s] praying time. The relatives of Xiangbo were extremely modest and polite. They invited us into the living room, and shortly we went up the stairs at the elder’s invitation. At the time of this talk, in addition to Father Lebbe, there was also Bishop Yesheng, and the time was almost noon.

Our footsteps were light as we entered his bedroom. At the time the lights in the room were relatively dim. The elder sat in an upright manner on a wide sofa, and with an amicable smile, he anxiously stretched out his hand and shook hands with everyone. He wanted us to be seated near him. The first thing he said was:

“Does the room have a heater? Is it too hot? You see I am still wearing a leather overcoat.”

“Not hot, not hot,” we answered while looking at him. Not only was he wearing a leather overcoat and a leather hat, but the fire from the electric stove by his side was constantly pouring out its furious heat.

Father Lebbe said, “I have not seen you in so many years, and you still look the same!”

The elder Xiangbo responded, “Not really. It is very different.”

Bishop Yesheng asked, “Are you still having nutrition injections every day now?”

Elder Xiangbo answered, “It has stopped since [I started] praying.”

“Well then, you have to be especially careful and cannot be negligent,” Father Lebbe urgently interjected. His expression of concern is something that one can only observe in the glowing light of his eyes, which are indescribable in words. The elder Xiangbo frequently nodded his head in agreement. They then mentioned the rescue work in the lower Manchurian region. Of course, Father Lebbe had relatively detailed narratives on this subject:

“It is commonly said that ‘after the frost one knows the pine.’ This is definitely not false. The war of resistance in lower Manchuria is bedrock proof
of this. As for the Battle of Hong Ge Er Tu [紅格爾圖], it goes without saying that Bishops Yi and Pang encouraged several scores of missionary friends and several thousands of bandits to bear all sacrifices and spare no effort in the resistance. This eventually brought about a big change of the situation. Where does this type of spirit come from? It is because there is a common lock on the hearts of the missionary friends, [who worked] through thick and thin for the past several decades. The previous desert has now become flourishing fields; before not the sound of a cock or dog could be heard, now the cooking smoke is circling the sky; before one had to dig a well to prevent thirst, today there is continuous irrigation for hundreds of miles. The so-called ‘Catholic kingdom’ is gained through drops after drops of sweat and blood. If one day strong enemies are at our borders, then the concept of loving the country and loving the village can be developed, and one will be able to risk one’s own life to defend justice with brave actions.

“The four hundred stretchers team has been organized by the brothers at the Zhenfu Monastery. They would not receive one penny from the public, and do this totally for free. I (Father Lebbe called himself) have requested the most frontline work from the Military Affairs Commission. Therefore, I often traverse back and forth on the first defense line and amidst frequent shellings. By the grace of God, the whistling bullets flying up and down, left and right, have not yet given me the slightest harm. But I personally saw the heroic and martyring spirit of the Chinese troops, each and every single one of whom bravely charging forward, and not stopping until the Yellow Dragon is destroyed. This is something that does not exist in any other country in the world, and it makes me so pleased that I want to cry. The hope of the Chinese renaissance, my heart-felt wish for thirty years, is beginning to show a ray of light.

“General Fu Zuoyi has ideas, and is very patriotic. He personally commands at the front line, manages thousands of tasks each day, and has extended a warm feeling to our missionaries. Generally, it is believed that in the border regions [if] there is the kind of organization and spirit like the missionaries’, then [the border] would be fortified like iron. Even if the danger and difficulties multiply a hundred times, it is still not enough to warrant our fear.

“Unfortunately, those involved in rescue work are too small in numbers. Requests are coming from everywhere, but there are not enough [people] to
distribute. I wish I could grow a thousand hands and feet to be used in each region.”

... [Ma Xiangbo remarks], “In the front line, there is Father Lebbe working in a world covered with ice and snow. We really must thank God. In this region of Nanjing, we have Bishop Xu to manage. This is also the skillful arrangement of the Lord.”

“Nanjing’s first Bishop was Father Luo Wenzao, and it has been three hundred years since then. He had the best virtue, and there were numerous people who came from everywhere for baptisms. There was someone named Shen Que who, because of his personal envy and resentment, blamed others for his misfortunes. Relying on official power, he harmed the Bishop. Therefore tragedies occurred. But at that time, the rescuers, carrying banners, lined up to petition. They numbered no less than 10,000 people, and blocked the way. From this one can perceive how big the Christian square was at that time, and how deep the misunderstanding was, due to prejudices. “The priest is 10 inches tall, while the monster is 100 inches tall” explains this.”

Father Yesheng nodded his head, saying, “Yes, right now we are publishing the Wenzao yuekan to commemorate the deceased virtue [of Father Luo], so as not to forget his teachings for later generations.”

“You can see that it was very strange; Father Luo led the first baptism at the age of 14 and, thirty-seven years later, at the age of 50, he became the bishop; Father Yu led the first baptism at the age of 12, and 25 years later, at thirty-six, he became a bishop, more than ten years earlier than Bishop Luo. Naturally, the voice of God was spread more widely and more quickly. I have limitless warm hopes for the religious community of Nanjing.”

Father Yesheng responded, “Everything has been arranged by God. But nevertheless, the voice of God is not so easy to transmit. The most important means is still prayer, and I hope that you will pray more for the Nanjing religious community.”

At this point, this reporter wants to supplement the explanation: the contribution of Catholic missionaries in China is not only in the cultural reform and material reconstruction; the greatest and most fundamental thing lies in the real spirit of prayer. We often say that the utmost faith can move heaven. Prayer not only has this [power], but can also change a bad atmosphere into peace and harmony. However, how can the secular people know this?
The answer was about a Father Luo who has been an inspiration at international meetings, and whose works they would like to copy and distribute. There was a reference to this journal, publication no. 1.

“The character of the Chinese nation seems especially close to Catholicism. Also Chinese missionary friends especially revere the bishop. Catholic teachings, like China, have existed since the ancient times, and had no need to seek from the outside. The bishops love and protect China even more, even arousing the jealousy of the Europeans.

Elder Xiangbo responded, “Currently many people ask me how I nurture myself. I reply to them, saying that self-nurturing must have restraint [zhicai]. Having no restraint, and solely relying on individual conscience, is equal to having eight legs suspended in the air. Talking about restraint, one must start with the Greater. Therefore, self-nurturing bases itself on the reverence for God.”

[After further discussion, they have lunch and listen to the woman of the house, “Qiurenwo” (Joanna), who discussed the difference between the concept of love in Jesus (Jesus) and Modi (Mozi). “Love is the same thing in word, but the methodologies are all different. Mozi’s love places benefit before love because it is a pragmatic mutual love. This kind of advocacy is no different from the philosophy of American businessmen, the fallacy that if there is profit, there is truth; and without profit and usefulness, there is no truth. Christian love, in its true meaning, does not exclude birth, aging, sickness, and death. [If people take care of the elderly only to avoid the same fate when they are elderly, then the love is fear, and is superficial. Christian love is based on natural instinct, not practicality, which is in contrast with Mozi’s theory of love.] About two hours after noon, we took our departure of the Ma residence.

Notes

1. Ma Xiangbo, otherwise known as Ma Liang (1840–1939), founded several Catholic schools including Aurora Academy, Fudan Academy, and the Furen School. A former Jesuit priest (he left the priesthood in his forties), Ma was a prominent educator, organizer, and translator. During this period he was in Nanjing as a member of the national government, and shortly after a national celebration of his hundredth birthday in 1939 he died while in Indochina (see Boorman, Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, 2:470–73).

2. Father Vincent Lebbe (1877–1940) was a Catholic missionary well known for his championing of the Chinese culture and the appointment of Chinese to high religious positions. Controversial yet obedient to his church, Father Lebbe founded the Tianjin newspaper Yänhäoa, helped more than two hundred Chinese students go to school in France, and established a stretcher bearers,
service in dangerous areas during the War against Japan. During the last year of his life he was captured and interrogated by the Communists; he fell very ill, and died shortly after his release. Ironically, many of Zhou Enlai’s earliest writings were for *Yishibao*. For more information on Father Lebbe (Lei Mingyuan) see: Jacques Leclercq, *Thunder in the Distance*, and Boorman, 2: 285–88.
This chapter includes eight documents and includes both "Leftist-Radical Trends" and "Rightist-Radical Trends." An article written in 1925 by Wang Jingqi and published in the EGMD paper, Guomin, has an essentially Leninist argument on discipline as the most important value. Another article, written by Zhang Junqi in 1927, astutely analyzes the difference between Marxism and the Principle of People's Livelihood. Some of his arguments on self-interest anticipated key issues in the ongoing debates on Chinese modernization. One document, which extracts the words of Wang Jingwei and Jacques Doriot from the same issue of Guomin, is ironic in hindsight: Both Wang and Doriot became notable collaborators with the Axis Powers during World War II. On the side of the Rightists is a very short excerpt from Sanmin and a French report on the newspaper.


[One can be a party member by following regulations one, two, three, and so forth.] Then what must one do to become a member of the GMD, a real GMD member in both name and actions? This issue is what I will discuss
today, and it is also an issue that comrades should pay special attention to. We should know that the GMD is composed of GMD members. If the GMD members do not live up to their name, then the GMD is also a party in name only. Therefore, everyone ought to pay attention to this issue.

It goes without saying that a Guomindang member must understand the Three People’s Principles, and everyone knows this. Today I want to discuss something that people do not pay much attention to or simply ignore, yet something that is regarded as very important by our party.

If one wants to become a GMD member it is imperative to follow the [Party] platform, as well as principles and ideas in the platform. But one must also combine abstract ideology and concrete reality. [Discusses the January 1924 reorganization meeting and the fact that the entire meeting approved the agenda for revolution.]

If one wants to become a GMD member one must abide by the resolutions. The National Congress is the highest organ of our party, so its resolutions must be obeyed by all. [Resolutions went out to all branches. The resolutions must be observed by all ranks, especially the lower as well as the upper ranks, similar to army troops.]

If one wants to become a GMD member one must observe discipline. The discipline of an organization is reflected in its set of regulations. These regulations stipulate its form of organization, its scope of power, system of organization, the responsibility of its members, and the relationship between the organization and its members. To state this clearly, the responsibilities of an organization are just like the laws of a nation.

Recently I often hear some comrades say that only those who joined our party as non-Communist members are real and pure GMD members. I think this is wrong because all who join our party have to go through legal procedures . . . and how can it be that anyone who joins is not a GMD member[?] Whether a member is “real” or “pure” totally depends on whether they abide by the party resolutions and observe the party discipline. [Even] those who joined [our party] as non-Communists still do not have words such as “real” or “pure” engraved on their forehead. Moreover who can guarantee that their entry was not motivated by other ideas, or later on they would never have illegal activities? Try looking at Chen Jiongming, Huang Dawei, Wu Jinglian, and the followers of Cao Kun, then how can we say that they are the “real” or “pure” GMD members? I dare to say loudly that not one person can!
This being the case, the so-called “truth” and “purity” do not lie in that [Communist affiliation] but in this.

Comrades, we must unite together and strive under the slogan of “How Can we Become Members of the GMD?” Those of us in Western Europe must especially encourage ourselves to do so for the revolution!

Guomin [22 rue d’Orleans, Neuilly] 4:1 (March 10, 1927) (Excerpts)
[SLOTFOM V, 43]

[The meeting, which took place in the Luxembourg gardens in mid-January 1927, was attended by fifty-one people representing eight hundred members, and fourteen branches; representatives debated more than fifty items. It appears as that the chair was Long Zhangxing [Johnson Long], who would be expelled several months later from the SFI as a Communist [see documents 63–64]. According to the account they met in snowfall with a temperature of 17 below zero. The election of officers at the meeting had the following results.]

Representatives returning to the country to attend the Third National Congress: Li Pingheng and Chen Qi.

The EGMD Executive Committee Members: Chen Zhen, Liu Wentao, Jiang Shengyuan, Zhang Xuan, Lin Hongguan, Chen Tie, Long Zhanxing [Johnson Long], He Tingzhen, Song Guoshu,¹ Yan Jijin, Huang Xianzhang.

Alternates: Gu Xiping, Wu Zheng, Wu Sumin, Yao Congwu, Cao Xie, Yuan Shaoli, Feng Hanying.

The EGMD Inspection Committee Members: Zhang Guoshu, Zhou Qixing, Du Tongsun, Jiang Kun, Liao Shiqin.

Alternates: Guo Qingzheng, Pan Xinghua

Notes

¹. This is an interesting roster of elected EGMD officials; included are Leftist (Guo Qingzheng), ECCO member (Long Zhangxing), and Rightists (Song Guoshu and Liao Shiqin). These elections contrast in terms of the diversity of political perspective in light of the coming dissolution of the United Front in Europe.
Currently there are some people who purposely stretch the interpretation of the Principle of People's Livelihood and mix it up with Marxism. Or they say that the difference between the two only lies in moderation vs. radicalism, slow progress vs. drastic development. This is a total distortion! The differences between Marxism and the Principle of People's Livelihood are not only in terms of their attitudes and methods, but they were born out of two types of environment. The philosophical basis upon which these two ideologies are built are also totally different.

In general, any ideology or any theory does not simply drop from heaven, but must have a reason to develop! Some are reflections of their contemporary environment, or reactions to it, while others serve as medicine for the social ills of that time. Therefore, if we want to clearly understand the content of a theory, we must carefully study its background. Consequently, if we want to thoroughly understand Marxism and the Principle of People's Livelihood then we must first have a clear conception of their backgrounds. If we discover the differences in their backgrounds, then we will know where the differences of their contents lie.

Marx was born in nineteenth-century Europe. At that time scientific discoveries were numerous, and industry was developing a thousandfold each day. Moreover, because of the advance of communication methods and the results of factory enterprises, unprecedented changes were taking place. Marxist thought was impregnated with this environment in which materialism controlled everything (culturally, socially, and intellectually), so his opinions leaned toward the material side. His beliefs and philosophy were totally built on materialism. He stated that every system—political, social, legal, and moral—is constructed on the basis of economics. If the economic condition, in other words, the means of production, changes, then the various kinds of social systems built on it will fall down, hence a great reform. His meaning is naturally very correct. We only need to open the history of Europe and take a look, [we will find that] the society and politics before the industrial revolution and after the industrial revolution, . . . the various types of situations are totally different. To use his [Marxist] theory to explain [this] is very
satisfactory, but Marxist materialism is only a part of the truth, not the entire truth. In other words, he could only explain one part or one side of things, but cannot explain their entirety, because he forgot that the original motivating power of social evolution and social revolution, in addition to the drastic changes in the methods of production, also reside in spiritual and psychological factors. For example, intellectual changes, theoretical trends, class discrimination, and racial differences all exert tremendous influences on the political, social, and economic systems. As one instance, the French Revolution and the dynastic changes in Chinese history are more or less the same in terms of their social, political and economic backgrounds. Why then was France able to change in one leap from monarchical authoritarianism to a democratic constitution, while China after the play and replay of twenty-four dynastic histories, the drama is still one of autocratic rule and arbitrary life and death? The reason can be pointed out in one sentence, that is, before the French Revolution, the theory of the People's Rights had been promoted and spread widely for a long time and had been planted deeply in people's hearts. Therefore when [the revolution] erupted, they could build a republic based upon the respect for people's rights. As for the Chinese dynastic changes, although the social, political, and economic reasons are not so different from those in France, the thought of the people did not change. The ritualistic education of Confucian teachings was still able to lock people's hearts, therefore, the dynasties changed back and forth, but could not escape the poison of monarchical dictatorship, until the Republican period. From this we can conclude that spiritual and psychological reasons have a very big influence on things such as society and politics.

Mr. Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), living in the twentieth-century economically backward “semi-colonial” China, knew that materialist theory alone could not explain everything, and especially created the philosophy of People's Livelihood to explain the reason for social revolution. He said, “When social revolution happens it arises from the instability of people's livelihood.” The two words “people’s livelihood” have a wide range of meaning. They not only include the means of production but also other material conditions, as well as psychological and spiritual conditions. To use his theory to explain the revolutions in history cannot be more complete and satisfactory.

We also bring out the following two new cases to test the efficacy of these two ideologies, Marxism and the Principle of People’s Livelihood. Whichever
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one can most completely and satisfactorily explain these cases, then its value is bigger. As for the two new cases, one is the Russian Revolution, and the other is the Chinese Revolution.

If one were to utilize Marxist theory to analyze the Russian Revolution and the Chinese Revolution, it would not be very appropriate. Because according to Marx's theory, under today's capitalist system, the more developed the industry is, the more concentrated is its capital. Small businesses are all annexed and absorbed by big businesses and have no way to stand on their feet. The middle class in the society has disappeared, and only the working class and the bourgeois class are left, with an unbridged chasm between them. Then afterwards, there is the possibility for a revolution. According to his principle, social revolution should occur in the capitalist donjon of England or the industrially developed United States. Why then does the power of the English Conservative party energetically surge ahead, and in the United States it is almost impossible for the Communist Party to have any activities? Why did the Communist Revolution take place in industrially undeveloped Russia, and the National Revolution occur in economically backward China? This sufficiently shows the inadequacy of Marxism as an explanation.

However, if we take the Principle of People's Livelihood as an explanation, then everything is clear and logical. After all, the Russian and Chinese revolutions were not the results of drastic changes in the means of production, but in the instability of people's livelihood. When we attempt to analyze the reasons for the Russian Revolution, the most important ones are none other than the following:

1. The feudalistic system left over from the middles ages was already extinguished in other countries. Only in Russia did it still conserve the original face. The aristocracy was very indulgent and dictatorial. They treated, the common people arbitrarily or killed them. Political power was totally in the hands of the aristocracy; the people had no right of participation. All the land in the country was the private property of several hundred aristocratic families, while thousands of peasants, monjiks, sweat blood all year round and still could not get enough to eat or enough to wear. Thus, a very deep resentment had accumulated among the people. If we had read works by the great Russian literary giants, such as Tolstoi, then we would have understood how miserable the situation was in Russia before the revolution.
2. Some enlightened people, dissatisfied with the monarchical system, proposed various kinds of theories and set up secret organizations to resist the government. As the years and months passed, revolutionary seeds were planted in people's hearts. The administrators would not think of reforming the system or bettering the lives of the people to shut up their opponents; instead, they countered these new thinkers with extreme, cruel treatment. One does not know how many people were exiled to Siberia every year. The hatred and resentment between the rulers and ruled became deeper and deeper. Once it erupted, it became uncontrollable.

3. The previous Russian government knew that the people's anger and hatred had already ran very deep and attempted to turn their attention to other things so that they could forget their own current misery. Thus they mistreated the Jewish people in order to arouse racial hatred. Previously some claimed that Russia was hell for the Jewish people, and this was true. Therefore, the revenge of Jews was also an important factor in the Russian Revolution. I will not discuss other not so important reasons. All in all, these several reasons have absolutely nothing whatsoever to do with the drastic changes of the means of production; all can be attributed to the lack of stability in people's livelihood.

As for the Chinese Revolution, there were also psychological and spiritual reasons, such as the importation of foreign theories and thoughts, the invasion of foreign races, material reasons, the repression of warlords, the continuous internal strife, and the economic exploitation of international imperialism. These resulted in the miserable life of the people, hence the unprecedented big movements, for which the Principle of People's Livelihood also provides a completely satisfactory explanation.

From the above we can see that Marxist materialism can explain only one side or one part of a phenomenon, while a fuller and richer explanation can only be found in Mr. Zhongshan's theory of People's Livelihood.

II

Mr. Zhongshan's Principle of People's Livelihood and Marx's communism have another fundamental point of difference, and that is their disagreements on the concept of "equality." Marx proposes absolute equality. His ultimate goal is each contributes according to his own ability, and each takes according to his own need. Mr. Zhongshan advocates relative equality. His meaning is that the starting point has to be equal, but the ending point does not have to
be. In other words, the circumstances in which a person is born and the
opportunity for their efforts should be equal, but the destination one arrives
at, such as the degree of one's happiness, the position of one's status, does not
necessarily have to be equal. They are determined by the amount of work and
the depth of knowledge.

