



Sun Yat Sen and the Second International

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There is no question that the Third International, the Comintern, played a fundamental role in social change in China in the 1920s: it organised the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1921, created the Whampoa Military Academy in 1924 and supported the Northern Expedition in 1926. After failure of the Socialist revolution to ignite in Europe following initial Bolshevik success in Russia in 1917, Lenin had quickly turned his attention to Asia, and China in particular. Many of the Comintern leaders, including Lenin himself, had emerged from that organisation's predecessor organisation, the Second International. It is therefore surprising that the Second International and its strategy for China have not received more attention from analysts. It would be extremely difficult to make the case that the Second International was not in communication with Chinese revolutionaries before Lenin's founding of the Third International in March 1919, given the strategic battle that was taking place for control of Manchuria from 1895 and 1910 between the Qing Dynasty, Tsarist Russia and Imperial Japan. The first Russian Revolution of 1905, in which Second International Socialists were profoundly involved, was directly related to the Russian-Japanese battle, while Sun Yat Sen 孙逸仙 arranged for the founding in Tokyo of China's main republican movement, the Tong Meng

Hui (TMH 同盟会), as fighting raged in Manchuria. The war was eventually brought to a close in the same month that Sun Yat Sen established the TMH through the Theodore Roosevelt-arranged Treaty of Portsmouth in August of 1905.

Marxist theory asserted that bourgeois revolutions should precede socialist revolution. Centered upon the political and class relations of industrial societies, under a young Marx and Engels, it envisioned that the industrial working class would supplant bourgeois capitalists in an armed insurrection and thereby usher in Socialist transformation. However, after the First International's armed uprising failed in the Paris Commune of 1871, the reorganised Socialist movement of the Second International modified strategy to seek advancement of Marxism under rule of law and opposition to militarism. Seemingly left unresolved as the Second International gained influence was the nature of the bourgeois revolution that must precede the development of an industrial society. History reflected that all Bourgeois revolutions had been armed struggles, including the English Civil War of the 1650s, the American War for Independence of the 1770's and the French Revolution of the 1790's.

What then was the Second International's position with respect to the armed struggle of the Bourgeois that must precede the theorised path to Socialism in countries such as Russia, Portugal, Mexico, Turkey and China, all of which could be described as autocratic, pre-Bourgeois societies and all of which experienced republican revolts between 1905 and 1911 during the height of the Second International's pre-war influence? The lack of discussion of the Second International's strategy for China as the 1905 revolt in Russia exploded and Sun Yat Sen's revolutionary efforts for China were

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organised in the same year is a perplexing lacuna in much of the secondary literature focused on the Xinhai Revolution (辛亥革命 Xinhai Geming) and Sun Yat Sen's intriguing revolutionary career.

Sun's political philosophy following his 1904-1905 fundraising trip to America and Europe, which immediately preceded his formation of the critical Tong Meng Hui, was closely correlated with key elements of the Socialist world at a time when that world was dominated by the Second International. Early writings on Sun Yat Sen immediately after the Xinhai revolt contain meaningful references to his affiliation. The *China Year Book 1914*, edited by H.G.W. Woodhead of the *Peking Gazette* and H.T. Montague Bell of the *North-China Daily News*, states that Sun Yat Sen 'resigned from the Presidency on the abdication of the Manchus [in February 1912]...and proceeded on a tour to Wuchang and South China, where he advocated a socialistic policy'. Sun returned to Beijing on August 1912, proposed a program of national railway construction and was appointed by Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 on 10 September 1912 to draft plans for the system and to 'submit and discuss the same with international bankers'.¹ Edward Pease, the secretary for the British Fabian Society in 1913 included a short section on Sun Yat Sen for the fifth edition of the *History of Socialism* which stated that 'Dr. Sun Yatsen, the inspirer of the revolution...predicted in March 1912 that "the Chinese Government would become the most Socialistic government of the century."' When the Chinese Socialist Party was organised in 1912 at a Congress in Nanking, it established a Socialist daily entitled *the Chinese Republican*, which was edited by Sun Yat Sen's private secretary.²

More specific assertion of Sun's relationship to the international Socialist community was provided by Martin Bernal (1968) when he cited Scalapino and Schiffrin's article in the *Journal of Asian Studies* (1959, 334) to state that 'Sun had no hesitation in identifying the Revolutionary Alliance with the world socialist movement'. He reported that 'during 1905 and 1906 the unity of the two was so obvious to Sun that he and the other party spokesmen used the two words *min-sheng chu-i* (*minsheng zhuyi* 民生主义, mass welfare) and *she-hui chu-i* (*shehui zhuyi* 社会主义, socialism) interchangeably'.³ Scalapino and Schiffrin's original 1959 article had specifically demonstrated the notion that Sun's use of the term *minsheng zhuyi*

in the early 1905 and 1906 publications of the TMH party organ *Min Bao* 民报 was a direct reference to Socialism. In May of 1959 they had written, 'In every *Min pao* article that deals with the general subject, *min-sheng* is consistently used as a synonym for Western socialism... There can be no question as to the reference intended.' They called attention to Sun's 'famous Tokyo speech of October 17, 1906, commemorating the first anniversary of *Min Bao* in which Sun stated that in Europe '*min-sheng chu-i* was widely advocated only in the later half of the nineteenth century'. Sun explained that because of the widening gap between rich and poor '...the Socialist Party introduced *min-sheng chu-i*'.⁴

