

Sun Yat-sen and the Second International:

His Activities in Europe, Winter-Spring 1905

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What was Sun Yat-sen's relationship to the powerful Second Socialist International that was fully operational and monopolized the global Socialist movement between 1889 and 1917? While it operated from a Brussels base¹ with members that ranged from Fabian Socialists through to Anarchists and Bolsheviks, ground-breaking revolts exploded in Russia (1905), Turkey (1908-9), Portugal (1910), Mexico (1910), and China (1911). By 1917 and prior to the creation of the Third International, the grand-daddy of all revolutions, the Russian Revolution would be launched by key leaders of the Second International and at least partially financed through its conduits.

Of prime concern is the fact that Sun's biographies often fail to place in historic context Sun's 1904-5 trip through the United States to Europe, which laid the basis for the creation of the 同盟會 *Tong Meng Hui* (TMH) in August 1905. Importantly, Sun's trip came as the Russo-Japanese War triggered Russia's first great social revolution in January of 1905 on "Bloody Sunday" when hundreds of peaceful demonstrators were shot down in St. Petersburg by Tsarist troops. This event and the subsequent experiences of 1905 forged Lenin's Bolshevik strategy, which in turn had a profound effect on the subsequent history of Russia and Europe. Further, Japan's defeat of Russia by the end of May gave the Japanese Empire its first position on the Asian mainland and brought war to China for the next forty-five years. Why the lack of an integrated analysis of Sun's relationship to the Second International?

Sun's funding and organization trip to North American and Europe in late 1903 and the entire year of 1904, led him to be in Europe at precisely the time that Lenin in London consolidated his position as head of the Bolshevik party. A perplexing omission of Sun's biographers, therefore, is the failure to discuss the coincidental occurrence of Sun's trip to Europe in the winter-spring of 1905 with Lenin's convening of the London-based Third Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (RSDLP) from 25th April to 10th May.² Howard Schiffrin's 1980 biography ignores the event completely, although he specifically places Sun in London in the spring of 1905 visiting with Yen Fu, "the pioneer translator and interpreter of Western ideas and the leading Chinese apostle of Social Darwinism" while "staying with British friends in London."³ In neither his 1969 or 1980 publications did Schiffrin significantly address the ongoing Russo-Japanese battle in the Manchurian homeland, and in neither did he follow up on Sun's 1896 contact with Felix Volkhovsky, the editor of the leading anti-Tsar publication, the London-based *Free Russia*. The journal's issues from late 1904 show that the monthly at that time was edited by "D. Soskice" and "J.F. Green", with Volkhovsky not being shown on the monthly's masthead.⁴ Volkhovsky would live until 1914 and appears to have been well known to H.M. Hyndman, the leading British Socialist who had taken a particular interest in the problem of British Imperialism in the Asian subcontinent. Both Schiffrin (1969) and Bernal (1976) cite the 1896 meeting but do not pickup the thread for Sun's 1905 trip.⁵

Henry Mayer Hyndman had been in contact with both Volkhovsky and Katayama, but his comments are sparse in his publications outside of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) periodical *Justice*. Those for Sun Yat-sen are even less prominent. Hyndman clearly viewed Volkhovsky as being in

¹ This source is identified for the characters only: Second International, (Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, 2007 [cited 15 August 2007]); available from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Second_International.

² Olga Hess Gankin and H. H. Fisher, *Bolsheviks and the World War: the Origins of the Third International* (Stanford, 1940), p. 712.

³ Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen: Reluctant Revolutionary*, p. 101.

⁴ D. Soskice, "The War," *Free Russia, the Organ of the Friends of Russian Freedom*, December 1904.

⁵ Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907*, p. 50.

a superior class to the Bolsheviks, as demonstrated by Gould's quote in his 1928 biography of Hyndman which states that Hyndman viewed Volkhovsky as "a member of the heroic order of anti-Czarists which was (in 1917) to yield place to a less noble order."⁶ Hyndman's international network was built off his position on the International Socialist Bureau of the Second International, which *Wilshire Magazine* in January of 1905 demonstrated through a published photo, included Katayama Sen, Plekhanov, Luxemburg, Kautsky, Adler, Van Kol, Troelstra, and Vandervelde, among others.⁷ Lenin would not gain the International Socialist Bureau (ISB) position until at least 1907.

