Chinese Migrants and Internationalism

Forgotten histories, 1917–1945

Gregor Benton

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The transnational and diasporic dimensions of early Chinese migrant politics opened in the late nineteenth century when Chinese radical groups bent on overthrowing the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) vied with one another to win Chinese overseas to their modernising projects, and immigrants who had suffered discrimination welcomed their proposals. The radicals' concentration on Chinese communities abroad as outposts of Chinese politics and culture strengthened the stereotype of Chinese as clannish, unassimilable, xenophobic and deeply introverted. This book argues that such a view has its roots less in historical truth than in political and ideological prejudice and obscures a rich vein of internationalist practice in Chinese migrant or diasporic history, which the study aims to restore to visibility. In some cases, internationalist alliances sprang from the spontaneous perception by Chinese and other non-Chinese migrants or local workers of shared problems and common solutions in everyday life and work. At other times, they emerged from under the umbrella of transnationalism, when Chinese nationalist and anti-imperialist activists overseas received support for their campaigns from local internationalists; or the alliances were the product of nurturing by Chinese or non-Chinese political organisers, including anarchists, communists and members of internationalist cultural movements such as Esperantism.

Based on sources in a dozen languages, and telling hitherto largely unknown or forgotten stories of Chinese migrant experience in Russia, Germany, Cuba, Spain, Australia, and the world Esperanto movement, this study will appeal to students and scholars of Chinese history, labour studies and ethnic/migration studies.

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For dad,
Arthur Henry Benton, 1915–1984,
worker, International Brigader, friend of China,
in proud and loving memory

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Preface

This book provides a remarkable reminder of lost episodes in Chinese diasporic history. It challenges the stereotype of the inward-looking, clannish Chinese abroad who were only concerned to survive among their compatriots and have as little to do with foreigners as possible. Gregor Benton does this by focusing on the era of labour and socio-revolutionary internationalism and gives examples of the Chinese workers in plantations, dockyards, and factories actively responding to such causes. He shows that many of them were willing to participate in cross-cultural labour activities with local and other non-native workers when they were treated more or less equally and not actively discriminated against. He thus provides a major corrective to the widely accepted norm of the passive Chinese labourer intent only making enough money for him to send home to his family.

The introduction to the book sets out the history of an idea that has gone out of fashion – internationalism. It traces the background of a forceful ideal that captured the imagination of generations of people who had recently been freed from feudal bonds and dreary peasant chores. Today, we take citizens' rights so much for granted that it is hard to capture the excitement when people were first awakened to the realisation that everyone is human and pride in one's nation did not preclude sympathy with the fate of other nations. Indeed, there is a danger that that ideal has been so diluted by neo-nationalisms, on the one hand, and the relentless spread of globalised markets, on the other, that more people will lose faith in its possibilities. Professor Benton provides a lucid account of the ideal's penetration around the world during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He outlines how, with the ideal taken along two opposite directions, one seeking revolution from below and the other affirming the right of existing elites to lead fundamental reforms, the ideal was diluted, if not distorted, by decades of deadly class warfare.

How small groups of migrant Chinese responded to the theory and practice of this internationalism is a story that has never been appreciated. The author takes us through six examples of what these Chinese tried to do to fit themselves into the different environments where the ideal had won broader appeal among their workmates. The first two highlight the Chinese experience of the mighty struggles in Russia during the Revolution and in Germany prior to the Nazi victory.

The third is the long story of Chinese exploitation and displacement in Cuba that climaxed in Chinese support, first for Julio Antonio Mella in the 1920s and then for Fidel Castro's overthrow of the corrupt Fulgionio Baptista regime. These, together with the account of European Chinese in support of the Spanish Civil War in 1936–39, are the least known in overseas Chinese history.

In addition, the survey of the radical activities of Chinese seamen in European ports tells us of the great potential for internationalism among seafarers. It is enlightening to learn how easily many Chinese in this profession identified with so many transoceanic causes. Not least, the chapter on Australia is an eye-opener. It takes us away from the stark image of an exclusive and racist white Australia to recall the valiant, if perhaps futile under the circumstances, efforts by sections of the Australian labour movement to highlight the fates of workingmen everywhere. The details in the picture of white and coloured comrades failing to realise their ideals are hardly uplifting but, nevertheless, they bring freshness to a subject that has been poorly understood. Taken together with similar stories in Europe, a new view of migrant Chinese is brought into focus. Although the Chinese never played a significant role because their numbers were small, the corrective to our understanding of the Chinese capacity to look beyond ethnic and community concerns warns us against accepting stereotypes and is, therefore, most welcome.

The seventh example is not limited to Chinese working people or to those who travel abroad, but is nevertheless intriguing. Through examining the appeal of Esperanto among some Chinese intellectuals, the book has recaptured a different level of internationalism that still has echoes in some circles in China today. The way Esperanto fascinated many Chinese should not perhaps be surprising. Aspects of the borderless ideals in both Confucianism and Buddhism had penetrated deep into the minds of the Chinese literati and, from time to time, these have enabled some Chinese to challenge the view that Chinese civilisation already had everything worth having. Residual curiosity about worlds unknown, or difficult to know because of language barriers, has always been there. Even when the literati were most certain that Chinese civilisation was superior and could easily be defended, the ideal of the potential oneness of 'all under heaven (*tianxia*)' was present. While Chinese peasants and workers were thought to care about little beyond their local and family customs and practices, literati often prided themselves on having a benign concern for humanity that sometimes led them to want to offer their values to those who were less fortunate. When the generation of intellectuals discovered that a common 'universal' language would enable the educated everywhere to communicate with one another and even allow moral and cultural values to escape the limitations of narrow national pride, some of them were drawn to the attractive idea that there could be a level playing field for open competition among different civilisations.

The author collaborated with Gotelind Müller in the chapter describing Chinese interest in Esperanto, and they have opened up another line of enquiry that deserves attention. They point to the keen cerebral interest in the world of ideas and international communication that some Chinese shared with their counterparts elsewhere. Although this phenomenon is less surprising than that of Chinese

peasants and workers going international when working abroad, it takes us beyond what we know of past literati outlooks. It points to an earlier elite tradition of fraternal imaginations and encourages us to examine the way Chinese scientists, engineers, and entrepreneurs are now traversing the globe in search of new formulas and standards of best practice and civilisational competence. Modern national borders are relatively new phenomena to them. They have not yet been so accustomed to hard boundaries that the adventurous among the educated young today could not break out into new kinds of internationalism in the future. Whether this will happen or not, this book points to some aspects of modern history that have been transformative in ways that have been little known. If we should become better prepared to explore similar new lines of enquiry, we owe a debt to this illuminating book.

Wang Gungwu
East Asian Institute
Singapore
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When this book was near its end, Yuanfang and I had the good luck to make the acquaintance of Pedro Eng Herrera 吴帝胄 and Mauro García Triana, two veterans of the Cuban Revolution. Both men have played important roles in Chinese Cuban affairs – Pedro Eng as a leader of the Chinese Cuban community starting

in the 1950s, Mauro García as Cuba's Ambassador to China in the 1960s. In their retirement, they began collaborating on a multivolume, multifaceted history of the Chinese Cuban community. There are now plans to produce an English-language compendium of this work, much of it as yet unpublished, even in Spanish. They allowed us to read their manuscripts, books, and materials, escorted us around the community's historic sites in Havana, and talked with us for hours about the revolution and the Chinese Cuban role in it. In his home, behind a Che Guevara mural on the front dividing wall, which he has inscribed with Chinese characters, Pedro showed us his wonderfully evocative paintings on Chinese Cuban themes.

This book is a byproduct of research done in the course of completing two other projects: a comparative study on Chinese economy and society in Europe, Southeast Asia and Australia, begun in 2000 as part of the Transnational Communities programme run by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC award no. L214252046, done jointly with Edmund Terence Gomez); and a study (begun in 1999 and funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, AHRC) on the history of Chinese settlements in western Europe. My main purpose in visiting the libraries and archives listed below was to gather materials for these two studies, but I also took the opportunity, wherever possible, to search out documents and studies on Chinese internationalism. The research that helped produce this spin-off was done at the libraries of the London School of Economics and the School of Oriental and African Studies; the archives sections of Bethnal Green Public Library, Liverpool Public Library and Cardiff Central Library; the Public Records Office and the British Library; the Tower Hamlets Local History Archive; the National Archives of Singapore; the Hong Kong Public Records Office; the archives and oral history section of the National Library of Australia; the Chinese section of the Mitchell Library in the New South Wales State Library; the Latrobe Collection of the Victoria State Library; the Chinese Museums at Bendigo and Melbourne; the library archive of the Northern Territory State Library in Darwin; the Northern Territory Archive Service in Darwin; the City of Vancouver Archive; the Chinatown Collection of the San Francisco Public Library; the Chinese-American Archive at the Ethnic Studies Library, University of California Berkeley; the National Museum of Labour History, Manchester; the Modern Records Centre at Warwick University; the Working Class Movement Library at Salford; the Institute for Social History and the Gemeentearchief, both in Amsterdam; the Centre de Recherches sur la Chine Moderne et Contemporaine, the EHESS Centre Chine and the Bibliothèque Inter-universitaire des Langues Orientales, all in Paris; the documentation centre of the Fundação Oriente in Lisbon; the Arbeitsstelle Politik Chinas und Ostasiens at the Freie Universität Berlin; the Institut für Asienkunde in Hamburg; the Asien Bibliotek at Stockholm University; the Oost-Aziatische Bibliotheek at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven; the Institute Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises at the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels; the Archives Comité Sino-Belge; Beijing Library and Shanghai Library; and the Biblioteca Nacional José Martí in Havana. To the staff of all these libraries and archives, my sincere thanks.

1 Introduction

As part of the upsurge in ethnic and migration studies in the 1990s, two -isms became popular, one new in its present applications, the other already well entrenched. *Transnationalism* became familiar in business studies in the third quarter of the twentieth century as a rough synonym of multinationalism (by then a dirty word for some) and the transcending of borders. More recently, social and political scientists and others have appropriated the term to signal the trampling of borders and the practice of diaspora. Today, transnational perspectives feature widely in studies on Chinese international migration. *Cosmopolitanism* is also new as a vogue word, but it dates back to the *philosophes* and, in English, to the nineteenth century. In his recent book, Carsten Holbraad defines cosmopolitanism as the proclamation of a worldwide but atomistic society of individuals.[1] Chinese migrants are increasingly portrayed in new writing as 'the very paradigm' of the global citizen.[2] Somewhat out of fashion has gone *internationalism*, the ideology of the bonding of nations, states, and groups, the subject of this book.[3]

Recent scholarship has identified the internationalist framework in which Chinese nationalist discourse was founded in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,[4] but Chinese are otherwise portrayed at best as objects and beneficiaries of others' internationalism and rarely, if ever, as its instigators. This portrayal has strengthened the stereotype of Chinese as clannish, unassimilable, xenophobic, and deeply introverted. However, it has its roots less in historical truth than in political and ideological prejudice, and obscures a rich vein of internationalist practice in Chinese migrant or diasporic history that this book restores to visibility.

Studies on transnationalism follow two main paths, one of which leads potentially to an internationalist outcome and the other not. The first approach focuses on the heightened mobility of ideas, things, and people in the global age. Its themes include ethnic hybridity, pluralism, creolised culture, and 'decentred' identifications of the sort that unsettle fixed social categories and disrupt boundaries – including internationalism, an ultimate disruptor. This sort of writing celebrates the complexity and creativity of migrants' and minorities' 'belonging' and promotes their rights in nation-states whose borders come under ever-growing strain in a shrinking world. Other studies describe transnationalism more conservatively and

less glamorously, as deterritorialised or diasporic nationalism – 'long-distance nationalism', in an unsympathetic gloss.[5] Their focus is on the networks and associations said to mobilise political, economic, and social resources across frontiers by mustering ethnic loyalties, the opposite of internationalism.

In highlighting both the protean nature of identity and the mobilising of resources by intra-ethnic networks, transnational studies create a paradox, for, whereas the first approach undermines cultural essentialism and determinism, the other reinforces the idea of 'primordial' ties.[6] Transnationalism seems, in some settings, to subvert states and ethnic collectives and to verge on internationalism and cosmopolitanism and, in others, to narrow horizons and hinder internationalism and cosmopolitanism, by downplaying ethnic interaction and promoting the idea of migrants as sojourners tied to their places of origin. In cultural studies, the emphasis is on the dazzling hybridities and dizzying transitions. Social science and political studies, on the other hand, tend to promote transnationalism in its straitening sense, as a system of networks and political structures, and to obstruct the idea of a shared humanity.[7]

Despite its contemporary neglect in ethnic and migration studies, internationalism was long prominent among the beliefs and identifications forged in the global crucible. Envisaged for nearly two centuries as an unbounded worldwide society of collectives, it stands halfway between cosmopolitanism and transnationalism. It elevates the latter, by substituting humankind for kind; and the former, by transcending the associated atomism.

Of the many types of internationalism, labour and social-revolutionary internationalism form the core matter of this study. Barry Carr points out that the two are conceptually distinct. The former is not necessarily rooted in a universalistic, emancipatory view of history.[8] Trade union internationalism, as Marcel van der Linden argues, 'does not arise automatically from workers' interests but needs to be achieved time and again'.[9] However, Carr allows that the two often merge, one subsuming the other.[10] Unlike transnationalism, which bonds co-ethnics or compatriots across frontiers, labour and social-revolutionary internationalism unites workers and socialists across political and ethnic barriers. The idea of a supranational workers' solidarity emerged in the 1830s and was enshrined in the constitutions of the First, Second, and Third Internationals and of various anarchist and syndicalist organisations.

The transnational and diasporic dimensions of early Chinese sojourner politics are well known. Starting in the late nineteenth century, Chinese radical groups bent on overthrowing the Qing dynasty (1644–1911) vied with one another to win Chinese overseas to their modernising projects, and immigrants who had suffered discrimination welcomed their proposals. Studies on this relationship are plentiful.[11]

However, some writers caution against indiscriminate use of the diasporic perspective, which casts into shadow the local embedment of Chinese overseas. Voicing the doubts of many, Wang Gungwu 王赓武 asks whether one term is enough to 'capture the richness and variety of the hundreds of Chinese communities' and worries, with good reason, about the implications of the idea of a single Chinese

diaspora in Southeast Asia, where it threatens to endanger vulnerable Chinese minorities by portraying them potentially as a transnational Fifth Column. Instead, he argues that different communities should be studied in their distinct environments and seek national histories with their non-Chinese fellow citizens. Beyond that, they should identify with a common human past. This seamless humanity of which they can assert membership, beyond place of ancestry and settlement, is a cosmopolitan ideal. It is associated with today's educational and professional elites, beneficiaries of a benign globalism and stakeholders in 'a common experience on the road to modern civilization'.[12]

The subjects of the present study also sought to transcend political borders and national difference, but in anticipation of a workers' internationalism and as part of a class war for universal emancipation. This universalism was rooted in the idea not of a common past but of a common cause, to be realised through the momentous solidarities of the first half of the twentieth century. In some cases, internationalist alliances sprang from the apparently spontaneous perception by Chinese and other migrants or local workers of shared problems and common solutions in everyday life and work. At other times, they emerged from under the umbrella of transnationalism, when Chinese nationalist and anti-imperialist activists overseas received support from local internationalists; or the alliances were the product of nurturing by Chinese or non-Chinese political organisers, including anarchists, communists, and members of internationalist cultural movements such as Esperantism.

The book's focus is on the participation of Chinese abroad in transethnic politics, as workers or students and revolutionaries, with less attention to their ethnic identity. Ethnic and Chinese homeland issues inevitably surfaced during internationalist episodes of this sort, even in countries where Chinese were to the fore in local revolutionary movements. In Russia in the early 1920s, Chinese Red Army volunteers aspired to apply the principles of the Bolshevik revolution to China's plight. In Cuba, ethnic and immigrant Chinese leftists eventually reverted for a time to a China focus, even though the Chinese were credited by their fellow-revolutionaries with a legendary reputation for constancy and courage in the fight for Cuban liberation. The Chinese Esperantists in Tokyo and Paris saw Esperanto as a path not just to international understanding but to modernising Chinese script and speech. In many places, migrants' politicisation on class topics heightened their awareness of homeland matters. At worst, ethnic tensions between Chinese and local people split the nascent workers' movement.

The study looks mainly at workers and students, with occasional references to small traders. People do not usually consider students as migrants, on the grounds that their residence abroad is (in theory) short term, and their attachment to homeland politics is more marked than that of other overseas groups. There is a strong argument for differentiating between Chinese students' engagement with political internationalism and Chinese workers' labour activism. However, there was never a wall between Chinatown and the student activists, who sought to broaden their political base by drawing in workers and petty entrepreneurs. This was especially true of students influenced by communists, who urged their intellectual supporters

to immerse themselves in the proletariat.[13] While conceding the importance of the distinction between workers and students, the study therefore focuses on their interactions.

Because the issue of ethnicity rarely went away, Chinese internationalism was usually bound up with questions of minority rights and national self-determination. In the case of stateless peoples, these two issues often coincided, as oppressed minorities sought to assert their right to form nations. Chinese abroad were not stateless and had no wish to form nations in diaspora. For them, the principle of self-determination was relevant to the ancestral homeland or (in colonised countries such as Cuba or Malaya) to the community of settlement, but never to themselves as a discrete national group. Yet China's crisis of sovereignty was a burning issue in Chinese identity overseas, if only because China's weakness shamed Chinese and exposed them to derision and abuse. At the same time, the status of Chinese overseas as a deterritorialised minority generated the demand for rights of a sort that came to be recognised in the early twentieth century as inseparable from democracy. In Russia in 1920 (as we shall see in the next chapter), the national rights even of peoples such as the migrant Chinese, without a compact territorial base, were recognised by representation on a Soviet Council of Nationalities.

Views in the white labour movement on national self-determination and the colonial revolution mattered for Chinese migrant labourers and entrepreneurs, for they coloured the workers' perceptions of the west's non-European minorities. Procolonials were prone to condescension or hostility. Anticolonials were likely to express sympathy and favour a policy of inclusion and internationalist solidarity.

The First International

Karl Marx (1818–83) started out on his revolutionary career in Paris in the early 1840s, when he began his lifelong collaboration with Friedrich Engels (1820–95). On his expulsion from France in 1845, he moved to Brussels, where he joined a group of continental workers in the League of the Just, later called the Communist League. In 1848, together with Engels, he wrote its programme, the *Communist Manifesto*, which started with the famous warning 'A spectre is haunting Europe – the spectre of communism' and ended with the classic credo of workers' internationalism, 'The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Working people of all countries, unite'. In 1864, Marx and Engels (by then in London) sponsored the International Working Men's Association, later called the First International, an organisation founded by continental and British workers' representatives and radical intellectuals.

The First International had its strongest sections in mainland Europe. It conditionally supported the right of peoples to form nations, but tended to reject the claims to nationhood of smaller nationalities and to support mainly those that would lead to the establishment of larger national units. Marx and Engels opposed the national aspirations of 'small relics of peoples' such as the Serbs and

Czechs and thought peasant nationalism reactionary. At first, Marx even opposed Irish nationalism (although he later changed his mind). In 1865, the International backed Poland's right to self-determination – but to weaken Russia, as part of a general strategy of championing only nationalist movements that seemed likely to undermine imperial dynasties or further socialist revolution.

On the whole, Marx and Engels thought non-Europeans were 'backward', a logical extension of their equation of peasant society with barbarism and 'hereditary stupidity'. In line with this Eurocentrism, they believed that colonial liberation would be a byproduct of socialist revolution in the *métropoles* rather than a direct result of a national struggle in the colonies themselves. They criticised as regressive some of the movements in which colonised peoples rose in revolt, for example the Indian Mutiny (1857–59) and the Taiping Rebellion (1851–64). In their view, only the 'higher' civilisations of Europe could drag the 'inferior' East into the modern world. In a word, Asia needed Europeanising.[14] Although they aimed scathing invective at the colonial powers, in their own attitudes, they 'often displayed the patronizing values of Victorian Europeans'.[15]

Even when Marx did support the rights of small nations, his commitment was inconsistent and half-hearted. When the Proudhonists in the International rejected nationalism *tout à fait*, denouncing nations as 'antiquated superstitions', Marx criticised their 'denial of nationalities'. On the whole, however, he failed to develop a distinctive theory of national self-determination. He was, said E. H. Carr, content 'either to follow broad democratic principles or to take empirical decisions in particular cases'.[16]

Some of Marx's supporters translated his opposition to 'backward' forms of nationalism and his attachment to an internationalism founded in labour into a hostility to social movements of a 'non-class' character. Timothy Messer-Kruse describes this translation in his study on the 'Yankee International', the North American section of the International Working Men's Association. He argues that Marx was indirectly responsible for the Yankee International's transformation from home of many causes, including social revolution, anti-racism, feminism, sexual liberation, pacifism, and spiritualism, into guardian of an uninflected ideology of 'scientific socialism'. Marx's agent in this makeover was the German émigré Friedrich Sorge, who rid the Yankee movement of its native colour and reduced it to orthodox uniformity. '[T]hose within the International who most willingly adopted the racist anti-Chinese campaign [in the United States],' writes Messer-Kruse, 'were those most devoted to the ideological leadership of Karl Marx'. Such people viewed the 'Yankees' as 'faddists, reformers, and sensation-loving spirits', as 'pseudo-communists' who toyed with the labour movement for their personal gratification or advancement.[17]

The role played by Marx's allies, including Sorge, in championing the white labour campaign against Chinese immigration is a dishonourable episode in the history of the First International. The campaign, which started in 1870, was centred on San Francisco, America's main centre of Chinese settlement at the time and a stronghold of the International.

Supporters of the Yankee International repudiated the anti-Chinese campaign

and argued for international solidarity with the Chinese. The feminist Victoria Woodhull wrote:

> The population of the country is forty millions. If the Chinese should come at the rate of five thousand a week, even that figure will nothing near equal the present ratio of the Irish and German immigration, and it would take a hundred and fifty years to import forty millions . . .. The economical idea of immigration is that every new comer is a producer; he directly contributes to the wealth of the community; he will not consume all that he produces . . .. As for any immediate influence of John Chinaman on the labor market and rate of wages that is an impossibility. The workingmen of New York protest against two or three hundred foreigners. What injury can accrue to them?[18]

Sorge, on the other hand, saw the Chinese as a problem. 'In California', he wrote to Marx, 'some activity prevails in Workingmen's circles engendered by the threatening increase of Chinese immigration encroaching upon the fields of labor hitherto exploited by the white workingmen's population'. In the 1870s, Marx's trade union supporters joined in the opposition to the spread eastward across the Mississippi of Chinese workers previously centred on the Far West. At a congress of the International in New York, the San Francisco delegate reported to his East Coast comrades on the Californian campaign:

> The white workingmen see and feel daily the effects of the Chinese labor in that State. We cannot only perceive how it affects us, but know assuredly that it will seriously affect the destiny of the working classes of this country. The Chinese have driven out of employment thousands of white men, women, girls and boys . . .. They are in all branches of the manufacturing business, and it is only a matter of time when they will monopolize all branches of industry; as it is impossible for white men to exist on the same amount and sort of food Chinamen seem to thrive upon.

The report ended with a prediction that 'blood will yet flow in the streets of San Francisco' if Chinese immigration continued. The New York meeting voted unanimously to 'give all the publicity possible' to these views. The sinophobic campaign to which the International subscribed culminated in the United States' first racially based immigration laws. Their congressional renewal every ten years kept sinophobia in America on the boil.[19]

Marx and Engels shared the Californian delegate's view of Chinese immigration, at least in private. In 1869, Marx wrote to Engels that 'the railway to California was built . . . by importing Chinese rabble to depress wages'.[20] He thus excluded Chinese from the realm of labour solidarity, to which he pictured them as an impediment rather than as welcome recruits. In July 1872, the General Council of the International Working Men's Association voted 10 to 7 against widening its membership to include India and China, with Engels among the noes.[21] On foreign land, the Chinese were a bosses' tool. In China, they were deemed incapable

of independent progress. Marx's derogation of Chinese anti-imperialism as a lost cause, not to say reactionary, ruled out Chinese migrants as potential allies in a global war on capitalism.