Scalapino further cited an article in late 1905 by Feng Ziyou 冯自由 in the Hong Kong-based TMH mouth piece, *Chung-kuo jih-pao* (*Zhongguo Ribao* 中国日报), which was being run by Chen Shaobai 陈少白, one of Sun's earliest associates and supporters. Following the bankruptcy of Sun's brother in Hawaii, Chen would ensure that Sun's brother, mother, wife and children could move to a secure base in Hong Kong in 1907 through the purchase of a small farm in Kowloon. One month after the first issue of *Min Bao* appeared on 17 November 1905, Chen's *Zhongguo Ribao* published Feng's article, 'She-hui chu-i yu Chung-kuo cheng-chih ch'ien-t'u' (Shehui zhuyi yu Zhongguo zhengzhi qiantu 社会主义与中国政治前途, The Min-sheng Principle and the Future of the Chinese Political Revolution), in which Feng stated 'the new concept of *min-sheng chu-i*, which emerged in 19th-century Europe as a result of the industrial revolution, was what the Japanese called *she-hui chu-i*'.⁵ 'She-hui chu-i' is the modern term that is used for Socialism. Scalapino explained that following the introduction of the term *minsheng zhuyi*, Feng Ziyou was reported to 'discuss the progress of socialism in Europe and America', claiming that the Russian Revolution of 1905 affected the entire globe 'like a clap of thunder', that the 'great prison in the Russian capital is like the Bastille prior to the French Revolution' and that 'the whole world knows the strength of the Russian Socialist Party'. He regarded the Russian nation as able to 'serve as an aid in giving direction to our [the Chinese] revolution'.⁶

Not insignificantly, Feng deployed the term 'national socialism' after claiming that the state policies of Germany were based upon *minsheng zhuyi* and that Berlin had 'made magnificent progress in public housing and other civic improvements; it

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had become a Mecca for students of economics and politics'. Scalapino reported Feng 'also praised the national socialist policies of the Japanese government' with 'many utilities and monopolies like tobacco and the railroads [being] nationalised'. Feng asserted that 'state socialism' should be employed during the period of military tutelage that had been proposed by Sun and used the term *kuo-chia min-sheng chu-i* (*guojia minsheng zhuyi* 国家民生主义).⁷ Germany and Japan were reported to be deploying the policies 'with great effectiveness', with Feng explaining that 'in state socialism, it was essential that the state control affairs so that a few individuals did not monopolise the rights and privileges that belonged to all'.⁸

It was not only Feng Ziyou writing in Chen Shaobai's Hong Kong newspaper who touted the merits of Socialism. Zhu Zhixin 朱执信, Wang Jingwei's 汪精卫 talented relative, was writing in the main TMH publication *Min Bao* on the distinction between Social and Political Revolution. In *Min Bao*'s fifth issue distributed on 26 June 1906, Zhu in his article 'Lun She-hui ko-ming dang yu cheng-chih ko-ming ping hsing' 论社会革命当与政治革命并行 (Shehui geming dang yu zhengzhi geming bing xing; That the Social and Political Revolutions Be Carried Out Together), wrote 'Since the time of Marx...socialist theories had gradually changed and scholars generally felt now that scientific socialism could be achieved. He added, '...and what we people advocate is state socialism'.⁹ In arguing against Liang Qichao 梁启超, who was opposed to social revolution, Scalapino reports that 'in Chu's mind, China like all other societies required a simultaneous social and political revolution'. Zhu asserted that it could be conducted easily in China because of its historic emphasis on the peasant economy and antagonism to the merchant class. The essence of the revolution was to be land nationalisation.¹⁰ Bernal, writing ten years after Scalapino and Schiffrin, reviewed Zhu's five articles in the first five issues of *Min Bao*, summarised them and concluded that Zhu believed 'violent social revolution was not inevitable in the West and that Socialism would triumph there through parliamentary means'. Bernal asserted Zhu 'paid lip service to the importance of land nationalisation, his chief interest was in the public ownership of industry' and he judged that Zhu 'was in fact as near as a Chinese could ever be to being an orthodox Socialist of the Second International'.¹¹ Not only was Zhu Wang

Jingwei's close relative, but he was his revolutionary comrade throughout the TMH and early Republican period.