On the surface it seems that Marx's theory of equality is broader, and
more noble, while that of Mr. Zhongshan's is more narrow. But realistic
examination reveals that the equality of Marxism contradicts human nature,
has fundamental conflicts with his thoughts on materialism, and is false
equality. Whereas Mr. Zhongshan's theory about equality is the real equality
consistent and compatible with human nature! Human beings are after all
selfish animals. Their only goal is self-preservation and self-development.
Their strongest instinct is self-protection. The reason for their willingness to
word hard and diligently all their lives is nothing more than to seek self-
satisfaction. [It is this selfish impulse that leads to hard work, and it cannot be
implemented in the Marxist view of equality. Furthermore, to base society on the
materialist conception of equality would lead to the abolition of dreams, because there
is a contradiction between work and the idea of having total equality already
granted. To be industrious and creative fits more the outlook of the People's
Livelihood.]

Above was a discussion of the theoretical differences between the Principle
of People's Livelihood and communism. Now I want to address the
differences between their means and the methods of the practical work. The
Marxian strategic method is to advocate class struggle. According to Marx's
theoretical explanation, in the last stage of capitalist development, the division
between the social classes will be very obvious. On the one hand are the
proletariat who always sweat blood to work like machines, and on the other
hand are the capitalists, who are always preserving their wealth, prestige, and
glorified positions. The middle class would have long dissappeared. The
proletariat, desiring to escape their slave-like and machine-like lives, should
unite r and should use the method of class struggle to overthrow the capitalists
and take control of the factories back into their own hands. This kind of theory
in the large Western European industrial societies naturally has great force, and
much reason. The improvement of Western European workers' lives, the
increase of their salaries, and the shortening of their working hours can be
naturally and largely attributed to Marx's theory. However, his theory also has
unworkable parts. For example, his statement "When capitalism develops to
its highest degree then the middle class will disappear'' is a big mistake. Currently in Western Europe, although capitalism is very developed, yet the society still has the middle class as its backbone. The United States’ industrial prosperity can be said as the number one in the world, but the scope of wealth distribution has also expanded yearly. The most obvious proof is that big companies in the city of Paris such as Louvre, Les Galeries Lafayette, Le Printemps are increasing more and more. Not only have the small stores not decreased; on the contrary, they are competing with these big companies, and have increased proportionately with the big companies. Obviously the Marxist theory on this point makes a fundamental mistake! [Marxism is not practicable in well-developed Europe, so what chance has it in underdeveloped China? Sun Tat-sen could see the contradictions clearly, especially that international imperialism would manipulate any situation of disunity, as the British did with the Indian subcontinent.

Another aspect of Marxism that is incompatible with the general Chinese situation is the prohibition and confiscation of private property. In China the land is spread among private small farms. Sun Yat-sen recognized that personal motivation was important to production and social harmony. Thus, from the above arguments one can see that Marxism is not based on the Chinese situation and is not as able to treat the ills of China as is the Principle of People’s Livelihood.]

Notes

1. We think that the original has a misprint and that the real character here should be 階級, not 階級.
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Document 51: Wang Jingwei and Jacques Doriot, Announcements and Analyses, in Guomin 2:20 (July 3, 1927) (330 rue St. Jacques) [Centre Chine, EHESS]

Wang Jingwei on Imperialism—Post-April 12th Coup [Quoted in a boxed announcement]

Imperialism wants to destroy the Chinese Nationalist Revolution. The methods it uses are massacre of the masses, either direct massacre or relying on its running dogs for indirect massacres. The May Thirtieth Incident was an example of direct massacre. However, [for every] evil massacre, [then] the Nationalist Revolution advances one step forward. The power of imperialism will eventually be washed away completely by the blood of purity and devoted sincerity of our people. (Date: May 30, 1927)

Description by Jacques Doriot of the Chinese situation after a visit in 1927 [excerpts from an article on the special meeting of the EGMD at which Mr. Doriot spoke]

What Mr. Doriot told us just now can be summarized into the following four points:
1. The Chinese military situation is not good; [however], the mass movement has advanced very rapidly.
2. The Chinese military leaders are not reliable, because eight or nine out of ten Chinese military leaders are filled with feudalistic ideas, and at the same time belong to the bourgeoise class. It is impossible to ask them to undertake thorough revolution.
3. The Chinese workers and peasants constitute more than 80 percent of the Chinese population. The revolution's primary force should be the workers and peasants. So right now, the GMD's most urgent work is to arm the workers and peasants.
4. Currently, the issue of the peasantry is a very important one. If the peasant issue is not resolved, then the Chinese Revolution will not succeed.

Comrades: How correct and important are the lessons that Mr. Doriot gave us! We will assiduously study these lessons, and energetically struggle to
complete our National Revolution, and furthermore to complete the World Revolution. In this sense, today’s reception not only has a great significance currently, but will also occupy a very glorious page in the history of revolution.


What is the history of the GMD? The history of the GMD is a revolutionary history, a history of revolutionaries of all the classes, who believe in the Three People’s Principles and struggle against dictatorial monarchy, warlords, imperialists, all those corrupt officials cruelly harming the people’s livelihood, capitalistic foreign slaves, and the provincial bullies and landlords. What is the ideology of the GMD? The ideology of the GMD is the Three People’s Principles, a broad ideology that seeks national independence, the expansion of the people’s rights, and the enrichment of peoples’ lives. What is the fundamental spirit of Mr. [Sun] Zhongshan? Mr. Zhongshan’s fundamental spirit has two great components: universal love and noncompromise, benefits to the others, great fearlessness, unswerving endurance and perseverance (including self-sacrifice).

[Discusses the inadequacy of the concept of the peasant-workers as the party base and the inadequacy of the concept of class struggle. The idea of People’s Livelihood is fundamental, but the class struggle concept is too pointed and violent to be effective or true to the GMD’s spirit or ideology.] It is true that the GMD is a revolutionary party; but the GMD is not and should not to be a party of peasant-workers. Looking at the history of the GMD, one can see that the GMD has been successfully organized by all revolutionary elements of each class that believe in the Three People’s Principles. These revolutionary elements do not belong to a certain class, or represent certain classes; they are revolutionaries above class lines. The goal they strive for is the freedom of the Chinese nation, the happiness and rights of the entire people, and peace with all peoples of the world, not just for the benefit of one class. Moreover, elements of the peasant-worker class have not demonstrated any superior revolutionary strength in the GMD. And the GMD has not lost its revolutionary strength because it does not have the peasant-worker class as its base. Nor has it lost its revolutionary character. This is obvious from the past
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facts, and cannot be denied [reference to Tongmenghui and other activities]. Naturally, the GMD of necessity must have the peasant-worker elements’ participation; however, the participation in the GMD by the peasant-workers is based on their qualification in believing in the Three People’s Principles, not on their qualifications as representatives of their class. Once they have joined the GMD they simply become revolutionaries who believe in the Three People’s Principles and disconnected themselves from their class.

Notes

1. Qiu Zhengou (b. 1904, Guangdong; alias, Han Xing) was a graduate of the University of Beijing and the University of Paris, and prominent in literary studies and overseas Chinese affairs. He worked as an educator in East and Southeast Asia.

Document 53: “Table of Contents” from “A Discussion on the Soviet Union,” by Zheng Yanfen,1 Le Voix du Kuomintang en Europe, nos. 1 and 2 (1930) [Bibliothèque Municipale de Lyon]

“International Opinion on the Sino-Soviet Question and the Lessons It Can Give to Us”

I. Introductory Remarks—Purpose and Interests of the Study

1. Why Study This Problem
   a. Because the Sino-Soviet Problem is an International Problem
   b. The Necessity of Studying International Opinion
   c. Lessons for our Gain and Loss

2. How to Study This Problem
   a. Comprehensive Study
   b. Analytical Study
   c. Summing up Causal Relationships and Conclusions

3. Several Aspects of This Problem
   a. The Non-Aggression Pact and Sino-Soviet Problems
   b. The League of Nations and Sino-Soviet Problems
   c. China and Sino-Soviet Problems
   d. The Soviet Union and Sino-Soviet Problems

II. Discussions — International Opinion and Its Analysis
1. A Brief Look at International Opinion
   a. England
   b. France
   c. Germany
   d. United States
   e. Japan
   f. Italy
   g. Russia
   h. Switzerland
   i. Sweden
   j. Denmark
   k. Norway
   l. Hungary
   m. Turkey
   n. Greece
   o. Bulgaria
   p. India

Notes


Summary: Report on the publication of this EGMD paper, such as how many issues were published and who was the French guarantor. Also included were an analysis of the right factional affiliation of the paper, and some note of Song Guoshu, Wan Canfen, and Fang Ditang.

Le journal Sing-Ming [三民] (Les Trois Principes), a été fondé en 1924 à Paris, peu après la constitution de la fraction de droite du parti Kuomintang, en Europe, groupement ayant son siège, 3, rue Thouin, et dont il est l'organe. Journal hebdomadaire, édité en langue chinoise, il est tiré à 750 exemplaires, à l'imprimerie située, 65, rue Galande. Il est mis en vente au prix
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de 0fr.50, uniquement au kiosque de la Place Saint-Michel et distribué gratuitement aux membres du Groupement; les exemplaires non utilisés en France sont expédiés en Chine.

Il n'est subventionné par aucun parti politique.

Il reflète l'opinion de la fraction de droite du Kuomintang qui se donne comme le seul groupement à Paris ayant qualité pour représenter le parti Kuomintang chinois. Il est à tendance nationaliste de droite et se réclame des trois principes de Sun-Yat-Sen; il attaque dans ses colonnes les autres éléments du parti qu'il accuse de pactiser avec les Soviets et d'accepter dans leur sein des communistes et soutient la politique du Gouvernement nationaliste de Nankin. Enfin, il publie des informations sur les diverses manifestations de la Colonie chinoise en France, ainsi que sur les événements de Chine.

Sing-Min a son siège, 3 rue Thouin.

Les membres de la fraction de droite du Kuomintang en Europe y collaborent; leurs articles sont publiés après avoir été revus et corrigés par les dirigeants du groupement.

Cet organe est administré par un Comité composé de:

SONG-KONO-TCHOU [宋國樞, Song Guoshu], né le 1er Octobre 1898 à Kai-ming (Chine) marié à une française, père d'un enfant, étudiant en Droit, principal animateur de la fraction de droite du Kuomintang en Europe, domicilié, II, rue Bréa.

WANG-TSAN-FUN [王粲芬, Wang Canfen], né à Canton (Chine), âgé de 26 ans, célibataire, étudiant, domicilié, 3, rue Thouin, Secrétaire général du groupement précité.


La direction de ce journal est assumée par le nommé CHASSAING Edouard, né à Aurillac (Cantal), le 27 Janvier 1899, marié, imprimeur, II rue Clovis à Paris.

SONG-KONO-TCHOU, WANG-TSAN-FUN et FAN-SI-TANG, se sont conformés aux lois et décrets régissant le séjour des étrangers en France.

Au privé, ils font l'objet de bons renseignements.
Because Wang Jingwei vied for the leadership of the GMD, he did not hesitate fractionalizing the entire GMD into pieces. He also wanted to create a civil war in a unified China. The Wang party faction’s leading running dogs such as Chen Gongbo and Gu Mengyu arrived in Europe from China. Immediately afterwards, Wang, in the murky darkness, convened a secret meeting to realize their [plan] of destroying the party and selling the country. Therefore, Deng Yanda, who resided in Germany, and Chen Youren, who traveled to Russia, all came to participate in this meeting. Although I am not clear about the agenda of the meeting, yet the fact is that the war between Feng Yüxiang and Chiang Kai-shek, and the traveling of Chen Gongbo and others to Russia and Germany to purchase weapons all happened after the meeting. From this we can conclude that Wang Jingwei and others still hold on to the policy of allying with Russia and tolerating the Communists, [a position that] has created a war inside China. They did not hesitate killing people and benefiting foreigners in order to grab power for themselves.
9. Establishment of Intercultural Relations and the Sino-French Institute

This chapter focuses on three areas: intercultural, particularly educational endeavors; two cases of expulsion from the Sino-French Institute; and a case study of Dr. Yang Kun, as an example of someone who initially committed himself to politics but later concentrated on his academic career. The first area is represented by reports from Marseilles and an overview report for the SFI (1930). The expulsions include information from dossiers and French translations stored in the SLOTFOM collection. The two cases of expulsion involved one case of the Rightist-radical Zhang Ruiju, who was expelled for his article in Sanmin on the cruelty of French to Chinese sailors. Fortunately, we have two lively interviews with Lépine, the president of the faculty, and his letters to Zou Lu, who was the president of Sun Yat-sen University. If the expulsions were not carried out, Sun Yat-sen University threatened to withhold subventions after 1927. The section on Dr. Yang Kun includes material from his dossier, including a letter from the famous sociologist Marcel Mauss and an article that surveys and analyzes the works of Marcel Granet, published in the Yenching Journal before the beginning of World War II in China. In addition to the stimulating information, Dr. Yang’s article demonstrates real absorption of Western social science. This has significance because Dr. Yang became a leading ethnologist in China, heading the sociology department at Yunnan University for more than thirty years.
Document 56: “Les Relations Intellectuelles entre la France et la Chine,” Bulletin du Comité de Relations Internationales Intellectuelles et Économiques (Chambre de Commerce de Marseille), no. 6, by Tsen Tsonming [Zeng Zhongming], Décembre 1920 [AN F713438]

Summary: A pamphlet published in Marseilles on Sino-French intellectual relations. One part, written by Zeng Zhongming, begins with a few paragraphs on the grandeur and courage of the French civilization and the organizational cooperation [Frugal-Study Society and SFEA] between the French and Chinese educational leaders, including Cai Yuanpei, Li Shizeng, Wu Zhihui, Zhang Ji, Wang Jingwei, and Chu Minyi and French leaders such as Leygues, Honnorat, Herriot, Aulard, and Moutet. The report notes that fifteen hundred Chinese had arrived in France and that two hundred were to stay in Marseilles. Zeng mentions the Institute of Higher Studies (Paris) and the Sino-French Institute (SFI). The latter does not appear to be linked to the worker-students in this discussion of educational exchange. The second piece is on the return of the mission to China of Paul Painlevé, the prominent government and educational leader, who had been received with great honor in China. The plan for setting up educational avenues suggested by Painlevé are given, and a visit by Marseilles notables to M. Painlevé is discussed in detail. There is a strong argument that Marseilles should serve as an important gateway to scientific and intellectual interchange.

La France qui, avec son courage et sa patience, a vaincu l'Allemagne militariste et impérialiste, nous paraît bien héroïque et mérite le respect. Mais notre admiration pour elle ne date pas d'aujourd'hui. Nous pouvons dire, d'une façon générale, que la République Chinoise est née d'après les idéals et les théories des grands écrivains français du XVIIIe siècle, comme J. J. Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire et les encyclopédistes.

Or, nous voulons on seulement que les grands penseurs français soient les professeurs de nos jeunes républicains, nous voulons encore que les éminents savants français soient aussi les maîtres de nos jeunes gens.

Tout le monde sait que nous avons une civilisation de plus de quatre mille ans, mais notre ancien gouvernement impérial avait connu la nécessité de l'instruction moderne et de la science nouvelle; aussi avons-nous du retard sur les autres puissances mondiales. Maintenant que nous le savons nous voulons le rattraper.
Depuis des années, on envoyait des étudiants aux écoles des pays étrangers, mais à cause de la cherté de la vie européenne, comparée à celle de la Chine, il n’y avait que les enfants de famille riche et les boursiers du gouvernement qui pouvaient profiter de l’occasion; leur nombre était de ce fait très limité et le résultat insignifiant.

En 1911, au lendemain de la grande révolution, un comité fut fondé par MM. Tsai [Cai Yuanpei], recteur de l’Université de Pékin, alors Ministre de l’Instruction Publique; Wood [Wu Zhihui], président de la réforme de l’écriture chinoise; Wang C. W. [Wang Jingwei], écrivain et homme politique bien connu; Tchang Ki [Zhang Ji], alors président du Sénat; Li Yu Ying [Li Shizeng], professeur à l’Université de Pékin, et Tsu M. Y. [Chu Minyi], délégué de l’Université de Pékin.

Ils ont cherché tous les moyens pour résoudre ces difficultés et pour encourager et faciliter tout étudiant désireux de venir en France afin d’y approfondir ses études.


Le résultat obtenu fut très satisfaisant, car, une fois la paix signée, le cours des études put se poursuivre normalement et les jeunes étudiants vinrent en grand nombre sous son patronage. Depuis l’an dernier, 1.500 environ arrivèrent en France de toutes les parties de la Chine.

Une grande partie de ces étudiants fut envoyée dans des collèges ou lycées, pour y travailler à l’étude de la langue française et pour se préparer aux examens de diverses écoles spéciales, et l’autre partie fut envoyée dans les établissements industriels, comme stagiaire.
Pour l'intérêt général de ces jeunes gens, la Société créa un Service d'Etudiants, à la Garenne-Colombes, banlieue de Paris. Elle vient d'en recevoir encore deux cents à Marseille.

Déjà, des hommes à larges vues ont donné leur concours pour la création d'un Institut de hautes études chinoises à Paris, qui a pour directeur M. Painlevé, et d'une Université franco-chinoise à Lyon, que dirige provisoirement M. Kao Lou, directeur de l'Observatoire Central de Pékin.1

Toutes ces œuvres, si importantes pour l'avenir des deux pays, nous les devons à l'appui reçu de tous les côtés et, comme nous sommes très simplement les sincères amis de la France, nous serons toujours heureux de voir rapprocher ces deux Républiques soeurs en augmentant encore leurs relations intellectuelles.

TSEN TSONMING—Correspondant de l'Université de Pékin, chargé du service des Etudiants de la Société Franco-Chinoise d'Education.

Marseille et les Étudiants Chinois

Le 28 octobre est arrivé à Marseille, revenant d'une mission en Chine, M. Paul Painlevé, député et ancien président du Conseil des Ministres, professeur à la Sorbonne et membre de l'Institut.

Envoyé en Chine par notre Gouvernement pour resserrer les liens intellectuels entre la grande République asiatique et notre pays, alliés dans la guerre, M. Painlevé a visité avec sa suite Pékin, Changhai et Canton et a reçu des autorités chinoises les plus grands honneurs, avec la manifestation d'une sympathie particulière pour la France. L'avenir de la vaste Chine lui paraît immense et le devoir de la France est de l'aider à progresser en unissant les avantages des deux civilisations. Le peuple chinois s'ouvre largement au monde extérieur et la puissance européenne qui {que} possède de l'Indochine voisine doit développer son oeuvre de pénétration à l'exemple des Japonais et des Américains. Il manque encore à la République chinoise un esprit national et un budget général, mais elle ne tardera pas à entrer dans le concert des nations modernes et à jouer un rôle important. Elle envoie dès maintenant dans les principaux pays alliés un grand nombre d'étudiants acquérir l'instruction et les méthodes occidentales.

Au cours de ses pourparlers avec le Gouvernement chinois M. Painlevé en a obtenu cordialement d'importants avantages en faveur de la France. Les principaux sont les suivants: (1) subvention annuelle de 100.000 francs à l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises de Paris; (2) création d'une filiale de
l'Université de Paris dans une grande Université chinoise, avec un crédit annuel de 500.000 francs; (3) reproduction d'une collection des grands classiques chinois et remise de trois exemplaires à la France; (4) organisation à Lyon d'une Université Franco-Chinoise destinée à recevoir des étudiants chinois et allocation par les provinces du Sud d'une subvention de 150.000 francs; (5) réouverture par la France de l'Ecole technique allemande de Changhai, saisie en 1917, et qui avait 500 élèves chinois. L'ancien Président du Conseil estime que nous ne devons pas rester en retard et qu'il faut entreprendre une intense collaboration indo-chinoise dans le domaine de l'enseignement; les deux pays y trouveront grand profit.