Virtually at the same time that Sun was in London, Lenin at his congress solidified control of the RSDLP as a "Bolshevik" party. It was attended by key political figures that included the future Soviet Foreign Minister and ambassador to Britain and the United States, Maxim Litvinov; brother-in-law to Leon Trotsky and future chairman of the Moscow Soviet, Lev Kamenev; and Anatoli Lunacharsky, board member of *Vpered*, the periodical Lenin commenced in Geneva subsequent to his exit from *Iskra*.⁸ The head of Britain's resident mission to the Bolshevik government in 1918, R.H. Bruce Lockhart, described the significance of the April 1905 RSDLP Congress in London for Lenin's future strategy: "What he wanted was an armed uprising. At what was in reality the first Congress of the Bolshevik Party in London from April 25 to May 10, 1905 he formulated this policy and from then onwards had advocated it..."⁹ Treadgold reported that the Congress "declared that the first duty of the Social Democrats was to combat the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie and lead the armed uprising of the proletariat." It also "declared that *Iskra* was no longer the party organ," substituted Lenin's *Forward* under a new name, that being *The Proletarian*, and "sanctioned [Lenin's] ...position as leader and spokesman of the Bolsheviks."¹⁰

Sun's fundraising and organizational trip had begun from Tokyo in September of 1903. It led through Hawaii from October 1903 to March 1904 where Sun was reportedly inducted into the Triads for the first time. He then moved to San Francisco in April 1904, where his entry into the U.S. with false papers was stymied by local immigration authorities in San Francisco, then expedited through contacts in Washington. He immediately became a leading member of the San Francisco-headquartered 致公堂 Chee Kung Tong, an organization that was known to English speaking America as the "Chinese Masons". A multi-city tour of America followed in the accompaniment of the head of the "Chinese Masons" (黃三德 Huang San-te) which ended in New York in the fall of 1904. Sun then was 'invited' to Europe in early 1905, where he met and recruited Chinese students in Brussels and Berlin, then French officials and Chinese students in Paris, leaving by ship from Marseilles for Asia on 11th June 1905.

During these six months the three most important battles in modern Asian history up to that time were won by the Japanese: the capture of Port Arthur on 2nd January 1905, the defeat of the Russian Army at Mukden on 10th March, and the sinking of the Russian Baltic Fleet on 27th-28th May. And, during this period the most important development in Russia's modern history until that time was also occurring: the Russian Revolution of 1905, including its trigger-event, "Bloody Sunday" of 22nd January 1905 and Lenin's follow-on Bolshevik RSDLP Congress in London on 25th April 1905. Sun's nearly two-year trip had also occurred at an extraordinarily dynamic time. It coincided with the beginning of the 1904 Russo-Japanese War that was launched on 8th February 1904; the initial financing of the war from New York by Jacob Schiff¹¹ on 11th May of 1904;¹² the critical battle of the war through the fall of 1904 for the Liaoning Peninsula; the surrender of the Russian garrison of Port Arthur on 2nd January 1905, the commencement of the 1905 Revolution in Russia on 22nd January's 'Blood Sunday'; and the peace

⁶ Frederick J. Gould, *Hyndman: Prophet of Socialism* (London, 1928), p. 189.

⁷ Gaylord Wilshire, "The International Socialist Bureau," *Wilshire's Magazine*, February 1905.

⁸ R.H. Bruce Lockhart, *The Two Revolutions* (London, 1967), p. 38; David Shub, *Lenin: a Biography* (New York, 1948), 78; Donald W. Treadgold, *Twentieth Century Russia* (New York, 1981), p. 525.

⁹ Lockhart, *The Two Revolutions*, p. 38. Lockhart also served as Director of Political Warfare Executive for the British government in WWII.

¹⁰ Donald W. Treadgold, *Lenin and his Rivals: the Struggle for Russia's Future, 1896-1906* (New York, 1955), p. 169.