Engels stuck to this view. In 1892, he told the German Social Democrat Hermann Schlüter that 'differences in the standard of life of different workers exist, I believe, in New York to an extent unheard-of elsewhere' and that 'there will be plenty more, and more than we want, of these damned Dutchmen, Irishmen, Italians, Jews and Hungarians; and, to cap it all, John Chinaman stands in the background who far surpasses them all in his ability to live on next to nothing'.[22]

The Second International

The First International was dissolved in 1876. It was followed in 1889 by the Second, founded in Paris as a loose parliament of Marxist parties and trade unions rather than as a would-be directing centre of world labour, like its predecessor. Its principal goal was to prevent a European war but, when the war started in 1914, most of its constituent parties broke ranks and sided with their national governments, a blow from which it did not recover.

The Second International's attitude to liberation struggles in the colonies ranged from principled support by a minority to a more general mood of well-wishing condescension, shading off into degrees of racism. At the London Congress in 1896, it declared in favour 'of the autonomy of all nationalities' and called for the establishment 'of international social-democracy'.[23] On the whole, however, its interest in national self-determination stuck at the level of general pronouncements it did little to carry out. Not until relatively late did it start to spread out from its initial base in Europe and the English-speaking world: first to central and southern America, then to Japan and other parts of Asia.[24]

Even so, Chinese revolutionaries overseas eagerly followed developments in the Second International, with which they were familiar through Japanese and other connections. In 1896, the Chinese radical journal *Shiwu bao* 时务报 (Current Affairs), published in Japan, carried a news item translated from Japanese about the Third Congress of the Second International, held in London. In 1906, Song Jiaoren 宋教仁 (1882–1913) published an edited translation of a brief history of the International in the Tokyo-based *Minbao* 民报 (People's Tribune), run by the party of the nationalist leader Sun Yat-sen 孙中山 (1866–1925).[25] Also in 1906, in Hong Kong, Feng Ziyou 冯自由 wrote an appreciative survey of world socialism. In it, he identified so closely with the western labour interest that he not only failed to criticise American exclusion of Chinese workers but talked admiringly of it, as a measure of American labour's industrial strength.[26]

Early on, Sun and his supporters saw themselves as part of the world movement for socialism, an identification Sun signalled by visiting the Secretariat of the Second International in Brussels in the spring of 1905 and trying to get his party affiliated. In May 1905, the Flemish socialist newspaper *Vooruit* published a brief summary of Sun's views, which included talk of building a new society in China 'without any transition' through capitalism, an early example of Sun's

adoption of the Marxist idea of 'skipping historical stages' by passing directly from feudalism to socialism. In Britain, Sun met Keir Hardie on several occasions, and he also made contact with socialists in France and Germany.[27] However, the International's relations with Sun in the early years did not progress beyond the episodic – an illustration of its detached approach to liberation movements in non-European countries.[28]

In 1912–13, Chinese groups calling themselves socialist entered into closer contact with the International's Secretariat in Europe when G. L. Harding and J. A. Jackson, two American socialists, established a base in Shanghai. Not long after, Sun started a correspondence with the Bureau of the Second International.[29] In one letter, dated 10 November 1915, he again said China could skip capitalism and go straight to socialism, and asked for the International's assistance.[30]

The Bureau responded with a call on affiliated parties to launch press campaigns in support of the Chinese Republic set up by Sun's supporters in 1911. However, the war prevented the establishment of official relations between the two sides, and the International took no further practical measures to help Sun.[31]

Sun Yat-sen was not the only Chinese politician seeking the International's support. Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 (1883–1954), a pioneer of Chinese socialism, also visited the Brussels Bureau. Jiang had become a socialist in Japan, where he attended meetings of the Japanese Socialist Party. Later, in Europe, he sat in on meetings of the Second International.[32] In a booklet published in English in San Francisco in 1914, he described the history and policies of the Socialist Party he set up in Shanghai in 1911, whose membership he claimed 'had swollen to 500,000' (probably an exaggeration). He also said his party had 'recently been drawn into the Red International'.[33]

The Second International's lack of a coherent line on the colonial question is not surprising, given Marx's and Engels' failure to bequeath the movement a strategy beyond that of positing an abstract link between revolution in metropolitan and 'backward' countries. Besides, in the late nineteenth century, some leaders of the Second International had acquired a material reason to accept colonialism, which they perceived as allowing some white workers to live better than had been possible in the past. In the interpretation first put forward by Engels and elaborated upon by Lenin in his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* and by other Marxists, the superprofits extracted from the colonies and semicolonies laid the basis in the advanced capitalist countries for a labour aristocracy. The English workers, said Engels, 'joyfully share in the feast of England's monopoly of the world market and the colonies'.[34] At congresses of the Second International in 1904 and 1907, the new mood of economic well-being among the skilled workers the International represented led to a 'positive' view of colonialism, whose adoption as policy Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), a leader of the German Social Democratic Party, only just managed to head off. A Draft Resolution at the 1907 meeting read:

> The Congress, while noting that in general the utility and the necessity of colonies, in particular for the working class, is greatly exaggerated, does not

> condemn in principle and for all time, every colonial policy; under a socialist régime, colonization can be a work of civilization.[35]

The coming to terms with colonialism by some Second International ideologues was accompanied by a further hardening of trade union sentiment against non-European immigrant minorities, the personification in the metropolis of seemingly misplaced resistance to the colonial project. Chinese were a prime target in Europe, North America, and the British Dominions, where a China-hating binge broke out at around the turn of the century. The Yellow Peril tag (said to have been coined by Wilhelm II) became popular in parts of the labour movement. The seduction of sections of the trade unions by Kaiser Bill's sinophobic catchword and labour's mounting approval of colonialism were linked. The founding of 'ungovernable' Chinatowns in the western ports worried the procolonials and further inflamed anti-Chinese sentiment.[36]

In Britain, labour leaders who joined the anti-Chinese campaign included Jim Larkin and Ben Tillett, usually feted as workers' heroes, and intellectual leftwing racists such as Beatrice Webb.[37] Dockers' and seafarers' unions in Britain and mainland Europe opposed the employment of Chinese on European ships. J. A. Hobson (1858–1940), a political campaigner and British liberal leader whose study on imperialism influenced Lenin, described Chinese workers as a robotic, tractable realisation of the capitalist dream, endowed 'with an extraordinary capacity of steady labour' and 'inured to a low standard of material comfort'.[38] In 1904, James Sexton, a Liverpool Irish dockers' leader, moved a resolution at the Trades Union Congress condemning the use of Chinese workers in South Africa. Some trade unionists said the issue was one of opposition to indentured labour rather than to Chinese as such but, in reality, the main concern was to protect white workers' interests. In 1911, when grievances among seafarers in Europe culminated in an international strike, Chinese strike-breaking became an issue.[39]

In the United States, too, white workers saw Chinese as a bosses' tool and a second enemy from below, thus perpetuating the tradition represented by the Sorge faction.[40] The American Federation of Labor (AFL), which arose in 1886 as the unifying centre of the American labour movement, put little effort into organising unskilled workers, especially blacks and immigrants. Its constituent unions (derided by James P. Cannon as 'lily-white job trusts'[41]) campaigned instead to restrict immigration from southern and southeastern Europe and to exclude Asians altogether, a policy endorsed by the right wing of the pro-Second International Socialist Party.[42]

The anarchists

International organisations set up by anarchists played a small role in overseas Chinese politics and stiffened the internationalist resolve of some Chinese anarchists. Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65), who worked in the revolutionary movement alongside Marx and Mikhail Bakunin (1814–76) in the 1840s, was regarded by Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin (1842–1921), and other anarchists as their

movement's founder. In 1864, Proudhon's followers joined British and European socialists in London in establishing the First International. Later, however, they denounced Marx's statist policies. The conflict led to the collapse of the First International in 1872. The Bakuninists kept control of revolutionary federations and labour movements in southern Europe where they founded the tradition of anarcho-syndicalism, a cross between anarchism and trade unionism. In 1873, they set up the Anti-Authoritarian International, which held conventions until 1877.[43]

Anarchist institutions have rarely lasted long, mainly because anarchists seem loath to accept the limits on individual freedom that effective organisation needs. Their international congresses in London in 1881 and in Amsterdam in 1907 had no enduring outcome, and their efforts to found worldwide associations eventually miscarried.[44] In 1891 and 1893, they sought in vain to be admitted to congresses of the Second International.[45] When the Bolsheviks set up the Comintern, representatives of most of Europe's syndicalist and anarcho-syndicalist organisations attended its 1920 congress, but the expectation of collaboration came to nothing.[46] In 1922, syndicalists led by Rudolf Rocker (1873–1958) called their own congress in Berlin and formed an international alliance under the name International Working Men's Association (IWMA), also known as the Berlin International, an anarchist counterweight to the Comintern. The IWMA achieved its greatest influence in Spain, where it was represented by the Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (CNT). Elsewhere, it had little impact.[47] There is no evidence that Chinese ever joined it, except for one peddler in Barcelona in the mid-1930s.[48]

The European and American anarchists did not share the sinophobic animus of parts of the Second International, but they had only sporadic contact with the anarchist groups that formed among Chinese students in Europe and Japan.[49] The most that can be said is that the occasional revivals of anarchism at the international level heartened and inspired its Chinese supporters outside China, who did their best to keep abreast of its debates. In 1907, an upsurge of activity among Chinese anarchists in Japan and France coincided with the world congress of anarchists in Amsterdam. However, no Asians attended. Not even the important group of Japanese anarchists was invited (to the regret of the anarchist leader Emma Goldman).

Yet Chinese anarchists recognised the efficacy of international solidarity and argued for it in their publications. According to Liu Shipei 刘师培 (1884–1919), anarchists in China should form an alliance with other oppressed countries and with socialist and anarchist groups in the imperialist countries – a prospect he saw adumbrated in the Socialist International and the Amsterdam congress. As a first step towards realising a worldwide federation of communist anarchists, Chinese anarchists in Tokyo set up an 'Asian friendship society' (Yazhou heqin hui 亚洲和亲会) in the summer of 1907, with Japanese support. Shifu 師復 (1884–1915), also in Tokyo, argued (at a later date) that an anarchist revolution in China need not lead to China's partition because the peoples of Europe and America would respond with their own revolutions. (Shifu had stopped using his family name, Liu 刘, to signal his rejection of the family system.[50]) The Chinese anarchists'

internationalism was also evident in their support for Esperanto, described in Chapter 8.

The Chinese anarchists' isolation from the European movement was in part self-inflicted. In June 1907, Chinese anarchists in Paris started publishing a weekly magazine *Xin shiji* 新世纪 (New Century), subtitled *La Novaj Tempoj* (New Times) in Esperanto. But, although the magazine shared a press and a name (in translation) with Jean Grave's *Les temps nouveaux*, the well-known French anarchist newspaper, the latter's readers knew next to nothing about the Chinese anarchists' work in Paris and were better informed about the distant Japanese than about their Chinese next-door neighbours. 'One has the impression', writes Gotelind Müller, 'that [the Chinese anarchists in Paris] saw *Xin shiji* as relevant for China but not for "world anarchism", or that their primary motivation was not "internationalist". So despite their professed anarchism, they were primarily engaged with their own nation'. Müller also notes that none of the Chinese anarchists in Europe in 1907 attended the anarchist congress in Amsterdam, either because they were not invited or because they were afraid of Qing 清 spies – or because they could not be bothered.[51]

The Japanese anarchists were more communicative and showed a greater sense of solidarity. They wrote to non-Japanese anarchists explaining their views and policies and sent copies of their publications to the editors of *Les temps nouveaux*. In 1922, the Japanese anarchist leader Ōsugi Sakae 大杉榮 (1885–1923), a powerful influence on the Chinese anarchist movement in Japan, slipped out of Japan disguised as a Chinese student and sailed to Marseilles. He aimed to go on to Berlin to take part in the founding of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International and meet up with Aleksandr Berkman, Emma Goldman, and other anarchist leaders. However, Chinese anarchists in Lyons and Paris dissuaded him, on the grounds that the visit would be illegal and might get them into trouble.[52] The episode says much about the difference in approach between the two groups.

The Wobblies

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), known popularly as the Wobblies, was a revolutionary syndicalist organisation founded in Chicago in 1905. Its aim was to combine first the North American working class and then the workers of the world into One Big Union and a workers' commonwealth. The Wobblies arose in opposition to the reformist AFL, which accepted capitalism, refused to recruit unskilled workers to the craft unions, and ran a 'colour bar'. They were democratic, antihierarchical, antibureaucratic, anti-racist, and internationalist. Small wonder they became a favourite of the libertarian New Left in the 1960s and 1970s, nearly half a century after their demise.[53]

Of the many books and articles on the Wobblies, until recently none paid much attention to their role in organising Chinese and Asian migrant workers. Instead, a view of the American IWW as the product of 'native labor activism' prevailed.[54] This was a matter for reproach, for the IWW was one of the first organisations

to concentrate on recruiting blacks and non-European immigrants. It had numerous immigrant activists and intellectuals, and its membership was internationally transferable.[55] Fortunately, the omission has started to be made good by studies that look at to the Wobblies' overtures to Asian migrant workers and their role in championing internationalism among ethnic and immigrant Chinese.

The Wobblies' interest in recruiting migrants (foreign or domestic) and other marginalised workers was at the heart of its strategy everywhere it had chapters, from the United States to Australia. Members should 'meet the new arrivals at the immigration dock, introduce him to his fellow workers in One Big Union', said a Wobbly briefing.[56] The historian Melvin Dubofsky described the Wobblies' American constituency as among the 'timber beasts, hobo harvesters, itinerant construction workers, exploited eastern and southern European immigrants, racially excluded Negroes, Mexicans and Asian Americans'.[57] In celebration of its hobo roots, one faction at the IWW convention in 1908 called itself the 'bummery' (as in 'Hallelujah, I'm a bum', the opening line of the unofficial Wobbly anthem).[58] In Australia, too, many Wobblies were 'nomads of the domestic labour movement', immigrants, blacks, and women, led, according to Verity Burgmann, by representatives of 'another geographically dispossessed tribe, the internationally itinerant, the globe-trotting troublemaker'.[59]

The Wobblies' pro-immigrant views were a central plank of the platform set up at their First Convention in 1905. Delegate Klemensic said:

> We know we have got Austrians, Chinamen, Japs, and people of all nationalities here in this country. So we have got Frenchmen, Germans and Italians, and we are a cosmopolitan crowd. Now, then, as it is, all lines that were ever established have always been established by men who were a bunch of robbers, thieves and exploiters, and we want to combine ourselves as humanity, as one lot of people, those that are producing the wealth of our oppressors, and we want to have under that banner our brothers and sisters of the world.[60]

Where most early radicals, including the American Socialist Party, opposed or paid only lip service to unionising Chinese, the Wobblies in the United States, Canada, and Australia made them a target of recruitment. Other trade unions and leftwing parties harped on Chinese passivity and treachery, but the Wobblies praised Chinese workers' class loyalty and capacity for organisation. 'The Chinaman is the most rebellious worker in the world and there are thousands of them here', was the judgement of one Wobbly activist.[61] The IWW was at the forefront of working-class opposition to the Yellow Peril scare, which was continuing to spread throughout the labour movement at the time of the organisation's founding.[62]

The IWW's association with Chinese migrants was so strong that the very name 'Wobbly' was said to have originated in Chinatown. 'In Vancouver, in 1911, we had a number of Chinese members and one restaurant keeper would trust any member for meals', according to a Canadian veteran. 'He could not pronounce the letter *w*, but called it *wobble*, and would ask: "You *I. Wobble*?" and when the

card was shown, credit was unlimited. Thereafter, the laughing term among us was *I. Wobbly*.'[63]

Before and after the First World War, Vancouver was a Wobbly stronghold for several years. Leaders of the Vancouver IWW issued a stream of revolutionary proclamations aimed at winning over Chinese and other Asian workers to the labour movement. In 1913, the editor of the *British Columbia Federationist*, a newspaper committed to the One Big Union, told a journalist:

> Let them come in hordes, Hindu and Japanese and Chinaman! They will swell our ranks! There is no international boundary in the field of labor! That selfish day of laborers cutting each other's throats in the interest of capital is past.[64]

In 1919, the same paper called for solidarity with Chinese and other immigrants and explained that they had a common interest with Canadian workers of British origin:

> It is time that all workers in Canada realised that the 'Chink' is as much a part of this country as the Scotchman; that the 'Bohun' is as necessary as the Englishman; that all of us are exploited by a master-class who cares not what nationality we are so long as we are willing to remain willing slaves.[65]

These overtures did not stop at rhetoric. In 1919 and 1920, Chinese in the Vancouver shingle and saw mills and in the lumber industry took part in a series of Wobbly strikes for the eight-hour day. The One Big Union in Vancouver eventually petered out and the dream of interethnic solidarity faded for a while, but communist-backed organisations such as the Workers Unity League and the National Unemployed Workers Association (NUWA) revived the tradition of anti-racist labour action in Vancouver in the late 1920s and the 1930s, when whites and Asians (meaning Chinese or Japanese) again went out on strike together.[66]

In the United States, the IWW ran a foreign-language press and kept a pool of soapboxers to address immigrants in their own languages. It published mainly in Polish, Russian, Serbo-Croat, Italian, and Spanish, but it also brought out translations of Wobbly pamphlets done by Chinese and Japanese socialists in San Francisco.

The IWW was confined mainly to the English-speaking world. It had some impact in Mexico and other South American countries, but it never spread to Asia. However, Chinese radicals outside the United States paid back the interest the Wobblies showed in Chinese workers by translating literature into Chinese for them. In 1914, the anarchist writer and activist Shifu mentioned the IWW in an article on US socialist groups in his journal *Minsheng* 民声 (People's Voice) and said it was 'compatible with anarchists and prepared to remove capitalism'.[67] In July 1915, the Australian Wobblies' *Direct Action* published an obituary praising 'Sifo' (i.e. Shifu) for having done so much 'to place before the workers of Asia, the principles and tactics of the One Big Union'.[68] It is likely that Shifu's group

turned towards labour organising in response to the high tide of syndicalism created in the United States by the Wobblies.[69]

The Comintern

The Third (or Communist) International (shortened to Comintern) was set up in 1919, in the third year of the Russian Revolution. Formed as a world party comprising national sections, it arose from the wartime split in the Second International, when members of the rightwing majority backed their national governments. The antiwar minority under Vladimir Ilyich Lenin (1870–1924) called in 1915 for a new, revolutionary International, which was subsequently founded in Moscow.[70]

Like the IWW, which asserted its internationalist beliefs by making trade union membership transferable between countries, the Comintern required workers to join the communist party of their country of residence, regardless of their nationality. (The Comintern invited the IWW in Britain, Australia, and America to join, but it turned the invitation down.[71])

Lenin and the Russian Marxists attached far greater importance than the First or Second Internationals to national self-determination and the colonial revolution. Given the extraordinary ethnic, religious, and linguistic diversity of the Tsarist state, with Russians accounting for just 43 per cent of the population, they could scarcely afford to ignore the national question. In 1898, at the time of its founding, the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party proclaimed the right of self-determination of nationalities belonging to the Russian Empire. Nations that initially benefited from this policy included Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belorussia.[72] Lenin continued to denounce Great Russian chauvinism until his death in 1924. As centralising influences took hold under the Soviet regime, the idea of the equality of nations was eroded, and the 'right to separate' was replaced (in E. H. Carr's formulation) with the 'right to unite' as part of the socialist community of nations.[73] However, it was some years before Joseph Stalin's self-serving definition of internationalism prevailed, as the creed of 'one who is ready to defend the USSR without reservation, without wavering, unconditionally'.[74]

The colonial revolution rapidly gained prominence in Bolshevik strategy as the prospect of spreading socialist revolution to western Europe receded after 1917. Again, Lenin's appreciation of the link between colonial and socialist revolution had much to do with the geography of Russia, halfway between Europe and Asia.[75] This perception remained abstract and embryonic until 1914 but, after the start of the war, Lenin began to pay closer attention to the issue and set up a distinction between the national struggle against old-style dynastic autocracy (chiefly in eastern Europe) and the liberation struggles of colonial and semicolonial countries against new-style imperialism. In 1916, he wrote: 'To suppose that a social revolution is *thinkable* without a revolt of the small nationalities in the colonies and in Europe . . . is to *abjure the social revolution*'.[76] In line with this theory, the Comintern shifted its gaze from Europe to the colonial 'periphery' (principally Asia) at its Second Congress in July and August 1920.

In September 1920, the shift was confirmed at the Comintern-sponsored Baku Congress of the Peoples of the East. The meeting urged eastern nations to wage war on imperialism under Soviet leadership and proclaimed that the revolutions in west and east 'are organically interconnected not only because they are directed against a common foe, world imperialism, but also because the necessary premise of their victory is common, concerted struggle'.

Speakers at both the Second Congress and the Baku Congress also discussed the relationship between white trade unionists and labour migrants in the industrial countries. Louis Fraina (1894–1953), a founder of the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA), spoke of the need to organise foreign immigrant workers, including Chinese.[77] An appeal launched at Baku to 'the workers of Europe, America and Japan' denounced trade unionists' treatment of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the United States:

> You, who were dogs to the capitalists, saw us as your own dogs. You protested in America when Chinese and Japanese peasants, evicted by your capitalists from their villages, came to your country in search of a crust of bread. Instead of approaching them in a fraternal way in order to teach them how to fight along with you the common cause of emancipation, you denounced us for our ignorance, you shut us out of your lives, you did not let us join your unions.[78]

As we saw, among those who had privately run down the immigrants were Marx and Engels, whose views about Chinese workers exemplified the racist vilification and cold-shouldering condemned at Baku. The Baku Appeal presaged a new attitude on the part of Marxist revolutionaries to labour migrants and abused minorities in the capitalist countries, and a return to positions first developed by the Wobblies.

In time, the Comintern lost its revolutionary zeal and fell into the hands of Soviet apparatchiks. Stalin grew contemptuous of the organisation and used it to support Soviet state interests. However, extending the revolution remained important to Moscow in certain periods and contexts. Stalin continued to see the colonial revolution as Russia's 'rear', abutting on the 'bridge' thrown up by the October Revolution.[79] In any case, Stalin was incapable of mastering parties overseas entirely, and the extent to which the Comintern became an exclusive agency of his foreign policy is sometimes exaggerated. Its bureaux continued to rally support behind international campaigns until its disbandment in 1943; its national sections were sometimes able to develop their own initiatives.[80] Although Stalin's subordination of the Comintern to Russian ends reduced the importance of the strategic turn to the east announced in 1920, in formal terms the policy remained in place right through until 1943 (when Stalin dissolved the Comintern to help convince his wartime western allies that he had no intention of subverting them).

The focus on ethnic minorities was inscribed in the Comintern's organisational principles. According to the Third Congress in 1921:

> In countries whose population contains national minorities, it is the duty of the Party to devote the necessary attention to propaganda and agitation among the proletarian strata of these minorities. The propaganda and agitation must, of course, be conducted in the languages of the respective national minorities, for which purpose the Party must create the necessary special organs.[81]

The parallel established in Leninist theory between colonised peoples and national minorities was reflected in the establishment in Moscow of the Communist University for the Toilers of the East (KUTV) and the Communist University for National Minorities of the West (KUNMZ), two Comintern cadre schools.[82] KUTV, which was subordinated at the time of its founding in 1921 to Narkomnats (the People's Commissariat for Nationalities) and then, after the abolition of Narkomnats in 1923, to the Comintern, started out as a school for members of 'eastern' nationalities on Soviet territory, but later expanded its intake to include students from colonial or dependent countries, including China. Its fourth graduating class in 1927 comprised representatives of 74 nationalities.[83] KUNMZ, founded on the basis of schools set up between 1919 and 1921 for the Soviet Union's 'western' nationalities (including Latvians, Lithuanians, and Jews), also had French, English, German, and other sectors at various points in its existence, and had evolved by 1929 into an international cadre school. Two-thirds of its students were from outside the Soviet Union. It was dissolved around 1936, partly as a result of a general Russification of the Soviet state and of a growing mistrust of non-Russians under Stalin's regime of terror.[84]

By committing itself to supporting oppressed ethnic and national groups, the early Comintern broke with the practices of the Second International, whose parties were overwhelmingly white-skinned and whose philosophy of economic determinism and 'scientific' socialism inclined it against a broader politics. Lenin's strategic turn to alliances, principally with the peasantry, was in the end stultified and defeated by the Stalinists, who in effect promoted a policy of 'Great Russian chauvinism'. However, the Bolsheviks, in the revolutionary period and in the first few years of the Soviet regime, were mindful of the national aspirations of non-Russian minorities. In the Balkans, they supported the right to independence of the peoples of Macedonia, Croatia, Slovenia, Transylvania, and Bessarabia. In other parts of the world, the Comintern's national sections developed initiatives aimed at forging alliances with groups and peoples the revolutionary movement had previously ignored.