Scalapino reports that throughout this early period 'Sun kept contact with the Socialist International and continued to consider himself a socialist'.¹² Sun's promotion of a Socialist agenda demonstrates an early affiliation that was well prior to the First World War of 1914, his strong support of the Chinese Socialist Party in October of 1915, and the creation of the Third International in March of 1919. As early as 1905-1906 his followers and publicists were making little difference between socialism of the international or national varieties, such differences not having made much ideological appearance in Europe itself. They viewed socialism as having two groups: communism and national socialism, with communism being seen as the socialism espoused by Anarchists, Nihilists and Anarcho-Syndicalists. Sun's group considered 'themselves as belonging to national or state socialism'. This included advocating that the government have comprehensive responsibility for social and economic justice, with some state ownership, covering at least monopolies and utilities, but also a sector for private enterprise.¹³ Summarising the variety of views expressed by Sun's supporters and their views of their own movement, Scalapino and Schiffrin unequivocally state 'One thing is certain. Sun and his young supporters wanted to be considered socialists in the general sense, and they thought of themselves as part of the world socialist movement'.¹⁴

FOUNDATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The Second International spanned the gap between the First International, which was led by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels from 1864 to 1876 and the Third International, which is better known by the name 'the Comintern' that operated from 1919 to 1943. The First International's formal name was the International Working Man's Association ('IWMA') and its General Council, whose documents were almost all drafted by Karl Marx, operated from London until an internal controversy with the anarchist Mikhail Bakunin in 1872 resulted in the organisation expelling Bakunin and opting to move the General Council to New York City. It operated there for the next four years under

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Friedrich Adolf Sorge, a German émigré, dogmatic Marxist and great-uncle of the infamous Japan-based, Soviet-spy of the Second World War Richard Sorge. Continuing internal controversy caused the dissolution of the First International at a conference in Philadelphia in 1876.¹⁵ H.M. Hyndman, the founder of the British Socialist movement, who befriended Marx in Britain after the collapse of the First International, reported in his reminiscences that the fiasco of the Paris Commune of 1871 and the inflexible personalities of Marx and Engels led directly to the end of the First International.¹⁶ He stated that

Marx was practically unknown to the English public, except as a dangerous and even desperate advocate of revolution, whose organisation of the 'International' had been one of the causes of the horrible Commune of Paris, which all decent people shuddered at and thought of with horror.¹⁷

The follow-on Second International was not insignificant. Founded at a Marxist-organised Congress of European Labour parties in Paris in 1889, it was larger and significantly more influential than the First. Although characterised by Thomas Bottomore in his *Dictionary of Marxist Thought* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, 1991) as 'largely dominated by German Social Democracy',¹⁸ its key functionaries were French-speaking Belgians operating from Brussels. Further, the founding location was in Paris on the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille during the French Revolution and there were almost three times as many French delegates attending as German. Describing the organisation as being 'dominated by German Social Democracy' derives from the movement's founding Germany theoreticians (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels), and their theoretical heir, Karl Kautsky. At the first Congress, two joint presidents were elected. One president was French: Edouard Vaillant, who had been a 'Paris communard' in 1871; the other was German: Wilhelm Liebknecht who was regarded as the 'moving spirit of the Congress' due to his linguistic abilities, his eloquence and his experience with the First International.¹⁹

The leading historian of the organisation, George Haupt, relates that in the years leading up to the First World War '...the Socialist International was considered the most important anti-militarist political force in the world: the International... believed itself capable of mobilising an army of five million organised workers in the active struggle for peace.' He stated that, 'in an

age of pacifist organisations, none could compare in either size of audience or scope of activity.' Rajani Dutt a London based radical, reported that at the outbreak of the First World War the organisation had twelve million members in 27 different countries, although he deemed it a 'loose federation of political parties with no strong central organisation'.²⁰ Emblematic of its influence, however, 'the International was put forward for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1913, and its candidature was favourably held over until 1914.'²¹

At its founding in Paris in July 1889, nearly 391 delegates came from 20 countries including 'nearly all the most important Socialist leaders of Europe', along with three members of the Marx family. By far the largest delegation was from France, which sent 221 delegates, followed by Germany with 81. Smaller delegations of various sizes also came from countries with parties that were 'just starting', including Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, and Sweden. Britain, the Netherlands and America sent groups that had 'not coalesced into a unified party'. Others came from countries that were not yet independent, such as Poland and Bohemia. Congresses were held at intervals of approximately once every three years.²²

At the Fifth Congress in Paris in September of 1900 the organisation established a permanent secretariat with the name International Socialist Bureau (ISB) and appointed staff to operate it. The ISB consisted of three delegates from each National section and directed to carry out the decisions and arrange for the International's Congresses, meeting at least once a year. Its Executive consisted of a Chairman (Emile Vandervelde), General Secretary (Victor Serwy) and two other members of the Belgian section.²³ It operated from the organisation's headquarters in Brussels at the *Maison du Peuple*. The ISB's objective was to coordinate between the member Socialist parties while Congress was not in session. The ISB actually met every few months, while in every country there was a 'local organisation connected to the bureau'. During the Sixth Congress at Amsterdam in August 1904, the ISB was strengthened by the appointment of an aggressive new General Secretary, Camille Huysmans. Both Vandervelde as Chairman and Huysmans as Secretary would play prominent roles in the international Socialist movement's key organisations for the next four decades.