Notre Comité de Relations Internationales a tenu à saluer M. Painlevé, à son retour, et une délégation de ses membres a eu, avec l'ancien Président du Conseil, une entrevue des plus intéressantes à l'Hôtel Noailles. Présentée par M. le député Artaud et M. le président Estrine, elle comprenait notamment M. Rivals, doyen de la Faculté des Sciences; le Dr. Alezais, directeur de l'Ecole de Médecine; M. Pessemesse, inspecteur d'académie; le professeur Houlevigue et le Dr. Oddo, vice-présidents du Comité, M. Painlevé a bien voulu signaler à la délégation les principaux résultats de son voyage pour le rapprochement intellectuel franco-chinois.

Les représentants de Marseille ont exprimé le désir que notre ville participât à l'œuvre d'enseignement des jeunes Chinois venant en France, et qui sont tous dirigés dans l'intérieur après leur débarquement dans notre grand port. Marseille tient, en effet, au point de vue scientifique et intellectuel, à la place que lui assignent son glorieux passé et sa position avantageuse, et mérite d'attirer les étudiants du bassin méditerranéen et de l'Extrême-Orient. Ceux-ci peuvent y trouver de grands établissements scientifiques, techniques et universitaires, en mesure de former de brillants élèves dans le double domaine intellectuel et économique. M. Painlevé a bien voulu promettre à notre Comité son concours pour la réalisation des desiderata exprimés.

Comme suite, le Comité est entré en relations avec la Société Franco-Chinoise d'Education, ayant son siège à Paris, et à laquelle est rattaché le Service des Etudiants.

Dès le 13 décembre, grâce à cette intervention un premier contingent de quinze élèves chinois a pu être installé, par les soins de M. le proviseur Brugéas, au Lycée de Marseille, malgré son effectif déjà supérieur à la normale.

D'autre part, en ce qui concerne l'extension des rapports économiques, notre Comité s'est mis en relations, à son récent passage à Marseille, avec M.
Notes

1. This is an interesting statement of the lack of intention to support the Work-Study Movement by the organizers of the Sino-French Institute at the University of Lyons. As the problems of the Work-Study Movement increased, Chinese worker-students thought of the institute as an enterprise for them, as articulated by founders of the Institute, such as Wu Zhihui and Li Shizeng.

Document 57: Institut Franco-chinois de l’Université de Lyon (1930)
“Extrait des Annales Franco-Chinoises”

Summary: This is a summary of the first nine years of the SFI. It begins with a short explanation of the educational mission of the SFI and ends with a listing of officials on the board serving the Association Universitaire Franco-Chinois. Several tables note the regional origins, educational majors in China and upon graduation, positions occupied, and current studies at the SFI of up to 286 students.

Sous les auspices des Gouvernements français et chinois représentés, l’un par l’Université de Lyon, l’autre par le Comité inter-universitaire chinois, a été fondé le 8 juillet 1921 l’Institut franco-chinois de Lyon, en vue de favoriser le développement des rapports intellectuels entre la France et la Chine, notamment en s’intéressant à l’éducation des étudiantes et des étudiants chinois.

Cet Institut, installé dans les bâtiments de l’ancien Fort Saint-Irénée, est géré par une Association dite “Association Universitaire franco-chinoise” siégeant également à Lyon.

Les étudiants de l’Institut sont désignés par les Universités Nationales chinoises, notamment par l’Université franco-chinoise de Peiping, parmi leurs meilleurs sujets dans des conditions bien déterminées. Des étudiants méritants, résidant déjà en France, peuvent être admis dans la limite des places disponibles à l’Institut par voie de concours{.}
### Tableau 1. Indiquant les provinces d'origine des Étudiants de l'Institut Franco-Chinois de l'Université de Lyon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Nombre d'étudiants</th>
<th>Étudiants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kouang-toung</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-nan</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-sou</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-pei (Tcheu-li)</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seu-tch'ouen</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tché-kiang</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fou-kién</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngan-houei</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hô-nan</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hou-pé</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiang-si</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouang-si</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kouei-tcheou</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-toung</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chang-si</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leao-ning (Foung-tien)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Général</strong></td>
<td><strong>286</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tableau 2. Résultats obtenus par les Étudiants de l'Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon de 1921 à 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diplômes de Docteurs</th>
<th>Sciences</th>
<th>15</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettres</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Médecine et Pharmacie</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Droit</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplômes de licenciés</td>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lettres</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplômes d'ingénieurs</td>
<td>Ecole centrale lyonnaise</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole de Chimie de Lyon</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole d'Electricité de Paris</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institut électrotechnique de Grenoble</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole des Mines de Paris</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Institut Mécanique de Toulouse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole de Tannerie de Lyon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ecole de Papeterie</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplômes de fin d'études aux diverses écoles</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Chimie, Industrie, Tissage)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplômes d'études supérieures universitaires</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Certificats d'études supérieures des Facultés</td>
<td>176</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anciens élèves de l'école militaire de Saint-Cyr</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancien élève de l'école polytechnique de Paris</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole des beaux-arts</td>
<td>20 mentions dont 4 premières</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26 prix dont 20 premiers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole d'architecture</td>
<td>28 mentions</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 première médaille</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservatoire</td>
<td>4 mentions dont 3 premières</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 accessits dont 1 premier</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 première médaille</td>
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Tableau 3. Indiquant la répartition des Etudiants de l’Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon selon les divers ordres d’études qu’ils poursuivent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domaine</th>
<th>Nombre de élèves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Sciences</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lettres</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Droit</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Médecine</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electricité</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mécanique</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beaux-Arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chimie</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tissage</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aéronautique</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Militaire</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pharmacie</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sériciculture</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musique</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tannerie</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vétérinaire</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mines</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papeterie</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>286</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Tableau 4. Postes occupés par les Anciens Elèves de l’Institut rentrés en Chine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poste</th>
<th>Nombre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs de l’Université centrale de Nankin</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs de l’Université nationale de Peiping</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs de l’Université du Travail, Shanghai</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs de l’Université nationale Sun Yat-Sen, Canton</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeur de l’Université nationale de Tchoe-kyang</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeur de l’Université nationale de Seu-Tchouen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs de l’Université franco-chinoise de Peiping</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeur de l’Université de Ngan Houei</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeur de l’Université Tsing-houa à Peiping</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut central des recherches</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeur à l’Ecole militaire</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professeurs aux Ecoles des beaux-arts</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proviseurs de lycées</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directeurs ou administrateurs des hôpitaux</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fonctionnaires des ministères, du gouvernement central,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des gouvernements provinciaux, des administrations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>municipales, sous-préfets, conseillers juristes, conseillers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des armées, secrétaire général de la Délégation chinoise</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>près de la Société des Nations</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Total: 85
Tableau 5. Situation actuelle de l’Institut Franco-Chinois de l’Université de Lyon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formation</th>
<th>Nombre</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Faculté des sciences</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dont 13 thèses de doctorat en préparation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculté des lettres</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dont 7 thèses en préparation</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculté de droit</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dont 3 thèses en préparation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faculté de médecine et pharmacie</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dont 1 thèse en préparation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut électrotechnique de Grenoble</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole nationale des beaux-arts</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut national agronomique de Paris</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole centrale lyonnaise</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole de chimie industrielle de Lyon</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole supérieure d’électricité de Paris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole supérieure d’aéronautique de Paris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut des matières grasses de Marseille</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Institut de statistique à Paris</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecole supérieure de commerce de Lyon</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ecole nationale d’architecture de Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Institut commerciale de Grenoble</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Cours de français</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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Association Universitaire Franco-Chinoise

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M. le Ministre de l’Education du Gouvernement chinois

Comité d’honneur:  
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Le Délégué de l’Université Nationale de Peiping  
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Bureau Administratif du Conseil d’Administration

Summary: This is a brief history of the formation and structure of the worker-students placed at Charleroi University. The role of the SFEA, and of Paul Gille (Belgium) and Jules Destree, the Belgian minister of education is mentioned, along with others. The role of Xiao Xudong (Xiao Yu) is discussed in his delivering a petition to give economic support from the Boxer Indemnity funds. Information also is then related on the SFI, the French institutes in Beijing.

Les Oeuvres Scolaires Sino-Belges se poursuivent depuis plus de 15 ans par la Société Franco-Chinoise d'Education d'abord et par l'Université Franco-Chinoise ensuite.

Dès la première année de la République Chinoise, la Société Poste Scolaire Chinoise a envoyé une centaine d'élèves en France dont un certain nombre a passé en Belgique.

La Société Franco-Chinoise d'Education, fondée par diverses personnalités (personnalités) notamment, par MM. Tsai-Yuen-Pei, Chang-Hou [Zhang Ji?], Li-Yu Ying, Aulard, Moutet et d'Hormon, a envoyé de 1913 à 1919 plus de 2000 élèves pour aller étudier en France; elle en a envoyé 150 en Belgique. Le gouvernement Chinois a donné une subvention à ces élèves. En 1919, grâce à l'aide précieuse de nos amis belges, en particulier, M. Paul Gille, Professeur...
à l'Université de Bruxelles, M. Jules Destrée, alors Ministre de l'Éducation de Belgique, M. P. Pastur, Président de l'Association d'administration de l'Université du Travail de Charleroi, et M. J. Hiernaux, Directeur de la dite Université, on a crée une Maison spéciale destinée aux étudiants chinois à l'Université du Travail de Charleroi et appelée "Home des Étudiants Chinois"; plus de cent élèves chinois qui étudient à Charleroi y sont actuellement logés.

En 1922, sur l'initiative de la Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation, une pétition signée de 48.000 Chinois a été envoyée par M. Shiao-Shu-Tong, délégué de la mission universitaire chinoise en Europe, en Belgique en demandant la restitution à la Chine de l'indemnité des Boxeurs de la part des Belges pour affecter aux Oeuvres Scolaires.

L'Université Franco-Chinoise, fondée par MM. Tsai Yuen-Pei, Li-Yu-Ying, M. Y. Tsu [Chu Minyi], Herriot, Moutet et Lépine etc. depuis 8 ans et subventionnée par le Gouvernement Chinois a pour but de faire développer en Chine la science, la philosophie, et la littérature des pays de langue française et de faire connaître à ces pays la vraie civilisation Chinoise. L'Université Franco-Chinoise se compose de l'Université Franco-Chinoise de Pékin, de l'Université Franco-Chinoise de Canton, et de l'Institut Franco-Chinois de Lyon.

L'Université Franco-Chinoise de Pékin se divise en quatre instituts à savoir:

- Institut Auguste Comte (Sciences Sociales)
- Institut Voltaire (Littérature Française et Chinoise)
- Institut Curie (Sciences Mathématique, Physique, et Chimique)
- Institut Lamarck (Sciences Biologiques)

L'Université Franco-Chinoise de Pékin possède, de plus, 4 collèges, 1 dans Pékin, et les 3 autres dans les collines (collines) de l'Ouest de Pékin. En outre, elle a 2 Sanatoriums, 3 Stations agricoles et 2 Stations Météorologiques etc.

L'Université Franco-Chinoise de Pékin compte actuellement plus de 1.000 élèves. Elle a envoyé plus de 100 de ses meilleurs élèves pour approfondir leurs études en France et en Belgique: Elle continue à préparer des élèves pour aller étudier dans différentes Écoles ou Universités Françaises et Belges. Elle va créer une section d'Industrie et elle a le projet d'envoyer spécialement les élèves de cette section en Belgique afin de pouvoir former de bons ingénieurs dont la Chine a un grand besoin.
Notes

1. This is Xiao Xudong or Xiao Yü 薛瑜, who was the first head of the New Citizen's Study Society (Xinmin Xuehui) and later secretary to Li Shizeng. A prolific writer, Xiao's best known work in English was Xiao Yu, Mao Tse-tung and I Were Beggars (New York: Collier, 1973), originally published in 1959 by Syracuse University Press.

Document 59: Prefecture du Rhone—Lyon, Juin 21, 1926 [SLOTFOM, VIII, 4]

Summary: A note on nine Chinese noted in Guomin, who would shortly be entering the SFI and should be put under surveillance. In fact, leaders such as Long Zhanxing, Xie Qing, and Peng Shiqin were later expelled for Communist affiliations (1927) (see documents 63 and 64).

Par dépêche du 9 Avril dernier, vous avez bien voulu me faire parvenir à toutes fins utiles, copie d'une dépêche de M. le Ministre des Colonies relative au départ pour Lyon d'un groupe d'étudiants de l'Université de Canton, suspects de professer des opinions communistes.

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que les étudiants de l'Université de Canton signalés par le journal chinois, le "Min-Kono-Pao" comme se rendant à Lyon, sont arrivés dans cette ville le 2 Avril dernier.

Ce groupe se compose de 9 étudiants qui logent tous à l'Institut Franco-Chinois, se sont les nommés:

LONG JOHNSON, né à (Ho Pov (Chine) le 29 Mars 1902)
SCHA CHING, né à Heng Yang (Chine) le 4 Mars 1890,
YEN CHI CHIM, né à Yan Chow (Chine) le 7 Janvier 1902,
PENG SHIH CHIN né à Chaling (Chine) le 10 Mars 1902,
LIOU KAK PING, né à Tungkun (Chine) le 20 Février 1898,
CHENG MIN FUN né à Chouer Tei Kivangtoung (Chine) le 1er Janvier 1904,
YAO BIT CHIN, né à Ping Muai Kivangtoung le 20 Février 1904,
WONG YEE WON, née à Paon Yv (Chine) le 20 Mars 1905
LI PIN SHAN, née à Sing Hoeel Kivangtoung le 10 Septembre 1904.

Ces étrangers ne parlent pas la langue française et leurs compatriotes leur servent d'interprètes {interprètes}. 
Les étudiants ci-dessus désignés seront l'objet, pendant leur séjour à Lyon, d'une surveillance discrète et si leur attitude donnait lieu à des remarques intéressantes, je ne manquerais pas de vous en aviser.

Document 60: Political Analysis on the Chinese at the Sino-French Institute; Note of Mai 24, 1927 [Dossier on Zhang Ruiju #73] [AAUFSC]

Summary: This is a note¹ on the EGMD political activities at the SFI, particularly the development of factional affiliations after April 1927. Three students—Peng Shiqin, Xie Qing, and Yang Kun—were particularly noted as affiliated with the Communists, and through Wang Jingwei’s attachment at this time to the Communists, other students, including Zeng Boliang whose brother Zeng Zhongming was secretary to Wang Jingwei, were also linked with the Communists. Zeng Boliang was receiving a stipend at this time. Among political affiliations, seven SFI students were said to be followers of Sun Chuanfang, and only half a dozen students did not participate in politics. According to this report, the majority of students were GMD members who were attached to Cai Yuanpei, Li Shizeng, and Wu Zhihui.

Le 9 Septembre 1926, j'ai fait une etude de la situation morale de l'Institut en examinant surtout l'activité politique des étudiants. Depuis cette époque, et se modelant sur les événement politiques, cette activité a singulièrement changé de forme et d'allure. La vague de nationalisme qui a accompagné les armées cantonaises de Canton jusqu'à Chang-hai et Nankin a eu sa répercussion à l'Institut. Alors qu'au mois de septembre je pouvais dire que la majorité des étudiants se désintéressaient de la politique, que 50 environ professaient les doctrines Kuo ming tang et quelques autres se rattachaient à certains personnages politiques, la situation se présente aujourd'hui de la façon suivante.

Les étudiants se sont portés en masse au parti Kuo ming tang qui comprend sur 89 étudiants ou étudiantes, 70 membres environ. Ce parti s'est régulièrement constitué et reçoit ses directives du Comité directeur siégeant à Paris; ce Comité les reçoit lui-même du Comité exécutif de Chine. Jusqu’au ces derniers temps on distinguait d’une part les Cantonais partisans du Général

Lors de la récente séparation entre le Général Tchang Kai-chek et le Gouvernement de Han-kheou, entaché de communisme, un certain nombre d’étudiants, 6 ou 7, ont fait scission et se sont proclamés partisans du Gouvernement de Han-kheou, c’est-à-dire communistes. Les meneurs de ce parti seraient MM. Peng Shi-chin (183), Shia Ching (170) et Yang Kun (18)—(qui était le seul étudiant affichant jusqu’ici des idées communistes). A ceux-ci se sont rattachés MM. Chen Tsui-ming, Siao Te-fou et enfin M. Tsen Pak-liang. Ce dernier s’est déclaré communiste dans les conditions suivantes: son frère, M. Tsen Tsonming, ancien secrétaire général de l’Institut, suivait la fortune de M. Wang Tsin-wei. M. Wang T.W., ancien chef du parti Kuo ming tang, qui était d’accord avec Tsai Y.b., Li Yu-ying, etc. a essayé d’éviter la scission entre Han-kheou et Nankin. N’ayant pas réussi, il s’est rendu à Han-kheou. Les Kuo ming tang prétendent qu’il est retenu par les communistes, mais reste fidèle au parti; d’autres bruits qui semblent bien confirmés prétendent qu’il est au contraire passé au parti communiste. M. Tsen Tsonming aurait suivi dans cette évolution et son frère, M. Tsen Pak-liang (n. 136) aurait fait de même. Il est à remarquer que M. Tsen Pak-liang reçoit une bourse spéciale du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de 400 Frs. par mois.

Ces nouveaux arrivés dans le communisme sont très actifs. Ils tiennent leurs assises au restaurant chinois voisin de l’Institut où ils se rencontrent avec des communistes français ainsi que je l’ai signalé déjà une fois au Service de la Sûreté.

Les étudiants originaires de Chang-hai au nombre de 7 restent attachés au Général Soun Chong-fang et il s’agit plutôt d’une clientèle que d’un parti politique.

Enfin une ½ douzaine d’étudiants et étudiantes ont refusé de prendre position politiquement.

Les anciens membres de l’Institut qui occupent une situation en vue dans les différents partis restent en relation avec leurs camarades, par exemple M. Tsu Zong-yung qui lui aussi était attaché à M. Wang Tsin-wei mais s’est rallié à la fraction Tsai Y.b., Li Y.; y. et vient d’être nommé directeur de
l'Institut technique franco-chinois de Chang-hai (Chen Pao du 24 avril 27); M. TSEN Tsonming qui se trouverait à Han-kheou correspond avec son frère, etc.  

La grande majorité des étudiants est donc Kuo ming tang et reste attaché profondément aux fondateurs de l'Institut, MM. TSAI Yuen-bei, LT Yu-ying, WOOD Tchi-hwei, qui semblent avoir, en ce moment, la plus grande influence en Chine. 

Mai 24, 1927

Notes

1. The author of the note is not stated, but this kind of report was usually submitted by one of the French administrators or professors.

2. This numbering system is often off by five in official communications. For example, Yang Kun’s matriculation number is in fact #13.

3. It is paradoxical that Yang Kun was highlighted as the Communist. He was not expelled, worked under Marcel Mauss and Marcel Granet, and became one of the most outstanding graduates of the SFI. He was a member of both the ECCO and the EGMD and did particular work in propaganda, attending an international meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva during this period. But he did choose to pursue his studies over politics during the 1920s. See documents 65 and 66.

4. This is likely the same person as SIE TOU FA, who is often cited as a stand-in for Xia Ting, who headed the radical faction of the EGMD at 330 rue St. Jacques. If Sie is a follower of Xia Ting, this would open up some interesting implications regarding a more radical followership of Wang Jingwei, as Zeng Boliang was the brother of Zeng Zhongming, Wang’s faithful disciple. See, for example, the monthly propaganda report for June 1927 in SLOTFOM III, 145, for the activities of SIE.

5. Could this be an alternate name for Chu Minyi?

6. This is a reference to 曾伯良
Document 61: Letter Exchanges at the SFI on the case of Zhang Ruiju (Novembre 1927) – Zhang Ruiju (#73) dossier [AAUFC]

Summary: This is a series of three letters regarding an article written by SFI student Zhang Ruiju on the mistreatment of Chinese sailors on French liners. Published in Sanmin, the article was translated into French. Zhang had called the French imperialists. The first letter to Lépine related the basic information on the article and requested a meeting to discuss the SFI action. The second letter is from Lépine, agreeing to a meeting and asserting that strong and immediate action must be taken. The third letter is to Zou Lu from Lépine, defending his expulsion of Zhang Ruiju. He cited the regulations of the SFI that students must engage themselves solely in their studies.