Communists everywhere relished the new strategy and immediately grasped its implications and potential, for many of the Comintern's national sections were deeply rooted in ethnic minorities from the start. In this respect, they were a replica of the Wobblies, a party (in Patrick Renshaw's phrase) of the new migrant nation of the 'many-tongued'.[85]

In the United States, only one member in ten of the early Workers' Party (later renamed the CPUSA) spoke native English. Thousands of Finns joined between 1919 and 1921 (just as thousands had joined the IWW around 1914) and formed a majority.[86] In Canada, ethnic federations of Finns and Ukrainians set up language

sections of the Workers' Party (the public face of the Communist Party of Canada) in the early 1920s and accounted for 3,000 of its 3,500 members, alongside a large Yiddish-speaking section known as the National Jewish Propaganda Committee. (So strong was the connection between ethnicity and communism in Toronto in 1928 that the police planned at one point to silence the party by banning public gatherings in languages other than English.[87]) Ethnic minorities were particularly strong in eastern European communist parties in the 1920s and 1930s. Many leaders and a quarter of the members of the Romanian Communist Party, for example, belonged to the Hungarian minority, while nearly 20 per cent were Jews.[88]

Jews, a practically universal minority, were among the staunchest early communists in many countries. Jaff Schatz notes that people of Jewish descent 'were in such a disproportionate number among the theoreticians, leaders, and rank and file of the leftist movements that, depending on one's point of view, Jews were prized or cursed for their alleged radicalism'. He quotes Lenin, in 1905: 'The Jews provided an extremely high percentage (compared to the total of the Jewish population) of leaders of the revolutionary movement . . . [and] a relatively high percentage of representatives of internationalism compared with other nations'.[89]

In many places, the instruction to play on ethnic tensions to stir up trouble for the capitalists and win new allies led in the late 1920s and the early 1930s to initiatives that pushed the issue of minority rights and separatism to the top of the communist agenda. At the Sixth Congress of the Comintern in 1928, parties in multiethnic countries were told to build alliances with racial and ethnic minorities and assist them in the struggle for self-determination. The Comintern's South American Secretariat called a conference in 1929 to discuss founding homelands for the continent's indigenous peoples. Also in 1929, the Negro Bureau held an international conference of black workers that led, in 1930, to the founding of a League of Struggle for Negro Rights, which called for self-determination for the American Black Belt.[90] Similar calls were issued for the establishment of an Indian Republic in the Andes and for independent Aboriginal republics in Australia. These campaigns came to nothing and have been criticised as a typical product of Comintern regimentation. However, they enhanced the communists' reputation for supporting black causes and opposing 'white chauvinism' in the United States and for defending indigenous peoples in South America.[91] This 'ethnic turn' extended to ethnic and immigrant Chinese in several countries.

Internationalism and Chinese overseas

The early internationals showed little wish to recruit Chinese in China or in immigration. With the exception of the Yankee International, they were more interested in excluding them. At the start of the twentieth century, internationalist groups such as the Wobblies and the anarchists struck up ties with Chinese students and migrant workers overseas, while officials of the Second International had meetings and exchanges with Chinese socialists. Even so, the connection remained slight and inconsequential. Of these early ties, the best known and most prolific was that of the anarchists. It is represented in this study in Chapter 8 on the

Chinese Esperanto movement, an example of Chinese anarchist internationalism overseas and back in China.

Not until the Russian Revolution and the founding of the Comintern did ethnic and immigrant Chinese begin to take part in labour movements and revolutions overseas on a larger scale, usually as bit players, but sometimes in leading roles. Unlike other targets of Comintern recruiters, they belonged among both the 'minorities of the West' and the 'peoples of the East'. Potentially, their recruitment to the Red Front could both help overcome ethnic divisions in the labour movement outside China and provide ways of influencing politics in the Chinese homeland.

The relations of migrant and ethnic Chinese with the Comintern and its national sections are unexplored in communist historiography, save for a handful of references about particular countries, and are rarely noted in western scholarship. The view of Chinese as self-contained and incapable of internationalism is a stereotype that has invaded even some social science, which approaches Chinese communities overseas either as isolates or as subdivisions of a Chinese 'global tribe'.[92] Political influences from China and Russia have fed this prejudice. For many years, Chinese nationalists saw Chinese overseas as compatriots and played down their external affiliations. The crisis in Sino-Soviet relations starting in the late 1950s envenomed Chinese attitudes towards those with a Russian connection. Chinese historians denigrated the Comintern's role in China, stressed self-reliance and Soviet betrayal, and showed little interest in Chinese internationalism overseas. In such a climate, foreign ties could be fatal. In the Soviet Union, sinophobic publicists slandered ethnic Chinese as the 'overseas Chinese bourgeoisie – a Peking tool'.[93]

This study looks at seven settings in which Chinese have taken internationalist stands. Needless to say, there are more settings than just these seven in which ethnic and migrant Chinese allied with local radicals. In North America, for example, some Chinese workers joined the labour movement, and some Chinese students and intellectuals joined organisations with an internationalist commitment (including a score or so Chinese members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in the Spanish Civil War – see Chapter 6). The same happened in France and parts of Southeast Asia in different periods and contexts. These places figure only tangentially in this history of Chinese internationalism, yet they could have yielded rich and telling chapters.

Two factors determined my selection of subjects – representativity and opportunity. I chose themes and places that covered the main types of setting in which migrant and ethnic Chinese found themselves: colonised countries, countries engaged in international and civil wars, settled industrial countries, industrial countries of large-scale transoceanic immigration, and worldwide movements promoting cultural internationalism. Within this scheme, I opted for topics on which sources and commentaries seemed to be most readily available. I ended up with chapters on Chinese in the Russian Revolution and Civil War; Germany between the wars; Cuba; seafarers' communities in western Europe; the Spanish Civil War; Australia; and the Esperantist movement. My prime focus is on internationalist practices among Chinese abroad but, where possible, I explore the

interactions between the internationalism of Chinese overseas and China. This is so, for example, in Chapter 8 on Esperanto, which first took hold among Chinese abroad but later deeply influenced the radical movement in China. It is also true in the chapters on Russia, Germany, and Spain. I omitted from consideration organisations abroad that tied Chinese directly to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), given that my focus is on internationalism rather than on Chinese overseas mobilised primarily on Chinese issues. I also left out the Communist Youth Party and the European Branch of the CCP, founded in Paris by Chinese but, in practice, part of the CCP; and the CCP's Moscow branch, which was directly under the control of the Comintern and thus of the Soviet party.[94]

Nearly all the protagonists were migrants from China, but a few were people of Chinese descent born overseas. Some of the Chinese seafarers in wartime Britain and Australia and one or two of the volunteers in Spain were from Southeast Asia. A small number of seafarers and a handful of the volunteers were from the Americas or elsewhere abroad, while some Australian Chinese activists were born in Australia. These distinctions are not quibbles, for to confuse ethnic Chinese (migrant or otherwise) with migrants from China is to deny their nationality and a form of racial stereotyping. In the title, I considered using the term 'diasporic Chinese' to cover the different groups for, in recent years, the diaspora concept has lost in precision and become more elastic. However, it continues to imply ties to an 'ancestral' homeland and a common culture that ethnic Chinese do not necessarily observe. So, because the book is overwhelming about migrants, including ethnic Chinese migrants, I opted eventually for 'Chinese migrants', although a few were, at most, such people's children or their children's children.

2 Chinese in the Russian Revolution and Civil War

Russia was the site of Europe's earliest Chinese settlements, formed by traders who walked across Asia to Moscow in the early Qing dynasty.[1] It was chiefly by way of these settlements that the rest of Europe was initially colonised by Chinese migrants, who trickled westwards from their Russian bases.[2] The Russian and Chinese empires first came into direct contact in the mid-seventeenth century, at the end of a simultaneous process of imperial expansion (from roughly opposite directions) into inner and northern Asia.[3]

After reaching the Pacific and delineating common borders with the Qing court, imperial Russia incorporated domains in which relatively large numbers of Chinese subjects had settled. Between 1858 and 1881, at the height of China's weakness, the Tsarist authorities (in common with other powers) imposed an 'unequal treaty' on Beijing aimed at justifying their annexation of a huge stretch of territory (estimated at 1.5 million square kilometres) claimed by the Qing.[4] Partly as a result of this annexation, the eastward flow of Russian settlers after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 was matched by a growing (although smaller) westward movement of Chinese along the newly consolidated east–west routes.

Russia and the Huagong

In 1891, the Russians began constructing a Trans-Siberian Railway, starting at Vladivostok, and in 1896, the Chinese agreed to the construction of a second Russian line, the Chinese Eastern Railway, across Manchuria. In 1898, the Russians exacted a 25-year lease on China's Liaodong Peninsula and new railway rights. All these developments increased the two-way flow of trade and people even further. Even before the final opening of the railways between 1903 and 1908, some Chinese walked west along the track's completed sections.[5]

By the 1910s, around 300,000 Chinese were said to live in the Russian Far East and along the Trans-Siberian Railway, which many had helped to build.[6] Others from northern and northeastern China worked in the Tsar's Far Eastern garrisons. Between 1906 and 1910, 550,000 Chinese labourers were recruited for such purposes, usually on a seasonal basis in the summer months, although more than 100,000 stayed in Russia on a more permanent basis.[7] The huge Chinese

presence in the Russian Far East sparked a 'yellow peril' panic that led the Tsarist government to restrict Chinese migration to the eastern regions and to prohibit it altogether to European Russia.[8]

The prohibition proved ineffective. By 1914, on the eve of the First World War, around 100,000 Chinese were reported in Russia west of the Urals, after migrating across Siberia or central Asia or, in a few cases, jumping ship in a Russian port. Some members of this prewar community, located chiefly in Moscow and St Petersburg, were relatively prosperous and owned restaurants, laundries, hide factories, and general stores. However, most Chinese in Russia were urban labourers. After war broke out, the great majority of Chinese businesses went bankrupt or closed down.[9]

During the First World War, the Tsarist government dropped its 'yellow peril' rhetoric and contracted a new army of Chinese labourers (known in Chinese as the Huagong 华工) to help build railways, maintain communications, and work in factories or as miners and timbermen as a contribution to the Russian war. (Ostensibly, the Huagong were forbidden by treaty from performing ancillary tasks at the front, but Russians often disregarded this prohibition.) Estimates of their numbers range from 30,000 to 150,000, but one Soviet historian claimed that between 200,000 and 300,000 arrived, chiefly from Xinjiang, Shandong, Hebei, Harbin, and Dalian. They served throughout Russia, from Petrograd and Moscow to the Russian Far East, and from the arctic north to Donbass in the southwest of the Tsarist empire.

These ancillaries lived miserable and dangerous lives. More than 7,000 are said to have died violently at the front.[10] The Chinese government had negotiated protective clauses in their contracts of employment, but these were often violated by the Russian authorities and by Russian and Chinese contractors. Their wages were far lower and their hours longer than those of Russians and of other foreign workers. Many died of cold and hunger. Strikes and riots occasionally broke out in the Huagong camps and were cruelly suppressed. Some Huagong fled their units and scattered across the Russian towns and cities as 'vagrant Chinese', who lived by hawking or casual labouring.[11]

Apart from the Han Chinese migrations into Russia, sources list other migrations over the last century and a quarter by members of non-Han 'minority' peoples from northwestern China or Chinese Central Asia. Between 1877 and 1884, more than 8,000 Hui people (Chinese Muslims) fled across the border in four successive waves from Shaanxi and Gansu, after the defeat of the Gansu Muslim rebellion in 1873 and the ensuing campaign of pacification conducted by the Qing authorities. At around the same time, between 1881 and 1884, up to 70,000 Uighurs (a Turkic-speaking Muslim group) also crossed the frontier into territory under Russian rule.[12] Members of these groups also joined the Bolsheviks.

Internationalism and Soviet power

In July 1918, shortly after its founding at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, the Russian Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics promulgated its first

constitution, regularising forms of government created in the revolution. At the time, the new republic was seen as a stage in the transition to a worldwide federation of socialist republics. Among its 'general propositions', it accorded the right of citizenship to all workers living on Russian territory, abolished discrimination on grounds of race or nationality, and guaranteed asylum to foreigners persecuted on political or religious grounds. It granted foreign workers and peasants political rights 'irrespective of their racial or national origin' and permitted local soviets to grant them citizenship 'without any tedious formalities'. In the civil war years, Chinese joined revolutionary institutions in Russia, including the famous Petrograd Soviet. In 1920, the national rights of Chinese and other peoples such as Finns, Poles, Letts, and Koreans, too scattered to have their own territories, were strengthened by representation on a 'section of national minorities' formed as part of the Council of Nationalities.[13]

This constitutional denunciation of ethnic and racial discrimination took shape in detailed policy. In his study on the years 1923 to 1939, Terry Martin calls the Soviet Union 'the world's first Affirmative Action Empire'. He argues that it was 'the first of the old European multiethnic states to confront the rising tide of nationalism and respond by systematically promoting the national consciousness of its ethnic minorities and establishing for them many of the characteristic institutional forms of the nation-state' (while at the same time preserving the old Russian Empire's territorial integrity).[14]

Again, the Jewish experience provides an index of the Soviet promotion of affirmative measures in support of national minorities. In the 1920s, the Soviet Union was the only state on earth to sponsor Yiddish cultural, social, and political institutions. Yiddish intellectuals played an important role in Soviet affairs. In 1928, Soviet Jews gained a 'homeland' in Birobidzhan in the Russian Far East, as part of a Bolshevik plan to protect Jews against anti-Semitism by allowing them to reassemble in rural areas in compact territorial settlements after the attacks on the Jewish *shtetlekh* in the years of class warfare. The experiment ended in tragedy in the purges of the late 1930s and the anti-Semitic campaigns of the postwar years. However, for more than a decade, Yiddish culture flowered in parts of the Soviet Union, and the Jewish community was able to turn to its advantage measures taken by the Soviet state to foster ethnic and national minorities.[15] Chinese also benefited for a time from this policy of 'affirmative action'.

The Huagong and the Red Army

In 1917, the Russian imperial army disintegrated. In January 1918, the Council of People's Commissars set up a Workers' and Peasants' Red Army under Leon Trotsky (1879–1940) to defend the new regime. Founded to combat the multinational armies sent by foreign powers to wipe out Bolshevism, the Red Army was an international volunteer force dedicated to furthering world revolution.

In 1917, several million foreigners lived scattered across the Russian Empire. Around half were prisoners of war (POWs), and the rest were either migrant workers from China, Persia, Korea, and elsewhere or refugees from countries

such as Poland, Lithuania, and Latvia. The Red Army recruited many of these non-Russians, both labourers and POWs. Even in its higher command, Russians were said to have been a minority. According to studies hostile to the Soviets, as many as 300,000 non-Russians joined the Red Army's international units, including as many as 50,000 in 1918 alone. Other studies give lower estimates.[16]

The Red Army's foreigner units were precursors of the International Brigades that fought in Spain in support of the republic in the late 1930s (see Chapter 6). The designation 'International Brigade' was first used in Russia in the Civil War, some of whose foreign veterans ended up in Spain.[17] In 1919, British and French Red Army volunteers were to the fore in trying to influence soldiers of the interventionist armies. French communists in Russia helped to incite mutinies in the French armed forces stationed around the Black Sea.

Several hundred thousand Chinese were in Russia in 1917 – some sources say there were 400,000 in Siberia alone in 1918, with a further 70,000 in European Russia. The Soviet authorities tried to organise their return to China. However, the routes were disrupted and the effort largely failed, save for 30,000 to 40,000 who were repatriated by a pro-Bolshevik Chinese association (with the help of negotiators representing the Russian and Chinese governments) in the month up to May.[18] Many who remained were led by Chinese members of the Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East, a body affiliated to the Russian party and with a membership drawn from communists of various Asian nationalities within Russia as well as Turks, Chinese, and Koreans.[19]

In early 1918, revolutionary associations of Chinese labourers and factory workers arose in Moscow, Petrograd, and other places. One of two Chinese members of the Petrograd Soviet was Liu Shaozhou 刘绍周 (b. 1892), a university-educated Cantonese who had lived in Russia since the age of five. Liu attended the Comintern's First and Second Congresses, where he claimed to speak on behalf of Chinese workers in Russia and the Russia-based Chinese Socialist Workers Party.[20] The Chinese pro-Bolsheviks published two newspapers, *Huagong* and *Gongchan zhuyi zhi xing* 共产主义之星 (Communist Star), which had a print run of 58,000 copies, and made plans to conduct propaganda in China as well as in Russia. In December, a Federation of Huagong Sojourning in Russia 旅俄华工联合会[21] formed in Petrograd and other places, including the Russian Far East, Siberia, and Central Asia. This umbrella organisation, which squatted in the Chinese Embassy, claimed a membership of 60,000. It was connected to the Federation of Foreign Groups of the Russian Communist Party, formed in May 1918 to unify communist organisations formed by POWs and Chinese; and to the Central Buro of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the East. Its manifesto stated that 'Chinese workers in Russia by the will of fate find themselves in the midst of the vanguard of the workers' world revolution'. Zhang Yongkui 张永奎 told its Moscow branch that Chinese 'must join and follow the path of the Russian Revolution . . . in the decisive, ruthless struggle against European capital'.

Attracted by the Bolsheviks' internationalist and egalitarian rhetoric, up to 70,000 Huagong joined the Red Army or its guerrilla units. The first Chinese Volunteer Brigade was formed in the Ukraine, by Shan Fuyang 山福扬, who

recruited employees of the Bender works in Tiraspol. Most were illiterate and knew little Russian, so special classes were set up to teach them reading and other subjects. Further units formed in early 1918. Detachments were established in Odessa (by dockers and stone breakers); in Petrozavodsk (by a Chinese who had worked in the gold mines in Siberia); in Petrograd (by Chinese who had worked on the Murmansk railway); and in other places. In Minsk, Chinese Red Guards were said to have numbered more than 1,000.[22]

In mid-1918, a military commission started setting up international units of the Red Army. Its Chinese section was headed by Sheng Chenghe, who had fought against Kornilov and Kaledin in 1917. Between January and August 1919, eight more Chinese units joined armies on three fronts, including the international detachment of the legendary 25th Rifle Division. Chinese partisans also fought in the Far Eastern Republic.

In the autumn of 1918, a Special Command Headquarters started recruiting Chinese in the Russian cities. Several thousand Huagong joined in Petrograd and Moscow. The accent was on recruiting workers – merchant volunteers were rejected. The recruits formed special Chinese regiments or joined International Brigades. In the Donbass region, three out of four Chinese miners joined the Red Army.[23] The anti-Bolshevik interventionists noted this Chinese recruitment. In October 1918, a radio telegram of the Higher Supply Council of the Allied Armies in Russia reported that the Soviet government in Moscow was in crisis and had 'barricaded itself into the Kremlin, surrounding itself with international regiments, principally Chinese'.[24]

Chinese volunteers participated in key events of the revolution, including the storming of the Winter Palace and the Kremlin. Motivated (according to one Russian historian) 'by a combination of ideology and material interest', they became 'staunch soldiers of the revolution'.[25] According to Cai Yunchen 蔡运辰, Chiang Kai-shek's 蒋介石 emissary to Moscow in 1929, Russians considered them 'brave fighters but cruel'.[26]

After the Civil War, more than 70 Chinese veterans joined Lenin's personal bodyguard, and several graduated from military schools in the 1920s.[27] Streets and places in various parts of Russia were named in commemoration of Ma Shanqi 马山奇, the Chinese commander of a Muslim cavalry regiment.

In 1920, an Organisation of Chinese Communists in Russia 旅俄中国共产党人组织[28] was founded to bring local Chinese groups under the direction of their Russian counterparts. In July 1920, an Organisation Buro for Chinese Members of the Russian Communist Party 俄共中国党员中央组织局[29] formed a caucus within the group, to represent the Huagong directly to the Bolsheviks' Central Committee (CC). In the autumn, the Buro transferred to Siberia, where most Huagong had ended up, but it kept local offices in European Russia and Ukraine.

In June 1920, 60 delegates attended the Third Congress of the Huagong Federation, whose activities included defending Chinese workers' and citizens' interests in Russia. Fifty Chinese communists fanned out across Russia to organise party cells among their compatriots.

In 1920, the Organisation Buro, under the Far Eastern Buro of the CC in

Irkutsk, committed itself to 'carrying out social revolution in China and organising the Chinese working class'. Members of the Buro discussed organising armed attacks from Xinjiang and from northeastern and southern China to overthrow the Beijing government. Many believed armed force would guarantee a swift victory in China. In his report to the Third Congress of the Comintern, Zhang Tailei 张太雷 envisaged creating a nationwide partisan movement of secret societies, a plan still under discussion in 1922.

The Huagong in Russia were one of three bases upon which the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) formed (the others being the study groups in China and the worker-students and other Chinese groups in France). The Soviet historian Persits noted the role played in establishing the CCP by hundreds of Chinese returning from the Soviet Union, although most Russian, Chinese, and western historians have downplayed or neglected it.[30] In the longer term, however, Huagong veterans from Russia played a minimal part in leading the Chinese revolution. Neither those who stayed in Moscow to work for the Comintern nor those who went back to China seem to have risen to prominence in the party.[31] In that sense, the CCP differed from other parties, which lionised members with a direct tie to the Bolsheviks.

The difference can be explained in part by the role played by nationalism in the CCP's rise to power. Among the CCP's great strengths was its identification with China's national interest. This nationalism led to friction in China with Moscow-associated communists, disparaged as the 'Comintern faction' or 'Internationalists' 国际派. People such as the Huagong with historical ties in Russia became suspect once the CCP outgrew its dependency on Moscow. The Huagong were also handicapped by their lack of education. Although nominally a workers' party, nearly all the CCP's top leaders were intellectuals.