With respect to the ISB's role in supporting Socialist political actions, Kirkup and Pease reported

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that ‘appeals for funds to assist any strike of international import, or any labour movement in out-of-the-way countries where labour [was] ill-organised, and authority oppressive, [were] dispatched *almost weekly*. . .’ These authors specifically pointed to appeals that came *from Portugal and Russia*, ‘where wars or revolutions [were] in progress’. Such appeals went out ‘to the workmen of the world... issued through the agency of the Bureau.’²⁴

At the Seventh Congress in Stuttgart Germany in August 1907 the organisation was further strengthened by concentrating voting rights into the largest national delegations. Previously each delegation had two votes, but after 1907 20 votes were allocated to each of the national organisations of Germany, Austria, Britain, France and Russia, with 15 to Italy. The smaller nations had two to four votes each. In Britain, the National Committee of the Second International maintained its headquarters at the offices of the British Labour Party, with the national secretary being Arthur Henderson, the secretary of the Labour Party. Britain’s 20 votes were allocated: ten for the Labour Party, under Arthur Henderson; four to the Independent Labour Party under Keir Hardie; four to the British Socialist Party under H.M. Hyndman; and two to the Fabian Society.²⁵

The ISB in Brussels gradually created a more ‘complex organisation’ while publishing *Bulletin Periodique* in three languages: French, English and German, which ‘were the three languages recognised for international purposes.’ By 1912 it contained ‘a chronicle of Socialist doings and happenings in all lands,’ a Parliamentary Report in connection with the Inter-Parliamentary Commission, a directory of the ‘delegates to the Bureau, of the secretaries of affiliated parties, and parties not affiliated’ and a ‘long classified list of books and documents sent to the Bureau during the year.’²⁶

The influence of the Second International and its president, Emile Vandervelde, and secretary, Camille Huysmans, might best be gauged by their July 1913 trip to Britain in which they attempted to create unity from the disparate British parties which held membership in the Second International. After successfully uniting the Socialist parties of France, in London they met with the Independent Labour Party, the British Socialist Party, and the Fabian Society ‘for the purposes of promoting Socialist unity’. The ISB ‘approved of the resolutions

unanimously adopted... proposing the formation of a United Socialist Council, subject to the condition that the British Socialist Party [under H.M. Hyndman] join the Labour Party’.²⁷

The world’s leading Socialist operatives and revolutionaries were active in the organisation. This included the German Marxist icons Karl Kautsky, Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, along with the Russian Marxist theoreticians Vladimir Lenin, Georgi Plekhanov, and Pavel Axelrod. The later two were known as ‘the founders of Russian Marxism’. The significance of each in revolutionary European-socialism of the 1905-1917 period is easily ascertainable.²⁸ Kautsky’s theoretical Marxist journal *Die Neue Zeit* was the leading socialist journal. He was often referred to as both one of the main theoreticians of the German Socialist Party (SPD) and the ‘pope of socialism’.²⁹ Lenin frequently cited Kautsky’s *The Road to Power* (1909) stating that it was ‘a most complete exposition of the tasks of our time’ and ‘the most profound elaboration on “a revolution in connexion [sic] with war” which expressed “the indisputable opinion held by all revolutionary Social Democrats.”’³⁰ Max Shachtman in his foreword to Leon Trotsky’s publication *Terrorism and Communism* (1961, 1986) asserted with respect to the theoretical magazine that Karl Kautsky ‘virtually founded’ and edited for 35 years, *Die Neue Zeit*, and that ‘it was no exaggeration to say that no other periodical had so profound an influence upon the whole generation of Marxists before World War I, not in Germany alone but throughout the world.’³¹

By the summer of 1905 Lenin had seized the position of Russian delegate to the ISB after a battle beginning on 2 June in which he had written (under his own name Vladimir Ulyanov,) to the ISB for the ‘Central Committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labour Party’ (RSDLP) declaring that the mandate of the veteran Marxist Plekhanov in the organisation was ‘null and void’.³² Surprisingly, Lenin’s assault on Plekhanov came less than one year after Plekhanov, with Katayama Sen 片山潛, had been named Vice Presidents of the International’s Sixth Congress in Amsterdam in August of 1904. Haupt quotes Lenin’s Collected Works (Vol. 151, p. 93) to report that subsequently Lenin regularly attended the Second International’s meetings and Congresses between 1907 and 1911.³³ Lenin’s own work published from Moscow in 1952 (*Collapse of the Second International*), asserted that,