Lyon, le 4 Novembre 1927
Monsieur le Docteur LEPINE
Doyen de la Faculté de Médecine
LYON
Monsieur le Président,

J'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre ci-joint la traduction d'un article paru dans un journal chinois de Paris, le Sin Ming [三民], N° du 15 octobre 1927. Le signataire de cet article est M. CHEUNG Sui-ki [張瑞矩]. M. Courant pourra vous donner des renseignements au sujet de ses études.

Pour bien comprendre la situation il faut se rappeler que la {le} parti Kouo min tang, après une tentative d'unification, comporte toujours trois fractions: celle de Wang Tsin-wei [Wang Jingwei] ou de Han-kheou, aujourd'hui Canton, la plus extrémiste; celle de Nankin avec Tsai Yuen-bei, Li Yu-ying etc., et celle de Chang-hai ou de Si-chan avec Tchang Ki [Zhang Ji] comme chef. Le journal Sin Ming et {est} la feuille française de ce dernier parti qui est le plus modéré puisqu'il prévoit même une entente avec Tchang Tso-lin. Néanmoins, dans la pratique, ces partis se livrent à une surenchère et font sonner bien haut les mots d'impérialisme et autres semblables. Le parti central est celui qui compte la majorité des étudiants de l'Institut; il n'y a que 4 étudiants comptant au parti de Si-chan; MM. YEH Wen-li [Ye Wenli, SFI#115], un agitateur né, brouillé avec sa famille, intelligent, CHEUNG Sui-ki [Zhang Ruiju, SFI#73], SIU Tai-hong [Xu Daming, SFI#148], catholique, subventionné par le Père Lebbe, mauvais étudiant qui cherche à faire pardonner ses insuccès scolaires par
une activité politique de mauvais alois, et M. HO Kin-ming qui se livre à des
stages prolongés et vient de se marier avec une Française à Bourgoin.

Je serai heureux d’avoir votre avis sur ce qu’il y a lieu de faire au sujet de
l’article en question de M. CHEUNG Sui-ki.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Président, l’assurance de mes sentiments
dévoués. [typed copy, no signature]

Lyon, le 5 Novembre 1927
Mon cher Directeur,

En réponse à votre lettre du 4 novembre me communiquant la traduction
d’un article paru dans le Sin Ming du 15 octobre 1927, j’estime qu’il est
nécessaire que le signataire de cet article, M. Cheung, qui a contrevenu
gravement au règlement formel de l’Institut interdisant toute publication sans
notre contrôle, aussi bien qu’aux règles les plus élémentaires de l’hospitalité
qu’il reçoit, soit traduit devant le Bureau qui statuera sur son compte.

Je ne me rappelle pas les détails de la procédure figurant dans le règlement
accepté par l’Université de Pékin, mais je suis d’avis d’appliquer cette procédure
et de la mettre en mouvement sans tarder. Je suis malheureusement pris tous
les débuts d’après-midi de cette prochaine semaine, mais je puis me rendre libre
lundi, mercredi ou samedi à 11 heures. J’estime que cette affaire doit être
menée vivement et sans faiblesse.

Veuillez vous entendre à cet égard avec M. Maurice Courant et les autres
membres du Bureau et me faire connaître le jour qu’il vous plairait que nous
nous réunissions.
Croyez à mes meilleurs sentiments.
Signé: Jean LEPINE

Lyon, le 17 Décembre 1927
Monsieur le Recteur de l’Université Nationale de Tchong-chan à Canton
Monsieur le Recteur,

J’ai l’honneur de vous informer du départ de M. CHEUNG Sui-ki par le
bateau d’“ARTAGNAN”, le 16 décembre courant.

Cet étudiant qui a fait l’objet de ma lettre du 10 novembre dernier, N.
1035, ne s’est pas rendu compte qu’il avait commis une incorrection. D’autre
part quelques uns de ses camarades cherchent à créer à ce propos une agitation
parmi les étudiants. J’attire votre attention sur les conséquences graves que cela
pourrait entraîner et qui pourraient compromettre l’existence même de
l’Institut. Les sanctions prises par le Bureau de l’Association le sont après mûr examen, et on ne saurait tolérer que les étudiants cherchent à organiser des protestations. Je vous serais reconnaissant de vouloir bien les en aviser, et en même temps de les exhorter à se consacrer exclusivement à leurs études pendant leur séjour à l’Institut.

Je vous prie d’agréer, Monsieur le Recteur, les assurances de ma haute considération.

Le Doyen de la Faculté de Médecine,
Président de l’Association universitaire franco-chinoise

Notes
1. We think the first letter may have been written by Liu Hou, the Chinese secretary of the SFI. Or it could have been written by the French director, M. Favre. The response in the following letter indicates this possibility. Also, look at document 59.

2. According to the Sûreté report of June 1928, SLOTFOM V, 43, Zhang was going to marry Madeleine-Suzanne Gass, who worked as a couturière in Paris. Zhang’s dossier shows that he attended the Sacred Heart College in Canton before coming to France.


Summary: A French translation of a Chinese article in Sanmin, which has two interviews with M. Lépine. The first interview is with Zhang Ruiju, who refused to apologize or give excuses to Lépine about his article. Apparently, Lépine was very angry at the interview and expelled Zhang, whereupon a delegation of fellow students requested an interview to defend Zhang. In the second interview, Lépine contended that the use of the imperialist label showed hostility to France, and was unacceptable by University regulations. The students argued that everyone used the word imperialism and that free speech demanded that this be allowed. Lépine responded that the usage of imperialism in the article was an attack on France and ill-intentioned. When the students rejoined that the regulations were unjust, Lépine remarked that
if they were not satisfied then they could always leave. This seemed to end the interview. TCHANG JOUEI KIU

Nous avons déjà rapporté que notre camarade TCHANG JOUEI KIU ayant écrit une lettre sur la vie des marins chinois à bord des bateaux français le célèbre traître de l'Université appelé Lieou Heou [Liu Hou]1 en avait informé la direction. Sous prétexte de violation des règlements on a obligé notre camarade TCHANG à quitter l'Université. TCHANG JOUEI KIU

Dans le but de réformer les règlements de l'Université, la section a décidé de câbler en Chine et à l'étranger pour dénoncer l'oppression dont TCHANG a été victime, et demander au Bureau Central d'envoyer en France un de nos partisans instruit pour s'occuper des écoles et des étudiants.

Quant à TCHANG JOUEI KIU, qui a déjà terminé ses études à l'école de chimie de Lyon, il retournera en Chine. La section a aussi demandé au bureau central d'inviter l'Université Sun Yat-Sen à payer ses frais d'études.

La discussion qui s'est produite entre TCHANG, les délégués des élèves et le directeur de l'Université, nous dévoile le visage féroce de l'impérialisme qui a perdu de vue le but de la fondation de l'Université qui était de faire que les civilisations chinoises et françaises se pénètrent. Nous croyons qu'il est utile de reproduire ici cette discussion, bien que cette affaire soit déjà du passé.

I. Discussion entre le camarade TCHANG JOUEI KIU et M. “Leipin” Lépine (Novembre 18, 1927)

M. LEPINE—La lecture de votre lettre (publiée dans le journal) m'a fort surpris.
M. TCHANG—L'avez-vous comprise, Monsieur?
M. LEPINE—Je l'avais fait traduire en français. Quelle idée avez-vous eue?
M. TCHANG—J'ai fait publier cette lettre en mon nom personnel. Cela ne concernait pas l'Université. Si vous estimez que j'ai commis une faute envers les Français, vous pouvez m'attaquer en justice et le Gouvernement Français m'expulsera.
M. LEPINE—C'est à l'Université qu'appartient la décision de vous garder ou de vous renvoyer. C'est pourquoi je vous ai fait venir pour vous en entretenir. J'estime qu'après avoir écrit votre lettre de Marseille vous ne pouvez plus rester à l'Université franco-chinoise. On ne peut admettre qu'ayant reçu des bienfaits des Français, vous les attaquez ainsi.
M. Lepine—Voyez si votre lettre est bien traduite?
M. Tchang—Elle est très bien traduite.
M. Lepine—Êtes-vous disposé à faire des excuses?
M. Tchang—Moi? Non! j’ai dépeint la situation exacte des navigateurs chinois à bord des bateaux français. Envoyé ici par l’Université Sun-Yat-Sen vous n’avez pas le droit de m’exclure.

À cette réponse, M. Lépine en courroux fixa M. Tchang qui sortit sans s’excuser.

II. Discussion entre les délégués des élèves et M. Lépine


M. Lepine—Ne parlons pas de cela, ce n’est pas ce qui est important. Votre camarade est inexcusable. Au début de sa lettre il a parlé de l’impérialisme français, ce qui n’avait aucun rapport avec ce qu’il avait à dire. En employant cette expression, il a voulu attaquer la France.

Les délégués—Vous trouvez que cette expression était déplacée. En réalité cette expression n’attaque aucunement la France. Quand nous disons l’impérialisme français, c’est analogue aux expressions: socialisme français, communisme français que nous entendons constamment. L’expression “Impérialisme français” ne prend de valeur vis-à-vis de la France que si votre pays a réellement une politique impérialiste.

M. Lepine—Vous défendez M. Tchang Jouei Kiu. Je sais bien que cette expression: impérialisme français est une expression courante, mais je vous ferai remarquer que la lettre de M. Tchang est écrite dans une mauvaise intention. Le jour de la réunion du conseil de discipline M. Tchang a montré son mauvais esprit. Il a refusé de faire des excuses, ce qui prouve son inconvenance.

Les délégués—Etant innocent, comment voulez-vous qu’il fît des excuses?

M. Lepine—La direction ne peut tolérer que vous publiez des articles attaquant la France et signés de votre titre d’étudiants à l’Université franco-chinoise de Lyon. L’assemblée générale l’a entendu ainsi. J’espère qu’un fait pareil ne se renouvellera pas.
Les délégués - Nous croyons qu'en cette affaire il y a eu un malentendu.
M. LEPINE—Il ne peut pas y avoir eu de malentendu.
Les délégués - La Direction ne cédera pas?
M. LEPINE—Je crains que non.
Les délégués - La direction française va-t-elle régler seule cet incident sans demander l'avis de la direction chinoise?
M. LEPINE—Oui c'est ainsi que cela doit être.
Les délégués - Alors la direction française n'a aucune considération pour les Chinois membres du Conseil.
M. LEPINE—Nous les prenons en considération quand ils le méritent. Tant que vous êtes à l'Université, vous devez suivre les règlements. N'importe comment, Tchang Jouei Kiu doit être exclu.
Les délégués—Les règlements de l'Université sont injustes.
M. LEPINE—Oui c'est ainsi, si vous n'êtes pas satisfaits, vous n'avez qu'à quitter l'Université.

Notes

1. Liu Hou, Chinese secretary at the SFI, and a follower of Li Shizeng, was the secretary of the SFEA at the height of the worker-student difficulties. At one meeting he was attacked by disgruntled worker-students. It appears that his traitorous act was to disclose this article to M. Lépine (see previous document). Liu was a member of the Leftist faction, and his opposition to the natural constituency of the Western Hills faction, which the rightist EGMD were (i.e., those represented in the journal, Sanmin), raises the paradoxical question of personal networks and ideology. Was his active opposition to this faction based on a differing personal affiliation or on his attention to the concept of imperialism? Perhaps this kind of discrepancy illustrates the inadequacy of these type of categorizations, a point originally suggested in a conversation to M. Levine by Guido Samarani, April 1993 (University of Venice).

2. It is very likely that these student delegates were from the Association des étudiants de la Section d'Outre-mer de l'Université Chungshan Nationale à Canton. In the dossier of Zhang Ruiju (73)[AAUFC] there is a follow-up letter written on letterhead stationery iterating the points they had discussed in this dialogue. On the letter is Lépine's comment: "Ne pas répondre. Conserve aux archives."
Document 63: Dossier of Johnson Long [Long Zhanxing], Sino-French Expulsion Documents (1927) [AAUFC]

Summary: This includes a translation of a letter from Sun Yat-sen University, dated July 1927, asking for the expulsion of four SFI students for their Communist affiliations. The letter asserted that Sun Yat-sen University would no longer give subventions for these students. The second part is a letter dated August 1927, in which the expelled students asked for a reconsideration of their case.

Lettre de Canton du 1er Juillet 1927 [traduction]
Nous recevons du chef de la section allemande du parti Kuomintang, qui l’a transmis à la Direction générale du parti à PARIS (Comité exécutif M. Li Sin-fei) et au délégué exécutif de la section de LYON, la nouvelle que quatre étudiants de l’Institut franco-chinois, boursiers de l’Université Tchong-Chan; LONG Johnson, SHIA-Ching, PENG Schih-chin et YEN Chi-chin, appartiennent au parti communiste.

On demande à l’Université de CANTON de prendre une décision convenable.

Actuellement, en Chine, il est procédé avec énergie à une épuration du parti (K.M.). Que les étudiants communistes soient en Chine ou à l’Etranger, il faut les exclure des écoles. Le parti K.M. (sections de PARIS et de LYON) certifient que les étudiants sus-nommés appartiennent au parti communiste.

Il faut donc supprimer études et subventions, ce qui aura lieu à partir du 1er Juillet.

Les quatre étudiants sont prévenus directement par CANTON.

Response of the Four Expelled Students
Dijon, le 12 Août 1927
Monsieur le Secrétaire;

Nous avons l’honneur de vous informer qu’a cause d’une décision sans fondement de l’Université de Canton, Monsieur Favre, le directeur de l’Institut nous a averti de sortir de l’Institut au plus tard le 30 de ce mois. Comme cette décision nous a étonné, nous venons d’écrire au recteur pour demander sa considération favorable. Nous sommes sûrs que notre pétition méritera une réponse satisfaisante et que l’on annulera bientôt cette décision.

Veuillez donc nous accorder la faveur de continuer le traitement de l’Institut comme à l’ordinaire pour attendre la réponse prochaine de
l'Université. Si la réponse est favorable, tout va bien. Si non, nous vous
prierons de demander à l'Université de Canton d'envoyer les frais de notre
retour en Chine.

Dans l'espoir de voir notre demande favorablement accueillie.

Veuillez agréer, cher monsieur, l'expression de nos sentiments les plus
respectueux.

Signed:
Peng Shih Chin No. 183
Johnson Long No. 180
Yen Chi Chin No. 185
Ching Shia

Document 64: Letter from Lépine to Zou Lu (November 1927)

Summary: A letter from Lépine to Zou Lu agreeing to the expulsions. He
mentioned vaguely some evidence with regard to one of the students, but
primarily trusted to the fact that he himself could not enter into the Chinese
political milieu.

Dossier Peng Shihin (#183) AAUFC
le 15 Novembre 1927, LYON
Monsieur le Recteur de l'Université Nationale de Tchong-chan à Canton
Monsieur le Recteur,

En réponse à votre lettre du 23 septembre dernier, j'ai l'honneur de vous
faire connaître que nous n'avons aucun moyen de pénétrer dans les milieux
politiques chinois en France et de nous assurer que MM. LONG Johnson, PENG
Shi-chin, SHIA Ching, YEN Chi-chin sont membres du parti communiste.

Toutefois je puis vous communiquer l'extract d'une lettre que nous
envoyâts, au début du mois de juillet dernier, le Principal du Collège de
Bonneville où étudiait M. YEN Chi-chin. Il n'y a pas de doute qu'en ce qui
concerne cet étudiant il ait manifesté des idées telles que nous ne puissions le
reprendre à l'Institut. Je crois que ses trois camarades, très liés avec lui,
partageaient aussi ses idées. En tout cas il serait d'un mauvais effet de les faire
rentrer à l'Institut.
Si vous désirez qu’ils continuent leurs études en France, nous vous demandons de leur envoyer directement le montant de leur bourse de façon que toute relation entre l’Institut et ces étudiants soit définitivement rompue.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Recteur, les assurances de ma haute considération.

Le Doyen de la Faculté de Médecine
Président de l'Association universitaire franco-chinoise

Document 65: The Case of Yang Kun: Selections from Yang Kun’s Dossier (13) AAUFC

Summary: Here are four documents selected from Yang Kun’s dossier. The first is the outline of Yang Kun’s first thesis proposal, which was on the life and ideas of Sun Yat-sen (not approved by his advisers). It is followed by three letters: a recommendation letter to Marcel Granet for Yang Kun to study with the former in Paris; a second letter from Marcel Mauss, who also helped direct Yang Kun’s studies; and a letter from Yang Kun to Maurice Courant, his adviser, which discussed his progress.

“Sun Yat-sen: sa vie, ses doctrines psychologiques, sociologiques, constitutionnelles”

Introduction
I. Sa vie et ses oeuvres
II. Sa doctrine psychologique: Comprendre est difficile, agir est facile (Tche Nan Hing Yi)
III. Sa doctrine sociologique: Les trois Principes du Peuple (San Min Tchou Yi)
1er principe: Le nationalisme (Min Tsou Tchou Yi)
2e principe: Le démocratisme {démocratie} (Min K’uen Tchou Yi)
3e principe: Le socialisme (Min Cheng Tchou Yi)
IV. Sa doctrine constitutionnelle: Constitution en cinq pouvoirs (Ou K’uen Hien Fa)
Pouvoir législatif
Pouvoir judiciaire
Pouvoir exécutif
Pouvoir examinateur (T’an Hai K’uen)
Pouvoir enquêteur (K’a Chen K’uen)

Conclusion
Appendice: Notice bibliographique.

Recommendation to Marcel Granet, Professeur à la Sorbonne (27 Octobre 8)
Mon cher Collègue,

Je confie cette lettre à M. YANG Kun, un de nos étudiants, fort travailleur, que j’envoie à Paris pour quelques recherches à la Bibliothèque Nationale. Il est en effet assez avancé dans la préparation d’une thèse sur la Succession au culte et la Succession au patrimoine.

Il se peut qu’après la soutenance de cette thèse, nous trouvions intéressant pour M. YANG Kun de passer quelque temps à Paris. C’est avec cette idée, que je prends la liberté de vous le présenter; il s’intéresse beaucoup à la sociologie et sera fort heureux de faire votre connaissance.

Je vous remercie d’avance, mon cher Collègue, de l’accueil que vous ferez à M. YANG, et je vous prie de croire à mes sentiments les plus distingués.¹

Letter From Marcel Mauss (3 October 1930)
Université de Paris
Institut d’Ethnologie
191, rue Saint-Jacques Paris (5e)
Paris, 10/3/30
Monsieur et Cher Collègue,

En réponse à votre lettre concernant M. Yang Kun, j’ai l’honneur de vous informer que le diplôme de l’Institut d’Ethnologie étant rigoureusement un diplôme d’Université et intérieur à notre Institut, nous pouvons à la rigueur, sur votre simple référence, nous passer des dossiers de M. Yang Kun.

M. Yang Kun pourra se présenter à notre examen à la session du début de Juin, et nous tiendrons le plus grand compte de votre recommandation à laquelle nous attachons le plus grand prix.

Il serait urgent pour nous de savoir si la date que nous fixerons prochainement pour cet examen conviendra bien à vos propres arrangements en ce qui concerne la thèse qu’il doit soutenir devant vous.
Veuillez, mon cher Collègue, agréer, l'expression de mes sentiments bien distingués.

[Signed:] M. Mauss

Letter from Yang Kun to Courant (March 20, 1930)

Mon Cher Maître,

Je crois que vous avez reçu la réponse de Monsieur le Professeur Mauss. Grâce à vous, il a bien voulu m’accorder la soutenance de ma thèse au retour des vacances de Pâques. Mais comme les examens de l’Institut d’Ethnologie auront lieu au mois de juin, je dois donc bien m’occuper de cette matière au mois de mai pour la préparation. Une fois les examens passés, je désire rentrer vite en Chine parce que la vie à Paris est trop chère et que c’est très avantageux pour moi de rentrer plus tôt. Je désire bien de pouvoir finir complètement ma thèse avant le mois de mai c’est-à-dire exactement comme vous m’avez promis la soutenance aura lieu vers la fin du mois d’avril. Si vous croyez que ma présence à Lyon soit utile dès l’heure actuelle, je pourrai y aller la semaine prochaine, car Monsieur Mauss partira bientôt au Maroc pour cinq ou six semaines et pendant son absence je serai relativement libre à Paris. Vous serez bien aimable de me dire si je dois aller à Lyon la semaine prochaine.