The contrast between the role played in the CCP by returners from France and Russia is striking. The former, most of them relatively educated as well as politically aware, provided outstanding leaders of the CCP, including Chen Yi 陈毅 and Deng Xiaoping 邓小平, whereas the latter provided none.[32]

Even so, several leaders of the Huagong movement went back to China on missions to spread Marxist ideology and communist organisation. Most had little or no impact. In early 1919, a group of three slipped into Heilongjiang but were arrested by the Japanese. In March 1919, more than 300 Huagong went back with the aim of making propaganda. In June 1920, Huagong from France and Russia exported 'extremist Bolshevik ideology' to Hebei and tried to contact Sun Yat-sen in Guangzhou, but to little or no effect.[33]

In Moscow, the Bolsheviks saw the Federation of Huagong as the precursor of a future CCP, the 'link between China's present and future revolutionary movement'.[34] By far the most effective early repatriate was Yang Mingzhai 杨明斋, a Shandongese who had lived in Russia since 1901 and joined the Bolsheviks during the war. In 1920, Yang accompanied the Russian revolutionary Grigori Naumovich Voitinski (1893–1953) to Beijing, where they met the Chinese radical leaders Li Dazhao 李大钊 and Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, who agreed to set up a Marxist Study Society. In August, Yang and Chen set up the Shanghai Communist

Party Small Group 共产党小组, and Yang transferred his membership from the Bolsheviks to this new body. Yang then worked on publishing *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth) and *Gongchan dang* 共产党 (Communist Party), for which he wrote articles about Marxism and the Russian Revolution. He also taught Russian and organised sending Chinese (including Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇) to Russia to study politics and ideology. In the spring of 1921, he returned to Moscow to report on his work in China, and was therefore not present at the founding of the CCP in July. Even so, as Ren Guixiang 任贵祥 remarked, the founding would not have happened but for him, or at least not so soon.[35]

Chinese in Russia in the 1920s and the early 1930s

After 1920, some Chinese stayed on in the Red Army, but most went to work in the factories and mines or became farmers. Many benefited from their veteran status. Those lucky enough to get work in state firms enjoyed the same privileges as Russians, although those in non-state employment had far less security and income.[36] A few joined 'anti-bandit' units or worked for the Cheka. According to some accounts, up to 200,000 Chinese stayed in Asian Russia. The Huagong Federation, formed under the Bolsheviks, counted 90,000 'homeless and unemployed' Chinese in European Russia and 30,000 in Siberia in the early 1920s. Other sources report 279,000 Chinese Muslims in Russian Turkestan. At the time of the 1926 census, around 100,000 Chinese were said to be on Soviet territory, including 10,000 in European Russia. By 1928, the number of Chinese living west of the Urals had apparently increased, for Moscow alone had a population of 8,000 Chinese, most of them from Shandong, but including 1,000 from places south of the Yangtze.[37] The Obshestvo Vozrozhdenia Kitaya 中国复兴社 (Society for the Revival of China) was set up to support the Chinese in Moscow and train them for future political activity. Among those it trained at a special boarding school were the children of Wang Ming 王明 and other Chinese communist leaders.[38] More than 1,000 Chinese Red Army veterans studied at Lenin University and other schools in Russia.[39]

In the revolutionary years and the period of war communism, the ethnic and immigrant Chinese economy in Russia was reduced to ruins, but it revived briefly (along with Russian private enterprise) in 1922, under the New Economic Policy. The occupational profile of the Chinese in Moscow and other cities in the mid-1920s was similar to that of the majority of their co-ethnics in western Europe. 'The northern Chinese were engaged in the laundry business, knitwear, and bakeries', writes Larin. 'Some were petty hawkers, others had no jobs. The southern Chinese specialised exclusively in trading in leather goods such as handbags or suitcases'. By the late 1930s, however, few Chinese (other than those working as officials for the Comintern) were registered in European Russia.[40] In the 1920s and the early 1930s, Chinese shops and laundries continued to operate east of the Ussuri, alongside Chinese collective farms. The Chinese economic impact, particularly in Vladivostok and Khabarovsk, remained important.[41]

However, the revival of private enterprise was short-lived. The Chinese petty bourgeois were eradicated along with their Russian equivalents by compulsory

state bonds and levies and were expelled to China, sent to camps, or integrated into the collectivised economy. Under the consolidated Soviet regime, Chinese self-organisation ceased. Numerous associations had formed among the Chinese in Russia during the wartime and postwar turmoil, some of them revolutionary in nature and others (which may have predated the war and the revolution) based on commercial or native place ties. These organisations were disbanded or absorbed into state-controlled general bodies as part of the wholesale bureaucratisation and centralisation of Soviet life in the 1920s.[42]

Between 1930 and 1932, the Chinese in the Soviet Union were caught up in the latinisation movement during the 'cultural revolution' launched by Stalin in the late 1920s.[43] Later, many were assimilated into Russian society and culture, particularly during the most intense period of the Stalin dictatorship in the interwar years. The 1937 census found only 38,000 Chinese in the Soviet Union, perhaps an undercounting.[44]

In the late 1920s and the early 1930s, their traditional niche disintegrated and they were drawn, like the rest of the population, into 'building socialism'. Although life was hard under the Soviet regime, workers in heavy industry were in some respects a 'labour aristocracy' and enjoyed privileges. They are said to have included some Chinese. Hostility to Chinese in Russia reportedly abated after 1920, and racist discrimination against them largely ceased, at least in the official world.[45] However, Cai Yunchen considered harassment and discrimination commonplace in 1931, especially against transient Chinese.[46]

In the mid-1930s, many Chinese were subjected to ethnic cleansing as a xenophobic wave swept the Soviet Union. The purge centred on diasporic minorities such as Chinese, Poles, Germans, Finns, and Koreans, labelled enemy nations, whereas native minorities were left relatively untouched. This switch to ethnic cleansing had several causes, including ethnic divisions between diasporans and natives and the suspicion that diasporas were disloyal. It culminated in the late 1930s in the subjection of Chinese and other groups to a campaign of ethnic terror and deportation.[47] After 1949, a number of naturalised Chinese Russians returned to China. One dreads to imagine their fate at the hands of Maoist spy-hunters after the Sino-Soviet split and the start of the Cultural Revolution (1966–76).[48]

The Chinese in the Russian Civil War, internationalists or mercenaries?

Bolsheviks represented the foreign role in preserving Soviet power after 1917 as brotherly solidarity and internationalism, but their opponents in the Civil War saw it as proof of Marxism and Bolshevism's 'alien roots'. The anti-Bolshevik Social Revolutionaries described the Red Army as a praetorian organisation made up of 'declassed' aliens, including *naemnye kitaitsy* (Chinese hirelings). Another hostile commentator called the Red Army's denationalised internationalists *landsknekhty* (mercenaries) of the revolution.

In an essay on the role played by foreigners in the Russian Civil War, Marc Jansen questions whether the participation of Latvians, Hungarians, Chinese, and others was really a case of proletarian internationalism. He argues that most

participants eventually went home and therefore cannot be described as 'entirely estranged' from their home countries. According to him, material inducements such as the provision of food and clothing as well as the prospect of fame and promotion probably played a role in persuading non-Russians to join the Red Army. He also claims that homeland issues were important in causing foreigners to align with Russia and that some defected when the situation at home changed.[49]

Yet the argument about material and other inducements presupposes a divide between self-interest and communal interest that does not necessarily hold, and the argument about divided loyalties exaggerates the extent of the eventual defection. Many historians would reject Jansen's argument that the Latvians fought for the Bolsheviks for as long as the Bolsheviks were popular in Latvia, but then deserted. Even elections in Latvia based on universal suffrage in the second half of 1917 gave the Bolsheviks at least a plurality and sometimes a clear majority of votes; and the Latvian riflemen remained the staunchest defenders of Bolshevik power in the Civil War. Many Chinese also transferred their allegiance to the Soviet state. 'Revolutionary Russia became the true motherland' of those Chinese who stayed behind after 1920, said a Chinese biography of a leader of the pro-Soviet forces.[50] Most took Soviet nationality and some joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). According to the Nanjing emissary Cai Yunchen, who had no reason to exaggerate the Chinese conversion, 'all had been assimilated to the Soviet Union and had forgotten their ancestral homeland'. Many fought or spied for the Soviets during border clashes with China in 1929, while others died for them in the Second World War.[51]

What was the Chinese motivation for siding with the Bolsheviks? Beyond official documents, I have come across only a handful of first-hand accounts of Chinese workers in early Soviet Russia, including a memoir by Peng Shuzhi 彭述之. (His name is usually written Peng Shu-tse; he later became a Trotskyist.) In 1921, on his way to Moscow from China, Peng met leaders and members of the Huagong Federation in Khabarovsk and helped them set up a newspaper to explain Soviet politics. He found that members of the Red Beard 红胡子 sect from northeastern China who had crossed into Siberia showed a keen interest in Bolshevik policies and in exporting them to China, and supported the Soviets because they shared their commitment to expelling the Japanese, creating an equal society, and fighting for 'the poor and the oppressed'.[52] In Peng's experience, the Red Beards were neither mercenaries nor victims of Soviet press-gangs but bona fide volunteers.

The combination of administrative vacuum, communist utopianism, and the promotion of workers' unity over nationality had apparently caused them to embrace the Soviet project. The shock that the October Revolution sent through political life in China, where it led to the founding of the CCP, was preceded by a greater impact on the Chinese in the Soviet republics.

The Huagong in Russia knew little about homeland politics and identified less with homeland parties than their European counterparts in the Red Army. China was far from consolidated as a nation-state. The Huagong had not completed – in most cases had barely even started – the transition from a prenational world to one

in which national identities and concerns take overriding precedence. The Russian Revolution was in nearly all cases their first encounter with modern politics, but many belonged to sects with egalitarian and millenary beliefs that were not incompatible with Bolshevik utopianism. Unencumbered by strong national loyalties, they were even less inhibited than the Red Army's non-Russian Europeans about solidarising with their Soviet brethren.[53]

Conclusions

The Chinese in Russia in the Revolution and the Civil War stood out as pioneers of the twentieth-century tradition of revolutionary internationalism. They blazed a path that Chinese in other parts of the world took in later years. In many ways, however, the context and their experience differed from that of Chinese elsewhere overseas. The relative maturity of Chinese settlement in Russia meant that there was a sufficient class of Chinese brought up in Russia, familiar with Russian culture and institutions and with a pre-existing link to the labour movement and the Bolsheviks, to form a bridge between the Russian revolutionaries and the Huagong. Most Huagong on the western front were speedily repatriated at the war's end, in part to preclude their radicalisation.[54] Few of those on the eastern front were able to return home quickly, and the great mass that stayed formed a solid base for the Bolsheviks and their Chinese organisers. They were disaffected by poverty and oppression, and regimented and steeled by working at the front or in war industries. They responded passionately to Bolshevik propaganda and found a home in the Red Army at a time when their livelihood had collapsed and their future was uncertain. Unlike Chinese radicalised elsewhere, they were swept up into a movement that controlled the state and the economy rather than a marginal movement of protest and rebellion, without influence or resources. Many of the more committed veterans stayed in the Soviet Union. A few returned to China to spread revolution. However, their long-term impact on Chinese politics was scant, especially by comparison with that of the Chinese students in Paris around 1920, who were far fewer in number but provided a far larger contingent of future leaders.

3 Germany

The Chinese in Germany are among the least researched of the Chinese communities in Europe. Germany's colonial ties to China were weak, and the country was never a major destination for Chinese migrants. Even so, its Chinese settlement is older than those in most other European countries. This is because of Germany's position relative to Russia, the old Chinese land route to Europe, and because of the activities of its early merchant fleet, which landed Chinese crews in German ports.[1] In the early years, itinerant entertainers and circus performers from Shandong travelled west by way of Siberia and eastern Europe, ending up in Germany. Stories about Chinese migrants who walked to Europe along the Trans-Siberian Railway are rife among older overseas Chinese and have assumed the status of legend. Later, migrants from Qingtian 青田 in Zhejiang and from Guangdong and merchants from northern China followed the same route into Germany.[2]

The seafarers' settlements in Hamburg, Berlin, Bremen, and other ports, formed by Cantonese, date to around 1870, when steamships replaced sailing ships and hundreds of Chinese started working as stokers, trimmers, and lubricators for Germany's ocean-going fleet. The employment of Chinese seafarers sparked a racist reaction in the nominally internationalist Social Democratic Party and the labour unions, which staged a boycott of Chinese crews in 1898. Scores of Chinese were laid off in the ports, where they pooled money and labour to open cafes, laundries, grocery stores, and curio shops.[3] Others were recruited to jobs in Germany at the end of the First World War, after working for the French and British armies as auxiliaries on the western front. They were employed in mines and arsenals and helped repair the railways.[4]

The number of Chinese in Germany had risen into the hundreds by 1914 and to 800 around 1930. The community was quite diverse in the Weimar period. It comprised students, political activists, petty traders, hawkers, and seafarers.[5] In 1935, several hundred Chinese seafarers and entrepreneurs lived in Hamburg, and more than 1,000 Chinese were enrolled at schools and universities in Berlin. A few left in 1933, when Hitler took power. Some destitute Chinese of no political affiliation escaped to the Netherlands in the 1930s, where they melted into the tiny Chinese quarters of Amsterdam and Rotterdam.[6] However, most Chinese residents felt

under no threat, as Germany maintained diplomatic relations with Chiang Kai-shek (and later with Wang Jingwei 汪精卫, the puppet ruler in Japanese-occupied China between 1940 and 1944). According to Nanjing's Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, 1,800 Chinese lived in Germany in 1935.[7]

Chinese politics

The start of the Chinese political tradition in Germany dates to the late nineteenth century, when Chinese students began arriving. In the late Qing dynasty, Germany was a goal for young Chinese wishing to acquire western knowledge.[8] The presence of groups of educated and politically ambitious Chinese attracted revolutionary recruiters, both before and after the Qing dynasty's collapse in 1911. The first nationalist connection was established in 1904, seven years before China's republican revolution, when Sun Yat-sen visited Belgium, France, Britain, and Germany. In Berlin, he set up the Chinese League 中华同盟会, which enrolled more than 20 students. Subsequently, members of the group helped finance his travels around the world, while others supported his revolution by going back to China. After the suppression by Yuan Shikai 袁世凯 (1859–1916) of the 'second revolution' staged by radical nationalists in 1913, the Berlin group proposed that students and overseas Chinese in Europe donate one-tenth of their earnings to the republican cause. Its members continued to give financial support to the Guomindang 国民党 throughout the revolutionary period.[9]

In the mid-1920s, the Chinese were Germany's fourth largest group of foreign students and 'Red Berlin' was a centre of Chinese radicalism. Comintern agents worked among Chinese émigrés in several European countries, using the resources of local communist parties. The Comintern instructed its sections in the industrialised countries to recruit Chinese students to their anticolonial campaigns, and some labour leaders made contact with Chinese migrant workers, notably seafarers.[10] This tactic was particularly successful in Germany.

In February 1922, Zhang Shenfu 张申府 and others founded a communist cell in Berlin, on the same lines as the one in France – precursors of the European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) 中国共产党旅歐支部, founded that same winter and led by Zhao Shiyan 赵世炎. In November, they recruited the newly arrived Zhu De 朱德. The cell received help from the Comintern and the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD, Communist Party of Germany) in Berlin, where the Soviets had diplomatic representation and could provide assistance and direction. In November 1923, Zhou Enlai 周恩来 and others set up the European Branch of the Guomindang 中国国民党旅歐支部 in Lyons, with strongest support from Germany, where a Correspondence Section was established. The German Branch of the Guomindang 中国国民党住德支部, founded in early 1925, was its biggest European section. It too worked closely with the KPD and its front organisations. In the late 1920s, the European branches of Chinese communist organisations, including the CCP, moved their headquarters from France to Hamburg, where they remained for the next few years.[11]

The KPD

The KPD was, in principle, an internationalist party that devoted huge resources to the Comintern's international campaigns. It was the first party outside Russia to join the Comintern, in 1919.[12] At times, it succumbed to bouts of nationalist demagogy. In the early 1920s, for example, some KPD leaders experimented with 'national communism', in an attempt to take advantage of nationalist feelings in the German working class. (For a while, the Comintern echoed its German section's nationalist rhetoric.[13]) In the early 1930s, the KPD again tried to outdo the nationalists, on the question of the Versailles 'robber peace' and the fate of German-speaking territories outside Germany, in a campaign Stalin is said to have initiated.[14] In other ways, however, it preserved the internationalist approach pioneered by Rosa Luxemburg and the Spartacists during the First World War.

Like many communist parties, the KPD had a strong base among domestic migrants, but it had few members among non-German immigrants,[15] whose chances of employment in Germany dried up in the interwar years and the Slump. Immigrants faced hostility in a country whose working population was ethnically more homogeneous than that of France.[16] Many of the KPD's working-class supporters expressed antipathy to foreigners and to German Jews (few of whom were workers).[17] During the party's nationalist digressions in the early 1920s and the early 1930s, militants and even some leaders tried to use anti-Semitic rhetoric to build bridges to the working-class radical right. Anti-Semitism was at times routine in parts of the KPD. The contempt even extended in some cases to Jews working at the party headquarters.[18] Anti-Semitic members denounced the Jews as rich bourgeois, while communist Jews such as Rosa Luxemburg were seen as the exception.[19]

However, the KPD extended a warm welcome to Chinese students and political activists who arrived in Germany in the 1920s. Nie Rongzhen 聂荣臻 and Deng Xiaoping, who visited Berlin in 1924 and 1926, recalled that Chinese lodged with communist workers' families and marched on the KPD's demonstrations. Ernst Thälmann (1886–1944), the KPD leader, is said to have taken a personal interest in the Chinese cell. Its members were chiefly motivated by Chinese issues, but they were also active in the KPD and its campaigns. Zhu De was responsible for liaising with the KPD's Central Committee. In 1924, he published *Zhengzhi zhoubao* 政治周报 (Political Weekly) and then, in 1925, *Xingming* 星明 (Star) to spread Marxist thinking among Chinese students in Germany.[20] He and other Chinese represented the KPD in public. With KPD encouragement, they cooperated with leftwing students from several countries. In 1925, for example, they responded to events in Shanghai, Sofia, Vienna, and Berlin with a multinational rally under the slogan 'Students to the barricades!'[21]

Chinese members of the KPD in Berlin set up a Chinese-language section, known as the Zirkel für chinesische Sprache 德国共产党中国语言组 (Circle for Chinese language in the KPD),[22] whose disciplinary procedures were supervised by the KPD.[23] The Circle published an irregular newspaper, *Roter Strahl/Chiguang* 赤光 (Red Ray). Circle and League members attended night classes at

the Marxist Workers' University. Even after 1933, they continued to participate in the KPD's 'residential cells'. A typical member was Hu Lanqi 胡兰畦, who joined the CCP in Berlin in early 1930. In the KPD, she was befriended by Clara Zetkin and the novelist Anna Seghers. In 1931, members of the Circle set up an Antiimperialistische Liga der Chinesen in Deutschland 旅德华侨反帝同盟 (Anti-Imperialist League of Chinese in Germany), which published *Gegen den Imperialismus/Fandi* 反帝 (Against Imperialism). The League started off with a membership of 15 and later recruited a group of military students belonging to the Guomindang.

Chinese students who identified with the KPD campaigned among the impoverished groups of Chinese seafarers and peddlers in Hamburg and Berlin, a good example of the erasure of boundaries between Chinese workers and radical intellectuals overseas. Three founding members of the Anti-Imperialist League were peddlers. In the capital, the so-called 'Yellow Quarter' near the Schleswig Station was home to some 200 Chinese, who were vulnerable to racist beatings and Nazi abuse. In a note to the German Embassy in China, the German Foreign Office complained that 'Chinese in Germany belong in part to the lowest classes without any fixed abode, while the students include agitators and communists'.[24]

Chinese escaped classification as 'coloured' under the Nazis, who maintained a distinction between the 'coloured races' and the '*Kulturvölker*' of Japan and China. In 1937, members of the community of Chinese still studying in Berlin continued to organise anti-Japanese campaigns.[25] Leftists who stayed in Germany after 1933 risked arrest. Hu Lanqi spent three months behind bars in 1933 after addressing an anti-Nazi rally organised by the KPD in Berlin in December 1932, on the eve of Hitler's assumption of power. (In 1936, she returned from Europe to China. She came under attack in the anti-rightist campaign of 1957 and the Cultural Revolution because of her past foreign ties.[26]) Cheng Qiying 程琪英, a member of the Internationaler Sozialistischer Kampfbund (International Socialist Combat League) and the Liga für Menschenrechte (League for Human Rights), was arrested in 1933 and deported to China. (She too was denounced as a 'rightist' in 1957; she died under persecution in the Cultural Revolution.) Wang Bingnan 王炳南, also a Circle member, stayed in Berlin until late 1935, while others stayed until 1936.[27] In some cases, the German and Chinese authorities acted in concert. In 1935, for example, the Chinese Embassy asked the Germans to close down *Zhongguo de chulu* 中国的出路 (China's Way Out), an anti-Guomindang journal.[28]

At the heart of Europe and relatively close to the Soviet Union, Germany played a key role in Comintern management and information-gathering until 1933. A steady stream of Comintern agents arrived bringing advice, funds, and political ultimatums.[29] Comintern staff in Berlin included Liao Huanxing 廖焕星, a Guomindang representative married to a German worker. Liao had good German and was a member of the KPD, for which he spoke on Chinese issues. As part of the 'Varga Office' (named after its chief Eugen Varga), his job was to provide Moscow with information about China. After 1927, he liaised with Guomindang leftists in Berlin, including Song Qingling 宋庆龄. He was also active

in the Berlin Guomindang, Workers' International Relief, and the Anti-Imperialist League. He wrote for the Comintern's *Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz*, Willi Münzenberg's *Arbeiter-Illustrierte Zeitung*, the *Sächsische Arbeiter Zeitung*, and the Chinese press. In 1929, he went to Moscow, where he was arrested in 1938 and banished to Siberia for a decade. In 1951, he was allowed to return to China.[30]

The anti-imperialist agitation in Shanghai in 1925 at the time of the May Thirtieth Incident was strongly supported by Chinese in Germany and by the KPD, which organised meetings in more than a dozen cities and backed actions by Chinese students. Tens of thousands of Germans turned up to hear Chinese speakers. Later in 1925, delegates from 39 countries attended a congress in Moscow to protest against foreign military intervention in China. The meeting had an electrifying effect on Chinese in mainland Europe. Rallies in Paris and Berlin greeted the victories of Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition in 1926.[31] After Chiang's coup in 1927, however, the conditions for Chinese communists in Germany worsened.[32]

Chinese political activities in Germany revived in 1931, when Japan seized the city of Shenyang in northeastern China. As part of a Europe-wide campaign directed from Moscow, German and Chinese communists demonstrated against the Japanese invasion, and German workers campaigned to boycott the delivery of military supplies to China, while Chinese urged their compatriots throughout Europe to campaign against Japan.[33] In 1935, the Comintern sent a group of Chinese under Wu Yuzhang 吴玉章 to Paris, where they worked to coordinate Chinese radical movements throughout the world, including in Germany. In March 1936, Chinese communists and their allies in Berlin set up an Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Federation. In the following months, they published no fewer than 15 resistance magazines in various German cities. In September 1936, the 450 delegates at the Paris congress of the Pan-European Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese National Salvation Federation included a group from Germany, where a handful of Chinese leftists remained despite Hitler's rise to power.[34] In 1937, on the sixth anniversary of the Shenyang incident, they again took part in a Europe-wide Anti-Japanese Congress of Overseas Chinese, which was attended by more than 40 people and organised fundraising, refugee work, and the return of some Chinese to China.[35]

Anti-Japanese feeling spread to Chinese entrepreneurs in Berlin, who barred Japanese from their restaurants. Nazi files classified the group of Chinese petty traders as 'politically radical', probably because of the labour ties of some ex-seafarers. Some students may have pretended to be traders when applying for entry visas.[36]

Eventually, most Chinese leftists fled abroad or were arrested. Some went to Spain to fight for the Republic in the Civil War. Others who stayed behind in Germany are said to have provided western governments with intelligence about Japanese activities in China after the outbreak of full-scale war between the two countries on 7 July 1937.[37] In 1939, 1,138 Chinese still lived in Germany, but their conditions had worsened. In early 1938, the Nazis set up a 'Chinese centre' to control Chinese residents.[38] Although not expressly classified as racially

inferior, under the Nazi ideology of Nordicism, they could not escape a racial stigma.[39] After Chiang Kai-shek's declaration of war on the Axis Powers in December 1941, the Nazis recognised Wang Jingwei's pro-Japanese puppet regime in Nanjing. Measures were taken against some remaining Chinese, 165 of whom were interned in 1944.[40] The internees were subjected to a regime of forced labour under which several died. The prohibition on 'interracial' marriages was extended to Chinese, some of whom were sent to prisons or concentration camps for having 'intimate relations' with German women.[41] During the war, others left Germany for Czechoslovakia, Italy, and elsewhere in Europe.[42]

Chinese and German communists: an overview

In Berlin in the 1920s and the early 1930s, the KPD threw its weight behind the Chinese students. Its influence and resources were essential in keeping the China issue on the boil in Europe. In many ways, it is artificial to consider European Chinese politics in the interwar years in national settings, for the Chinese were connected by networks across borders and oceans, and the Comintern marshalled its forces continentally and globally. Even so, Berlin played a strategic role as the Comintern's European hub.

A highly industrialised country, the birthplace of Marxism, and home of the biggest communist party outside Russia, Germany, in the Comintern view, was a likely place for the next revolution. It was the Soviet Union's de facto ally and biggest trading partner. Comintern organisations with a German seat included its West European Bureau (WEB), Workers' International Relief (WIR), the Anti-Imperialist League (AIL), and the Seamen's International, a section of the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU). Both WIR and the AIL were initiatives of Germany's Willi Münzenberg, Lenin's onetime associate and 'among the most potent organizers of the apparatus of the Comintern', which he had helped to found.[43] A virtuoso practitioner of the united front, Münzenberg was also associated with Red International Relief[44] (known by its Russian abbreviation, MOPR).[45] Through his publishing empire, he did more than anyone to keep China in the headlines.[46]

China was a central issue on many fronts for the German communists. On 16 August 1925, WIR held a big conference in Berlin to support the Chinese struggle. In early 1926, also in Berlin, representatives of 28 countries commissioned an executive of five (including Liao Huanxing) to build the AIL, with the aftermath of China's May Thirtieth Movement at the top of the agenda. In May 1926, WIR, MOPR, and other organisations jointly launched the new body. Nominated in Guangzhou as the AIL's Guomindang representative, Liao Huanxing energetically pushed the China question. To win further support among Chinese, the Guomindang's French section started up a European National Correspondents' Society in early 1926, with technical help from the KPD. In September, the Guomindang in Germany persuaded WIR and other international organisations to stage a pro-China congress in Berlin, which brought together more than 1,000 people. Again, China was the main issue at the AIL's inaugural congress in Brussels in February

1927. Throughout the late 1920s, WIR and the AIL worked closely with Song Qingling and other Guomindang leftists in Germany.