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‘From 1905 onwards, Lenin was a member of the I.S.B. as a representative of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party.’³⁴

The Second International took an active position in political issues which were relevant to China. At its Congress of 1900 delegates unanimously denounced colonialism, while stronger language was added seven years later at its Stuttgart Conference in August of 1907. The Stuttgart resolution condemned ‘capitalist colonialist policies [which] must, by their nature, give rise to servitude, forced labour, and the extermination of native peoples’.³⁵ An amendment submitted by Lenin (who by then was a member of the Bureau of the International) along with Rosa Luxemburg and Julius Martov,³⁶ denounced war. It was approved unanimously, and then approved again by two succeeding congresses. It demanded

every effort to prevent the outbreak of war’ and required that ‘In case war should break out anyway, it is [the Labour movement’s] duty to intervene in favour of its speedy termination and with all their powers to utilize economic and political crises created by the war to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of the capitalist class rule.’³⁷

By 1904, Japan also had membership in the Second International through a small organisation of which Katayama Sen was a member. This was likely the Socialist Association (Shakaishugi Kyokai 社會主義協會).³⁸ The first Socialist Party in Japan, the Social Democratic Party (Nihon Shakai Minshuto 日本社会民主黨), which had been founded substantially by Japanese Christians, had been dissolved by the Japanese police in April 1901 after only one day of operation. Since its successor, the Japanese Socialist Party (Nihon Shakai-to 日本社会黨) was not formed until February 1906,³⁹ it is likely that the study group known as Socialist Association (Shakaishugi Kyokai) was the organisation to which Katayama Sen was affiliated.

The Sixth International Congress of the Second International that met in August of 1904 in Amsterdam during the midst of the Russo-Japanese War was the first congress where two of the Second International’s member countries were at war.⁴⁰ There is no better symbol of the potential relationship between socialist revolutionary organisations of Europe and Asia than the famous handshake between the Japanese Socialist Katayama Sen and the Russian Marxist Georgi

Plekhanov. The selection of these individuals to lead the Conference confirms that the Second International was indeed focused on the conflict between Japan, which was an industrialising bourgeois society, and Russia, which remained the center of ‘autocratic reaction.’ Bernal reports that there also was an exchange of letters between the Japanese Socialist organ *Heimin Shimbun* 平民新聞 and Lenin-Plekhanov’s revolutionary journal edited in London, *Iskra*, which ‘brought the Japanese Socialists into direct contact with the Russian Social Democrats’. The *Heimin Shimbun* touted the constitutionalism of Japan and the ability therefore to ‘fight by peaceful means; by reason and speech’ while *Iskra* responded, in a letter possibly drafted by Trotsky, that ‘the ruling classes have never submitted to the forces of reason, and we have not the slightest ground for believing that they ever will’.⁴¹

Katayama’s presence was significant, but the extent of his influence at this time is difficult to gauge.

Though unsuccessful in Japan, his election as Vice President of the Sixth Congress directly preceded his trip in the spring of 1904 to the American Socialist conference in Chicago. Although his organisation was the first to be recognised in Japan by the International, he was the only Asian in attendance at the Sixth Congress. The organisation he represented was a small ‘Socialist Association’ whose predecessor organisation, the Social Democratic Party, had been banned from operating as a political party.⁴² Katayama was clearly of no positive influence within the Japanese government. Nevertheless, he was elected first vice president and Georgi Plekhanov second vice president of the Congress, with Henri Van Kol of Holland being president.⁴³

Assisting the Japanese government more effectively was French Socialist Leader Jean Jaurès who demanded in the Chamber of Deputies in 1905 that France maintain strict neutrality in the War and ‘render no assistance’ to the naval vessels of her ally after the Russian Baltic Fleet had set sail for the Far East.⁴⁴ British Socialist H.M. Hyndman was even more direct in his denunciations when he asserted that ‘the crushing of Russia is a service done to mankind’. Writing in 1928, just 25 years after the war, Frederick Gould, Hyndman’s long-term associate in the SDF, stated ‘the outbreak of the Russian-Japanese War (1904) let loose an ample Socialist hatred of Czarism’.⁴⁵ The influence of the European Socialist position on the denial of French government support to its Russian ally during

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the war is confirmed by Leon Trotsky in his noted 1906 text entitled *Results and Prospects*. Approximately one year after the war had ended, he reported, 'During the Russo-Japanese War the Socialist Party of France declared that if the French Government intervened in favour of the [Russian] autocracy, it would call on the proletariat to take the most resolute measures, even to the extent of revolt'.⁴⁶