Croyez, je vous prie, Mon cher Maître, à l’expression de mon sentiment le plus respectueux et le plus reconnaissant.

Yang Kun chez M. Perrin
Arcueil (Seine) 9 rue Paul Bert

Notes

1. Unsigned letter, but presumably it was Professor Maurice Courant.
An Introduction to Granet’s Sinology

We know that sinology, in the eyes of Occidentals, is an Occidental science and, above all, essentially a French science. Twenty years ago Chevannes said: “If sinology is, in its origins, a science inaugurated by French missionaries and established by men such as Abel Rémusat and Stanislas Julien, it now includes on its roll French sinologues who are worthy of their illustrious predecessors.”

During the last twenty years Occidental sinology has remained a French science, since authorities such as Paul Pelliot (1878–19–), Henri Maspero (1883–19–) and Bernhard Karlgren (1889–19–) all belong to the French school.

Professor Granet also belongs to that school. He began to make himself known in 1912, and he has been famous for the last seven or eight years. He has been able to open a new road to sinology, and represents a school which

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2 Bernhard Karlgren, a Swedish sinologue and an eminent philologist, is also a disciple of Chavannes.

3 Marcel Granet was born at Luc-en Diois (Drôme) on February 29, 1884. He entered the Ecole Normale Supérieure in 1904, and graduated as agrégé d’histoire in 1907. He received a scholarship from the Thiers Foundation, 1908 to 1911. He was doing research in China from 1911 to 1913. He has been the Director of Studies on Religions of the Far East in the section on religious science at the Ecole les (det) Hautes Etudes in Paris since 1913, as the successor to Edouard Chavannes. He received the degree of Docteur ès Lettres in 1920. Since 1925, he has been concurrently Professor of Geography, History and Institutions of the Far East at the National School of Oriental Living Languages. He is also one of the founders of the Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises. Ever since the establishment of this institute in 1926, he has been its Administrator, and Professor of Chinese Civilization. For his works, see the bibliographical list at the end of this article.

marks an important date in the historiography of Chinese civilization.

Strange to say none of his works has as yet been translated into Chinese, and our Chinese scholars appear to be unaware or to think little of his contributions to sinology. It has been only in the last four or five years that some of his works have been translated into English and that his name began to be known in our country. Unfortunately, Granet has no personal connections with our Chinese scholars. His method of work differs entirely from that of Chinese sinologues of the old type and of the new. More unfortunately still, hardly was his name known in China, when Granet found a redoubtable foe in Dr. V. K. Ting, who, without much delicacy, loosed upon his work and upon his person damaging sarcasm. Ever since, Granet has not been spoken of without jibes which doubtless arose from a lack of understanding. Consequently, no one endeavors to find whether Granet has really brought anything new to sinology. This misunderstanding, regrettable no doubt for Granet, is, to my mind, still more regrettable for our national scholarship.

Personally, I have been a pupil of Granet, and he has given me most useful advice. I will not undertake his defense here; his own works can do it better than I. However, I would like to suggest to my readers that before criticizing an author, one should try to understand him. Did Dr. V. K. Ting know the French language thoroughly? I do not know; but admitting that he knew it perfectly, it might still be possible that he could not understand Granet's scholarship. For these two minds, equally searching though they are, are antithetical; the one, a scientist's mind profoundly influenced by Huxley's rationalism, the other, a mythologist's mind deeply imbued with the sociology of Marcel Mauss. It is possible for a man who is distinguished in one sphere

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6 Cf. Fu Sau-nien 傅斯年 or 傅孟真 "Wo So Jen Shib Ti Ting Wen-chiang Hsien Sheng" 我所認識的丁文江先生 (V. K. Ting as I Knew Him), Tu Li P'ing Lun 獨立評論 (Independent Review), no. 188 (a special number in memory of V. K. Ting), Feb. 16, 1936, p.7-8. V. K. Ting is one of the rare scientists of our country. He is not only a geologist and geographer but also a thinker. His contributions to Chinese ethnology are very important. Unfortunately his works along this line had not been completed when he died. After his death the National Research Institute of History and Philosophy of the Academia Sinica edited his Ts'uan wen ts'ung k'an chia pien 羅文彚刊甲編 (Documents Concerning the Lolas), 1936; but no one has yet made a systematic study of his ethnological work.
not to understand one who is distinguished in another. V. K. T'ing did not understand Granet just as Goethe did not understand Beethoven, and yet each of them was a genius in his own realm.

On the first page of his first book, *Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine* (1919), Granet inscribed the words: “To the memory of Emile Durkheim and Edouard Chavannes.” Later, in 1926, he dedicated his fundamental work, *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*, “To Marcel Mauss,” and he expressly added in his introduction: “My first wish is that my readers may feel that I have been the pupil of Chavannes and of Durkheim. I have received, although I may not have merited it, the best recompense that I could hope for. Through the friendship of M. Mauss I have been allowed to place his name on the first page of my book.” This shows that there also exists between Granet, Chavannes, Durkheim, and Mauss an affinity of thought which we must understand if we wish to understand Granet himself.

I shall not attempt here to speak of the life and achievements of Edouard Chavannes (1865–1918); sinologues of all countries know them well. Chavannes’ influence on Granet, it seems to me, may be summed up in three points. First, Chavannes’ conception of sinology differs from that of his Western predecessors who, following the way traced by our Chinese historians, treated sinology as pure erudition; while Chavannes widened its field enormously and took as the object of his studies the totality of Chinese civilization. Archeology, epigraphy, ethnology, and folklore are all included in his study as well as sinology proper. Secondly, Chavannes is not only a sinologist but also an historian of rare ability. It is only after him that Western sinologues have known how to apply historical method to sinology and thus freed themselves from the traditional thought of China. Thirdly, Chavannes discovered, through his study of the *Shih-chi* 史記, that religion had played a preponderant part in the civilization of ancient China; no one before him had seen it so clearly.

From Chavannes to Granet sinology has made further progress: First, Granet’s sinology has for its object not a description but a sociological analysis of Chinese civilization. Secondly, Granet has welded into a single double-edged weapon Chavannes’ historical method and analytical method of the

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French sociological school. This is one of Granet's most important contributions to present-day sinology. Thirdly, Granet has discovered new facts, all of which supply data on religion in ancient China. These form the subject matter of all his writing.

I should like to emphasize this last, for in all his work Granet starts from the mythologist's point of view. The significance of his contribution is precisely that indicated in the first sentence of Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine: "I wish to show that it is not impossible to know something of China's antiquités religieuses." We must adopt his point of view if we wish to understand his work. In this matter the influence of Chavannes was not solely responsible, for Granet himself is a born mythologist; and he has been more influenced by the French sociological school, chiefly by Mauss, than he was by Chavannes. In addition, the question of environment should not be neglected, for Granet is the Director for Far Eastern Religions in l'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, and all his works have been conceived and nourished there. Nevertheless, all this does not mean that the influence of Chavannes was the least important. Chavannes has been to Granet a light, a guide showing him the direction to be followed. Granet calls Chavannes' Dieu du Sol "a model of exact erudition and of historical precision." This indicates an undeniable influence but Durkheim has exerted a still more considerable influence on the formation of Granet's mind.

It is generally known that Emil Durkheim (1858–1917) is the founder of the French sociological school and one of the most famous sociologists in the world. His name is mentioned in all text books of sociology; it is, therefore, unnecessary to say more about him. And yet we should like to call attention to the fact that the three of his books which have been translated into English, although well known otherwise, have exercised no great influence

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8 The italics are the author's.


on Granet. The preferences of Granet go to *Le Suicide*\(^{11}\) and *Quelques Formes Primitives de Classification*.\(^{12}\) The former is by Durkheim; the latter is by Durkheim and Mauss in collaboration.

Granet has said: "For myself and for others it is neither *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique* nor *La Division du Travail* which has shaken and conquered me, it is *Le Suicide*: and I believe that sociologists might possibly be divided into those who are inspired by *Le Suicide* and the others."\(^{13}\)

In *Quelques Formes Primitives de Classification* Granet has seen something very valuable, the principle of discovery: "The principle of their [the sociologists] discovery is found in the paper on *Quelques Formes Primitives de Classification* published by Durkheim and Mauss. It gives me pleasure to say—and it may of interest to add that very few specialists have quoted them—that the few pages of this paper which concern China should mark a date in the history of sinological studies."\(^{14}\) We may say that Granet has admirably applied this principle in all his works, above all in *La Pensée Chinoise*, his most recent and successful work.

Although the founder of the French sociological school is Durkheim, its chief living representative is Durkheim’s successor, Marcel Mauss (1872–19), one of the founders of the young school of French ethnology. Unfortunately few of his works have as yet been translated into English, but his influence on Granet is deeper and more fruitful than Durkheim’s, as Granet himself states.\(^{15}\)
I see two reasons for this: Mauss is at the same time a sociologist, an historian of religions, and a gifted mythologist; in this he has the same type of mind as Granet. Secondly, the French sociological school which Mauss represents has entered a new stage, chiefly as regards method. Durkheim's *Les Règles de la Méthode Sociologique* has a philosophical character and frequently gives categorical statements. Though Mauss's method is essentially the same as Durkheim's, it is more supple, better suited for concrete studies, more exciting and more fruitful. For example, Mauss uses prudently and cautiously the comparative method, but at the same time he uses also the historical method. He insists on collaboration between historians and sociologists. These ideas are very well suited to Granet's mind.

On this point, may I recall a personal memory? When I saw Professor Granet in his home for the first time, on November 14, 1928, he advised me to read *L'Année Sociologique*. He told me that the section on general sociology did not deserve much attention because of its philosophical tendency; but he recommended that I read well the section on religious sociology, saying that he read it often and found some things which were highly significant. Then, talking to me about Mauss, he insisted on my taking his lectures and on my reading his entire works, and reading them several times. While escorting me to the threshold of his drawing room, he advised me to give at least two months to each of two articles by Mauss: "Les Variations Saisonnieres des Sociétés Eskimos" and "Essai sur le Don." His last statement was with emphasis on *Conversations*.


each word: “Read slowly and always slowly.”

Later I understood the value of this advice and especially I have realized that slow, reflective, and repeated reading was Granet’s method of work. Through this method he has extracted the quintessence of Mauss’s works, as is shown in all his writings and especially in Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne and La Pensée Chinoise.

I believe that Granet is the scholar who has been most influenced by Mauss, who has understood him best and who has best applied his method, so that he is not only a “sinologue sociologisant,” according to the expression of Georges Davy, but he will also doubtless be the legitimate heir of Mauss, the true representative of the French sociological school after him. One thing is to be remembered. Present day sociology is no longer philosophy. The disciples of Mauss are all historical sociologists or ethnographists, they are not pure theorists.

Whether we read Granet or listen to his lectures, we perceive quickly that he gives much importance to method. To my mind his long introduction to Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne is the best statement of his method, and a revolutionary manifesto in the realm of sinology. It is regrettable that the book has not been translated into English. In this introduction Granet first states this problem: “By which method may we establish a body of documents giving us information on the conditions of fact and of environment which have favored the appearance of seigniorial power and of the institutions connected with it?” Granet frankly says, “In China and on our subject we can, in fact, find no documents other than legends which have been transformed into history (légendes historisées); the following remarks take into account that type of document alone.”

Are those documents worthy to be considered historical documents? Granet has his own particular attitude towards documentary criticism. While Chinese historians in general endeavor to trace the literary significance of texts

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21 Cf. Conversations, ch. on Granet.
22 Infra., p. 233, regarding the lecturing method of Granet.
24 Infra., p. 235 and note 52.
and to determine the precise publication date of books, Granet looks in texts for significant traces which will help him to understand aspects of ancient religion in China. He condemns as a fundamental error the attitude of rationalistic historians who give up facts for the sake of texts and do not try to reach the deep, mythical sources of those texts. “What is the meaning of *authentic* and of *false*? Merely this: that of two arrangements of facts, one is attested as more ancient than the other, and that the second, through a more or less marked artifice, has been attached to the first. As to the facts, in both cases they were supplied by tradition. Tradition is worth what it is worth (this remains to be seen). When concerned with a past reaching back a thousand years in a country where the archives (whenever they were any) have always been rapidly destroyed, is the worth of tradition greater or smaller according to whether it has been found three or four centuries earlier or later? Is the authentic *Shu Ching* the nearest to the Confucian text? Possibly. Is the false *Shu Ching* a fabrication? It has been fabricated with accounts which are found, for example, in Mo Ti. Mo Ti and Confucius are approximately contemporary. Do the documents differ in value? Is the authentic *Shu Ching* less of a fabrication than the other?  

On the same grounds Granet says, “There is good reason for discarding the traditional opposition between orthodox and unorthodox texts. The former deserve no more credence than the latter. Both use the same themes in a different spirit.”  

He is, therefore, entitled to conclude, “All texts, without distinction, can serve to supply facts. Criticism will be fruitful when it starts from facts and not from texts.”

By facts Granet means social facts. His works, from his fundamental *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne*, his most concrete study, to *La Civilisation Chinoise* and *La Pensée Chinoise*, his most general books, are not studies of literary history, but studies of the history of institutions and beliefs. In *La Civilisation Chinoise* Granet tries to discover “the social system of the Chinese in ancient times” and in *La Pensée Chinoise*, “the institutional basis

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of Chinese thought.\textsuperscript{31}

On the question of historical dating, there is room for argument.\textsuperscript{32} But Granet’s position is quite clear: “We must take our materials from authors of different periods, of unequal value, of uncertain history, of varied origin, of opposing schools. And it would be wasted effort to seek for each of the facts certain and precise dates or localizations.”\textsuperscript{33} Shall we conclude that the facts studied by Granet are not historical facts? On this point we should note that Granet studies a prehistoric period, which he calls, “the age of semi-written literature.”\textsuperscript{34} The historical facts of that period are “disguised centos,” which in the broad framework of abstract chronology have only a ritual date.\textsuperscript{35} Hence all written documents concerning that period carry dates, the exactitude of which cannot be proved. But even if their dates are not absolutely accurate, even if those documents have been written much later than the dates they bear, the one thing that matters for us is that these documents tell facts which have been told from mouth to mouth as legends of that prehistoric period. So that those facts and those legends preserve all their symbolical and mythological value. Hence, Granet calls such dates “ritual dates.” I believe that Granet, writing as a mythologist, was able to explain sociologically and mythologically the conceptions of time, space and numbers of the ancient Chinese. Therein lies the great value of his last work, \textit{La Pensée Chinoise}.

Although Granet considers the search for an accurate date to be a fruitless task, he suggests that sociological analysis could determine “sociological dates.” Facts could be placed within the framework of the period according to the correspondence “between certain states of technique and certain states of beliefs and of the social structure.”\textsuperscript{36} Such a date is, just as an archeological date, established from real facts and not from pure reasoning. Granet affirms, “Sociological analysis comes to the help of historical criticism, which would be

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{PC}, p. 4.


\textsuperscript{33} \textit{DL}, p. 40.

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 600.

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 600.

\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 602; see especially p. 52–53.
helpless without its assistance."^{37}

As to his criteria for the selection of materials, Granet has said, “Let us choose the richest among the legendary data. Let us exclude neither those deformed by the historical spirit, nor those which have the reputation of being mere collections of fabl(e)s or inventions.”^{38} He adds in a note, “Those I read with most attention are: The *Elegies* of Ch’u, and the odes of Ssu-ma Hsiaug-ju, Lieh Tzu, Chuang Tzu, Mo Tzu, Huai Nan Tzu, Han Fei Tzu, Yen Tzu, the Lü Shih, Ch’un Ch’iu, the *Lun Heng*. [italics exactly as in original]^{39}

Granet’s reading method deserves our attention: “We must compel ourselves to a slow and direct reading of the texts,”^{40} and in the note, “I mean reading several times, always without reference to the translation if there is one. The most valuable facts (which are connections) reveal themselves only through details of style and composition, peculiarities which are discovered by long practice. When one has discovered a new one, one must re-read the entire text with it in mind. One must repeat this process every time one discovers a new scent; I once read the Tso Chuan to collect the names of the gates of the capital city of Sung; when I was led to take an interest in the swamps, I re-read the material.”^{41}

It must be added that Granet does not use indexes. He reads every work from beginning to end without emitting a single word. “One must,” he says, “refuse to work with the help of encyclopedias or with anything which, in Chinese, may serve as an indexing system. Otherwise it would be binding oneself to accepting late and probably arbitrary associations of fact.”^{42}

Granet has never had the ambition to reconstruct a history of ancient China. In the first sentence of *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne* he states, “I shall not commit the mistake of wanting to reconstruct a single one of the

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^{42} *Ibid.* Although Granet does not use indexes in his reading, all his most important works contain indexes. Strictly speaking, the proper method of indexing has existed in China only since 1931 with the Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series. The publication of this series, directed by Professor William Hung 洪業 廣蓮, marks an important date in Chinese science.
Chinese legends."\(^{43}\) Later he adds, "Even when a sufficiently large mass of facts seem to refer to the *same* context, never attempt to reconstruct a legend or a mythical figure."\(^{44}\)

Another important point is that Granet resolutely rejects rationalism; he believes that it is precisely the "incorrigible rationalism"\(^{45}\) which carries our traditionalistic writers into error. The work of these rationslists consists mistakenly in "purifying the texts," that is in eliminating (under the pretext that the text has been altered) the facts wherein the profound reason of the ancients does not seem to manifest itself.\(^{46}\)

Granet does not care for philological criticism which historians use by preference. He believes that the "philogolical criticism by itseft cannot produce from the texts a positive history."\(^{47}\) While Chavannes had made much use of that method, and Pelliot and Maspero did the same, Granet alone has preferred another method. "Let us substitute for philologial criticism a decidedly sociological analysis which first takes into consideration the history of institutions and beliefs."\(^{48}\) This is what distinguishes Granet from the other sinologues. This is perhaps his true originality and his peculiar contribution.

Granet does not have much confidence in the comparative ethnographical method. The following passage reveals his reasons for prudence and his attitude as an historian: "Ethnographical erudition is a recent fashion. Although I have The *Golden Bough* as well as a collection of *l'Année Sociologique*, although I know how to use their indexes, and although it is proved that learned studies can be made by using them, I have not succumbed to the temptation of enriching my poor Chinese documents by swelling them with impressive documents borrowed, through intermediaries, from the Africans or the Americans. I was afraid to lose my dust of centos in this rich mortar; I believe that the poor must never borrow from the rich."\(^{49}\)

Lastly we must speak of the method of sociological analysis. This method

\(^{43}\) *DL*, p. 1.
\(^{47}\) *CC*, p. 68.
\(^{48}\) *DL*, p. 36.
has not been invented by Granet, it comes from the school of Durkheim and Mauss. Granet acknowledges it himself: "Perhaps a worker should express his gratitude when he has used an efficient tool which he has not invented." But Granet has the merit of having applied it to sinology, thus discovering many surprising facts about ancient Chinese religions. That in itself is an important contribution.

Although here we cannot treat at length the subject of sociological analysis, we wish to indicate a few essential points which are directly connected with Granet in order to clear up some misunderstandings regarding him.

Sociological analysis, in the eyes of the French sociological school is the best tool for discovery, the only one which secures a correct and complete explanation of social facts. It is a positive method which starts from facts, studies facts, and ends in other new facts. It is a method of scientific research and not at all an illustration of facts. Granet has written: "It may be (and it will be nothing new) that, from different sides, and, I imagine, meaning it as a compliment, these pages will make people tell me that I have wished to throw light on Chinese facts by means of 'sociological theories,' or (just as well) that I have attempted to illustrate 'sociological theory' with the help of Chinese facts. Is it necessary to declare that I know nothing of what is called sociological theory or theories? Ever since there have been sociologists, has not their first aim been to discover facts? Perhaps I have indicated a few which had not been noticed before."