Red Berlin's engagement with Chinese politics was extraordinary given that Germany played a comparatively minor role in colonising China. That Germany, France, and Belgium had CCP branches in the 1920s whereas Britain did not can be explained by Comintern priorities, which hinged on the European mainland, and the support rendered by its national sections, which were strongest on the continent. Despite the flaws in its record of opposition to racism and nationalism, the KPD struck its Chinese visitors as profoundly internationalist. Its members welcomed Chinese to live as part of their families, and its Chinese-language branch was a place where Chinese could feel at ease. The KPD's prime international focus was on China for a while, so it naturally attracted the attention and support of Chinese students in German universities. As a result of their connection with the KPD and their access to its resources, the Chinese communists were exceptionally well organised and equipped, as their publishing enterprise shows.

The home of several of the Comintern's main auxiliary bodies, all of which gave priority to supporting China's labour movement and national revolution, Germany up to 1933 was a good place to be for young Chinese radicals, many of whom came to see the KPD as their political home. China was a paramount international issue not just for the KPD's Chinese supporters. Organisations such as the AIL in Germany placed the China question in its world context – that of anti-imperialism in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. 'Joint deliberation and, where possible, joint action' by oppressed nations against imperialism was desirable and 'in the air', said Jawaharlal Nehru, a founder of the AIL.[47]

In terms of social composition, the Chinese communists in Germany were the virtual opposite of those in Russia. Nearly all were students – even more so, proportionately, than in France – and only a handful were workers. They were part of a long tradition of Chinese student migration to Germany, with an associated history of political action. They remained a predominantly student movement with little opportunity to dilute their elite status and build a mass base, except for a few activists who did their best to win support in Chinatown, among the petty entrepreneurs, and among the Chinese seafarers in Hamburg and other ports (see Chapter 5). In later years, communists such as Zhu De and Zhou Enlai, who had lived and worked in Germany, became top leaders of the CCP. Others scattered across Europe after Hitler seized power in Germany. Some ended up joining the International Brigades in Spain (see Chapter 6).

4 Cuba

In some colonies set up by western powers, Chinese formed big minorities led by intellectuals or entrepreneurs. Although relegated to the fringes in the United States, Australia, and Europe, in poorer countries they sometimes derived political and economic clout from their ethnic cohesion, trading networks, transnational ties, or relations with the colonial power. Where the community was largely entrepreneurial, proletarian alliances of the sort promoted by the Comintern were generally ruled out. However, in Cuba and a handful of other colonised countries, Chinese joined local communists in anticapitalist or anti-imperialist alliances.

Chinese labour on the plantations

Cuba under Spanish colonial rule began importing Chinese labourers in 1847 to work on the sugar plantations alongside black slaves and immigrants from Spain and Yucatán. Slavery was not abolished in Cuba until 1886, some 50 years later than elsewhere in the Caribbean. In other Caribbean countries, Chinese took the place of ex-slaves, whereas in Cuba they were used to supplement rather than to replace slave labour. Most of the estates that Chinese worked on in Cuba were racially mixed. Between 1847 and 1873, around 124,800 Chinese reached the island, dwarfing the 18,000 imported into the British West Indies over a comparable period.[1] In 1860, there were almost as many Chinese in Cuba (34,834) as in the United States (34,933). By the 1870s, there were three Chinese for every two black slaves on most plantations.

The Chinese experience in Cuba confounds the view of Chinese abroad 'as passive victims, meek as lambs led to slaughter' – an opinion Frederic Wakeman, a historian of China who spent part of his childhood in Cuba, derides. Wakeman lists the modes of resistance: 'Suicides by hanging on trees, by drowning, by swallowing opium, and by leaping into the sugar caldrons;' breaking out of the coolie clippers through iron gratings; and staging mutinies.[2]

The resistance started in China itself, where labourers were 'hunted like beasts' or 'seduced by deceitful promises' (in the words of the Spanish Consul in the Portuguese colony of Macao, speaking in 1859). Recruiters used 'violent and unscrupulous methods' that stirred up homicidal reactions. By 1859, it was said

to be no longer possible to load 'coolie ships' anywhere outside Macao.[3] The resistance continued on board vessels bound for the island, and was reportedly organised in some instances in advance, by 'courageous Chinese patriots (called pirates by the slavers) who allowed themselves to be enlisted and then rose up on board, with a good fistful of braves, and gave the crew a lesson by killing them'. Among these avengers was 'the celebrated Kow-ka-sing', credited with numerous such attacks.[4] An index of the suffering at sea is the Chinese death rate en route to Cuba, which reached as high as 15.2 per cent if murders by recruiting agents and deaths in barracoons in the loading ports are included.[5]

Life on the Cuban estates was harsher than in any other Caribbean colony. Cuban historians attribute the extreme brutality to the longevity of Cuban slavery, which blighted the conditions even of non-slaves.[6] Recruitment of labourers to Cuba was in non-Chinese hands at all levels above the village, whereas in nearly all other countries it was under Chinese control.[7] The plantation regime was one of slavery in all but name – worse than slavery, according to one Spanish abolitionist. Again and again, Chinese rose up. The first rebellion, in 1847, provoked a severe response by officials and planters, including the reduction of some labourers to slavery.[8]

The suicide rate among Chinese is an index of the misery: half the registered suicides in 1862 were Chinese. In 1891, Gonzalo de Quesada y Aróstegui, a radical politician, described conditions on the island:

> In desperation they hung themselves from the trees, dressed in their best clothes; they threw themselves into the wells, into the rivers; suicide ended their martyrdom. Later they made up their mind to sell their lives dearly and uprisings commenced; with their agricultural implements, with their hoes they gave death to owners and overseers. Unfortunates! On landing they had not seen the bayonets, the uniformed soldiers.[9]

If estimates are correct, fewer than 40 per cent of Chinese *contratados* lived to complete their terms of service.[10] Large numbers fled the estates. In the early years, most were caught, but later runaways joined the rebel *mambises* struggling for independence from Spain. The Chinese *mambises* gained a reputation for fearlessness in the first War of Independence (1868–78), known as the Ten Years' War, in which 200,000 people died.[11] According to one estimate, the Chinese rebels numbered between 2,000 and 5,000, reinforced by Chinese rearguard supporters.[12] They were said to have included former followers of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom 太平天国 (founded in Nanjing by rebels against the Qing in 1851 and not suppressed until 1864), who participated in the Cuban risings and, in some cases, achieved recognition as 'officers of distinction'. Others who had been bandits in China also rose in the rebel ranks.[13] At one point, fugitive 'maroons' accounted for 20 per cent of all Chinese.[14]

The Chinese were prized for their loyalty to the rebel cause. In the second year of the war, in 1869, Captain Liborio Wong (Wong Seng), a herbal doctor, displayed 'exemplary courage' as adjutant to General Modesto Días in the battle

for Bayamo. Other Chinese who joined the liberation forces and rose to officer rank included José Bu Tack 胡德, José Tolon 赖华, Alfredo Lima 林添, and Juan Chao Sen 周云亭.[15] Whole battalions under Brigadier Julio Sanguily consisted exclusively of Chinese.[16] Their contribution to the siege of the Manzanillo garrison in 1873, famed as '*el ataque de los chinos*', was legendary. The Chinese role in the struggle for Cuban independence is celebrated in a monument in Havana on which are inscribed the words of Gonzalo de Quesada, general of the Cuban Liberation Army: '*No hubo un chino cubano desertor, no hubo un chino cubano traidor*' (there was not one Cuban Chinese deserter, not one Cuban Chinese traitor).[17]

The signing of the Pact of Zanjón in February 1878, at the end of the Ten Years' War, brought peace but not independence. From a rebel point of view, a main concession was the clause promising 'liberty to the slaves or Asiatic settlers today in the ranks of the insurgents'. Not all rebels accepted the peace. In 1879, exiled survivors returned to Cuba from abroad to wage the *Guerra Chiquita* (Little War), in which scores of Chinese veterans of the Ten Years' War participated, including around 80 in the Remedios area. This new insurrection was defeated by the Spanish in 1880.[18]

The planters lost much of their labour force as a result of the rebellions and of workers dying in servitude. To remedy the deficit, the authorities passed a law of obligatory recontracting. Many Chinese *contratados* were forced back onto the estates even after the expiry of their eight years' indenture. Whereas Chinese in most parts of the Caribbean had become artisans, farmers, shopkeepers, and small traders by the late 1880s, more than half the 14,863 left in Cuba in 1899 were day labourers, while servants greatly outnumbered merchants.[19]

In 1895, at a time of economic distress, Cubans launched a new War of Independence, inspired by the poet and journalist José Martí (1853–95) and led by Máximo Gómez and Antonio Maceo. The rebels seized control of most of the country. At the end of the fighting, the population of Cuba had fallen by around 60,000 and the economy was in ruins.[20] An unknown number of veteran Chinese *mambises* took part, and some achieved high rank in the rebel army. Others played a supporting role, by carrying messages, providing economic help, or buying medicine, food, and clothes for the guerrillas.[21] In 1898, the United States forced Spain to withdraw from Cuba and remained as an army of occupation until May 1902, when the Republic came into being.[22]

Chinese support for Cuban independence dovetailed with Martí's support for the Chinese struggle against injustice and colonialism everywhere. Unlike Marxists in nineteenth-century North America, Martí's pan-american vision did not exclude Chinese migrants from the idea of unity and internationalist solidarity. During his years of exile in the United States, Martí defended Chinese migrants against racist attacks, including by white workers, and wrote sympathetically about the Chinese experience in China itself and about life and politics in India, Japan, and Vietnam. He likened the Chinese Exclusion Act (passed in 1882) to 'rending the generous [US] Constitution . . . with a dagger' and denounced the 'mortal duel between a city [San Francisco] and a race', calling it 'the rancour of

the strong against the clever'. In other articles, he wrote admiringly and in detail about Chinese music, food, and theatre. He also wrote about the Chinese in Cuba – their demography and ill-treatment – and valued the writings about them by his 'beloved friend' Gonzalo de Quesada y Aróstegui.[23]

Cuba and the Chinese revolutionary tradition

The Chinese revolutionary tradition in Cuba is said to have had three main sources in China and its diaspora. According to Cuban studies, veterans of the Taiping Rebellion joined in the resistance to the crimps and the Cuban planting interest. Radical politics and tactics were again introduced to the Chinese community by 5,000 Chinese diasporans fleeing the United States between 1860 and 1875 to escape anti-Chinese laws and the general climate of sinophobia. (A forerunner of the nationalist Chee Kung Tong 致公堂 had been set up by Siyinese in San Francisco as early as 1852.[24]) These relatively affluent newcomers, known as the Californians, also laid the foundations in Havana for the Cuban Chinatown, the *barrio chino*.[25] Finally, in the early twentieth century, young immigrants fired up by the nationalist and communist movements in China brought the Chinese revolutionary movement in Cuba up to date with new ideas and methods.

A Taiping connection is widely claimed by Cuban scholars and by a few western scholars who have worked on the subject, but they do not seem to support their claims with reliable evidence. One recent Cuban study maintains that Taipings who joined the armed struggle in Cuba were purchased by Nicolás Tanco Armero, Havana's main labour agent in China, who made a fortune trafficking Chinese workers. However, it provides no evidence for the assertion.[26] Juan Pérez de la Riva, a distinguished Cuban historian who rarely wrote anything without saying why, claimed that 'mandarins on the coast' sold the labour agents thousands of Taiping prisoners as slaves, but he too fails in this case to give sources.[27] How then to explain the claims? They can be understood in part as acts of ideological faith, inspired in the early 1960s by a wish to establish solidarity and identity between Cuban history and China's revolutions. However, there are scattered indications in nineteenth-century documents and memoirs that some former Taipings did end up abroad, and further work in Chinese and foreign archives would undoubtedly bring more such evidence to light. In Cuba, Captain Bartolo Fernández's rebel troops at Camagüey included 500 Chinese, among them Captain Juan Sánchez (also known as Lam Fu King), who 'had been a soldier in China during the insurrection of [the Taiping leader] Hong Shan Chong [洪秀全 Hong Xiuquan], and knew warfare'.[28] Another group of peasants with Taiping connections emigrated to nineteenth-century Sabah (then North Borneo).[29] Obviously, the imprint of a movement as deep-seated and expansive as the Taipings, which convulsed south China for more than a decade, cannot have been easily erased from the region and its people, including its emigrants, and the claims of a significant Taiping presence in the rebel army are unlikely to be entirely without foundation.[30]

The arrival after 1860 of the Chinese 'Californians' had a profound effect on

the Chinese Cuban population. It roughly coincided with the conversion of some indentured Chinese labourers into free workers, many of whom went to the towns, principally Havana. Californian Chinese traders with capital to spend were able to take advantage of the presence in Cuba of a cheap Chinese labour force. Commerce flourished in the *barrio* and an urban Chinese community formed, with a growing range of social, political, and cultural institutions.[31] By the end of the century, a new social layer with wealth, polished manners, and a good education dominated Chinatown.[32]

Cuban studies judge the Californian injection to have harmed social relations among Chinese Cubans. This thesis is developed at length by Pérez de la Riva, who argues that the new class, 'a hybrid mixture of americanism and orientalism, heavily impregnated with the capitalist spirit', led to the destruction of communal unity and the introduction of antagonistic class interests and divisions. Although they brought new shops, banks, and offices to the *barrio*, and thus new employment, the newcomers exploited the freed Chinese workers and demoralised them by introducing gambling and 'destroying, by whatever means were in their reach, the revolutionary tradition of the early days'.

In the *barrio*, Chinese formed gangs of workers, the so-called *cuadrillas*, which served as boltholes for escapers from the plantations and were banned in 1871. However, they revived in 1878, at the end of the Ten Years' War, and especially in 1886, when slavery was abolished on the island. These *cuadrillas*, together with the *barrio* itself, were an autonomous niche in which Chinese could develop their own politics and associations. From another angle, the *cuadrillas* system increased the power of the Californians. Pérez de la Riva compares them unfavourably with the Afro-Cuban *abakuá* or *ñañigos*, fraternities open to people of all provenance, not just Afro-Cubans, and endowed with a 'profound solidarity' of the sort he believed had characterised early Chinese Cuban social relations.[33]

In the early twentieth century, new Chinese migrants reached Cuba despite prohibitions on immigration imposed (under US scrutiny) in 1899.[34] Several thousand arrived between 1903 and 1916, using loopholes that allowed merchants, students, and tourists into the country.[35] Up to 20,000 others came between 1917 and 1921 to work in the sugar industry, where a boom drove up the demand for labour. In the 1920s and 1930s, a further 5,000 arrived.[36] Even so, official prohibitions, restrictions on return migration, and discriminatory employment laws combined to halve the Chinese population, from 60,000 in 1922 to 30,000 in the early 1930s.

Few Chinese who turned up in Cuba in the first three decades of the twentieth century had any political experience or affiliation. In Cuba, they worked and saved, hoping to set up small businesses. The lives of many slowly improved, although their income rarely extended to funding a journey home. The Chinese commercial elite was politically conservative, but a growing minority of employees and petty entrepreneurs began sympathising with the nationalist Guomindang.[37]

As part of the community's growing polarisation, the elite of Chinese importers, bankers, and large-scale retailers set up a Cámara de Comercio China (Chinese

Chamber of Commerce) in 1913, which excluded the more numerous small traders, launderers, and market-gardeners. Although it later widened its social base to include the less rich, it remained under the control of the old elite.[38]

Before 1959, more than 80 Chinese associations formed in Cuba, mostly clan-style organisations based on surname or place of origin in China. The Chung Hwa Casino 中华总会馆 (Chinese Guild), set up in 1893, was a welfare organisation sponsored by the Chinese Embassy but controlled by the commercial elite. In 1902, the Hongmen Chee Kung Tong 洪门治公堂 was formed in response to a call by the Chee Kung Tong in the United States, with an initial membership of around 250. At first, it drew support from the Triads. Later, it became associated with the Guomindang.[39] The clans became particularly numerous in the 1920s – of the 35 registered between 1900 and 1929, 26 dated from 1920–29.[40] Also controlled by the community elite, they were symptomatic of the decline in broader forms of solidarity among the Chinese, epitomised by the *mambí* tradition.

Ethnic Chinese and Cuban communism

In China, Sun Yat-sen's alliance with the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) led to the Guomindang's reorganisation along Leninist lines in 1923. An Overseas Section was set up to extend this reorganisation to the Guomindang's foreign branches. Leftists were well represented in this section. Among its overseas emissaries, Dong Fangcheng 董方城 was sent to Cuba, where he sidelined the old leadership of the Guomindang branch and recruited more than 1,000 new members.[41] His purge of rightists paved the way for a further revival of radical politics in the Chinese community.

The main leftwing force on the island in the 1920s was the Partido Comunista Cubano (Cuban Communist Party, PCC). No full study of the early Chinese contribution to it has yet been published, so this analysis is based on fragmentary sources. Set up in 1925 by Julio Antonio Mella and others, the PCC was largely a party of immigrant workers and intellectuals. The Comintern does not seem to have played a prominent part in its founding. Its predecessor groups were already in touch with the Mexican Communist Party and, by way of some Polish Jews (principally Fabio Grobart), with European communists. Like the Chinese in Berlin and the Jews in North America, the Cuban Jews ran a foreign-language section in the PCC's early years, using Yiddish.

Anti-imperialism was a central plank in the PCC's founding platform. In June 1925, Mella set up the Cuban branch of the Liga Anti-Imperialista (LAI), an organisation of 'progressive intellectuals' and a section of the Liga Anti-Imperialista de las Américas (LAIA). Despite its obvious parallels with Münzenberg's AIL, to which it was connected through the international political logic of the Comintern, Cuba's LAI preceded the Berlin initiative and seems at first to have been organisationally separate from it.[42] In 1924, the Comintern had authorised the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) to organise and coordinate anti-imperialist activity in the Americas. The Mexicans were the first to take the baton. The LAIA's journal,

El Libertador, published in Mexico City from 1925 to 1928, carried news from all over the region and the world.[43]

Recent research in the PCC archive in Havana by Mauro García Triana shows that the Cuban Guomindang (and the Chinese Casino) made financial contributions to the newly founded LAI in 1925, an extraordinary act of internationalist solidarity by the Chinese, perhaps in response to Mella's offer of a role in directing the LAI.[44] By the late 1920s, Chinese formed an 'important nucleus' in the PCC.[45]

In February 1926, Mella was deported to Mexico. The Spanish American communists knew of Münzenberg's plans for an AIL, and Mexico's Liga Nacional Campesina sent Mella to the AIL's founding congress in February 1927. While in Europe, he also attended the Fourth Congress of the Red International of Labour Unions (RILU).[46] China was the AIL's main focus, and supporting the Chinese Revolution was a priority for communists throughout the world, including in Cuba. At an early meeting, on 14 July 1925, members resolved to include in the Directorate 'one member to be appointed by the Kuo Min Tang [Guomindang]'.[47]

Before the 1930s, the PCC received little income from its impoverished members and could afford only one full-timer. Partly as a result, its contacts with the Comintern were erratic. Mella's trip to Europe helped to overcome this isolation. The Brussels congress implicitly endorsed Mella's LAI initiative and the salience given by the PCC to minorities. An 'ethnic turn' suited the PCC well: it was founded by immigrants, and ethnic communities – blacks, mulattos, and Chinese – offered a path into the sugar workforce, where the urban-based PCC lacked influence. The AIL's China campaign was another happy coincidence, given the strategic importance of Cuba's Chinese community and its role in the independence wars.

Whereas the PCC's international ties were at first tenuous, the Chinese Cubans were well connected. They had close links with the left wing of the Guomindang in China, then dominated by the communists. Because of these links, they were able to sharpen the PCC's understanding of international affairs, by providing a Comintern perspective.

Among overseas Chinese elected to the Guomindang's Second Congress in Guangzhou in January 1926 was Mai Xinghua 麦兴华 from Cuba. Later in the year, Cuba's leftist Guomindang branch joined with Cuban students' and workers' groups in the LAI to support the Guangzhou–Hong Kong workers' strike, for which it collected US$20,000. Not long after, it raised several thousand more dollars to support the Northern Expedition.[48] Chinese communists in Cuba were also in touch with their comrades in Europe, who sent them *Chiguang* 赤光 (Red Ray) and other publications and kept up a correspondence with them.[49]

In 1928, after Chiang Kai-shek turned against the communists in China and the Cuban Guomindang became increasingly conservative and authoritarian, Chinese radicals in Cuba in 1928 founded the Alianza Revolucionaria Protectora de los Obreros y Campesinos 美洲华侨拥护工农革命大同盟 (Revolutionary Alliance of Overseas Chinese in America Protecting the Workers and Peasants), a labour

organisation described as inspired by the left wing of the Northern Expedition. Its leaders included José Wong (黄淘白, also written Woong), Luis Li 李巨之, Julio Su-leng 苏子伦, Juan Mok 黄右平, Mario Eng San 吴魂醒, Ángel Wong 黄成之, Pedro Lei 李于行, Luis Lei 李社通, and other Chinese leftists. José Wong, originally a member of the CCP, had fled to Cuba from Guangzhou in 1927 at the height of the Guomindang repression and joined forces with Mella and Rafael Trejo, a student leader at the University of Havana Law School.[50] A fruiterer by trade, he also worked for a Chinese-language newspaper in Havana. Although not formally part of the PCC, the Alianza had strong links with it: José Wong, Luis Li, and Julio Su-leng became members in 1928–29. In a standard PCC history, Lionel Soto describes Wong as 'a communist militant and collaborator of the DOI' (Defensa Obrera Internacional, the Cuban section of Workers' International Relief).[51] The Alianza published two clandestine newspapers, *Grito Obrero-Campesino* 工农呼声 (Workers and Peasants' Voice) and *Semanario Defensor de la Patria* 救国周报 (National Salvation Weekly), which circulated throughout Cuba. It had branches in Havana and parts of the central and oriental regions.

The Alianza's strategy was to win Chinese to the PCC's 'anti-imperialist democratic struggle'. It was driven underground by Gerardo Machado's regime of 'tropical fascism', after Machado's men gunned down Mella in January 1929. Luis Li and three other Chinese communists were arrested in 1929 and deported. Machado intended to send them back to China, to be delivered to the Guomindang, but they managed to slip ashore in Japan, where they took refuge.