¹¹ Priscilla Mary Roberts, "Jewish Bankers, Russia, and the Soviet Union, 1900-1940: the Case of Kuhn, Loeb and Company," *American Jewish Archives Journal* XLIX (July, p. 1997), p. 16.

¹² White, *The Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War*, p. 169, 373.

negotiations orchestrated by Theodore Roosevelt beginning from 8th June 1905. Sun arrived in Tokyo one month before the Japanese-Russian conferences at Portsmouth, Maine on 8th August which ended the war on 5th September 1905.¹³

Few of Sun's biographers stress the impact of the Russo-Japanese War on Sun's organizing efforts. Its salient events conveyed dramatic impact on Asian nationalism, the Chinese nation, and the Japanese world view. First, the war's battle ground was the Manchu heartland, the political core of the ethnic group that had dominated China, Mongolia, Xinjiang, and Tibet for the previous three centuries. The Russian defeat was the first defeat of a major European power by an Asian nation, while the war was the first industrial war of the 20th Century and a prelude to World War One. The contending armies had utilized the largest troop concentrations on a battlefield to date, while deploying 20th century weapons for the first time, which included machine guns, barbed wire, and heavy artillery. The clash of the Russian and Japanese fleets was to be the first battle of steel naval vessels and it was the largest naval clash to date. It was also a major "media war" with the battles at Port Arthur, Mukden and the Tsushima Straits being reported extensively by the global media. The strains of the war directly triggered the first major Russian social revolution, but Japan's victory also set the foundation of an enhanced Anglo-Japanese alliance, the modification of the 1902 treaty being agreed in August of 1905. Finally Japan's victory implanted Japan on the Asian mainland, leading to a catastrophic war with China within the next thirty years. During this decisive period Sun Yat-sen's plans were to operate in the heart of the nation that was victorious, yet few of his biographers emphasize the War's relevance.

Not only was this period of pre-eminent importance for Japan and its holdings on the Asian mainland, but according to no less an authority on revolution than V. I. Lenin the period was a "dress rehearsal" for the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, without which, "victory of the October Revolution in 1917 would have been impossible."¹⁴ With respect to these revolutions, Abraham Ascher in 1998 asserted their intimate relationship:

...the link between the two is indisputable. Bolshevism emerged as a distinct political movement during the first revolution. ...only after the spread of unrest in 1904 did Lenin and his followers begin to formulate strategies and tactics that became the essential of Bolshevism, distinguishing it fully from other strands of Marxism.¹⁵

What then did Sun learn from the Russo-Japanese War? First, that a powerful Asian nation could be developed from a backward nation within the life time of one man. Second, that there were financiers in the world, such as Jacob Schiff, who were willing to finance Third World nations to defeat their First World Opponents, and thirdly, Sun was able to see in Russian events, as Lenin, that it was feasible to mount a domestic revolution against an autocratic government which would have a chance of success if the revolutionaries could mobilize sufficient armed force.

Basis for Future Chinese Political Relationships

Between 1904 and 1907 Sun Yat-sen's Tokyo based revolutionary organization, the *Tong Meng Hui*, established the network for the groups that overthrew the Qing dynasty and provided the leadership and organizational structures for the political struggles in China for the next thirty-five years. Returning to Japan in late July 1905 after a nearly two year absence on a fundraising and organizational tour through Hawaii, the United States, Europe and Southeast Asia, within a month, Sun Yat-sen was instrumental in founding a new, larger and more complex umbrella revolutionary organization that sported a revamped ideology and revolutionary slogans. These came to be termed the Three Principles and included: (i) nationalism based on ethnicity, (ii) republicanism based on democracy, and (iii) a modern economy based upon equitable land rights. Between August and November 1905 members that included 黃興 Huang Xing, 宋教仁 Song Jiaoren, 汪精衛 Wang Jingwei (b. 1883) and 胡漢民 Hu Hanmin organized the radical

¹³ Ibid., p. 373-4.

¹⁴ Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905*, 2 vols. (Stanford, Calif., 1988), p. 1.