The method of sociological analysis has as its object facts which it aims to explain, and not to describe, as does historical method; however, these two methods are complementary, sociological method explaining the facts which historical method has first described. Granet’s method derives from an admirable fusion of these two methods.

Sociological analysis is first of all an analysis of concrete facts. It limits itself to particular cases, not abstract generality. That is why *Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne* are presented "in the form of a collection of documents which are analyzed, preceded by a somewhat long introduction and followed

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52 PC, p. 29, note 1.
by a rather short conclusion. Fêtes et Chansons Anciennes de la Chine and La Polygynie Sororale et le Sororat dans la Chine féodale are in the main composed in the same way. Although in the two general works, La Civilisation Chinoise and La Pensée Chinoise, Granet seems to aim at “un exposé d’ensemble,” actually in them he studies as well particular and typical cases; he always prefers and applies the case method which he sometimes calls “the applied method.” Although Granet has made many discoveries concerning ancient Chinese civilization, he does not pretend to write a complete history of China. He stated this plainly in La Civilisation Chinoise: “There is for the moment no possibility of writing a handbook of Chinese antiquity?” And he repeated in La Pensée Chinoise: “I would not accept the task of writing a handbook of Chinese literature or philosophy.” This is to be kept in mind when you read Granet.

Considered from another point of view the method of sociological analysis is also essentially a comparative method; for without comparison it is not possible to have any explanation. Fustel de Coulanges has said, “The comparative method, so dangerous for those who do not use it well, is, however, necessary to the historian.” Only sociological comparison differs from the old comparative method by its precision and above all by its point of view of the “category of totality.” Although Granet does not want to use his enormous ethnographical erudition to throw light on Chinese facts, he does compare the facts with each other. For example, his paragraph on the Chia Ku meeting to my mind is a comparative study, showing in a typical way the

53 DL, p. 53.
54 CC, p. 4.
56 CC, p. 3. And on p. 6 Granet says, “I have proceeded mainly with the aid of examples and I have only insisted on decisive points.”
57 PC, p. 3. He has explained his aim on p. 13: “I propose merely to analyze a limited number of Chinese conceptions and attitudes which offers the best opportunity to be objective. I have only taken into consideration the most significant of them in order to examine them in detail. (The italics are mine.)
strength of his method.

In my estimation Granet's greatest merit is that he took recourse neither to ethnological erudition nor to the new facts recently discovered by excavations. He has worked exclusively on Chinese texts, which had been studied by Chinese sinologues for over a thousand years, and on which they had said almost all that they could say. He discovered in them, however, facts that nobody had seen before him, and gave us a new interest in these old books from which we now hope to gain more new things. Is not this one of the great contributions of Granet?

What has made it possible for Granet to discover unknown things is his method, new to sinology, of sociological analysis, as well as his new attitude, differing from that of both traditional historians and scientific—rationalistic—historians, a sociological attitude made fruitful by a mythologist's attitude. It is not surprising that he looked at sinology with new eyes. Perhaps, his studies will make us understand the importance of the religious aspects of Chinese civilization, hitherto neglected by our Chinese sinologues and even by those of the West.

This paper is only a rapid introduction to Granet's sinology. So we cannot discuss the question of whether Granet's discoveries are simply hypotheses or whether he has really discovered new facts. We must wait for excavations to produce proof of whether Granet's discoveries are false or true. For the present they have a provisional character, for prehistorical archeology is only beginning in China. Granet says at the end of Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne, “The question will be settled only by excavations;” hence we know that although he could not use the results of recent excavations, he considers them highly important.

In conclusion we should like to quote one more sentence of Granet, showing that he is not only a great Western sinologue but also a great friend of our country: “China represents a cultural tradition which is a sister of the

51 The author is now preparing a somewhat longer study on the sinology of Granet.
52 DL, p. 619. See also CC, p. 74.
63 Aside from La Pensee Chinoise, all of Granet's books were written before 1929. The first volume of Report on the Excavation at Anyang was published in that year; the second volume in 1930; the third in 1931 and the fourth in 1933. In 1932 the first three volumes of this important report were chosen from the Stanislas Julien Prize. This proves that French sinologues are not ignorant of recent archeological discoveries in China.
best Western tradition. We may, therefore, wish success to the ideas it stands for.  

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See especially the two articles: “Chine” and “Japon.”

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**Criticisms on Granet**


The Times Literary Supplement, Sept. 24, 1931, p. 715.

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Li Houang, 李璜：古中國的跳舞與神秘故事，上海中華書局，1933.

An incomplete and unsatisfactory summary in Chinese of Danses et Légendes de la Chine Ancienne. Failing anything better, it may be of use to those who cannot read the original, provided they use it with discretion.


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中國古代旅行之研究側重其法術的方面，第一冊，上海商務印書館，
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I had already written my own article when I saw a typed copy of the above 
article by Mr. Jablonski. I was happy to find that Mr. Jablonski’s 
observations, although they do not agree with my own, do not contradict 
them. They are, indeed, complementary.

Yang Kun
10. Ideology and Alternative Political Parties

These last three sections focus on three political parties. The section on the Chinese Youth Party includes a French police report and the 1930 Chinese Youth Party Manifesto. The manifesto articulates the political vision and program of the Chinese Youth Party, clearly opposing the CCP and GMD. Interestingly, the document was printed in several languages, and we have included the English version. The section on the ECCO contains two excerpts from their paper, Chiguang, a critique of Sun Yat-sen-ism, and a letter of gratitude from a Chinese in Cuba, who appreciated the publication of the paper. An initial editorial from the Chinese Sailor newspaper, published in Hamburg, is included in this section, primarily to point to the geographical change from France to Germany for the Communists. It also suggests that the Chinese sailors served as a key conduit for radical activities for the Chinese community abroad. Perhaps it is no coincidence that Liao Zhongkai's son, Liao Chengzhi, agitated in Hamburg and Rotterdam. Finally, most of the Chinese Social Democratic Party report to the Brussels Congress of 1928 is included, as it outlines the Marxist position the party adopted and its platform. Also notable is that it was not China, but the Paris section of the Chinese Social Democratic Party that was included in this official record.
Summary: A note on the publication of Xiansheng, the organ of the Chinese Youth Party (Qingniandang). This report supplied information on place of publication, French guarantor, and number of issues. The opinion was expressed that in fact the political principles of the Chinese Youth Party were Republican, not Communist. The leaders were mentioned, such as Wao Kai Wei [Hu Guowei?], Tcheou Yung Sen, and others.

Le journal “SINE SHING” fondé en Mai 1923 par un groupe d’étudiants chinois imprimé en langue chinoise à d’abord été tiré à la main 6 rue Blainville, puis chez Bléjean 43 Rue Hoche à Malakoff et 10 rue Guerard à Fontenay-aux-Roses et actuellement 1 villa des Roses à Fontenay aux Roses.

Actuellement il est tiré à 1000 exemplaires et compte 200 abonnés, il est mis en vente à raison de 0.50 le numéro dans les restaurants chinois du quartier latin et dans quelques kiosques.

Les invendus sont envoyés en Chine et dans les pays où il existe une colonie chinoise.

Le journal SINE SHING n’est subventionné par aucune société financière, ses ressources proviennent uniquement de la vente et de quelques petites subventions de chinois fortunés.

Il n’appartient à aucun parti. Cependant quelques articles parus dans un numéro au début de l’année 1927 révélaient une tendance révolutionnaire, et pouvaient laisser supposer que ce journal était l’organe des communistes chinois en France; mais d’après l’enquête il résulté que le SINE SHING est lu par des chinois républicains patriotes.

Il publie principalement des articles sur les événements de Chine et sur la Colonie chinoise à Paris.

En Janvier 1927 ce journal avait son siège 10 rue Guerard à Fontenay aux Roses dans une villa appartenant à un nommé Rousset Emile qui fut candidat de B.O.P. aux élections municipales de 1925. Le journal était alors dirigé par 2 chinois qui occupaient une chambre commune 10 rue Guerard.

TCHOU HSING né le 7 février 1899 à Lian Tau Diu (Chine) célibataire, étudiant, locataire de cette chambre depuis le 31 5 26, titularer d’une carte d’identité.
Document 68: The Declaration of the Young China Party in Europe and America (October 10, 1930) (published Paris on the occasion of Sine-Shing’s no. 300 Memorial Edition) [SLOTFOM VIII, 4] original in English

Its Origin, its Principle, its Movement and its Purpose

On the day of Sine-Shing’s n° 300 memorial edition—the official newspaper of the “Young China” party—we are very glad to say that our publication has been regular and its development a great success which is due to the ceaseless efforts and the enthusiasm of our sympathetic compatriots. It has now become one of the most important and regular weekly political newspapers abroad.

On this occasion, we would like to say something about the origin, the principle, the movement and purpose of our party to our foreign friends. It was formed seven years ago. At that time, China was suffering internally from civil war; and was externally pressed by foreign imperialism. The only way to
civil war; and was externally pressed by foreign imperialism. The only way to make China unified and independent was national revolution. The parties then existing were Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Both of them were incapable of bearing the responsibility of saving China from danger. The former is corrupted and has no party discipline, while the latter is merely an instrument of the Soviets and paid by Russians to provoke civil war in China. Therefore, we, Young Chinese patriots, found it was necessary to form the "Young China" party in order to fight for the unification and independence of China, for the people.

Having gained experience through the numerous and sorrowful events of the years gone by, we cannot endure any longer internal and external pressure; we want to set our country free of all foreign protectorship and to renew its organization so as to enable China to hold her place amongst the great Powers.

Therefore “Young China” has made hers the following programme which is also that of the whole nation: "The unification of China; national independence and territorial integrity; abolition of one-sided treaties; the establishment of a federal government; the disbanding of troops; professional suffrage; protection of Chinese nationals in foreign countries; encouragement of industries and commerce; exploitation of the nation’s resources; nationalisation of main industries and enterprises; diffusing of sciences; the reinforcement of national defence;—and these are the most important points of the reforms we want to accomplish.

Thanks to its programme which meets with all the needs of the country, thanks also to the disinterestedness and energy of its partisans, the “Young China” party has become more and more influential in Chinese politics, and is growing rapidly, although its history is not long. It numbers 400,000 members drawn from all classes. They are found not only in China but abroad as well.

In the past few years, we have fought against communists who tried to enslave the Chinese people.

We have striven to warn our brothers against that new red imperialism who sought to put China under bondage, as well as against the Kuomintang.

Moreover we have done a large propaganda to awake patriotism and fight the dictatorial rule and corruption of the Kuomintang. Our aims and activities have already been recognized and accepted by Chinese people as the only guides to the national and democratic revolution.
Therefore, "Young China" who represents the spirit of the national awakening of China, not only desires the true unification but yet complete independence of that country. She proclaims now at the world's face, her unshaken will to obtain for the Chinese People a treatment \{treatment\} fair and equitable and the right, like any other nation, to dispose of itself.

We are fully prepared, even at the cost of blood shed, to fight for the abolishment of the one-sided treaties China has been submitted to during the last century, treaties that are outrageous to the national dignity of the Chinese people. We trust that the American and Western people will ply upon their own governments and the capitalists oppressors of China to compel them to act accordingly and: "leave once for all China to the Chinese."

If there is no unification, no liberty and no independence; if there are still foreign oppressions, we shall never stop fighting until our aims be reached. We want world peace; but if there is no peace for China, there will be no peace for the world. The peace and independence of China will certainly be a definite step towards the world peace.

The first and the most intractable foe that the Young China Party has encountered on the political battle-ground is naturally the Communist party. Because the former fights without mercy against the conspiracy of the latter with Soviet Russia; because they criticize passionately the ideas of the Communists and their tactics; because they expose in broad daylight the vanity of the World Revolution and the danger of that conception for China. The Young China Party has been from the very beginning, the object of violent and furious attacks of their Communist enemies. Strong in the military and financial power of the Kuomintang which they have transformed to their liking, the agents of Moscow have attempted to exterminate the Young China Party in a few months. They treated them as "fascists" and alleged that "nationalism is fascism." But in reality, the social and democratic thought which inspires the Young China Party is diametrically opposed to the reactionary policy of Mussolini. However, the Young China Party is not ashamed to profess that in the love of their mother-land, nationalism and fascism do stand on common ground, but the nationalist stands for democracy, while the fascist stands for dictatorship.

Early in the spring of 1927, when the troops of the south had not yet reached the Yangtze Valley, the communists, masters of the Kuomintang and the government of Canton, instituted an "anti-nationalist week", that is to say seven days of propaganda planned and directed exclusively against the Young
China Party and his Kuo-Chia-Tsu-Yi or nationalism. After the capture of Wuhan by the troops of Chiang-Kai-Shek, numerous repressive measures were taken against members of the Young China Party. Hundreds of young nationalists were imprisoned and executed without trial by the authorities of the government so-called “national”. At that time, the struggle between these two parties was continuous, nearly everyday violent disorders occurred between their members,—student versus student, labourer against labourer. The bloody struggle of March tenth 1926 in Peking University during a meeting organised by the Young China Party for protesting against the ill-treatment suffered by their compatriots in Soviet Russia has written a new page in the political history of modern China.

The efforts of the Young China have not been fruitless. It is they who have opened the eyes of certain members of the Kuomintang to the Communist plot. It is they who have turned the current of public opinion against the actions of the band of Borodin for the benefit of the Third International and to the detriment of China. Without their patient propaganda, without their frequent advice, even the name of Kuomintang would not be in existence.

If the defeat of Communism in China marks the triumph of the Young China Party in the eyes of public opinion, that is not to say that the time for collaboration with the “purified” Kuomintang has arrived. No, far from it! The Kuomintang is an anti-democratic party. For it, the people is {are}, to use the word of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen, an “eternal minor” who has the need of being held in tutelage. The government which it has constituted, at first in Canton, then in Hankow, and now in Nanking is a military dictatorship of which it has always claimed the necessity. From the very beginning, the Chinese people who have sacrificed a great deal to support it, have been kept waiting for a Constitution. Year after year, they wait and wait still; the whole nation is waiting up until now. Three years of military dictatorship have already passed; no parliamentary representation; no individual liberty; no guarantee for the property and life of the people.

On the other hand, the Revolution that the Kuomintang has prided itself in having brought to an end, has in the long run become merely a displacement of fortunes and of honors. Some corrupted officials, some unscrupulous militarists have indeed been driven away from their positions, but those who have replaced them are no better. As before, the central and provincial authorities are still in the hands of intransigent generals. As before, the
national finances are still in a deplorable condition. As before, the bandits overrun the land while the colossal armies absorb nearly the totality of the State revenue and prepare themselves to fight face to face in the interest of some ambitious military leaders.

That is not all. The “purification” of the Kuomintang which occasioned so many unjust cruelties is only a word. At the present time, there are still many Communists in the lower ranks of “Tangpou” or “party-headquarters”. On every occasion, they enter into conflict, sometimes with the central authorities, sometimes with the local governments and try to orient the Kuomintang toward the policy of two years ago. Even the moderates themselves have not ceased to speak of the World Revolution and pretend to organize an International based on the contradictory utopia of Sun-Yat-Sen. With all these ideas, there is no doubt that the majority of the Chinese people have lost their patience and also their faith in the Kuomintang and that they secretly sympathize with the Young China Party.

It is evident, for all these reasons, that the power of the Kuomintang is declining and that in the viewpoint of the Young China Party, the national Revolution has to begin again in order to free the people.

It is not that the Kuomintang remains indifferent to the increasingly growing prestige of the Young China Party toward which all the sympathetic hopes of the people now turn. On the contrary, the Kuomintang feels itself in danger and does all in its power to suppress the activities of the Young China Party exactly as in the time of Communist agitations. By the orders of the Kuomintang, the government of Nanking which is purely a government of the party, has imprisoned a great number of young nationalists, prevented their meetings, suppressed their publications. But nothing can stop the activities of these patriots and democrats. Their principal organs continue to be printed and distributed secretly. For example, the official weekly of the Young China Party *Awakening Lion* published for the last five years and with a considerable circulation is still under an order of prohibition. Yet, it is still secretly published and circulated throughout the country and abroad.

As it has been said previously, the members of the Young China Party are recruited from all classes; students, professional men, labourers, peasants, and men of the army and navy. Because they proclaim the necessity of social cooperation for the salvation of their motherland, because they put the national interest above all, they have the sympathy of the majority of the Chinese people, although this kind of sympathy often remains unexpressed. Their
members are distributed in every corner of the world, you can find them in France, in England, in Germany, in North and South America, in Japan, in Indo-China, in the Straits Settlements, in Hongkong, etc. In Paris, the local party has been publishing for the last eight years a weekly named Sine-Shing or Pioneer which is the most influential of the overseas publications of the Young China Party. They possess in all more than fifty magazines and journals of which the most famous are The Awakening Lion (Shanghai) The Pioneer (Paris), and The Hongkong Times (Hong Kong). The first two have been mentioned above, the last one, a newly founded daily newspaper which has been published in Hongkong for two years, is very influential in the South and is widely circulated among the Chinese overseas. Unfortunately, a certain number of papers, cannot appear regularly on account of the rigorous prohibition of the government.

If the Kuomintang and the Government issued from it continue to degenerate and at the same time to maintain a dictatorship, the Chinese people will soon be forced to pave for themselves a new way of reform and progress. It is in view of assuming this heavy responsibility that the Young China Party has dragged itself along for the past six years with the ultimate aim that China will be really unified and independent, and freed from external menace. The success of the Young China Party will signify that China is surely rising again and finally directing herself towards democracy.

October 10th 1930, Fête nationale in Paris Published by the Sine-Shing weekly


"The body of Sun Yat-sen has died, so has his spirit, forever." This was the CCP's concluding remark about his death on March 12, two months before May 30, the commemoration date of the brave Chinese proletariat joining the national political struggle in 1925.

Now, surrounding this already decomposed body, we naturally often hear these voices from the reactionary camp: promoting the true Sun Yat-sen-ism (Reorganization Clique), fulfilling the spirit of the Premier (the Third Party), etc. Even those traitors to the proletariat class also raise such slogans as "convening a National Congress," exactly the same as this "true spirit" (Chen
Duxiu, Right faction, Trotskyite faction). Therefore, today it is a necessary task to destroy this spirit, and anatomize this body, five years after the body and soul of Sun Yat-sen forever rotted away.

The life of Sun Yat-sen is a life against the masses, that is, a life against the proletariat class, and also a life against the Marxist-Leninist revolution. His "masses" were the capitalist class. It can clearly be understood when one looks at his lifelong enterprise, and the slogan, which is regarded by today's so-called loyal comrades as the "anti-Communist treasure." At the same time, by looking at his so-called Uniting with Workers and Peasants, alone, one can recognize that the main body of this unity was still with the capitalist class. His "lifetime great enterprise," consisted of only begging a compromise from the imperialists and their relative retreats, such as the abolition of the unequal treaties, tariff autonomy, etc. Never did he raise the slogan of "thoroughly overthrowing imperialism." In other words, his entire life was against the proletariat class, and his entire life was in subservience under imperialism.

[Describes Sun's duplicitous policies of cooperation with the CCP resulting in betrayal and bloodshed for the proletariat masses.] Since the proletariat class suffered unprecedented defeat, slaughter, and persecution, the "real Sun Yat-sen-ism," on the other hand, has been realized! I want to repeat a sentence, that the consistent proposals of Sun Yat-sen were begging a relative concession of the imperialists, deceiving the proletariat class, and suppressing the struggle of the proletariat class, by the reformist "reconstruction." Currently is this not the truth? The military government period has arrived. When the "Jiang army fought in the Yan [Xishan] village," the imperialists returned Wei Haiwai because it was no longer necessary to monopolize.