MODIFICATION OF SOCIALIST STRATEGY

The Second International had been founded in 1889 in opposition to the radical line of the First International that asserted the need of a revolutionary armed insurrection of the working class. Importantly, it replaced the strategy of armed insurrection of the proletariat with progress of the working class under the rule of law. Haupt in 'War and Revolution in Lenin'⁴⁷ claimed that following the Second International's foundation, Engels, 'from 1891 onwards... radically modified the postulate according to which the proletariat could come to power only through recourse to violence in a struggle against the bourgeois State'.⁴⁸ Haupt states that armed military force came to be viewed as a 'force for repression or diversion subordinated to the middle classes... which could be neutralised only by respect for legality'. 'From being a catalyst [for revolution], armed conflict between nations [became] a formidable obstacle [to revolution] with the result that peace [became] the decisive factor for the success of the working-class movement'.⁴⁹

The impact on the socialist strategy was profound. In a reversal of the First International, the 'vast majority' of the Second International in its first congress 'declared peace to be the first and indispensable condition for any emancipation of the working class'. The Second International adopted the position that...

the task of social democracy was to prevent reactionary forces from finding a way out by setting in motion the mechanism of counter-revolution through recourse to violence, whether it be external (war), or internal (armed repression, civil war), which might fill the conflictual gap between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat...⁵⁰

The motivation of the Second International at its Paris Congress in September of 1900 to establish the International Socialist Bureau went beyond having it become a coordination unit. Some hoped for it to

become 'a real general staff of the revolution'. The Bureau was appointed to consist of representatives of the leading Socialist parties and provided with a secretariat and offices in Brussels. Though the first secretary, Victor Serwy, focused primarily on organising the international congress in Amsterdam in August of 1904, James Joll explains that his successor, Camille Huysmans,

...rapidly became an influential figure in the international Socialist movement.... Under his direction, the secretariat...assumed increasing importance in providing a link between the member parties... Some people hoped that the International Socialist Bureau, the permanent executive committee whose periodical meetings were attended by the leading Socialist politicians of Europe, would become a real general staff of the revolution.⁵¹

By early 1906 the Second International was taking an aggressive position in international affairs, coordinating actions among its affiliated Socialist Parties. No less an authority on Socialist revolution than Leon Trotsky asserted the ISB's role as a central organising unit for the Socialist movement. He related that:

In March 1906 when the Franco-German conflict over Morocco was coming to a head, the International Socialist Bureau resolved, in the event of a danger of war, to 'lay down the most advantageous actions for all international socialist parties and for the whole organised working class in order to prevent war or bring it to an end'.⁵²

To those who would insist that the Second International remained a 'coordinating body' without direct involvement in revolutionary or financial support to socialist parties globally, Eric Hobsbawm asserts the contrary:

Camille Huysmans, secretary of the International Bureau, in 1906 accepted the deposit by Litvinov [*future Soviet Ambassador to London, Soviet Foreign Minister from 1933 to 1939, and Ambassador to USA in WWII*] of sums of money acquired by the (the highly controversial) Bolshevik 'expropriations'—i.e. robberies—and, on his instructions, arranged for arms purchases and transfers of money to illegal revolutionaries in Russia, including the young Stalin This in itself is not surprising. In those days one did not have to be even a moderate socialist to do

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such services for any enemy of Tsarism. More striking ...is Huysmans' *total discretion about the affair*, even later, when he came under attack from Bolsheviks.⁵³

Joll additionally asserts that it was not only Huysmans who was obtaining funds to support Russian revolutionaries, but that also during the war, that Robert Grimm, one of the two Swiss members of the Second International Bureau⁵⁴ had been working with German officials to finance Lenin's activities in Russia. He stated,

...evidence which was published some forty years later [~1957] has shown—that Robert Grimm, the Swiss secretary of the Zimmerwald Committee had been in touch with German officials, not just in order to make possible the journey of Lenin back to Russia in April 1917, but also in order to provide a channel through which German secret service funds had reached the Bolsheviks and other Russian opposition groups.⁵⁵

SECOND INTERNATIONAL AND SUN YAT SEN'S BIOGRAPHIES:

For unexplained reasons, the most powerful Socialist body in the world during the period in which Sun was organising the TMH is seldom mentioned in the main biographies of Sun Yat Sen. Without a direct discussion of the impact of the Second International on Yat Sen's career, serious deficiencies become apparent in the analysis of the clash between socialist revolutionaries and Tsarist Russia, tactical developments in revolutionary socialism, and the potential linkage between the TMH and the Brussels-based Second International. In addition, the transition of Socialist strategy from revolutionary objectives of the First International, to parliamentary tactics of the Second International, and back to revolutionary strategies for the Comintern cannot be observed. The Second International favoured parliamentary action in developed industrial states to acquire political power for the organisers of the 'working class', while the Third International advocated armed struggle and coup d'état. Importantly, there may have been little differences between the Second and Third with respect to the overthrow of autocratic regimes in non-industrialised countries, including Russia (1905), Portugal (first in 1908), Turkey (1908), Portugal (finally in 1910), Mexico (1910), and China (1911). That is to

say, the Second and Third International policies with respect to the overthrow of autocratic pre-bourgeois regimes may have been identical.