¹⁵ Ascher, *Revolution of 1905, Russia in Disarray*, p. 1-2.

journal 民報 *Min Bao*, implanted a network of new bases in Southeast, and began to plan insurrection and assassination in China. Within six years the successful Xin Hai Revolution of 1911 in Wuhan was launched. The relationships generated during the TMH era were evident in later periods.

Prominent among all of these periods was Wang Jing-wei. Observing the TMH organizational period discloses unique networks that may have been fundamental for his operations: (a) Chinese political networks that grew from the TMH and Revolutionary Party; (b) the international network in Europe that appears to have supported China's revolutions; and (c) the support that Wang's wife, 陳璧君 Chen Bijun, and her family provided to Sun Yat-sen, initially in 1910 for his Penang base. Wang Jingwei undoubted leadership role in the TMH is evidenced by his election as chairman of its Legislative Commission (評議部) in August of 1905,¹⁶ his significant written contributions to its organizational journal (民報 *Min Bao*), and his establishment of the party structure in Southeast Asia in close association with Sun. During this period Wang Jing-wei and his followers developed strong working, if not personal relations, with the individuals that were later directing the Chongqing regime during the Pacific War. Importantly, to the extent that Sun Yat-sen was interfacing with the Socialists of Europe prior to his relationship with the Comintern, Wang was one of the best placed to inherit those relationships.

The Scalapino Evidence:

Curiously Scalapino's 1985 publication, *Modern China and its Revolutionary Process*, provides three significant discussions of Chinese links to the Second International that his index does not identify. First, he relates that the founder of the Chinese Socialist Party (CSP), 江亢虎 Jiang Kanghu, in 1909 visited the headquarters of the Second International in Brussels after having made the acquaintance of Japanese Socialists that included Kotoku Shushui (辛德秋水) beginning in 1907. On this 1909 trip Scalapino reports that Jiang "came into close contact with two young Chinese anarchists in Paris, 李石曾 Li Shizeng) and 吳稚暉 Wu Zhi-hui,"¹⁷ who was also known as 吳敬恒 Wu Jingheng.¹⁸ Wu Zhihui would go on to have a sterling career in the KMT (*Guomindang*) in China and join 蔣介石 Chiang Kai-shek in its evacuation to Taiwan at the end of the Chinese Civil War.

Second, Scalapino states that an invitation was extended by the Second International in June 1913 for the Chinese Socialist Party to join the International;¹⁹ and, thirdly, he provides an unreferenced assertion that Sun gave "active encouragement" to the founder of the Chinese Socialist Party (江亢虎 Jiang Kanghu) and "in so doing, insisted that he [Sun] was a thorough going socialist, not prepared to rest merely with Henry George's single tax." Scalapino emphasized that "Sun maintained active connections with the international socialist movement, and considered himself affiliated with the Second International."²⁰ The only reference to Sun Yat-sen meeting the Second International in Brussels seems to be Scalapino's statement a footnote which states, "In May he [Sun] also visited the leaders of the Second International in Brussels, and according to Wei and Wu, he requested membership for his Chinese Revolutionary Party in the Socialist International..."²¹ Inexplicably there are a series of errors in his citation: the bibliography listing of the reference from which the footnote came appears to be wrong, the footnote appears to be in error, and the underlying reference which the authors Wei and Wu cite has been omitted. Wei and Wu, in fact, cite Martin Bernal as their source, pointing to the same French language newspapers that Bernal cites, those being the Flemish language paper, *Vooruit*, of 18th May 1905 and the French language near-equivalent *Le Peuple* of 20th May.

¹⁶ 闻少华 Shao-hua Wen, 汪精卫传 *Wang Jingwei Zhuan* (Beijing, 2007), p. 243.

¹⁷ Scalapino and Yu, *Modern China and its Revolutionary Process: Recurrent Challenges to the Traditional Order, 1850-1920*, p. 490.

¹⁸ Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution*, p. 377.