The following year, in 1930, the Machado government's decision to close down Cuba's two main workers' organisations, the Confederación Nacional Obrera de Cuba and the Federación Obrera de la Habana, triggered the island's first general strike. Leaders of the Alianza joined in the action and set up branches in Chinese communities throughout the island. At the same time, they strengthened their ties with radical Chinese elsewhere in the Americas. In May 1930, José Wong was arrested together with Fabio Grobart and other members of the PCC's Central Committee (of which Wong himself was not actually a member). In Havana's Príncipe Prison, Wong is said to have given secret lectures on Marxism–Leninism and to have taught his Cuban comrades some Chinese. Some non-Guomindang members of the Chinese Cuban community and some of the less extreme Machadistas tried to arrange for Wong to be freed and deported to Honduras or Ecuador. Eventually, however, under pressure from Cuban conservatives and rightwing members of the Cuban Guomindang and with the connivance of Lin Ping, Chiang Kai-shek's representative in Cuba, an order was given for Wong's murder. Wong was moved into solitary confinement on trumped-up charges of trying to slip letters to the outside world and having a knife. Grobart and the others tried to organise a campaign in his support from prison, but the campaign failed. Wong was strangled in his cell, and his death was made to look like suicide. These blows did not put an end to the Alianza, which survived underground in Santiago, Cienfuegos, and Guantánamo.[52] However, a supporter described Cuba in a letter to Chinese comrades in Europe as 'surrounded in layers of darkness'.[53]

It is not known what role Chinese played in the workers' rising of 1933, when

a general strike in Havana and a wave of sugar strikes toppled Machado. However, many of the bulletins and manifestos issued by the PCC in the 'red days' of July–December were directed explicitly at a multinational labour force including Haitians, Jamaicans, and Chinese.[54]

The Chinese Cubans and the Chinese homeland

The later rebirth of Chinese politics in Cuba was inspired initially by nationalism. 'Foreign' labour became a hot issue in Cuba in the early twentieth century. Spanish, Polish, Chinese, and non-Cuban Antillean workers were scapegoated by some Cuban independence groups as tools of the 'gringo capitalists', a prejudice the white elite was happy to encourage. Between 1931 and 1936, sinophobes in the Cuban press denounced the Chinese as a 'yellow octopus' and 'parasites', and dozens of Chinese were murdered in the first four years of the decade.[55] The wave of anti-foreign resentment culminated in 1933 in the short-lived Grau San Martín government, when tens of thousands of black Antilleans were deported and a law was passed 'nationalising' labour, i.e. limiting 'foreign' workers in enterprises to 50 per cent of the workforce and prohibiting new appointments.[56] This campaign to 'Cubanise Cuba' drove Chinese and other immigrants into petty entrepreneurship, to escape the new law's penal impact. Chinese entrepreneurs tried to avoid the law by claiming to be each others' 'partners' rather than bosses and workers, and formed new corporative associations to defend ethnic Chinese interests. Even so, the measures took their toll of Chinese jobs. The PCC stood firm against Cuban 'chauvinism' but paid the price in some areas, where its opponents represented it as 'anti-Cuban'.[57]

The Chinese move into small enterprise went hand in hand with a reinforced emphasis on Chinese patriotism and community cohesion. New immigrants brought with them a stronger Chinese concern and identity. In 1936, on the fifth anniversary of Japan's seizure of Shenyang, Chinese immigrants issued an anti-Japanese declaration in the name of the LAI and, in November, they brought over activists from China to make propaganda for the resistance.[58] This movement received the support of non-Chinese Cuban radicals who had earlier supported the Republic in the Spanish Civil War.[59] After the start of China's Japanese War, former supporters of the old Alianza re-emerged into the open in Havana as the Cuban Overseas Chinese National Salvation Grand Alliance 古巴华侨救国大同盟, which published 救国报 (National Salvation Journal). Together with other anti-Japanese organisations, this organisation contributed US$2.4 million to the Chinese resistance – more than any other Caribbean or Spanish American Chinese community.[60] At some point in the war, it changed its name yet again, to Alianza Nacional de Apoyo a la Democracia China 古巴华侨拥护民主大同盟 (Grand Alliance of Overseas Chinese in Cuba Protecting Democracy), and published *Guanghua bao* 光华报 (Splendid Journal) in Santiago.

After the war, in 1947, the Chee Kung Tong too changed its name, to Minh Chi Tang 民治党 (Partido Democrático Chino, Chinese Democratic Party), and eventually chose, in keeping with other sections of the organisation throughout

the world, to align with the CCP in China and abroad. By 1949, it had 4,000 members, twice as many as the Cuban Guomindang. The new Alianza is said to have had 300 members at this time.[61]

Banned in 1951 as 'leftist', the Alianza changed its name for a fourth time after 1959, to Alianza Nueva Democracia China en Cuba 古巴华侨社会新民主同盟 (Chinese New Democracy Alliance in Cuba).[62] During the revolutionary war that culminated in January 1959 with the overthrow of the Batista government, Chinese Cubans participated in both the underground struggle in the towns and cities and the guerrilla *focos* in the countryside. The urban fighters included veterans such as Julio Su-leng, Ángel Ledo, Mario Eng San, Pedro Lei, Luis Lei, and Simón Chiong 蒋时梦. In the mountains, the best known Chinese Cuban was Moisés Sío Wong 邵正和.[63]

In early 1960, after a short honeymoon between the Castro government and parts of the Chinatown elite, members of the Alianza Nueva Democracia China set up a Milicia Popular China, Brigada José Wong 古巴华侨革命黄淘白民兵队 (Chinese Popular Militia, José Wong Brigade), named after the Chinese communist murdered in prison in 1930. The militia, led by Raúl Wong 王悦尧, Joaquín Chong 钟文创, Pedro Eng Herrera 吴帝胄, Rufino Alay Chang 邓国旋, Fausto Eng 吴进祥, and others, seized the Guomindang seat in Havana and raised the red flag of the People's Republic of China (PRC) alongside the Cuban flag. The Brigade campaigned to eliminate drugs, prostitution, and illicit gambling from the *barrio chino* and helped to carry out nationalisations in 1968, when private trade (including Chinese trade) was abolished. In April 1961, it was among the forces that threw back the US-sponsored invasion by armed Cuban exiles of the Bay of Pigs. Most of the Chinese Cuban *milicianos* were absorbed into the new police force.[64] Three Chinese Cubans rose to the rank of general in Cuba's Revolutionary Armed Forces, and each later served in Angola and elsewhere overseas as part of Cuba's worldwide military aid missions.[65]

Also in 1961, the Alianza instructed the Casino (the guild that had up to then run Chinatown) to mobilise the *barrio* to take part in the sugar harvest, as part of a general government campaign. By this time, the Alianza more or less monopolised political life in the *barrio*. In 1968, it underwent a final name change to Alianza Socialista China de Cuba 古巴华侨社会主义同盟 (Cuban Overseas Chinese Socialist Alliance). By then, it had 138 members throughout Cuba, nearly half of them in Oriente – a circumstance some connect to the fact that José Wong's original Alianza had its main base in Oriente.[66]

Conclusions

The authority of the Comintern over the early PCC was apparently limited.[67] At times, the Cubans may have ignored or misconstrued Comintern directives and acted independently. However, they happily embraced anti-imperialist initiatives such as the AIL. Cuba's Chinese leftists were familiar with Comintern policies and tactics as a result of their China ties. These contacts inclined them towards the PCC, which was in any case oriented towards the island's minorities. Later, when

the anti-Japanese resistance became the main issue in overseas Chinese politics everywhere and the Comintern welcomed Chinese nationalism as a counter to the Japanese threat, the struggle of the Chinese in Cuba was subsumed into a worldwide Chinese struggle for victory over Japan.

Most of Cuba's early Chinese immigrants were Cantonese from the Siyi 四邑 counties. (According to one estimate, 40 per cent were from Taishan 台山 alone – a percentage similar to that of Chinese in the United States.[68]) All but a few worked under indenture. Subethnically and socially, they were more homogeneous than many large Chinese communities overseas. This uniformity of origin and employment created a strong bond of solidarity, reinforced by the shared experience of injustice. On the estates, they suffered the same ill-treatment as other oppressed groups. Many married black, mulatto, and white Cuban women, thus creating a *mestizo* culture.[69] Trouble often broke out when Chinese labourers were subjected to 'Negro rule' but, during the rebellions, racial divisions seemed to heal.[70] The Chinese shared other estate workers' hostility to the Spanish and backed the *mambisado*. In the early twentieth century, a drift into the towns and the arrival of free migrants, better educated and made radical by events in China, led to a new style of politics influenced by the Comintern. This new politics meshed easily with the radicalism of Cuba's Jewish and Spanish immigrants and its Chinese workers' *mambí* tradition.

5 Chinese seafarers and the European Labour movement

Europe until the second half of the twentieth century was not a place of large-scale transoceanic immigration. Its early Chinatowns, founded in part by deserting sailors,[1] did not differentiate along social class lines to the same extent as their counterparts in more mobile and open circumstances. Worker-based organisations rarely played a big role. Even though Chinatowns in Europe were largely proletarian in origin, their early associations recruited on the basis of provenance rather than of class. The slogans, even of associations with a political colouring, were transclass and nationalist rather than socialist. The gangs that operated among the sailors were based on native place ties that slotted neatly into the Chinatown social system.

Chinese seafarers on European ships

Chinese sailors first started to enlist on European ships (run by Britain's East India Company) in the late eighteenth century, when London monopolised Britain's Asia trade and Britain was on the point of becoming the world's leading manufacturer. Their numbers increased after 1813, when the East India Company lost its monopoly in India; after 1833, when the China trade was thrown open to private shipowners and free competition; and again after the repeal of the Navigation Laws in 1850, which stipulated that the merchant marine must be crewed by at least 75 per cent British. The proliferation of new 'arteries of Empire' as a result of steam navigation made Asian crews a familiar sight on British ships.

Initially, the Chinese were put ashore in London to await their return voyage and 'drink, debauch, and contract the attendant diseases'.[2] Within their dockside barracks, they were organised along lines of provenance. Chinese crews plying the British trade routes and early Chinese immigrants were independent and highly self-reliant, an enduring theme of early Chinese migration that set Chinese apart from other migrants.

The discharge of Chinese and Asian crews in Britain was forbidden in 1823, even in the case of 'imperial subjects' (i.e. residents of British colonies).[3] They were deemed by employers to be more docile than white sailors, partly because they were less addicted to strong liquor. They were amenable to discipline on

shore and shipboard as a result of self-policing by gangers, the system of 'number ones' that made trade union activity so difficult among Asian crews. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chinese seafarers on British ships were perceived by most white trade unionists and socialists as cheap, biddable labour and potential strike-breakers (although the threat they were said to present was out of all proportion to their actual numbers).[4] Later, however, they developed an equally widespread reputation for ungovernability.

In the First World War, the employment of non-white seafarers on British ships grew quickly, to replace white merchant seafarers redeployed into the Royal Navy and sacked 'enemy aliens'.[5] Before the war, the National Union of Seamen (NUS) had campaigned together with the racist Navy League and the British Brothers League against the hiring of Asian seafarers, but in 1914 the agitation was suspended. In 1916, the new Ministry of Shipping announced national wage rates, but 'Chinese, Asiatics and Coloured ratings' who had previously worked below the standard rate were excluded. No few Lascar and Chinese seafarers deserted to take advantage of the war-induced labour shortage by signing on again for higher pay.[6]

After the war, thousands of Chinese seafarers were repatriated, partly as a result of British sailors' 'very considerable feeling' against them. However, government ministers foresaw labour shortages and were therefore less firmly opposed than the unions to employing Chinese.[7]

Chinese ratings on British ships received far less pay than their white counterparts, a practice enshrined in legislation by the Merchant Shipping Acts of 1894 and 1906, and fewer, smaller benefits. At the start of the twentieth century, Chinese and other Asians who signed on in Far Eastern ports received between one-fifth and one-third of the white wage. In port, they were denied the extra payments towards the cost of board and lodgings made on discharge to British seafarers.[8]

The internal structure of the Chinese seafaring community was dominated by the Chinese shipping-master (or crimp), who superintended the signing-on and discharging of seafarers; and the boarding-master, who kept the boarding houses in which they lodged between voyages.[9] The crimping system was generally abolished in Europe in the nineteenth century, after public criticism by seafarers, journalists, and social reformers led to the passing of new laws. The campaign to stamp it out was aided by enlightened shipowners and charity organisers, who set up clubs and hostels in the ports to keep the seafarers out of disreputable hands.[10]

Exceptionally, the crimping system was kept in being to recruit and accommodate Chinese passing through European ports. The anti-crimping law depended for its effect on seafarers cooperating with its provisions. However, few Chinese spoke English well enough to act for themselves in dealing with employers. Their welfare in port was not served by the institutions available to European sailors, so they were in no position to dispense with crimps. Boarding houses run by and for Chinese continued to act in the old ways, even after crimping had largely vanished from the lives of other seafarers.

Although the British authorities tried to preserve the appearance of even-

handedness in their treatment of Chinese ratings, in truth they were in no hurry to dispense with the role of contractors and intermediaries in managing Chinese crews worldwide, although they were evidently ashamed to be seen to approve it. Sng Choon Yee, Chinese Assistant to the Secretary for Chinese Affairs in Malaya, revealed in an interview in Singapore in 1981 that the British privately communicated to him their insistence that no measures should be taken against the system of contractors, which they felt gave employers a handle on otherwise unruly Chinese crews. Sng was forced to give up his attempt to end the practice, although he saw it as discriminatory and exploitative.[11] So the ghettoisation of the Chinese seafarers was more a product of official British practices than of Chinese ethnic exclusiveness.

The Chinese shipping-master received from the shipping company a commission of 5 per cent of each recruit's monthly wage. He took another cut from the seaman himself, who had to pay even more if he wanted a better job on board. The greater part of the shipping-master's profit came from accommodating and victualling the seafarers. The actual cost of providing quarters was minimal, for large numbers of seafarers could be packed into the sparsely furnished dormitories.[12] Facilities typically included a shop, a gambling den, and an opium den, where the seafarers ran up further debts while awaiting ship. These debts were usually settled from the advance note given the sailor by the company when he signed on. The methods employed by the shipping-masters and the companies they worked for had much in common with the 'coolie trade' in China, where local crimps recruited or entrapped labourers on behalf of Chinese brokers or foreign agents. The brokers and agents held them in crimping houses or barracoons before sending them overseas. After arriving overseas, labourers had to repay the credit (with interest) or serve out the terms of the indenture.

Unlike white workers, very few Chinese seafarers found employment on European ships as freestanding individuals. Most were recruited in gangs as part of a package deal. Chinese shipping-masters controlled the entire process of recruitment, including negotiating the sailors' wages. They took all the usual commissions, including a month's wages to 'cover costs'.

On shipboard, the gang was in the hands of the Chinese number one, appointed to this post by the shipping-master (at a price). The number one was responsible for distributing tasks among the Chinese crew, who paid him to get the least unattractive assignments in what was generally a place of suffering. In this way, he recouped his own payment to the shipping-master at the gang's expense, while at the same time accumulating a tidy additional sum.

The Chinese ratings were chiefly employed as stokers and firemen, feeding and trimming the fires for the boilers of the ship's steam engines. The qualities that recommended Chinese workers above their European colleagues for this employment were summed up in 1911 by a Dutch socialist politician, writing in the seafarers' journal: the Chinese worker was 'class-unconscious, stone-cold sober, highly adaptable, climate-proof, a willing worker, a non-striker, and highly frugal'.[13] Tending the furnace was punishing work, particularly in the tropics, where the temperature in the stokehold could reach 55 degrees Celsius. Other Chinese

worked as trimmers. The job of the trimmer, who received less pay than the stokers and the firemen, was to shovel and fetch coal from the bunkers, on wheelbarrows. At sea, his journey to the stokehold steadily lengthened, as the nearer piles of coal in the unventilated bunker were consumed.

The Chinese who worked for British, French, American, and other shipping companies in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were not tied to one port, even within Europe, but switched from place to place at the convenience of the companies. In 1911, Blue Funnel ships belonging to Rotterdam's Stoomvaart Maatschappij Oceaan (Ocean Steam Ship Company), part of the Liverpool-based Holt fleet, imported Chinese stokers and trimmers from London's East End to break a seafarers' strike.[14] During the First World War, in a remarkable (but, from the Chinese sailors' point of view, politically insignificant) act of flag-switching between the Central Powers and the Entente, several hundred Chinese changed berth from Hamburg to London by way of neutral Rotterdam, where a London-based Chinese broker recruited them to the British fleet. (After the armistice, the labour flow reversed, from Britain back to Germany.)[15]

Feeding and trimming the furnaces and bringing in the coal were jobs suitable only for young men. By the age of 35, most stokers, firemen, and trimmers were no longer up to such work and tried to transfer to less back-breaking engine room occupations. The jobs most sought after by older Chinese were those of the greaser, who cleaned and lubricated the machinery, and the donkey-man, who tended the smaller and less demanding donkey engines that fed the boilers of the propelling engines.

One way out of the ocean-going hellhole was to jump ship and seek work ashore. Among the Chinese who deserted and sought a living in British ports were no few burnt-out sailors, together with younger men who could no longer tolerate the abuses and cupidity that Chinese sailors experienced on all sides, not least from their compatriots. Even ashore, the shipping-master's power was unrelenting. The boarding-masters were not just crew contractors and shopkeepers, but de facto rulers of the land-based community.[16] The sailors' poor English combined with the racist practices of local trade unions and employers to rule out the prospect of a job in the main economy. The boarding houses and the incipient Chinatowns offered some scope for employment – as managers, accountants, cooks, washermen, and sundry drudges – but such jobs usually went to the shipping-master's kinsmen.

The number of Chinese jumping ship in Britain fluctuated from year to year. In the first three months of 1907, a commission established that 1.5 per cent of Chinese seafarers passing through Liverpool deserted, representing 'an accession of 84 Chinamen yearly from this source alone'.[17] The percentage of absconders grew along with the Chinese settlement, for a denser population offered more opportunities to duck from sight and find work and lodgings. During the depression years starting in 1929, the number of deserters dwindled, but it rose again after 1939, both in Britain and, in far greater numbers, among Chinese crews on British ships docking in New York.

The shipping-masters ran their dockside empires by wielding ties of kinship

or provenance, usually commensurate with dialect. The Ng 吴 brothers controlled two of Europe's principal Chinese settlements, in Limehouse and Rotterdam. The London branch, headed by Ng Ah Fook, acted as agent for four British shipping companies, including Anglo-Saxon Petroleum, and one of the big Norwegian companies. Dutch police files reveal that Ng Ah Fook was a member of the police athletics association in London and had a weapons permit. The Ng empire was transnational in the early twentieth century, with additional branches in Singapore, Marseilles, Amsterdam, and Willemstad in Curaçao. Ng strongmen controlled a Bao'an 宝安 association that stretched across the European ports. Membership conferred various privileges, including a reduction in the amount paid in commission to the shipping-master.[18]

Chinese trade unions in Europe in the early years

The history of trade unionism and labour radicalism among Chinese seafarers in Europe dates back to the start of the twentieth century and is probably almost as old as that of the seafarers' movement in China itself. Trade union activity by Chinese in British ports was first mentioned in November 1906, echoing that in southern Chinese ports, where, in February 1906, Sun Yat-sen had directed his followers to agitate for labour unity and recruit workers to his Revolutionary League.[19]

That the trade union idea spread to Chinese in Britain at such speed demonstrates Sun Yat-sen's galvanic power. The early labour movement in China developed in close step and mutual interaction with Chinese labour outside China. In the late nineteenth century, seafarers with experience on foreign ships started going home to work in China's fledgling industries. With their patriotic enthusiasm and knowledge of trade union practices, they contributed to the creation of China's modern workers' movement.

Seafarers returning from abroad played a key role in armed risings staged by Sun Yat-sen's supporters. In 1911, in response to a call for help from Wuhan, where the Xinhai Revolution 辛亥革命 that brought in the Republic was imminent, a couple of dozen who had worked on British warships hurried north to join the Cantonese Overseas Chinese Dare-to-Die Corps 华侨敢死队. Some were martyred in the venture.[20]

In Liverpool and London before, during, and after the First World War, Chinese seafarers engaged briefly in class-based activities to match the revolutionary mood of the times. In 1911, Chinese in Liverpool 'organized themselves to cope with the antagonism of the British sailors'.[21] In 1916, the Chinese Seamen's and Firemen's Association appeared in Liverpool, more or less contemporaneously with the efforts by seafarers in Hong Kong and Guangzhou to organise under Deng Zhongxia 邓中夏. In the spring of 1918, the Chinese Labour and Seamen's Union campaigned in London to break the boarding-masters' monopoly on recruiting labour.[22] These two organisations may have been connected with the party branch that Sun Yat-sen is said to have established among Chinese seafarers on foreign ships in 1914 (to help carry messages overseas) or with the Seamen's

Mutual Benefit Society (later renamed the Chinese Seamen's Philanthropic Society), which he sponsored at around the same time.[23]

British radicals also had a hand in the Chinese agitation. Liverpool socialists who believed in internationalism and saw foreign seafarers as their potential allies worked hard to influence foreign crews as a way of overcoming racial divisions in the fleet and reaching out to the crews' home ports. Worldwide, radical seafarers' unions affiliated with the Wobblies spread the idea of industrial unionism and international labour solidarity between 1913 and the mid-1920s.[24] This interaction, in Liverpool and the Americas, was an antecedent of more effective measures in the Comintern years.

From an opposite direction, individual Chinese socialists and radicals sometimes played a role in British labour organisations. In Liverpool, Lee Foo, identified as 'local secretary of the Chinese Seamen's Union', was a member before the First World War of the International Club, an anarcho-syndicalist organisation associated with Jim Larkin, the Liverpool Irish workers' leader.[25] In London, Fung Saw was chosen as Labour's prospective parliamentary candidate in Holborn in 1927.[26] Other Chinese internationalists were active in leftwing British parties and in the trade unions, where they strove to represent Chinese and ethnic Chinese interests and gained experience in organising and agitating.

Although parts of the British workers' movement attacked Chinese and other immigrants for 'stealing white jobs', its internationalists identified with the Chinese cause. Such a political tie was less evident in Southeast Asia, where the labour movement was underdeveloped and the Chinese community itself was more variegated and more liable to be controlled by the business elite.

Chinese seafarers in Europe and the Chinese Revolution

Seafarers continued to play a momentous role in the later stages of the Chinese Revolution, not unlike the 'seeding machine' to which Mao Zedong 毛泽东 compared the Long March. In 1923, when the Guomindang's European Branch came into being, 16 first stewards and sailors on board five French postal liners comprised its second biggest group of recruits, according to a letter to Sun Yat-sen by Wang Jingqi 王京岐, a party organiser in Europe. Wang added that these people were 'prepared to do certain things' for the party – a comment that Marilyn Levine and Chen San-ching interpret as a possible secret reference to the purchase of weapons for shipment to China. He also said that their leader, Sun Abao, was prepared to recruit other first stewards 'from more than thirty English and German ocean liners to join this party'.[27]

Sun Yat-sen described the seafarers' contribution to the party cause: 'Wherever they touched port, they spread the news to resident overseas Chinese, propagated our proposals, collected funds, and performed meritorious deeds never to be obliterated'.

Chinese seafarers played a similar role on behalf of the Comintern. The biographer of Liao Chengzhi 廖承志, who worked for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in Europe, explained their uses:

> The Comintern's decisions and directives were brought [to Berlin] by passenger vessel. Letters to Comintern Executive member Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 and reports to the Comintern and the [Chinese] party centre drafted for the [KPD's] Chinese-language section by Qu . . . were also distributed across the world by oceangoing vessels sailing out of Hamburg. There were communist parties in many countries, but most were underground. Whether you compare them to scattered islands, unyielding fortresses, or foundation stones in the mansion of communism, the progressive seafarers who plied the world's ports were their steel bridge, constructed from their faith and flesh and blood. Like the human nervous system, they punctually relayed commands; like the system of veins and arteries, they transmitted vital forces and nutrients to the cells and organs.[28]

Seafarers' unions also helped to shape the land-based Chinese community, nurture its political consciousness, and strengthen its ties to China, the Chinese diaspora, and Chinese migrant labour worldwide. The link is exemplified by Liao Chengzhi, who led the Chinese seafarers' movement in Europe in the late 1920s and early 1930s and was a lifelong torchbearer for Chinese overseas.[29]

The Chinese Seamen's Union 中华海员工业联合总会 (CSU), founded in Hong Kong in March 1921, was the biggest and longest lasting of these organisations.[30] In the mid-1920s, its leftwing leaders strove to win support among Chinese seafarers in European ports for the Guangzhou–Hong Kong workers' strike. Ethnic Chinese seafarers in Southeast Asia also joined the campaign. In 1926, newspapers reported fraternising between Chinese seafarers in United States ports and local communists, who called for international solidarity.[31]

In May 1927, after the collapse of the united front in China, the CSU's Guangzhou branch was closed down and its headquarters were transferred to Shanghai, where the new Guomindang authorities could control it more easily.[32] However, a rebel faction survived in secret, claiming 300–400 members in 1933. In the 1920s and the early 1930s, Red International of Labour Unions (RILU) activists tried to organise Chinese seafarers working the European lines, but they were relentlessly harassed by the boarding-masters, the shipping authorities, and the police. In China itself, the CSU suffered repeated blows in the early 1930s, when a combination of its own extremist tactics and government terror frightened off potential recruits. In 1936, it was incorporated into the Guomindang's 'labour front' of yellow unions.[33]

Activists tried to counteract the decline by mobilising Comintern resources, including those of European communist parties and the RILU. Chinese seafarers' leaders attended RILU congresses in the Soviet Union and in 1931 the Shanghai seafarers' leader Zhu Baoting 朱宝庭 went to work at its headquarters in Russia for two years. Around 1930, the RILU set up a Seamen's and Dockworkers' International (usually called the Seamen's International) with its headquarters in Hamburg and bureaux in Hong Kong and Singapore. This organisation, working directly under the Comintern, concentrated on developing 'an alliance of workers of the imperialist countries and their colonial brothers', particularly Chinese

workers, who were a major part of the labour force and received just a fraction of the white wage. It set up a Chinese Section and a Western European Branch of the CSU to cover the 30,000 Chinese shipping out of European ports.[34]

At first, Liao Chengzhi led the CSU in Europe. Liao had gone to Germany on a Chinese student scholarship in 1928, after living for a while in Moscow. During his five years in western Europe, Liao worked among seafarers in Germany, Holland, France, and Belgium. In Berlin, he edited two seafarers' journals, *Chiguang* 赤光 (Red Ray) and *Haiyuan banyue kan* 海员半月刊 (Seafarers' Fortnightly), published with help from the Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD). He later went to Hamburg, where most of his organisers were Chinese students. As a Cantonese, he found it relatively easy to gain acceptance by crews. At times, he addressed dockside rallies of more than 1,000. In late 1931 or early 1932, he was forced by police pressure to move to Rotterdam, where he set up a Chinese workers' school and continued to run the European CSU, which by then had around 100 members.[35]

Liao's student militants found conditions at sea hard and made little headway. However, Liao achieved one or two small victories. In September 1931, he led a strike on two British ships, whose crews joined the union. He also got a small amount of support from German crews. He was eventually arrested, after which he left for Moscow.[36]

In Hamburg, Min Yifan 闵一帆 took over as union organiser, with KPD help. Between 1931 and 1943, Min spent 10 years working in Chinese and foreign ports. For a while, he kept the organisation in Hamburg going and formed a party branch with 70–80 members. The Hamburg bureau did not survive the Nazi takeover in 1933, when Min and the Seamen's International moved to Holland.