The Second International had succeeded between 1889 and 1900 in ousting the violent revolutionary tactics of Socialists and Anarchists from the organisation, but the Russo-Japanese War and the ensuing 1905 Russian revolt resurrected the entire problem of the role of violent working class revolution in socialist theory. After the 1905 revolution, Lenin 'reaffirmed the relevance of revolution and the role of armed violence. His language was the same as that of Marx and Engels in 1848...' He quickly offered 'a reinterpretation of the Paris Commune to support the lessons learned from 1905: in order to take power, the mass political strike must be combined with armed insurrection'.⁵⁶ The Russian Revolution of 1905 became a crucial event for the Second International, the ISB, and for revolutionary doctrine. It is worthwhile to review George Haupt analysis of its impact:

The Russian revolution of 1905 marked the turning point. The fresh surge of radicalism and the wave of enthusiasm caused by the Russian revolution in socialist circles throughout the world turned the ISB into a body with a truly international audience and authority. It played a highly important part in developing the vast movement of solidarity with the Russian Revolution, a part which is not yet clearly understood and is still neglected by historians. The International was to help revolutionary Russia on both the material and moral level.⁵⁷

Sun's biographers consistently omit the context of Sun's trip to Brussels in early 1905, his meeting with the key executives of the Second International (Emile Vandervelde and Camille Huysmans) and his presence in London during Lenin's Third Bolshevik Congress in April-May 1905. Important linkages between the TMH, European socialist revolutionaries, and parties in the Japanese national security establishment are therefore lost. Clearly, European socialists and international financiers in New York and London had supported Japanese efforts in Manchuria against Tsarist Russia in the 1904 to 1905 Russo Japanese War, while at the same time Sun Yat Sen and his Tokyo-based TMH were being bankrolled and established. Sun Yat Sen was in communication with both the Second International and with Japanese nationalists during this period.

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DISINTEGRATION OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The importance of the disintegration of the Second International under the impact of the Great War lies in the breadth of the political spectrum in which the alumni of the Second International ultimately operated. Assuming Sun Yat Sen's operations beginning in at least 1905 were associated with Socialist elements including the ISB in Brussels implies that his network had a portfolio of personal, organisational and ideological contacts that extended through a political range from Lenin to Mussolini. With respect to Germany, the dominant role the German SPD played in both the Second International and in post-war German governments up to January of 1933 would have facilitated TMH and KMT relationships with the complete spectrum of the German socialist community. For the inheritors of Sun Yat Sen's international political network, this permitted relatively free movement between the Socialist factions in Europe. From 1925 to 1944 the dominant Chinese personality that succeeded to Sun's international network was Wang Jingwei. While he was Premier of China in 1932 and 1933, he not only was travelling in France and Germany as China re-established relations with the Soviet Union in December 1932, but he also was in Germany immediately prior to the General Hans von Seeckt's 1933 trip to China that established the German military mission to the Central Government in Nanjing. The German mission would train the Central Chinese army that confronted the Japan military in the fall of 1937. Indicative of the significance of this relationship, on Wang Jingwei's return to China in mid-March 1933 he was named Minister of Foreign Affairs while Chiang Kai-shek militarily and politically controlled the central government.

The political factions that dominated Europe during this period were essentially the descendants of the Second International. These included, at a minimum, the British Labour Party, the Fabian Society, the French Socialist parties, the Italian Fascist Party, the Soviet Communist Party, the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), the German Communist Party (KPD) and the Austrian Social Democrats. Given this spread of parties, it would be reasonable to assume that the range also included conservative German NSDAP socialists that were influential up

until the assassination of Gregor Strasser and Kurt von Schleicher on 3 June 1934.

SUN'S LEGACY AND THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL

The significant role that the Second International played in the development of the international Socialist movement between its founding in July 1889 (with the full support of Friedrich Engels) and the emergence of Lenin's Third International in March 1919 suggests that a complete history of the Chinese republican revolution of October 1911 must address the strategy and role of the Second International in the Asian region. With Sun Yat Sen and his followers directly expressing their affiliation with the Socialist movement since at least 1905, this need is further heightened. Even further, when it is recalled that Vladimir Lenin's Third International founded the Chinese Communist Party in July 1921 and that Lenin had been propelled to the front of the world Socialist stage by the Russian Revolution of 1905 and his participation in the Second International's International Socialist Bureau (ISB) from 1905, addressing Second International's role in China's history from 1905 to 1917 should be a fundamental requirement of any modern history of China or biography of Sun Yat Sen. Unfortunately, for inexplicable reasons, this has rarely been the case.