¹⁹ Scalapino and Yu, *Modern China and its Revolutionary Process: Recurrent Challenges to the Traditional Order, 1850-1920*, p. 498. Scalapino makes reference to an unidentified "British Socialist" speaking at a rally in Shanghai with Chinese Labor Party representative Shen Zhou-you on 1st May 1913. Identification of this individual may be of value. A subsequent letter from him confirmed the invitation to join the International. Katayama Sen also corresponds with the party.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 501.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

The data that Bernal presents from 1905 is significant because it clearly demonstrates Sun's efforts to ally his party and himself with the world Socialist movement during his critical 1905 spring trip to Europe. Bernal summarized Sun's beliefs as follows: "Sun believed that land nationalism and even single tax were parts of world socialism, not perversions of it." And that "this identification with the world socialist movement was manifested on his second trip to Europe in the spring of 1905 when Sun visited the Secretariat of the Second International in Brussels." Bernal presented the reports from "the Flemish socialist newspaper *Vooruit* on May 18, 1905, and in its French language equivalent *Le Peuple* a few days later," concluding that "much of the report appears to be authentic." Sun Yat-sen specifically stated he met with Vandervelde, had named his party the Chinese Revolutionary Party, and had asked for affiliation to the Second International. Bernal presents the newspaper's report on Sun:

This week I had the chance to be the mediator between our comrade Sun Yat Sen, chief of the Chinese Revolutionary Socialist Party and our friends Vandervelde and Huysmans.

Comrade Sun has come to Belgium to ask for affiliation of his party to the Bureau of the Socialist International which Comrade Huysmans is the Secretary...²²

It seems unusual that with the Second International being discussed significantly at least three times in Scalapino's text, this extraordinarily influential organization is referred to only once in his index. That reference is merely to a footnote that mixes the relevant with the meaningless. The relevant point is that the Chinese Socialist Party at its second Party Congress on 25th October 1912 voted to join the Second International, while the excessively minor point is that the Party sought to translate its regulations into Esperanto and forward them to all other foreign socialist parties.²³ Of course, the Chinese Socialist Party's October 1912 conference was conducted on a truly significant date: the first anniversary of the Xin Hai Revolt. For this Second Party Conference Sun Yat-sen committed a significant portion of his time and energies. Bergère reported that he devoted three consecutive days to giving four hour speeches each day,²⁴ though she does not appear to have mentioned that the Congress voted to join the Second International.

But Scalapino reported extensively on the discussions between the founder of the Chinese Socialist Party, 江亢虎 Jiang Kang-hu, and Sun in early 1912 immediately after Sun has been elected President of the new Chinese Republic.²⁵ He states that a meeting between the two was held on New Year's Day 1912 with Jiang accepting "equalization of the land as one of the party's basic principles", and Sun replying, "I am a full socialist, and land equalization is only the first step — there are other policies that are necessary and I need to discuss this with your party."²⁶ Despite using this direct quotation from Sun Yat-sen, the only additional data provided is that from a previous footnote concerning Jiang Kang-hu.²⁷

Following the Xin Hai Revolt of 10th October 1911, before Sun had returned to China, Jiang Kang-hu on 7th November 1911 had announced the creation of the Chinese Socialist Party for which he provided an eight point platform that had a surprising similarity to Sun's own views. Of particular note is the proposed land valuation tax derived from the views of Henry George on land to which Sun was strongly committed. Jiang's platform also called for Republicanism, 'integration of the races', respect for individual legal rights, sequestering of inheritances by the state, strengthening of industries, greater rewards for labor, expansion of public education and reduction of arms. The 民立報 *Minli Bao*, a newspaper closely affiliated with Sun's operations, announced on 8th November that the Socialist Party

²² Bernal, *Chinese Socialism to 1907*, p. 65.

²³ Ibid., p. 495.

²⁴ Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, Janet Lloyd trans. (Stanford, 1998), p. 233-4.

²⁵ Scalapino and Yu, *Modern China and its Revolutionary Process: Recurrent Challenges to the Traditional Order, 1850-1920*, p. 491-506.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 492.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 741.

Headquarters would begin receiving applications for membership. Within three months, by the end of January 1912, the new party was said to have 5,000 members and thirty branches.