In Rotterdam, the Communistische Partij Nederland (Communist Party of the Netherlands, CPN) arranged a safe house for Min and his comrades. Later, CPN agents set up a 'Chinese Sailors' Cooperative Store' as a front and introduced him to their East Indies Students' Section, which financed the shop and appointed a student with Dutch citizenship to act as legal cover. For more than three years, the back room served as a meeting place and dormitory for Min and his 'employees'. By holding down prices, the shop became popular among Chinese seafarers. Min and his staff used the opportunity to infiltrate the boarding houses and spread propaganda. Local Dutch communists also patronised the enterprise. From its secret base, the union successfully resisted an attempt to cut Chinese wages. Chinese union members in the city used pistols to intimidate the boarding-masters' goons and, on one occasion, the police.

The CPN ran a lively campaign in support of Chinese seafarers in the Dutch ports. Among its publications was a substantial pamphlet titled *Menschenhandel in Europa* (Human trafficking in Europe), an exposé of the system of boarding houses and shipping-masters and of the conditions under which Chinese seafarers worked.[37]

Besides campaigning to improve seafarers' wages and conditions, the RILU tried to stop war materials reaching China during the civil war of 1927–36. Communist seafarers alerted the union to military cargoes bound for China. Party

officials then secretly radioed the news round the ports, in the hope (nearly always vain) of getting the cargoes blocked.

The union's European campaign eventually came to a halt, but the work of the Seamen's International was not yet over. News of its activities spread abroad and contributed to a brief revival of the Chinese seafarers' movement in Southeast Asia. In early 1934, the communist-controlled Malayan Seamen's Union asked the RILU to send someone to Singapore to help organise the Chinese, who were the majority of seafarers in the region. The RILU sent Min Yifan. In Singapore, Min organised pickets and rallied support in Chinatown. The union's two main demands were for workers' control of the boarding houses and the abolition of labour contracting. The union claimed victory, but the 'high tide' soon ebbed.[38]

The Chinese pool in Europe in the Second World War

Far more foreigners were employed on British merchant ships on the eve of the Second World War than of the First. In 1938, 50,700 of a total workforce of 192,375 were Indians or Chinese, representing 27 per cent of seafarers on foreign-going vessels. A further 5 per cent were Indians, Chinese, and other non-whites domiciled in British ports. In all, nearly one-third of those working on British ships were non-whites, a proportion that grew through further recruitment during the war.

After the Japanese occupation of China's main ports and the outbreak of the Pacific War in December 1941, many Chinese seafarers stayed abroad. Some 20,000 joined Liverpool's Chinese pool, where Zhu Xuefan 朱学范 (better known in the west as Chu Hsueh-fan), sometime head of China's delegation to the International Labour Organisation (ILO), founded a union branch in June 1942, in the presence of the Chinese Consul. A Dutch pool of Chinese sailors also operated from Britain, independently of the British Chinese pool.[39] A few months later, with the help of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), a secret CCP branch formed in Liverpool, approved by the CCP leader Deng Fa 邓发 on a wartime visit. The communist Peng Jinyou 彭锦有 was elected union chairman in January 1943. At its wartime peak, the CSU is said to have had more than 10,000 members in Liverpool, its worldwide centre in the early 1940s.[40]

The China Campaign Committee (CCC), a united front organisation formed in 1937 by the CPGB's Arthur Clegg, played an important part in helping the seafarers' movement get under way. Sam Chen 陈天声, a Jamaica-born Chinese seafarer who settled down in Liverpool in 1929 and at some point joined the CPGB's International Committee, worked hard to spread the Help China movement to the docks.[41] He and other British-based Chinese and local communists influenced Chu Hsueh-fan (later a minister under Mao). The CCC's 'No Oil for Japanese Bombers' campaign was spectacularly supported by communist-led British dockers, who blocked Japanese cargoes in several ports. The solidarity actions spread to France and Australia, where dockers also carried out embargoes.[42] The boycott campaign continued until late 1938, when the infamous Munich Agreement put all other current political issues on the left into shadow.

Chen and Clegg drew Chinese labour into the boycott movement started by the dockers. They organised anti-Japanese actions on the streets and in the town halls, and feted Chinese seafarers rescued from sinking ships. During the Blitz, they provided help for families bombed out of Chinatown. Sam Chen was made honorary secretary of the CSU branch, whose officials stayed in touch with Clegg throughout the war.

The Chinese seafarers were freer than in earlier years. Between voyages, they lived in company hostels (set up to replace the boarding houses destroyed by bombs in May 1940) or on shipboard.[43] The accommodation was rudimentary and overcrowded,[44] but the seafarers were no longer prey to the boarding-masters.[45] They were also liberated from the shipping-masters, for they were committed for the duration of the war to a British employer and registered in British ports, an arrangement that made the old-style intermediaries redundant.

After the renunciation of extremism by the Seamen's International and other Red labour unions in the mid-1930s, the Comintern switched from confronting the reformist unions to uniting with them, as part of a general move by Moscow towards allying with liberals, and even conservatives, against Germany. The RILU's disbandment in 1937 led to a new and more successful phase of Comintern work among Chinese seafarers. In Hong Kong, the CSU resurfaced in 1937, with Min Yifan in a leading role. Nominally, it was under the control of Guomindang labour officials, who claimed authority over the CSU's 37,667 members from Chiang Kai-shek's wartime capital in Chongqing, remote from any seaport. In reality, the CSU in exile, in both the UK and Australia, was largely autonomous.[46]

As a result of the restoration of the united front in China in 1937, the CSU could work openly among Chinese crews in British ports. The British shipowners and the Ministry of War Transport were loath to deal directly with the union and did their best to sort out problems by talking with officials of the Chinese Embassy, who in turn sought the advice of the International Transportworkers' Federation.[47] Because of this interference, the CSU was less influential than it would have wished. Even so, the shipping companies could no longer so easily strike deals behind the seafarers' backs with the shipping-masters and the Chinatown elite.

The Chinese government declared war on Germany, Italy, and Japan on 9 December 1941, two days after Pearl Harbor, transforming Chinese seafarers overnight into allies of the Americans and the British. (Indians, together with Chinese from colonial Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, were theoretically at war from the start, as 'men of Empire origin'.) However, the heightened status of non-Empire Chinese crews after Chongqing's entry into the war did not automatically lead to an end to discriminatory practices.

Non-white sailors' two main grievances centred on wages and the war risk bonus, which combined to create a massive sense of injustice. The pay of Chinese seafarers engaged in Hong Kong or Shanghai in September 1939 was set at one-fifth of the British rate, rising to just over half in May 1942. War risk bonuses were not paid automatically or at a uniform rate, as they were to British seafarers.[48] Both issues led to protests, which some shipowners tried to settle by force,

and to occasional riots. The Chinese seafarers responded in 1942 by refusing to re-engage.

The seafarers were further alienated when the Liverpool police broke up a union meeting and imprisoned several union members. Officials of the Ministry of War Transport were made aware of the seafarers' deep sense of injustice, which far outweighed the issue of financial grievance. According to a memorandum, the seafarers were said to 'attach more importance to . . . equality . . . than to anything else. It has been obvious from the start that equality of War Risk money meant more to them than the cash'.[49]

Officials of the CSU, together with representatives of the Chinese Embassy and British backbench politicians of all parties, protested at the shipowners' failure to pay Chinese seafarers the same as their British shipmates. The CSU pointed out in October 1940 that around 100 Chinese had been killed on British ships since the start of the war. By March 1943, the figure had risen to 831. Another 254 had been reported missing and 268 had been notified as prisoners of war. During the Normandy landings, up to 700 Chinese are said to have died.[50]

A settlement guaranteeing 'equality of treatment' was eventually reached with the help of Chinese diplomats. Despite the agreement, however, the Chinese basic wage remained up to 30 per cent lower than its white equivalent. Moreover, war risk payments to Chinese ceased in 1945, when Chinese wages were cut from £17/17/0d to £7/17/0d, apparently with the Embassy's agreement. This measure ran counter to the agreement of 1942, which specified that war risks would continue as long as they were paid to British seafarers.[51]

Unlike the Indians, however, the Chinese had a remedy for some of the injustices they experienced. Whereas Indians could be sent home for 'causing trouble', the Chinese were stranded in Britain by the fighting and no longer ran the risk of repatriation, whether by their employers or the British government.[52] They were therefore in a better position than other non-European groups to stand firm.

The CSU campaigned for equal pay, equal treatment, and compensation for loss of effects, war injuries, and death. Previously, Chinese crews had tended to stick together along subethnic lines. Subethnic divisions sometimes continued to cramp union recruitment, and the Chinese Embassy's attempts to control the union were an additional constraint that Chu Hsueh-fan found hard to counter. However, the wartime mixing of crews made social class more relevant as a common denominator.

A wartime issue even more explosive than unequal pay was ill-treatment by British officers. The most notorious incident was the shooting dead of a dissenting seafarer in New York in April 1942 by a British tanker master. The master was arrested but released, whereas the allegedly mutinous crew was held in detention on Ellis Island. After the incident, large numbers of Chinese – sometimes as many as three-quarters of a crew – deserted whenever British vessels docked in New York. Chinese jumping ship in United States ports was nothing new – it had been a favoured method of evading the anti-Chinese exclusion acts.[53] In the war, it became rampant. In 1943, one in four Chinese seafarers on shore leave in New York deserted. A trigger was racist arrogance: the opportunity was afforded by

Chinatown, a safe haven for deserters. The ethnic Chinese economy in the United States was short of labour because of the war, when many local Chinese found employment in factories and occupations vacated by whites sent off to the front.[54] Chinatown employers snapped up willing workers off the British ships. Nearly all New York's Chinese were from Taishan in Siyi, as were many of the seafarers.[55] Some sailors even tracked down relatives and fellow villagers. But whether from Siyi or elsewhere, they were rarely at a loss for contacts and support.

The Chinese fought their corner in the war more effectively than other non-whites employed by the shipping lines. Their reputation for aggressive self-reliance reached new heights. The special circumstances under which they were employed added to it. Chinese crews were less likely than other non-white groups (excluding Lascars) to be mixed with other non-whites and therefore more likely to maintain a collective identity. China's closure and the option of jumping ship in New York and seeking sanctuary in Chinatown gave them the edge over Lascars working for the British fleet – the Lascars were employed in greater numbers (there were 40,000 on British ships in 1939), but they lacked the clout of the Chinese, who outearned them.[56]

One observer described Liverpool's wartime Chinatown as a microcosm of 'emergent nationhood', in which more modern and inclusive identities had started to emerge. The Chinese who sailed from Liverpool to keep the western approaches open helped transform British perceptions, at least for the duration of the war (and its ideology of anti-fascist solidarity). Commentators admired the sailors' pluck and self-confidence, which they saw as an overseas extension of modern change in China. This press report was representative of a new view of the Chinese worker:

> The Chinese seaman of today is very different from his predecessor of a generation ago. He is a child of the revolution and a soldier of China. Often as an engineer, fitter, joiner, repairer, he is doing highly skilled work he never did before and doing it well. He contributes without question – and sometimes without discretion – to the war funds of the Chinese Government. I was told of seamen who, returning from a long trip, subscribe the whole six months' earnings at one bang. The Chinese War Victims' Fund receives from Liverpool about £1,000 a month, most of it contributed by seamen . . .. The Chinese community in Liverpool today – the largest in Britain – is far removed from the fragment of Old Cathay, which the name of 'Chinatown' used to denote. New Chinatown is a microcosm of New China and in both, for the first time in the history of their race, all classes are welded into the common pool of emergent nationhood.[57]

But, despite this new perception and the best efforts of Chinese and British communists, interludes of transethnic and internationalist solidarity were difficult to sustain. In his memoirs, Min Yifan evoked the Marxist article of faith that 'the seafarers' movement is inherently international', yet he acknowledged that it was hard to unite workers of different races and nationalities. The companies

practised divide-and-rule, with racial distinctions between deckhands, firemen, and attendants. The Seamen's International and the CSU tried to overcome these divisions by gathering intelligence from seafarers' unions across the world and formulating an international counterstrategy, but Britain's National Union of Seamen (NUS) did little to combat remaining inequalities in pay and treatment beyond mouthing support for the CSU. Ethnic divisions were hardened by the persistence of colonial attitudes on shipboard. Chinese seafarers rarely fraternised with their white workmates. The idea of a united front of the world's anti-fascist peoples or of a colonial marine cemented to the mother country by filial loyalty in a 'people's war' was illusory (as Tony Lane shows in his study). The war led at best to a partial rejumbling of the shipboard ethnic hierarchy. In some respects, it heightened rather than lessened ethnic grievances and tensions. Chinese political issues prevailed among Chinese crews, who contributed relatively huge amounts to support the resistance to Japan.[58]

Despite the CSU's failure to create a solid and lasting internationalist alliance in the European ports, it maintained transnational ties of solidarity across oceans, including with the Chinese pool created by wartime strandings in Australia.[59] The German and Dutch communists' support for the Seamen's International and the help British and Australian communists gave the CSU were examples of class-based internationalism. Although few Chinese sailors could identify with the European war, their leaders fraternised with foreign workers' parties and cooperated with them. To that extent, their actions were internationalist as well as international. In the war, Chinese and non-Chinese leaders helped keep the sailors (and, through them, the Chinese communities) focused on the anti-Japanese resistance. Once again, there was no wall between mobilising as workers, to economic ends, and as Chinese, behind national goals.[60]

The seafarers and Chinatown

Unlike the founders of some other Chinatowns, few seafarers and refugees went to Britain or Europe harbouring grand plans. The early sailors were migrant labourers, connected with their homeland and with hometown networks in a circular flow punctuated by brief stopovers in British and European ports. The small minority that stayed to form Chinese bridgeheads remained tied to the sea, at least for a while. Although their desertion was opportunistic and unplanned, organising immigration developed into a business strategy. Until the last quarter of the twentieth century, newcomers enlisted by the old hands kept coming, either as passengers or as ratings with no intention of working the return.

Trade unions formed by migrant and transnational workers, especially seafarers, are Janus faced – they look inwards to local ethnic communities and outwards to the global seaborne fellowship and its distant ports and hometowns. Like the land-based Chinese community, the CSU strongly supported the anti-Japanese campaign. In Liverpool, both Chee Kung Tong 致公堂 and the Progress Club served as rallying points for local Chinese, service centres for the wartime pool of sailors, and a channel of communication between host society and Chinese com-

munity. The Progress Club was closely associated with the local Chinese Institute, run by agencies of the Chinese government, and had the use of official staff and buildings.[61] Also in Liverpool, *Ju Ri xunkan* 拒日旬刊 (Anti-Japanese Ten-day Journal) began appearing in 1938. Liverpool Chinese staged gong and drum performances in Chinatown and played football against local teams – the ticket money was sent back to China – while Siyinese entrepreneurs withdrew their savings to buy war bonds.[62] From 1942 onwards, National Savings Certificates worth £40,000 were sold to Chinese in the UK.[63] Articles in *Chung Hwa Chou Pao* 中华周报 (*China News Weekly*), the successor to *Ju Ri xunkan*, brimmed with patriotic sentiment and hatred of Japan. Hundreds of copies circulated around the world, including in Chongqing and the United States.[64]

In 1941, the Progress Club's new centre was opened by Wellington Koo 顾维钧.[65] The old See Yip 四邑 Association in Liverpool, moribund between the wars, was revived in 1941 under an affiliation with the Guomindang, a tie that continued until the expulsion of Chiang Kai-shek from the Chinese mainland in 1949 and the exit of his consul from Liverpool.[66] It too collected money to support the war.[67] In London, the Workers' Club 华侨互助工团 raised £7,000 (a then princely sum) in support of the Chinese government.[68]

Between 1937 and 1940, Britain's Chinese residents contributed a proportionately far greater amount to China's war effort than almost any other Chinese community overseas (see Table 5.1). It would have been greater still had it included the contributions of the seafarers, who began arriving in the early 1940s and gave even more lavishly. The volume of contributions illustrates the depth of the community's patriotism and political engagement. These transnational identifications were reinforced by the anti-Japanese campaign of the students, the seafarers, and their British friends and comrades. They confirm the point made throughout this study, that Chinese participation in international movements of workers' solidarity was a sure way of keeping political issues in China to the fore.

Table 5.1 Contributions of Chinese overseas to China's war effort, 1937–40

Place	*Total donated (in Chinese dollars)*	*Chinese population, 1934*	*Average donated per month per person*
Singapore/Malaya	125,768,003	1,709,392	1.89
Dutch East Indies	37,569,755	1,232,650	0.78
United States	50,979,103	74,954	17.44
Philippines	26,584,357	110,500	6.17
Hong Kong	11,842,119	825,645	0.37
Thailand	10,429,091	2,500,000	0.11
India and Burma	9,885,248	208,598	1.22
Vietnam	7,390,871	381,417	0.50
Australia	7,606,580	15,500	12.58
UK	5,366,707	8,000	17.20
Macao	257,770	119,875	0.06
Others	716,755	–	–
Total	294,396,358	4,059,035	1.86

Source: Liu Weisen (1999: 201).

Conclusions

Chinese seafarers have been passing through and occasionally settling in European ports for the last 200 years. Until recently, they were Europe's largest group of Chinese migrants by far. They lived a hard life, exploited by the white shipowners; bullied at sea by the white captain and his officers and by the Chinese gangers; oppressed on land by the boarding-masters, the crimps, the Chinatown elite, and the white authorities; and despised by white trade unionists, who saw them as cheap labour and potential scabs. Just like seafarers in Chinese ports, they were to the fore among their compatriots in setting up trade unions, although the trade union principle was often vitiated by divisive regional and subethnic loyalties. The progress of political organisation and trade union work among the Chinese crews replicated that among the Chinese seafaring communities in China and other parts of Asia. The seafarers influenced, and were influenced by, developments in Chinatown, where political activists sometimes struck alliances with internationalists in the white socialist and labour movement. Up until the late 1930s, European sinophobia usually precluded cooperation between Chinese and other crews, but growing awareness among radical movements in Britain, France, and elsewhere and the partial overthrow of negative stereotypes about China and the Chinese after the Japanese invasion of China in 1937 paved the way to a more inclusive view of Chinese seafarers. In the Second World War, trade union organisation revived among Chinese crews worldwide, including in Europe, after a decade of decline. Thanks in part to the help of European socialists and communists, the seafarers formed ties with white trade unions, with brother exiles in Sydney and other ports, and with political movements in China, including the communists. This proliferation of ties strengthened their bargaining hand at work and heightened their awareness of political issues both in Europe and in China. Their principal concern was with China, but an influential minority of politicised seafarers now viewed China's plight in the context of the struggle for colonial and social emancipation on a world scale. Thanks to the interwar rise in internationalist thinking and transethnic solidarity in the European and exiled Chinese labour movements, the restoration of China's sovereignty was no longer seen in isolation, as a purely Chinese affair, but was widely supported and, for a while, took the place at the top of the world left's solidarity agenda previously occupied by Spain.

6 The Spanish Civil War, 1936–39

Chinese have lived and worked in Spain for centuries, but their number never rose above a handful until the twentieth century. Although among the first colonial powers, Spain was also among the first to lose its colonial role and maritime might, so that by the time western ships brought groups of Chinese seafarers to Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was not a prime destination for would-be Chinese immigrants. The sources of Spain's Chinese community were, until recently, quite varied. Instead of forming a relatively homogeneous group, they hailed from many different backgrounds, social and geographical.

Peddlers from Qingtian 青田, who lived mainly by hawking cheap jewellery, neckties, and soapstone carvings, arrived before and after the First World War. A minority from Hubei sold paper flowers. These migrants from Zhejiang and Hubei failed to establish strong communities.[1] The first truly stable Chinese settlement in the early years was in Barcelona, where the traders were joined before the war by a handful of Chinese seafarers.[2]

Foreign volunteers in the Spanish Civil War

In July 1936, civil war broke out in Spain, after parts of the army under General Francisco Franco (1892–1975) issued a *pronunciamiento* and rose in revolt against the Republican government. Despite its profound roots in Spanish soil, the war was immediately internationalised. Franco's Falangist rebels received help from Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany in the form of troops, tanks, and planes. Spain, seen originally as an introverted and secluded country, far removed from the centre of world politics, became for a while the cockpit of the struggle between fascists and anti-fascists.

When the authority of the Republican government practically collapsed within days of the rising, workers' parties – socialists, communists, and anarchists – took to arms in its defence. The Republican Loyalists were supported by the Soviet Union, which had begun to abandon its extreme leftist foreign policy stance in 1934 and to seek alliances with western democracies against Berlin and Tokyo. At the same time, the Comintern switched from a strategy of sectarian hostility towards non-communist workers' organisations to a new Popular Front line, with

calls for a broad alliance of bourgeois and workers' parties against the fascists. A prime operator in this new approach was Willi Münzenberg, who went into exile in Paris after Hitler's rise to power and led the Comintern's political campaign in support of Madrid.

As an organisation nominally independent of the Kremlin, the Comintern could intervene in Spain where the Soviet Union itself was prevented by international agreements from doing so. Comintern sections throughout the world sprang into action. Palmiro Togliatti (1893–1964) and other communist leaders moved to Spain, where they were joined by senior Soviet generals. In September 1936, the French communist leader Maurice Thorez (1900–64) went to Moscow and recommended the dispatch of Soviet military aid and the formation of an army of Comintern volunteers. In October 1936, the International Brigades' first recruits started trickling into Spain.

Foreign militants joined Spanish fighting units even before the Comintern decision to aid Spain. A small number of foreigners already in Spain and some new arrivals joined the militias of the anarchists, the communists, and the POUM[3] (a small leftist party opposed to Stalinism). They included at least one Chinese, Zhang Changguan 张长官, who joined the anarchists.[4]

Most of the International Brigaders came from Europe or North America, but they included men and women of 53 different nationalities speaking more than a score of languages. Their mission was to act as a model of military skill and efficiency; to defend Madrid, holding the line until a new Republican army could be formed; and to serve as examples of moral and political commitment to the anti-fascist cause.[5] They formed seven brigades divided by nationality into battalions. Most recruits were communists to start with, while others became so after reaching Spain. The Soviet Union helped equip and supply the Republicans, while the International Brigades mobilised 40,000 foreign fighters and 20,000 medical staff and other auxiliaries.[6] The brigades fought well and were held up for emulation by the Republican command. Their presence probably ensured the Loyalists' survival in the first winter of the war. They withdrew from Spain in 1938, when the Soviet Union began cutting back its support for the Republic. In March 1939, the Republican government itself went into exile in France.