Currently, everything is in "tutelage." Old Jiang and Old Yan are not making loyal comrades nod their heads in admiration, instead are making the reformist clique Wang Jingwei and The Third Party, Deng Yanda, who live on slogans, compete for their turn. [Even] Yan Xishan wants to convene a National Congress. The numbers of massacred proletariat and peasants has reached over 500,000 people. Sun Yat-sen-ism has already reached its realization everywhere!
To the Gentlemen at the *Chiguang* Press:

During these past few months you have sent *Chiguang* and other publications, I feel that I have obtained a lot of new knowledge, and for these few favors, I must thank Mr. G. (because he gave my address to your noble press). However G., along with several other revolutionary youth, has already been expelled back to [our] country by the Cuban GMD\(^1\) and the remaining feudalistic dregs using money and power. (Currently I have no idea if their life is in danger or not.) There are still several who are wanted and are on the run. This is a painful shame! In Cuba the only pure revolutionary publication is the *Voices of Workers and Peasants* published by the Grand Alliance in America for the Support of the Workers-Peasant Revolutions. But after the arrest of G. and the others, [Voices] has also been destroyed! The current Cuban newspapers, besides the paper *Minsheng* [People's livelihood], which extols the virtue of the Chiang [Kai-shek] government, there are also two newly organized by the Emperor Protection Party people. Therefore the Cuban overseas Chinese, poisoned by this reactionary propaganda, naturally and willingly become slaves of the Chiang government. However, unfortunately the former GMD so-called Left faction has not been raised in consciousness, and has become the running dog of Wang Jingwei, who represented the warring warlords. There was still another faction which steadfastly supported Song, Chen, and Deng who organized the so-called Zhonghua Revolutionary Party, but this faction has disappeared now. There are also a variety of factions and clan organizations, which are numerous. I live in a Cuba surrounded in layers of darkness. If you did not send your books and newspapers to increase my knowledge, then my future—the future of the revolution—would not have one ray of morning light!

Originally I was a Guomindang member, but since the compromise of Hanning,\(^2\) I withdrew from the GMD. At the time when G. organized the Cuban section of the Grand Alliance in America's Support for the Chinese Workers and Peasants Revolution, I initially thought about joining the Alliance, but at that time I did not know the substance of their proposals, and did not dare to follow blindly their organization, . . . Not until later did I understand that their proposals were compatible with my own. But I did not enter because the place where I live is too far away from them, so now I am...
still an “Independent,” and have not joined a single organization or movement. But in the past, I gave quite some help to the “Grand Alliance.” Unfortunately, the Cuban Grand Alliance is already destroyed! Otherwise who knows, I might have joined eventually.

Respectfully,

Salute to the Revolution!

Z. January 23rd.

[The letter received a response that claimed the editors had heard from other Cuban comrades on the status of the reactionary puppets of the United States in Cuba. It iterated the importance of the Worker-Peasant Alliance for the Cuban revolution.]

Notes

1. The Overseas Chinese in Cuba were very active politically. For an indication of the strength of the GMD in Cuba during the twenties, see document # 19.

2. “Hanning” is a reference to the compromise between the Hankou (Wuhan) government of Wang Jingwei and the Nanjing government of Chiang Kai-shek.


The Guomindang papers and the papers of the Bourgeois class all speak or the GMD and the Bourgeois class. They all say that workers ought to obey “the government,” and how bad it is to strike.

Our Zhongguo haiyuan [Chinese Sailor] wants to especially speak on behalf of our diligent and poor sailor friends. It only wants to particularly point out that the workers’ only way out is to struggle to take back the rights of their own working class; to especially expose the poisonous schemes of the GMD. Furthermore, the most important thing is to change Chinese Sailor into the paper of the sailors themselves, and to popularize it among the masses.
Therefore, we hope that each labor friend will themselves submit articles and shoulder this responsibility. Please send articles to:
International Seemannsklub in Hambürg
Rothesoodstrasse 8
Hambürg; St. Pauli

Notes

1. The French were very concerned with the Chinese radical activities in Hamburg. Reports targeted Hamburg after 1929 as the center of the Chinese Communist movement in Europe, and several issues of *Chinese Sailor* (SLOTFOM V, 48) were included in secret dossiers. There was even a report on the Great Wall Restaurant in St. Pauli because it was thought that radical activities were being planned there, and this dossier includes a menu and entertainment booklet as well as the final assessment that these establishments were frequented by the *petits jaunes* and were rather bad places, although the agents could not perceive dubious politics at the Great Wall Restaurant (SLOTFOM III, 16). Another interesting point to note is that Liao Zhongkai's son, Liao Chengzhi, was in Hamburg working with Chinese mariners during this period and was expelled from Hamburg and Rotterdam for these activities.


European Secretariat: No. 10 Boite Postale.

We reproduce in the following the report given by the Chinese Party at the meeting of the Executive of the L.S.I. in Paris on the 12th of February 1927, as well as the full text of the speech of comrade Yang Kantao:

The Antecedents of the Situation in China: Outline Report Submitted by the Chinese Delegation to the Executive of the L.S.I. in Paris

The system of Concessions and of extraterritoriality, founded on iniquitous treaties, is poisoning at once the inner and outer life of China. Here we desire only to recall briefly its origin and consequences, seeing that it is fatal:
to the peace of the world, by robbing China of her independence and of her equality with other nations:

to the development of International Socialism, by imposing on the workers in China a capitalist yoke without any means or self-defence:

to the pacific evolution of the Chinese people, by provoking and maintaining the Civil War.

Origin

There is no need for us to go back to the treaty signed in 1689 with Russia at Nertschinsk, which moreover has lapsed.

The starting-point of the present relations of China with foreign Powers was the Treaty of Nankin signed with Great Britain, on the 29th August, 1842, at the close of the Opium War. It will be remembered that, for having refused to receive this poison, the City of Canton was shelled. China had to pay an indemnity of 21 million dollars.

Soon afterwards followed the Treaties of 1843 with Great Britain, and of 1844 with the United States and France, which founded the system of the Concessions and of extraterritoriality.

They were aggravated as a result of the Franco-British campaigns of 1857 to 1859 (burning of the Summer Palace), terminated by the Treaties of 1859 and 1860.

Fresh restrictions on the rights of China over its own territory were imposed by France after the campaign of Tonkin and of Formosa (Treaty of 1884).

The starting-point of a new era in the hunt for leased Concessions (leased without rent and thus equivalent to absolute property), was the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, which demonstrated the military weakness of China. The first to profit by it was Germany at Kiao-Tscheou: then came Russia with Port Arthur and Ta-lien-van, Great Britain with Wei-hai-wei and Kio-lang, France with Kouan-Tcheou-wan (1898), and even Italy, which tried, though unsuccessfully to acquire the Bay of San-man.

A series of acts of pressure extorted for the benefit of the various groups of foreigners, all kinds of economic, commercial and industrial concessions. Thus the Boxer revolt which though in its essence it had rather a Manchu governmental character, found encouragement in the anger which had been provoked (1900). It closed, as will be remembered, by the Protocol of September 7th 1901 which put the finishing touch to the foreign interference.
It was at this moment that, wounded in its flesh and blood, injured in its interests, the Chinese people began to acquire self-consciousness, and desired to intervene in affairs of state. Hence the political crisis lasting ten years which in 1911 gave rise to the Chinese Revolution.

From that date onwards the Chinese people has *have* counted for something and, impelled by no blind anti-foreign feeling but by the feeling of its right to self-government has made its resistance felt. An example is that the celebrated 21 demands of Japan in 1915, which will never be applied as long as they have not been revised.

**Consequences**

*For the Peace of the World.* The control over Customs established in 1842 and in 1858 by the British and the French fixed the maximum of the single tariff at 5 per cent *ad valorem* on all goods whatever. This is already a considerable infringement of the interests both of the country itself and of other countries, since native products cannot be sometimes protected and sometimes placed at the disposal of international exchange, nor on the other hand can the entry of foreign products indispensable to China's development be thereby facilitated.

But in addition, the value of commodities is fixed *every ten years* by international agreements. Such agreements took place in 1859, 1912 and 1918. The estimates, at the close of the period of ten years, can only be modified by the *unanimous consent* of all the Concession-holding Powers. But since the treaties with the various countries were concluded at different dates, they practically never expire at the same time: and under the pretense that the period for revision has lapsed, each country is free to maintain the same estimate for a fresh period. During almost fifty years, from 1858 to 1902 no fresh agreement was possible. We do not need to explain how much, given the variations in price, this artificial stabilisation weighs upon the development of Chinese industry and on China's financial situation.

As to the privileges of extraterritoriality, it is sufficient to indicate their character to show that, not only [do] they reduce China to the level of a colony as regards foreign Powers, but that [they] constantly [are] creating between these powers themselves, economic rivalries capable of leading to the gravest conflicts.

A nation working towards its re-birth cannot long labour under such a yoke. It should be helped to deliver itself all the more because among the imperialist Powers, competition and the effort of each to increase its influence
give rise to complications pregnant with dangers of war. Of this fact further proofs will be seen in our concluding section.

For the Working-class. Subject only to their own laws, with the complicity or the indulgence of their Consuls, foreign employers have been able to plunge the Chinese people into a condition of absolute enslavement.

The burden of capitalism is doubled by the foreign yoke. Out of the 1,740,556 spindles working in the spinning-mills at Shanghai in 1925, 962,432 belonged to British or Japanese. The conditions of labour in them are appalling. In an English factory, the British Yangtzepoo Cotton Mill, out of 3,800 hands, 700 are children, boys and girls under twelve. In the largest Chinese cotton mill, the Sansing Cotton Mill, the proportion—still of course too high—is only 430 to a total of 5,339 hands.

In the Shanghai factories work is commonly divided into day and night shifts. The wages are miserable. The brutal treatment by foreign foremen, the employment of women and children, is everywhere aggravated and upheld by the power of the foreigners to escape any application of the law where such exists. Foreigners are protected by their armies and navies and by the volunteer forces organised by the capitalists for which the governments supply arms and munitions.

Is there any need to recall the painful events of Shanghai (May 1925), when the national dignity of the Chinese people rose in revolt, on the occasion of a strike, against the British massacres and acts of injustice? They were known in Europe as throughout the whole world. They were a factor in the organisation of the workers into trade unions. They have left bitter memories behind.

For the Pacific Internal Development of China. It is foreign imperialism, now acting in unison, now divided against itself, which provokes and prolongs the civil war in China.

At the close of the world war, the internal struggle which brought into conflict in 1920 Ou-Pet-Fou [Wu Peifu] and the An-fou Club directed by General Su, was a repercussion of the struggle between Great Britain on the one hand and Japan on the other. Two imperialist groups were meeting in the collusion of two militarist cliques.
[Further discussion of struggles between differing warlords, their foreign support, and the post-war status of previous German controlled areas, and the scrabble for control by Japan, Great Britain, and America.]

Dear Comrades:

We are intensely grateful to the Executive of the International for having kindly granted to us the exceptional favour of hearing an account of the situation of our country, which unhappily raises a question of the utmost gravity for the whole world.

First of all we wish to thank all the comrades of our International for the help they are giving to us in our struggle for the independence of China and the emancipation of the Chinese workers. You will allow us to address special thanks to the French and British comrades who have the opportunity of prosecuting courageous action against the imperialism of their governments.

We do not wish to occupy too much of your time by looking into the past for an explanation of how foreign imperialism holds under its yoke the Chinese people and particularly the working class. . . . Accordingly a brief historic summary is required. We are distributing to you for this purpose a brief written report, confining ourselves for the moment to that which touches on the present state of affairs, in order to explain to you as concisely and as clearly as possible what we are and what we expect from your {you}, our brothers in the International.

From the moment when the Chinese Revolution broke out as the result of a struggle which raged from 1901 to 1911, a radical change occurred in the evolution of the country; henceforth one must expect to find the Chinese people resisting all endeavours contrary to their national interests and to the interests of the working class. There are ample instances of this fact.

What constitutes the strength of foreign capitalism, and what enables it to exploit the working class by taking advantage of the immense natural wealth to be found in China?

First and foremost the obsolete treaties concluded as a result of the wars of 1842 and 1858, which treaties involved:

First, foreign control of the Customs and compulsory limitation of Custom tariffs.

Second, the concessions and privileges of extraterritoriality.

The struggle going on in Central and Northern China may be viewed as a struggle for influence of America and England against Japan, the offensive being conducted by Anglo-American capital.
The details are supplied to you every day by the newspapers. They are compelled to inform you, often in spite of themselves, that the Army of Canton¹ is only effecting the progress which you know of over a great portion of the territory of China through the sympathy it arouses among the population. It stands for the determination now born in the Chinese people to demand popular liberties together with national independence.

Following the painful events of Shanghai in 1925 the confederation of the workers’ trade unions was built up solidly, while associations of peasants also became organized. That represents a source of strength for the Canton Government.

The Canton Government is neither an anti-foreign, nor a bolshevik Government; it is a democratic government dominated by the Kouo-Min-Tan [Guomindang].

What is the Kouo-Min-Tan? In reality it is built up out of three groups:

(1) The nationalist group, which is the Kouo-Min-Tan of the Right.
(2) The democratic group (Left Kouo-Min-Tan), which at this moment, exercises the strongest influence on politics, because it acts as a centre for all the claims at once against the Peking Government and against the forms of foreign imperialism.
(3) The Bolshevist group which, since the Russians not only are foreigners also, but the most numerous of all foreigners on Chinese territory, cannot and does not possess the confidence of the Chinese people, so that the influence it exerts, apart from certain partisans and instruments, is practically nothing. Bolshevism serves first and foremost as a pretext to the foreigners for justifying their attitude.

The Kouo-Min-Tan embodied first of all the resistance to the claims of the foreign powers, which under the pretence of restoring the order they had themselves helped to disturb by supporting one warring chief against another, were demanding an extension of the neutral zone, in other words an extension of the concessions, and also the institution of special supervision over the railways, and therefore foreign control over the whole railroad system.

To-day it embodies the claims of independence with which internal liberties are always more or less linked. That is what now holds together such divergent tendencies.

Undoubtedly, within a short or a long period we shall see arise in the Kouo-Min-Tan serious schisms, because it is a “multiple party” in which ideas
and plans of action frequently collide. Agreement has only been reached for the purposes of the immediate struggle.

Of course we are giving our whole support to the common effort to win the independence and freedom of the people, and our comrades are sharing in the struggle with all their might in all the provinces of China. But even in this struggle, we do not wish to be confounded with those who, whether from self-interest or from illusion, cannot or will not see that the elements working in China for oppression by foreigners, exist also in the heart of China itself, and would only grant self-government on the surface in return for the enslavement of a great proportion of the people to other forms or other representatives of exploitation.

In the face of all these difficulties, we are trying to uphold our true Marxist attitude. We are trying to struggle openly for the spread of the doctrine of Marx, and to organize the working class forces in conformity with the tactics of our socialist international. This is the only means we have of resisting all that may cause our need for independence abroad and freedom at home to degenerate into a "race-struggle" which would only disguise dangerously the class-struggle which in all countries the working class will be more and more called upon to grasp, in order to conduct it at home and side by side with the international action of the working class.

Such is what we are doing and what we wish to do. The comrades in all countries may rely upon our good faith, our devotion, and our perseverance in the conditions which we have just briefly sketched to you.

**Progress in {is} only possible to us if the International helps us to deserve the confidence of the Chinese people and workers.**

We believe we are entitled to the right belonging to all the proletariats and socialist parties organized in the International, namely that of expecting accordingly from it an active and constant support to the immediate demands of the Chinese people which are the following:

1. Immediate withdrawal of the foreign troops and prohibition of the dispatch of military force to China.
2. Complete autonomy of the Chinese Customs.
3. Abolition of the Concessions and of the privileges of extraterritoriality.
4. Repeal of the Treaties which have alienated the independence of China and the substitution for them of new Treaties based on equality between China and all the other Powers.
and will thus do its share towards placing fresh resources at the service of the cause of the *Social Revolution* and of the peace of the world.

Accordingly we beg you to accept to-day and to transmit to the comrades in your various countries an expression of our heartfelt gratitude, together with our fraternal greetings.

**Notes**

1. This is a reference to the troops of the Northern Expedition
GLOSSARY: CHINESE NAMES

Ao Daokui 敖道魁
Ba Guangheng 巴廣亨
Bai Shenyun 白深雲
Bai Shimo 白士茂
Bao Guanru 鮑冠儒
Bi Xiushao 裴修勺
Bian Weifei 卜衛飛
Bin Pengzhu 賓鵬翥
Bo Jinzhi 柏勁直
Cai Bolin 蔡泊霖
Cai Chang 蔡暢
Cai Chiping 蔡痴平
Cai Hesen 蔡和森
Cai Lin 蔡霖
Cai Shichun 蔡時椿
Cai Wuji 蔡無忌
Cai Yuangao 蔡源高
Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培
Cai Zhihua 蔡支華
Cao Desan 曹德三
Cao Dumou 曹度謀
Cao Qingping 曹青萍
Cao Qingtai 曹清泰
Cao Shifang 曹世芳
Cao Tingxun 陳廷醇
Cao Xisan 曹錫三
Chen Baifang 陳百芳
Chen Changwu 陳常武
Chen Chaoneng 陳朝能
Chen Chi 陳赤
Chen Chongxian 陳崇憲
Chen Chu 陳楚
Chen Chuanyong 陳傳詠
Chen Dianxue 陳典學
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Chen Ge 陳哥
Chen Guifang 陳桂芳
Chen Gongpei 陳公培
Chen Guangxi 陳光熙
Chen Guangxu 陳光旭
Chen Guoliang 陳國樑
Chen Hao 陳浩
Chen Huasong 陳華松
Chen Jiaqi 陳家齊
Chen Jiazheng 陳家珍
Chen Jilie 陳繼烈
Chen Jiuding 陳九董
Chen Jiwen 陳九文
Chen Kehua 陳克恢
Chen Lie 陳烈
Chen Liezhi 陳烈之
Chen Lihe 陳立鶴
Chen Pengnian 陳彭年
Chen Pinshan 陳品善
Chen Qiaonian 陳喬年
Chen Qitian 陳啓天
Glossary of Chinese Names

Fan Yi 范一
Fan Ying 范樱
Fang Ditang 方櫟棠
Fang Dunyuan 方敦元
Fang Ming 方明
Fang Shiliang 方士亮
Fang Tao 方濰
Fang Zhigang 方至刚
Feng Erquan 冯尔铨
Feng Hanying 冯翰英
Feng Jiasheng 冯家昇
Feng Jing 冯敬
Feng Xianlan 冯獻瀾
Feng Xuezong 冯学宗
Feng Yegong 冯叶恭
Feng Zhiyuan 冯志远
Feng Zuozhou 冯作舟
Fu Binchao 符斌超
Fu Changju 傅昌鉞
Fu Chuanbo 傅传博
Fu Guoshao 傅國韶
Fu Hanying 傅漢英
Fu Ji 傅骥
Fu Jizhou 傅錦周
Fu Jiying 傅繼英
Fu Kui 傅奎
Fu Lie 傅烈
Fu Lun 傅論
Fu Rulin 傅汝霖
Fu Ruren 傅儒仁
Fu Wenming 傅汶明
Fu Yingwei 傅英偉
Fu Yisheng 傅逸生
Fu Yizhang 傅益彰
Fu Zhong 傅鐘
Gan Rui 甘瑞
Gao Chengyuan 高承元
Gao Feng 高風
Gao Fengzao 高風藻
Gao Shang 高尚
Gao Xianying 高憲英
Gao Yisheng 高怡生
Gao Yuhan 高語罕
Ge Jianhao 葛建豪
Gong Daihuan 龔代煥
Gong Shenglu 龔聲律
Gong Xianming 龔賢明
Gu Gongxu 顧弓敘
Gu Wenbin 顧文明
Gu Wenxi 顧文熙
Guan Xiangying 關向迎
Guo Chuntao 郭春濤
Guo Fangrui 郭方瑞
Guo Guobin 郭國賓
Guo Longzhen 郭隆真
Guo Mingzhong 郭名忠
Guo Qingzheng 郭清正
Guo Tianshu 郭天樞
Guo Xinghan 郭興漢
Guo Yicen 郭一岑
Guo Yuchang 郭玉昌
Guo Zechen 郭則忱
Guo Zhifen 郭志汾
Hai Jingzhou 海荆州
Han Fuxi 韓朏熙
Han Luchen 韓陸塵
Han Qi 韓琦
Han Rulin 韓儒林
Han Shaoqi 韓少琦
He Changgong 何長工
He Chaodong 何朝棟
He Cunhou 何存厚
He Dan 何旦
He Dehe 何德鶴
He Fangli 何方理
He Guo 賀果
He Haichao 何海潮
He Haoxiang 何浩翔
He Jiamo 何嘉謨
He Jingqu 何經渠
He Luzhi 何魯之
He Qichang 何其昌
He Qinglan 何慶瀾
He Sichang 何嗣昌
He Tingzhen 何廷珍
He Yanshuo 何言碩
He Yanxuan 何衍漩
He Yiduan 何以端
He Zehui 何澤惠
He Zhaoqing 何兆清
He Chichang 何熾昌
Huang Gongda 黃公達
Hou Changguo 侯昌國
Hou Debang 侯德榜
Hou Jinxian 侯晉祥
Hou Jun 侯俊
Hou Wailu 侯外盧
Hu Dacai 胡大才
Hu Dazhi 胡大智
Hu Fuxian 胡臘賢
Hu Gangfu 胡剛復
Hu Guoyou 胡國猷
Hu Guowei 胡國偉
Hu Hanmin 胡漢民
Hu Jianming 胡健明
Hu Jingho 胡景湖
Hu Lanqi 胡蘭畦
Hu Yun 胡雲
Hu Ruitu 胡瑞圖
Hu Simei 胡斯美
Hu Xipeng 胡鍾朋
Hu Yicheng 胡意誠
Hu Ziyu 胡子愚
Hu Yuzhi 胡益之
Hu Zaizhu 胡在獄
Hua E'yang 華貞陽
Hua Junming 華俊明
Hua Lin 華林
Huang Changming 黃昌銘
Huang Chaoping 黃朝平
Huang Guangjiu 黃光玖
Huang Guojun 黃國俊
Huang Hu 黃虎