By the fall, Bergère reported that Sun was actively participating in its second annual congress, with the assertion by Scalapino, referencing *Minli Bao* of 26th November 1912, that the organization had 400 branches and 300,000 members after only one year of operation.²⁸ On Labor Day 1st May 1913 the party held a meeting attended by 3,000 people with an unidentified British Socialist speaking.²⁹ By June *Minli Bao*, informed its readers that this British Socialist had “indicated that the Chinese Socialist Party would secure recognition from the Second International and invited the party to send delegates to the meeting in the fall of 1914.” It also reported that Katayama Sen, “as a correspondent of the international socialist movement” wished to know more about Jiang and his party.³⁰

The linkage of Sun to the Second International seems to have been emerging into public awareness from at least 1913. But Sun’s overt affiliation with the Chinese Socialist Party was short lived. On 16th August 1913 袁世凱 Yuan Shikai issued a presidential order to ban both the *Guomindang* and the Chinese Socialist Party “on the grounds that [the latter] was connected with foreign socialists and anarchists and had tried to foment disturbances in the North.”³¹

Sun, however, seems not to have been restrained. In a letter written to the president of the Second International on 10th November 1915, while Sun was in exile in Tokyo following the collapse of the ‘Second Revolution’ against Yuan Shi-kai in the summer of 1913, Sun asserted that the Socialists of the Second International had already been a help to Sun’s efforts. Sun expressed thanks to the President of the International Socialist Bureau (located in the ‘People’s Palace’ in Brussels) and “to the Socialists for the noble and valuable service” given to his cause. Sun wrote (with italics added by the author):

So kind of and sympathetic a letter from a source such as your organization cannot be otherwise than act as an invigorating tonic full of encouragement and hope to me and my followers. I wish you to know it has done me much good, and *that I am grateful to the Socialists for the noble and valuable service they rendered to our cause.* The knowledge that I have many sympathizers all over the world makes my heart glad. We are truly fellow-workers, co-laborers struggling against great opposing forces, and having the same unshakeable conviction that truth, righteousness and humanity, will surely conquer evil and injustice at the end.³²

The letter expressed Sun’s desire to pursue a Socialist model at the time of his election as first President of the new republic in late 1911, confirming that well before 1915 Sun had already been contemplating Socialism for China. Martin Bernal, of course, had made the case that as early as May 1905 Sun was actively seeking to ally himself publicly with the Second International. In his 1915 letter Sun asked for their help, and that of its constituent international members, to assist China in attaining Socialism. Its operative paragraph stated, “... I appeal to you, my co-laborers, to help me in making China the first Socialist state in the world by concentrating your attention and energy on China, and contributing talents in various lines and departments to help me....” As below, Sun is pleading with the president of the Second International’s executive organ (Camille Huysmans), not the Comintern, to assist his efforts.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 497.

²⁹ Katayama used the same language “the British Socialist” when referring to H.M. Hyndman. Hyndman was one of the leading advocates of Indian Nationalism and finished in 1916 *The Awakening of Asia* which was a highly detailed and accurate assessment of Japan and India. It is not inconceivable Hyndman made a trip to Asia at this time, although none of Hyndman’s writings from that era describe such a trip.

³⁰ Scalapino and Yu, *Modern China and its Revolutionary Process: Recurrent Challenges to the Traditional Order, 1850-1920*, p. 498.

³¹ Ibid., p. fn 498

³² 秦孝儀 Qin Xiao-yi, *Guofu Quanji, De Shi Ci, Yingwen Zhushu* (國父全集, 第十冊, 英文著述) (Taipei, 1988), p. 414.

Nov. 10, 1915

President

International Socialist Bureau

Peoples Palace

Brussels, Belgium

Dear Sirs:

...It will interest you to know at the end of the first revolution when I was elected President of the Republic, I wanted to organize China after the Socialist idea; but I found myself single handed, for the people were absolutely ignorant on the subject, and my followers who were Socialists were but a handful besides their idea of Socialism was both crude and vague...