The historical record, however, is very clear. Sun Yat Sen and his movement had long sought to be affiliated with the global Socialist movement during the period of the Second International's greatest influence; Sun's organisation was founded in Tokyo in August 1905 as the Socialist world relished in the Japanese defeat of the autocratic Tsarist Empire while Russia was convulsed in its first Socialist revolution; and, Sun's revolutionary activities were openly bankrolled and supported between 1922 and 1927 by the key international revolutionary organisation Vladimir Lenin had established as the successor to the International Socialist Bureau, the organisation Lenin himself had helped to run from Belgium between 1905 and 1914. The ultimate question, then, is not 'was Sun Yat Sen in contact with the Second International as he created the TMH in the summer of 1905 in Tokyo,' but it is: 'how could Sun Yat Sen not have been in contact with the organisation?' That is a perplexing question left unanswered by far too many studies of the period. **RC**

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NOTES

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- 2 Thomas Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*. London: Adam and Charles Black, 1909, p. 352.
- 3 Martin Bernal, 'The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism'. In *China in Revolution*, edited by M.C. Wright. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971, p. 105.
- 4 Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement: Sun Yat-sen vs. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao'. *Journal of Asian Studies*, 18, no. 3 (1969), p. 325.
- 5 Martin Bernal, 'The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism', p. 110.
- 6 Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement', pp. 326-327.
- 7 The Japanese referred to the term as *Kokka Shakaishugi* 国家社会主義; both terms connote 'national socialism'.
- 8 Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement', pp. 327-328.
- 9 Martin Bernal, 'The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism', pp. 111-112; also see Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement', p. 329.
- 10 Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement', p. 331.
- 11 Martin Bernal, 'The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism', p. 111.
- 12 Robert A. Scalapino and H. Schiffrin, 'Early Socialistic Currents in the Chinese Revolutionary Movement', p. 341.
- 13 Ibid., p. 333.
- 14 Ibid., p. 332.
- 15 Tom Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991, p. 263.
- 16 H.M. Hyndman, *Record of an Adventurous Life*. New York: Garland, 1984, pp. 274-275.
- 17 Ibid., p. 272.
- 18 Tom Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, p. 263.
- 19 James Joll, *The Second International, 1889-1914*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1955, pp. 36-37.
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- 21 Georges Haupt, *Socialism and the Great War: The Collapse of the Second International*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1973, p. 1.
- 22 James Joll, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, pp. 35-36.
- 23 Rajani Palme Dutt, *The Two Internationals*, p. 1.
- 24 Thomas Kirkup, *A History of Socialism*, p. 358.
- 25 Ibid., p. 359.
- 26 Ibid., pp. 359-361.
- 27 Ibid., pp. 360-361.
- 28 Wikipedia (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kautsky>) reports that Karl Kautsky, who has been referred to as the 'Marxist Pope,' founded and published 'Neue Zeit' for which Leon Trotsky wrote during his seven year stay in Vienna from 1907 to 1914.
- 29 Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983, pp. 148-151.
- 30 Georges Haupt and E.J. Hobsbawm, *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871-1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 140.
- 31 Leon Trotsky, *Terrorism and Communism, A Reply to Karl Kautsky*, Max Shachtman trans. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986, p. vi.
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- 33 Ibid., p. 139.
- 34 V.I. Lenin, *Collapse of the Second International*. Moscow, 1952, p. 93.
- 35 Tom Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, p. 264.
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- 37 Tom Bottomore, *A Dictionary of Marxist Thought*, v264.
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- 39 Ibid., 80.
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- 41 Martin Bernal, 'The Triumph of Anarchism over Marxism', pp. 114-115.
- 42 Hyman Kublin, *Asian Revolutionary: The Life of Katayama Sen.*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964, pp. 146, 147-149.
- 43 Ibid., pp. 173-174.
- 44 Ibid., fn 175.
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- 46 Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution & Results and Prospects*, edited by Peter Camejo, Brian Pearce trans. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1974, p. 112.
- 47 Georges Haupt, 'War and Revolution in Lenin', in *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871-1914*.
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- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Georges Haupt, 'War and Revolution in Lenin', p. 137.
- 51 James Joll, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, pp. 98-99.
- 52 Leon Trotsky, *The Permanent Revolution & Results and Prospects*, pp. 112-113.
- 53 Georges Haupt and E.J. Hobsbawm, *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871-1914*, xi. (The italics are authors.)
- 54 Georges Haupt, *Socialism and the Great War*, p. 250.
- 55 James Joll, *The Second International, 1889-1914*, p. 199.
- 56 Georges Haupt and E.J. Hobsbawm, *Aspects of International Socialism, 1871-1914*, p. 138.
- 57 Ibid., pp. 105-106.