Huang Huang 黃晃
Huang Jian 黃堅
Huang Lingshuang 黃凌霜
Huang Mingqian 黃鳴謙
Huang Qibi 黃其弼
Huang Shigu 黃石穀
Huang Shijia 黃士嘉
Huang Shitao 黃士韜
Huang Shumei 黃樹梅
Huang Tingjing 黃廷經
Huang Wenbi 黃文弼
Huang Xiong 黃雄
Huang Xun 黃巽
Huang Ye 黃葉
Huang Ying 黃英
Huang Yinghu 黃映湖
Huang Yunshun 黃雲山
Huang Zhifeng 黃之風
Huang Zhongsheng 黃鐘聲
Huang Zihou 黃自厚
Huang Ziqing 黃子卿
Huo Jiaxian 胡家新
Huo Jinxin 胡金銘
Jia Dai 賈岱
Ji Chaoding 吉朝聰
Ji Su 季蘇
Ji Yongzhao 藉永哲
Ji Yufeng 紀育濱
Jian Lian 简廉
Jiang Buying 蔣步瀛
Jiang Hongwen 蔣鴻文
Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石 [Chiang Kai'shek]
Jiang Jingrui 蔣景瑞
Jiang Junwu 蔣君武
Jiang Kerning 江克明
Jiang Kun 蔣昆
Jiang Longji 江隆基
Jiang Luwen 江呂文
Jiang Luyi 姜魯儀
Jiang Mengchi 蔣夢痴
Jiang Mingqian 蔣明謙
Jiang Qing'en 蔣晴恩
Jiang Tingshen 江庭深
Jiang Wenxin 江文新
Jiang Xianghe 蔣翔鶴
Jiang Xuexuan 江學軒
Jiang Zemin 江澤民
Jiang Zhaolian 江兆廉
Jin Shuzhang 金樹璋
Jin Zeng 晉增
Jin Zisui 金子邃
Jing Keming 敬克明
Kan Junmin 賀俊民
Kan Shijie 關時杰
Kang Shiwei 康時偉
Kang Zhaomin 康兆民
Kuang Hongru 湯鴻儒
Lai Gengyao 賴庚堯
Lai Guangrui 賴廣義
Lai Guogao 賴國高
Lai Weixin 賴維新
Lai Xingjun 賴惺醜
Lai Zhenjian 賴振濵
Lai Zhenjiang 賴振疆
Lan Tiefu 藍鐵夫
Lao Junzhan 労君展
Lei Dingkun 雷定琨
Lei Han 雷翰
Lei Huayun 雷化雲
Leng Zhong 冷中
Li Heling 李鶴齡
Li Bingxuan 李秉煊
Li Buwei 李不韋
Li Changji 梨常紀
Li Changying 李暢英
Li Qi 李杞
Li Chongfu 梨重孚
Li Chunyi 梨純一
Li Dan 李丹
Li Dazhao 李大釗
Li Dexin 黎得鑫
Li Fuchang 李孚昌
Li Fuchun 李富春
Li Guocai 黎國材
Li Helin 李合林
Li Hengzhao 李恆照
Li Huang 李璜
Li Ji 李季
Li Jida 李季達
Li Jingsan 李敬安
Li Junjie 李俊傑
Li Junzhe 李俊哲
Li Kaisheng 黎開絳
Li Lin 李林
Li Lianggong 李亮恭
Li Linghe 李齡鶴
Li Linyu 李麟玉
Li Lisan 李立三
Li Pingheng 李平衡
Li Qijue 李其珏
Li Renjun 李人俊
Li Rongchun 李榮春
Li Shaoyuan 李紹淵
Li Shengyi 李繡彝
Li Shenzhi 李慎之
Li Shixiong 李世雄
Li Shizeng 李世增
Li Shuhua 李書華
Li Siguang 李四光
Li Tingxin 李庭薰
Li Wanju 李萬居
Li Wei 李維
Li Weidong 李為棟
Li Weihan 李維漢
Li Weinong 李慰農
Li Wenbo 李文伯
Li Shantang 李善堂
Li Wenxiang 李文祥
Li Wenyan 李文元
Li Xingrong 李興榮
Li Yuying 李煜瀛
Li Yiyuan 李怡遠
Li Youran 李又然
Li Yukai 李育楷
Li Zexin 李澤鑫
Li Zhenmin 李振民
Li Zhi 李植
Li Zhiguang 李至廣
Li Zhuo 李卓
Lian Chengzhong 連成中
Liang Shanjin 梁善金
Liang Sicheng 梁思成
Liang Zhiyin 梁志尹
Liao Chengzhi 廖承志
Liao Dingming 廖董銘
Liao Hongjiu 廖鴻九
Liao Huanxing 廖煥星
Liao Renxian 廖仁先
Liao Shiqin 廖世勤
Liao Yuanying 廖元英
Lin Bin 林斌
Lin Bingzhao 林秉照
Lin Dingming 林董明
Lin Fulin 林福霖
Lin Hanyang 林漢陽
Lin Hongguan 林洪冠
Lin Ji 林幾
Lin Jinde 林進德
Lin Keji 林克璣
Lin Kesheng 林可勝
Lin Naixuan 林乃選
Lin Qiao 林樵
Lin Quanying 林權英
Lin Yongyu 林永裕
Lin Sen 林森
Lin Zhaowu 林昭武
Lin Shengduan 林聖端
Lin Shuxiu 林樹秀
Lin Tie 林鐵
Lin Wei 林蔚
Lin Ximeng 林希孟
Lin Xiujie 林修傑
Lin Yonglai 林永來

Lin Yuting 林毓霆
Lin Zerui 林則瑞
Ling Delu 凌得路
Ling Junhui 凌君惠
Liu Baoshu 劉抱蜀
Liu Bojian 劉伯堅
Liu Bozhuang 劉伯荊
Liu Chong 劉充
Liu Cuiwei 劉翠微
Liu Dunzhen 劉敦楨
Liu Hou 劉厚
Liu Juncai 劉君才
Liu Junping 劉均平
Liu Kaizhong 劉愷鐘
Liu Keping 劉克平
Liu Mingyan 劉明嚴
Liu Pengjiu 劉鵬九
Liu Puqing 柳圃青
Liu Qingyang 劉清揚
Liu Renxin 劉仁信
Liu Shen’c 劉慎謐
Liu Shenshan 劉深山
Liu Shixiao 劉世孝
Liu Shixin 劉石心
Liu Shoushen 劉守身
Liu Shuping 劉樹屏
Liu Tiya 劉悌崖
Liu Wenqing 劉文清
Liu Wentao 劉文濤
Liu Wuwei 劉無為
Liu Xin 劉鑫
Liu Yeti 劉業題
Liu Yicheng 劉一成
Liu Yongchang 劉永昌
Liu Yun 劉雲
Liu Zhaoxi 劉兆錫
Liu Zhenyou 劉振友
Liu Zhimou 劉之謀
Liu Zonghua 劉宗華
Liu Zihua 劉子華
Long Xiequn 龍協群

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Long Zhanxing 龍詹興
Lou Shaolong 龍紹承
Lou Shaolian 龍紹蓮
Lü Huanyi 呂煥義
Lü Longqi 龍慶慶
Lü Qichang 呂其昌
Lu Qing 廖慶
Lu Xiafei 陸霞
Lu Xueshan 陸學善
Lu Zhangyao 廖振耀
Lu Zhenggang 廖政綱
Lü Fengchan 呂風蟾
Lü Menggeng 呂夢庚
Lü Songqin 廖松琴
Luo Chengrong 羅成龍
Luo Gan 羅幹
Luo Han 羅漢
Luo Jingzhong 羅竟中
Luo Mingjun 羅明俊
Luo Qicai 羅奇才
Luo Ruifen 羅瑞芬
Luo Shifan 羅世范
Luo Yuefeng 羅振峰
Mao Decheng 毛德成
Mao Kesheng 毛克生
Mao Kesheng 毛克生
Mao Shengxuan 毛升選
Mao Yushun 毛羽順
Meng Guangbin 孟廣斌
Min Da 閔達
Min Qiwei 閔奇偉
Mu Qing 穆清
Nie Rongzhen 聂榮臻
Niu Bingshen 鈕秉伸
Ouyang Ming 歐陽明
Ouyang Qin 歐陽欽
Ouyang Tai 歐陽泰
Ouyang Ying 歐陽茵
Ouyang Ze 歐陽澤
Pan Fang 潘方
Pan Hannian 潘漢年
Pan Jiwu 潘繼武
Pan Rong 潘融
Pan Wuwo 潘無我
Pan Xiguang 潘錫光
Pan Xinghua 潘興華
Pan Yong 潘庸
Pan Zaizhong 潘再中
Pei Wenzhong 費文中
Peng Hongzhang 彭鴻章
Peng Jiayan 彭嘉言
Peng Kuan 彭寬
Peng Shikai 彭世楷
Peng Shiqin 彭樹勤
Peng Shumao 彭樹茂
Peng Shumin 彭樹敏
Peng Sumin 彭素民
Peng Xiang 彭襄
Pi Yinglin 皮迎麟
Qi Zhonghou 祁忠厚
Qian Linzhao 錢臨照
Qian Sanqiang 錢三強
Qiao Picheng 喬丕成
Qiao Pixian 喬丕顯

Ma Baoju 馬寶爵
Ma Guangchen 馬光晨
Ma Guangqi 馬光啟
Ma Heng 馬衡
Ma Shouzheng 馬壽徵
Ma Sicang 馬斯藏
Ma Yuanxi 馬元熙
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Wang Daixi 汪代曦
Wang Dehui 王德惠
Wang Dexuan 王德宣
Wang Dexuan 汪德萱
Wang Dijian 王迪簡
Wang Futing 王福亭
Wang Gang 王鋼
Wang Gao 王杲
Wang Guangqi 王光圻
Wang Gui 王圭
Wang Guning 王顧寧
Wang Guochun 王國純
Wang Jian 王健
Wang Jianzhang 王建章
Wang Jingqi 王京岐
Wang Jingru 王靜如
Wang Jingwei 王精衛
Wang Jingxi 王敬熙
Wang Jingxuan 王鏡軒
Wang Jizhi 王繼中山
Wang Lan 王蘭
Wang Liangzhi 王良知
Wang Linghan 王凌漢
Wang Peiyuan 汪培原
Wang Qian 王乾
Wang Qijian 王啓鍾
Wang Qixian 王啓賢
Wang Qubing 王去病
Wang Renda 王人達
Wang Rongchen 王榮臣
Wang Ruofei 王若飛
Wang Shengdi 汪盛迪
Wang Shihua 王是華
Wang Shoujing 王守敬
Wang Shumei 王樹梅
Wang Shuzhuang 王樹莊
Wang Songlu 汪頌魯
Wang Tingxian 汪廷賢
Wang Tongzu 汪同祖
Wang Wu 王武
Wang Xianliang 汪賢良
Wang Xinchen 汪信誠
Wang Xingzhi 王興智
Wang Xiping 王西平
Wang Xu 王序
Wang Yang 汪洋
Wang Yanhui 王衍煒
Wang Yichen 汪逸塵
Wang Yunzhang 王雲章
Wang Yusan 王育三
Wang Zekai 汪澤楷
Wang Zewei 汪澤巍
Wang Zhangyun 王章雲
Wang Zhengang 王振綱
Wang Zhenxing 王振雄
Wang Ziqing 汪子卿
Wang Zuhui 王組輝
Wei Bi 魏璧
Wei Gongzhi 危拱之
Wei Zhaoli 魏兆赭
Wen Datong 溫大同
Wen Mingsheng 文名昇
Wen Yingxian 溫英才
Wu Cheng 吳誠
Wu Conglong 吳從龍
Wu Dunyong 吳敦永
Wu Guangshou 郭光壽
Wu Guixuan 伍桂萱
Wu Guorong 吳郭榮
Wu Hongze 吳鴻哲
Wu Huiliang 吳鴻量
Wu Jifan 吳季藩
Wu Jihan 吳季翰
Wu Juhua 伍端華
Wu Mingji 吳銘基
Wu Mutang 吳慕唐
Wu Pingdi 吳平迪
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Wu Riming Xiao Ziqian
Wu Ranzhou Xiao Zisheng
Wu Shangzhou Xie Chenchang
Wu Shaohai Xie Hang
Wu Shujun Xie Kaifei
Wu Tan Xie Qing
Wu Wenan Xie Weijin
Wu Xiufeng Xie Xiuwu
Wu Xuezhou Xie Yongchang
Wu Yixiu Xie Zcyuan
Wu Yousan Xie Zhenhe
Wu Youxun Xie Zhonggang
Wu Yuzhang Xiu Anshi
Wu Zchngcheng Xiu Shuzi
Wu Zhaogao Xiu Yuqi
Wu Zhihui Xing Qiyi
Wu Zongbao Xing Xiazhong
Xi Wende Xing Xiping
Xi Youyao Xiong Baoyi
Xi Zuoyao Xiong Danru
Xia Anxiu Xiong Guangchu
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Xiang Changquan Xiong Jingtu
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Xiang Jingyu Xiong Rui
Xiang Peijia Xiong Weigeng
Xiang Peixi Xiong Xinwu
Xiao Balf Xiong Xiong#
Xiao Fuzhi Wi Xiong Yujiu
Xiao Guangjiong Xiong Yunjia
Xiao Jian H Xiong Zhengxin
Xiao Ming Xu Binqian
Xiao Pusheng Xu Bangjie
Xiao Ruilin Xu Bingyuan
Xiao San Xu Dahong
Xiao Shibing Xu Deheng
Xiao Xisan Xu Fengzhang
Xiao Zhenhan Xu Hanhao
Xiao Zhensheng Xu Hongbao
Xu Hongzao 許鴻藻
Xu Jinyuan 徐金元
Xu Peng 徐鵬
Xu Shaoling 許少靈
Xu Shoumo 徐守模
Xu Shousong 徐壽松
Xu Taicheng 徐泰成
Xu Teli 徐特立
Xu Xu 徐緒
Xu Yixian 許亦鮮
Xu Zehan 養澤涵
Xue Chenglai 孫丞來
Xue Shifu 孫實輔
Xue Shilun 孫世論
Yang Anran 楊安然
Yang Anxiang 楊安祥
Yang Changmao 楊長茂
Yang Chao 楊超
Yang Chuncheng 楊春成
Yang Daorong 楊道融
Yang De 楊德
Yang Dongchen 楊棟臣
Yang Fenglin 楊楓琳
Yang Gang 楊剛
Yang Gengtao 楊燦陶
Yang Gongda 楊公達
Yang Guangbi 楊光弼
Yang Haocang 楊浩滄
Yang Hechuan 楊合川
Yang Jie 楊傑
Yang Kairong 楊開榮
Yang Kun 楊堃
Yang Lisan 楊立三
Yang Mengzhou 楊夢周
Yang Pinsun 楊品孫
Yang Qian 楊潛
Yang Quanyu 楊全宇
Yang Rui 楊瑞
Yang Runyu 楊潤餘
Yang Shaogi 楊紹奇
Yang Shibin 楊士彬
Yang Shixian 楊石先
Yang Sili 楊思禮
Yang Wei 楊維
Yang Xiueng 楊秀
Yang Yixiang 楊一香
Yang Yizi 楊一之
Yang Yu 楊宇
Yang Yutian 楊雨田
Yang Zhenzong 楊振宗
Yang Chi-hua 楊志華
Yang Zhihua 楊之華
Yang Zhongfang 楊中
Yang Zifu 楊自福
Yang Zixuan 楊子軒
Yao Baozhi 嚇保之
Yao Congwu 嚇從吾
Ye Changling 葉長齡
Ye Changyu 葉昌餘
Ye Chucang 葉楚滄
Ye Guohua 葉國華
Ye Jilan 葉漬瀾
Ye Qisun 葉企孫
Ye Rikui 葉日葵
Ye Sanduo 葉三多
Ye Xichun 葉熙春
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Zhang Ming 章明
Zhang Mingzhu 张铭柱
Zhang Nan 张南
Zhang Qixiang 张其相
Zhang Rong 张荣
Zhang Ruoming 张若名
Zhang Shanxin 张善信
Zhang Shaozeng 张绍曾
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Zhang Weiming 张維明
Zhang Wen 张文
Zhang Wenjia 张文甲
Zhang Wenjin 章文晋
Zhang Wenming 章問明
Zhang Wuqiao 张悟桥
Zhang Wuyuan 张務源
Zhang Xi 张熙
Zhang Xingzhou 张星舟
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Zhang Ye 张掖
Zhang Yicheng 张逸成
Zhang Yongba 张永拔
Zhang Yongsheng 张永生
Zhang Yun 张雲
Zhang Zengyi 张增益
Zhang Zhaofeng 章兆豐
Zhang Zhenqian 章鎮謙
Zhang Zhongdao 章忠道
Zhang Zizhu 张子柱
Zhang Zongli 张宗麟
Zhang Zuoren 张作人
Zhao Chenggu 趙承繪
Zhao Dengfu 趙登
Zhao Eraqian 趙而謙
Zhao Guangchen 趙光宸
Zhao Handing 趙漢董
Zhao Sen 趙森
Zhao Shiyan 趙世炎
Zhao Tonggong 趙同弓
Zhao Yanlai 趙雁來
Zhao Zhenying 趙鎮瀛
Zhao Zhuoyong 趙卓迎
Zheng Chaolin 鄭超麟
Zheng Daorui 鄭道儒
Zheng Daizhang 鄭大章
Zheng Guoping 鄭國平
Zheng Huaide 鄭懷德
Zheng Jilun 鄭集崙
Zheng Shiyan 鄭士彦
Zheng Taipu 鄭太樸
Zheng Yanfen 鄭彦
Zheng Yangu 鄭延穀
Zheng Yijun 鄭一俊
Zheng Zhengwen 鄭振文
Zheng Zhentao 鄭振濤
Zhong Hanqing 鍾漢磬
Zhong Huā’e 鍾華説
Zhong Rumei 鍾汝梅
Zhong Shengbiao 鍾盛標
Zhou Bangyan 周邦彥
Zhou Boxing 周伯星
Zou Changping 鄒昌平
Zhou Chonggao 周重高
Zhou Chushan 周楚善
Zhou Dao 周道
Zhou Dezhao 周德昭
Zhou Ding 周鼎
Zhou Dunxian 周敦憲
Zhou Enlai 周恩來
Zhou Faji 周發岐
Zhou Gongzhi 周貢植
Zhou Hui 周惠
Zhou Jielian 周介綸
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