Our 2nd revolution was a failure because there was no unity amongst the revolutionists and there was no leader for I took no active part in the movement. Immediately after I resigned in favor of Yuan, I gave up politics entirely, and lost myself in studying out the best method of gradually moulding the government according to the Socialist idea thus realizing and completing the sole object and ambition of my life. I firmly believe that only when China becomes a Socialist state, that our people can be made happier and their drudgeries alleviated. Socialism will cure her ailment.

I desire to impress upon you, my co-laborers, that China is the land where Socialism can be carried out into practice; and it is the field that should be worked and used as a model of government after the Socialist idea

... I appeal to you, my co-laborers, to help me in making China the first Socialist state in the world by concentrating your attention and energy on China, and contributing talents in various lines and departments to help me....

I should be pleased if you will present my idea to the leaders of the Socialists of all countries, and if it be met with approval I may be able to come to Europe to discuss the details with you.

Please impress upon the leaders the necessity of absolute secrecy, for should the worried powers capitalists and financiers be acquainted with this matter, they combine together and endeavor to nip us in the bud, which will make our battle much harder to fight...

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Your fellow-worker,

Sun Yat-sen³³

³³ Ibid., 420-5.

To summarize Sun Yat-sen's relationship with the Second International, it is apparent that: by 1915 he was actively seeking the Second's support in the creation of a Socialist state in China while thanking the organization and its membership for past support; by 1912 he had been actively attempting to launch the Chinese Socialist Party and to bring it into the Socialist community as organized under the Second International; and that in 1905 he had visited the headquarters city of the Second's International Socialist Bureau, meeting with the leadership of the Second International, following visits to the capitals of Germany and France, the nations that had the largest, most influential and most active Socialist parties. When Sun left France on 11th June 1905 he had developed or was in the process of developing an ideology; he appears to have obtained the funding; and he was developing an organizational strategy that would successfully launch a revolutionary organization in Tokyo which would lead to the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty within six years. These objectives closely tracked the Socialist theory and strategy of the Second International. They certainly represented at least the more aggressive members of the Second who sought to use Japan to disrupt Tsarist Russia, to force Russia from Manchuria, to eliminate Russia as strategic ally to the Manchu Court, and to leverage change in the Russian autocracy.

It was not until March 1919 that Lenin set up the Third International. Though it appeared to have taken Sun and Lenin four years to come to terms and to establish a full-fledged alliance for the provision to Sun of funding, military training, and organizational assistance, this delay may have been caused by the Russian Civil War, which did not end until late 1920 when Baron Pyotr Nikolayevich Wrangel, the successor to General Anton Denikin, was driven from the Crimea by a Red Army offensive in October and November 1920.³⁴

Bolshevik approaches to Sun in China are not reported to have taken place until five months later in April of 1921 when Lenin sent "Maring" (Henk Sneevliet) to China to 'observe revolutionary possibilities.'³⁵ However, given Lenin's involvement with the Second International from at least 1907 and Sun's arrival in London in May of 1905 as Lenin was creating his initial Bolshevik party in the same city, the case could be made that the Sun-Lenin relationship of 1923-5 may have been built upon a more thorough and longer term relationship than is commonly assumed. Analysts that cite Sun's letter to Soviet Foreign Minister Georgii Chicherin on 28th August of 1921,³⁶ his discussions with Soviet representatives Henk Maring in the December of 1921,³⁷ his meetings with Adolfe Joffe in August 1922,³⁸ and Lev Karakhan subsequently in 1923 and 1924, seem to have overlooked the relationship of both Sun Yat-sen and Vladimir Lenin to the Second International, the most significant and successful international Socialist organization of the 20th Century.

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³⁴ Ian D. Thatcher, *Trotsky, Routledge Historical Biographies* (London, 2003), x.

³⁵ Shao-chuan Leng and Norman D. Palmer, *Sun Yat-sen and Communism*, ed. University of Pennsylvania Foreign Policy Research Institute (Westport, Connecticut, 1976), 55.

³⁶ Alexander Pantsov, *Bolsheviks and the Chinese Revolution 1919-1927* (Richmond, 2000), 47.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 46.

³⁸ Share, *Where Empires Collided. Russian and Soviet Relations with Hong Kong, Taiwan and Macao*, 54.