The International Brigades had a disproportionate number of immigrants and members of ethnic minorities. As many as one-third of the American Abraham Lincoln Brigade were Jews, and there were up to 100 blacks as well as Cubans, Puerto Ricans, and around 20 Chinese.[7] Jews were also numerous among the German and Italian volunteers.[8] According to David Diamant, they accounted for as many as one-fifth of the total – not surprising, given their prominence in the world communist movement and the fascists' anti-Semitism.[9] Immigrants and members of ethnic minorities formed a majority of Canadian volunteers.[10]

By their own testimony, the volunteers were 'marginal men, produced by the social, economic, and political upheavals of the time'. They were also mostly poor. For Europe's radical refugees and exiles from Hungary, Poland, Greece, Germany, Austria, Italy, and China, Madrid became the political Mecca in 1936. Volunteers from the four main exile nationalities (Germans, Italians, Poles, and

Hungarians) made up between 28 and 40 per cent of all volunteers, according to different calculations. Together with economic exiles – the unemployed and the displaced – they formed the majority.[11]

Chinese in Spain: the French connection

France was Europe's first and, for a while, only country of extensive transoceanic immigration, and more than 5 per cent of its population were foreign exiles by the 1930s. It recruited large numbers of foreign workers for industry before and after the First World War, among them several hundred Chinese of diverse backgrounds.[12] Many tens of thousands of Chinese arrived in the war itself, to dig trenches and keep supply lines open on the northern front, and several thousand stayed on after the peace. A second wave arrived between 1919 and 1922, when hundreds of Chinese youngsters sailed to France to study and work as part of a project organised by Li Shizeng 李石曾, a Chinese anarchist entrepreneur. In Paris, they founded a communist organisation (the Chinese Communist Youth Party 少年共产党) that later became incorporated into the Chinese Communist Party (CCP).[13] By the 1920s, France was the heartland of Chinese radicalism in western Europe.

France was the International Brigades' main channel into neighbouring Spain, also for Chinese recruits. Its Chinese community was (and still is) the oldest, richest, and biggest in continental Europe. It was socially diverse; and for a while (between the wars) some of its members became industrial workers. Its proletarian component, which has gone unremarked by Chinese scholars, is of special relevance to this study on labour internationalism.

After the First World War, most of the 150,000 Huagong 华工 recruited by the French and British to work as labourers in the factories, on the farms, and at the front in France soon returned to China, as part of a general repatriation, but around 3,000 stayed behind. A few made their way to nearby countries (including Belgium and the Netherlands), but most took labouring jobs in France.

The demobilised Huagong who stayed in France were unique among overseas Chinese communities outside Russia at the time, in that most took jobs in factories. In other countries, Chinese worked in mines, on plantations, and on the railways and aspired to graduate into commerce, a sector that many better off Chinese had already joined. Only in France did a majority join the industrial proletariat in the interwar years. Many Huagong had worked in factories in the war. The rest had been disciplined and regimented at the front, in ways that translated easily to the factory floor. Some settled in Greater Paris, where they built cars for Citroën or Renault. Elsewhere, several hundred (some of them former Huagong, others immigrants from Qingtian) went to work in a cement factory. More than 2,000 semiskilled workers found employment in the metallurgical, chemical, and mining industries. The great majority of the Chinese residents of Greater Paris in 1931 were general labourers (55 per cent) or specialised workers (37 per cent).[14]

France's Chinese proletarian communities shrank during the economic crisis of the 1930s, which affected immigrants more severely than French workers.

The number of Chinese car workers in Boulogne-Billancourt fell from 494 in 1926 to 336 in 1931 and to just 118 in 1936. Many former Huagong moved into petty trade in the 1930s, including peddling and hawking.[15] French sources show a population of 12,986 Chinese (including 139 women) in 1921, falling to 2,863 in 1926 and stabilising at between 3,660 in 1931 and 2,794 in 1936. They reveal a steady rise in the proportion of small traders, from 7 per cent in 1926 to 17 per cent in 1931 to 27 per cent in 1936.[16]

The Parti Communiste Français (French Communist Party, PCF) and its union, the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (United General Confederation of Labour, CGTU), worked hard in the 1920s and 1930s to win immigrants and promote the Comintern's international campaigns. Chinese communists in France worked closely with the PCF in the 1920s, particularly in 1926 and 1927, when the PCF staged big rallies in support of China's Northern Expedition. It is not known how many Chinese workers joined the PCF. However, some ended up in Spain, as part of its industrial contingent.[17]

Chinese radicals in France were no less aware than groups such as Kang Youwei's 康有为 Emperor Protection Society 保皇会 and Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance 同盟会 in their time of the revolutionary potential of their overseas compatriots. Between 1907 and 1927, in the 'golden age' of the Chinese press in France, Chinese students and intellectuals published a range of journals aimed at Chinese immigrant workers.[18] In October 1919, Chinese radical activists set up a Huagong Association in Paris 旅法华工会 with 63 branches and, at one point, more than 4,000 members. The association aimed to 'consolidate Chinese workers' unity, extend their knowledge, and raise the level of their material and spiritual life'.[19] In the 1920s, Li Shizeng brought out *Huagong zazhi* 华工杂志 (La gazette des ouvriers chinois, Chinese Workers' Journal) for distribution among the Huagong. Members of the Communist Youth Party also agitated among this group.[20]

In the 1930s, new journals appeared in support of China's anti-Japanese resistance and the worldwide anti-fascist struggle.[21] In 1935, Wu Yuzhang's 吴玉章 Comintern group in Paris published *Jiuguo shibao* 救国时报 (National Salvation Times), an influential party journal in the mid- to late 1930s.[22] His Paris bureau coordinated Chinese radical movements throughout the world, including in Britain and Europe. In early 1936, he told Chinese communists all over Europe to form national salvation associations on the basis of Chinese student unions (to match those formed worldwide at the time). In August 1936, he announced plans for a Pan-European Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Congress.[23] All this activity provided further grounds for the radicalisation of Chinese workers in France, alongside campaigns waged by the PCF's factory and neighbourhood branches.

Chinese in the Spanish Civil War

Of the Chinese already in Spain in 1936, most fled the fighting and either returned to China or migrated to other parts of Europe. However, a few politically minded individuals stayed on to fight for the Republic, while other Chinese arrived to

join the International Brigades. Many came from France, as part of the French communist mobilisation. Because France had a border with Spain and a relatively sympathetic Popular Front government, the PCF was assigned responsibility for smuggling volunteers of all nationalities into Spain, by land across the Pyrenees or by sea from Marseilles. The French were the International Brigades' biggest section, ranging (according to different sources) from 25 to 33 per cent of the total.[24] Chinese with a Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) connection came by way of Switzerland, where many German communists ended up after 1933. Some Chinese joined up to work rather than to fight.[25]

Memoirs and studies of the International Brigades rarely mention these Chinese volunteers.[26] The reasons for the silence are primarily political. The fate of International Brigaders in their own countries in later years was mixed. Some, for example in France, rocketed to the top of their parties after returning home.[27] In eastern Europe, veterans were denounced as 'premature anti-Fascists' by postwar communist regimes and accused of political deviancy. Some were shot.[28] The Chinese also bore a stigma, deepened by international rivalries. In the Soviet Union at the time of the Sino-Soviet split, when the accent was on Chinese treachery and chauvinism, there was no wish to celebrate Chinese internationalism. In the People's Republic of China (PRC), where Comintern ties could be fatal under Mao's regime of nationalist paranoia, little was written about the Chinese role in the Spanish war.

However, a remarkable new study by two Chinese American scientists, Nancy Tsou 倪慧如 and Len Tsou 邹宁远, reveals for the first time the extent of the Chinese contribution. The Tsous researched their book by consulting archives and publications from the period of the war and interviewing veterans. According to the Tsous, 'several dozen' Chinese went to Spain. This figure is roughly confirmed by Gao Fang 高放, a Beijing Comintern historian, who suggests that 'more than one hundred' fought in Spain.[29] Nearly all the Chinese volunteers were communists. Most came from the pockets of highly politicised Chinese students and Huagong in France.[30] Others originated from elsewhere in Europe or from Asia or the Americas. Some were workers, others were students and intellectuals.

The Chinese volunteers might have been more numerous but for developments in China in mid-1936, when the CCP was consolidating its Yan'an base and reverting to a policy of national unity after nearly a decade of class war and insurgency. Yan'an became the political destination for urban Chinese radicals who might otherwise have gone to Spain. 'Many Chinese Red Army fighters want to go to Spain to join your struggle,' Mao Zedong told the Spanish in May 1937, but could not do so because China was fighting its own war with Japan. Even so, when the volunteer Xie Weijin 谢唯进 asked whether he should stay or go back to China, Mao and Wang Ming instructed him 'to remain at the front and kill the enemy' rather than risk giving the Spanish the impression of a lack of internationalist commitment. In 1938, a silk banner addressed to the 'Chinese Detachment of the International Brigade' and signed by Zhu De, Zhou Enlai, and Peng Dehuai 彭德怀 was smuggled to Marseilles by a Chinese seafarer and sent on to Spain, a further sign of CCP approval.[31]

Apart from these and other expressions of support, the Spanish and Chinese struggles were constantly linked in CCP propaganda, just as they were in the rhetoric of the Comintern. Spain remained a front-rank issue in China – but as a source of inspiration and a metaphor and model for the resistance to Japan rather than as a Chinese communist responsibility as such. In 1938, when Chinese attention centred on defending Wuhan, the goal of a Japanese push along the Yangtse at the start of the second year of the Sino-Japanese War, the communist Wang Ming, a Moscow protégé and Mao's rival for power in the CCP, equated the defence of Wuhan with the defence of Madrid. The slogan *no pasarán* (they shall not pass) had by that time entered the vocabulary of international communism. Could it be applied in Wuhan? Mao Zedong rejected the parallel Wang Ming drew with Madrid, except as a rhetorical expedient, and defined his strategy as one of 'guerrilla warfare waged from the mountains', while Wang Ming's urban campaign faded into oblivion after Wuhan's eventual fall.[32]

Some Chinese volunteers

Xie Weijin 谢唯进 (1904–78) was drawn into politics by the May Fourth Movement of 1919, which crystallised the cultural and political aspirations of young Chinese patriots at the time. In October 1919, he went to France as part of the work–study venture set up by Li Shizeng.[33] He later visited Britain and then Germany, where he got to know Zhu De. In 1925, he joined the Chinese Communist Youth League 中国社会主义青年团 and became active in Red International Relief (MOPR). The following year, he joined the European Branch of the CCP and helped found the Anti-Imperialist League (AIL). In 1928, he transferred to the KPD's Chinese-language section and wrote for *Chiguang*, the KPD's *Rote Fahne* (Red Flag), and the Comintern's *Internationale Presse-Korrespondenz* (International Press Correspondence). In 1933, he fled to Switzerland, where he continued to work for MOPR and the KPD. In Spain, he gave as sureties the KPD in Switzerland and the Chinese section of the PCF. Under arrest in France after the retreat from Spain, he and other Chinese published *Noticias de China* (China News), a wall paper for camp inmates. After reaching China in 1940, he stayed in Chongqing, the Guomindang's wartime capital, where he worked for the CCP. In 1946, he flew with Dong Biwu 董必武 to Nanjing and helped to represent the CCP in talks with the Guomindang. He was persecuted in the Cultural Revolution for having studied abroad and married a foreigner. He was posthumously rehabilitated in 1987.[34]

Zhang Ruishu 张瑞书 (1893–1968) and *Liu Jingtian* 刘景田 (1890–?) were among the Huagong who stayed in France after 1918 and went to work for Renault, where they joined the PCF. They were part of the hundred-strong 'Renault Company' recruited to fight in Spain. The decision to go to Spain cannot have been easy. They were in their mid-forties and could not expect their jobs back. They were briefly imprisoned after returning to France in early 1939, but were freed through the intercession of French workmates, who raised their fares back to China. They reached Yan'an in November 1939 and were admitted to the CCP

the following year. Another Renault communist was *Yang Chunrong* 杨春荣 (1888–?), one of the last Chinese to arrive in Spain, aged 46. He too returned to China.

Zhang Ji 张纪 (1900–?) went to California with more than 100 other young Chinese in 1918 to study engineering. He experienced racial discrimination at college and at work. After losing his job in the Depression, he joined the Communist Party of the USA (CPUSA) in 1935 and helped to run the Help Spain movement's Chinatown branch. He went to Spain in 1937 and worked for the International Brigades as an engineer. At the end of the war, he went to Hong Kong, where he worked for the China Defence League.

Chen Wenrao 陈文饶 (1913–38) was a New York Chinatowner originally from Taishan in Guangdong, who had emigrated at the age of 20. In New York, he joined the CPUSA and worked in the administration of the AIL. He was killed in 1938. *Chen Agen* 陈阿根 (1913–?) was probably the only International Brigader to reach Spain directly from China. After getting into political trouble in Shanghai, he found work as a kitchen help on a French steamer. There, he met a Vietnamese cook (perhaps Ho Chi Minh) who persuaded him to go to Spain. He was captured in late 1937 and held in concentration camps until 1942.

Li Fengning 李丰宁 (1890–?), probably a Huagong, worked as an electrician in Lyons, where he joined the PCF. After the war, he returned to China to fight the Japanese.

Zhang Shusheng 张树生 and *Zhang Changguan* 张长官 (1900–?) and his younger brother were perhaps the only Chinese to join Spanish units. Also, unlike most others, they were not communists. Zhang Shusheng was one of several volunteers from Qingtian.[35] He had probably spent a number of years in Spain before signing up. In 1939, he joined the retreat to France, where he worked briefly for MOPR. However, he resisted attempts by the Partido Comunista de España (Communist Party of Spain, PCE) to recruit him. Most Brigaders not from fascist countries wanted to go home at the end of the war, but Zhang Shusheng (like many Spanish anti-fascists) hoped to reach Mexico, which had supported the Republic and welcomed refugees. In the event, he was drawn into China-based activities in the refugee camp, where he helped produce *Noticias de China* (News of China). Eventually, he returned to China with some Brigaders. That he and other Qingtianese enlisted without the backing of a trade union or political group was an act of special courage and shows that the internationalist impulse was not confined to Chinese influenced by European communists.

Zhang Changguan, a peddler from Hebei who had lived in Barcelona since 1927, joined the anarchist Confederación Nacional de Trabajo (National Confederation of Labour, CNT) in 1936 and volunteered a year later. He too hoped to go to Mexico at the end of the war, but ended up going back to China.

Yan Jiazhi 阎家治 was a Paris-based communist masseur who joined the International Brigades in 1936, at the age of 44. A Chinese Mongol, he was assigned to the cavalry. His career in Spain and his eventual fate are unknown.

During their time in Spain, the Chinese volunteers remained in touch with members of the CCP outside China. Xie Weijin received copies of *Jiuguo shibao*

from Paris and exchanged them for the party newspaper *Xianfeng bao* 先锋报 (Vanguard), which Chen Wenrao received weekly from New York. In October 1937, officials of the CCP's Paris bureau arranged for a delegation of 12 to visit Spain. The delegation included General Yang Hucheng 杨虎城, forced into exile after helping Marshal Zhang Xueliang 张学良 kidnap Chiang Kai-shek at Xi'an in December 1936 and trying to force Chiang to join the CCP in an anti-Japanese united front. A member of the delegation carried a letter for Xie from Rao Shushi 饶漱石, a CCP leader on party business in Paris at the time.[36]

An unknown number of ethnic Chinese (i.e. members of Chinese communities outside China) fought in Spain, including at least three from Vietnam, one from Peru, and one from Indonesia. The Indonesian, Tio Oen Bik, studied medicine in the Netherlands, where he helped found the Sarekat Peranakan Tionghua Indonesia (Union of Peranakan Chinese of Indonesia). He sympathised with the Communistische Partij Nederland and visited Ernst Thälmann in Germany. His comrades returned to Indonesia to fight for independence, but he himself went to resist what he saw as the more immediate threat, to Spain. Afterwards, he went to Yan'an.[37]

Other western and Asian volunteers also asked to be allowed to go to China to join the resistance to Japan. Comintern officials hesitated, probably because they were worried about importing dissent into the CCP. In the end, more than a score of 'refugee doctors' went to China.[38] The GPU, Stalin's political police, were another of China's Spanish imports. David Crook, a British Stalinist who worked for the Soviet secret police in Spain, went to Shanghai in the late 1930s, where he befriended and spied on foreign Trotskyists.[39]

The Chinese in postwar Spain

At the end of the civil war, most Chinese survivors got away, but an unknown number ended up in Franco's prisons. After their release, around a dozen stayed on in Spain and married local women. The Chinese community was not, at first, replenished. The economy stagnated for many years under Franco, and the country was isolated by world opinion in the first 10 years of its existence, especially after the Allied victory over Hitler. Food rationing and strict controls meant hard times for its people, including its Chinese. Foreign currency was hard to get; taxes and controls on imports and business operations were heavy. For a long time, these imposts and restrictions made it virtually impossible for the Chinese in Spain to follow the example of their compatriots elsewhere in Europe by setting up restaurants, for which imports were essential. A few Chinese occasionally travelled to Madrid and other cities from Portugal to engage in a few days' petty trading, but conditions did not favour a Chinese revival.[40]

Other Chinese entrepreneurs left Spain after the start of the Second World War for, although Spain was not a combatant, it felt the effects of the international conflict. Only a few who had established small businesses in Valencia and Barcelona stayed on, joined by an equally small number from elsewhere in Europe who saw Spain as a safe wartime haven. As a result, the community shrank to just a couple of dozen.

Conclusions

In Spain, the volunteers showed none of the clannishness attributed to Chinese abroad. The communists among them transferred into the PCE. Rather than form a separate ethnic unit, like the bigger national contingents, they scattered across the entire army.[41] Xie Weijin and Chen Wenrao tried to organise an association of Chinese volunteers, but the attempt was seemingly half-hearted. In 1939, Xie and others redirected the political focus onto China. In a French internment camp, they distributed a China bulletin – by that time, of course, China was close to the top of Comintern concerns.

The Chinese contribution to the Spanish Civil War was smaller than that of many nations but extraordinary as an act of international solidarity. No Chinese party had a hand in it, and China figured only obliquely as an issue – the homeland aspect was marginal. Unlike other communist parties, the CCP received no recruitment quota from the Comintern. Whereas the International Brigades' Political Commissariat published daily bulletins in eight languages beginning in March 1937, the Chinese had to make do with a wall newspaper they produced themselves.[42] If Chinese joined up, they did so as members of non-Chinese communist parties or (in a few cases) of no party. They formed a broader social mix than the other Chinese groups described in this book, which either comprised workers with educated leaders or (in the German case) were elite based. Their motives were political rather than material. Even for the workers, idealism was the spur. (Many Chinese in France lost their jobs in the Slump – from the point of view of an ageing immigrant factory-worker's self-interest, it was no time for embarking on political adventures.[43]) Few if any knew how to fire a gun, unlike other International Brigaders, many of whom had military and even combat experience.[44]

Both during the war and at the end of it, the Chinese volunteers received little help from aid organisations of the sort that most communist parties set up – Defence Committees, Medical Aid Committees, Friends of Spain, and the like. In Britain, the Dependants' Aid Committees raised more than £40,000, a then royal sum, and a delegation of labour movement notables welcomed back the British survivors at Victoria Station in December 1938.[45] The Chinese, on the other hand, had to find their own way back from Spain, with no one to greet them or sing their praises. Those who died went unremembered. Where there were dependants, they went unprotected.

In one respect, however, they were indistinguishable from the other volunteers and different from most other soldiers. The difference was, in the words of one appraisal of the Brigaders, 'that none was there at the order of a sovereign, that each had made up his own mind, and that each had to keep choosing to stay there'. They had voluntarily taken the weaker side. They were 'among the few soldiers since the rise of nation-states to go to war on their own initiative without the aid and comfort of their patrimony'.[46] In return for this sacrifice, they suffered discredit and oblivion.

7 Australia

That early Chinese emigration was a form of sojourning is a view held practically everywhere, indispensable in the construction of Chinese migrants as transnational outposts of Chineseness. However, this opinion oversimplifies the migration. It has been particularly overused in Australia, where from the outset many Chinese saw themselves as settlers rather than as visitors. The idea of early Chinese emigration as an unending calvary, with Chinese as the victims of white racists, is also widespread. However, reducing the Chinese experience to victimhood plays down the extent to which Chinese overseas shaped their own destinies and took an active part in the host society and economy – including in Australia.[1] It also leaves in shadow the rejection of racism and the White Australia policy by some white trade unionists and labour leaders, starting in the late nineteenth century.

The conscious breaking or steady fraying of homeland ties led some Chinese to redefine their relationship to Australia and its Chinese communities. This redefinition opened the way to new Chinese self-perceptions and new social and political identities, among them that of labour activist and internationalist.

To 'return home with honour and wealth', as 'fallen leaves returning to the root', was the ideal of many Chinese migrants in Australia, as it was of Chinese elsewhere overseas. A clannish allegiance to the place of origin formed the basis of Chinese social and economic life abroad. Associations provided help, information, news of opportunities, and a link with home. The White Australia policy, adopted in 1901 and designed to reduce the existing Chinese population and restrict further immigration, strengthened the China orientation and made it 'far more difficult for the Chinese than for the Briton ever to think of Australia as his real home'.[2]

In time, however, this introversion was undermined by social and political changes in Australia, China, and the world. From a labour movement point of view, Chinese journeyed along three main routes towards identifying with Australia's broader community. The first route was opened by Chinese roused to support reform and revolution in China. This political transnationalism ended with some transnationals regarding themselves as Chinese Australians and even as part of the Australian left. The second route penetrated the Chinese community from outside, creating an inlet that joined parts of the community to the mainstream. Sections of Australian labour, especially those influenced by the Wobblies and the communists, denounced white

racism and sought allies among Chinese in Australia and abroad. The best example is labour's targeting of Chinese seafarers stranded in Australia during the Second World War, a counterpart of the fraternising initiated in Liverpool by Chinese and British communists and trade unionists. The third route was that taken by working-class Chinese embedded in local communities, especially in the Northern Territory, Australia's tropical Top End.

Chinese political transnationalism and the Australian left

Republicanism of the sort espoused by Sun Yat-sen had fewer backers before 1911 among Chinese in Australia than monarchist reformism, the chief form of anti-Qing dissent in the country. Sun travelled widely to gather support, but not to Australia, apparently thought too remote to figure on his itinerary. The Chinese Revolutionary League 中国同盟会 had a branch in Australia but few members. Between 1908 and 1910, the Young China League 少年中国会 became active in Melbourne. In 1911, it and other republican organisations started up in Sydney, to where the Chinese Revolutionary League (later the Guomindang) moved in 1915. By that time, Sydney had become the centre of Chinese republicanism in Australasia and the South Pacific. In 1916, Guomindang branches formed in Queensland and Fiji, followed in 1917 by Auckland and, in 1920, by Darwin, Papua New Guinea, and the Solomon Islands.

Also in 1920, the Guomindang held its First Convention in Sydney. In 1921, Chan On Yan 陈安仁 arrived in Australia, sent by Sun to counteract the influence of the Chee Kung Tong, then supporting Sun's rival, the warlord Chen Jiongming 陈炯明. During his stay, Chan made propaganda for Sun's political philosophy and put organisational ties between Sydney and the Guomindang's headquarters in Guangzhou on a sounder footing. By 1922, the Guomindang had more than 5,000 members and 23 branches in Australasia and the South Pacific; by 1924, its membership had grown to 6,800. Initially, the San Francisco branch supervised the Australian and other foreign branches, but these came directly under Guangzhou at the time of Chan's visit. The Australian Chinese were represented at the Guomindang's First National Congress in Guangzhou in January 1924. After the Guomindang's reorganisation in China in 1924 on semi-Leninist lines, they set up the Australasian Guomindang 澳洲国民党 in Sydney.[3]

Australia's early Chinese republicans strove from the start to win support in white Australian circles. More than 70 non-Chinese attended the 1920 convention, including politicians, business people, and trade unionists. The communist Jock Garden and other delegates from Sydney Trades Hall spoke up for socialism.[4] This readiness to reach out to white politicians and trade unionists was an abiding feature of the Australian Guomindang's left wing in the interwar years.

In a study on Australasian Chinese politics between 1923 and 1937, John Fitzgerald argues that the 'Gold Mountain bachelors' had 'lost any continuing connection with their kith, kin and village communities in South China', so much so that they sometimes 'looked in vain for a familiar face' on return visits. He sees the Australasian Guomindang's offices in Guangzhou as a projection backwards

into China of the native place associations (*tongxianghui* 同乡会 or *huiguan* 会馆) that served immigrants in foreign settings (including Australia). The offices advised and accommodated Australian Chinese visitors and helped them to cope with immigration procedures and official pestering. He concludes: 'The history of the Australasian Canton Office [澳洲住粤办事处] establishes beyond doubt the presence of a self-consciously Australian and New Zealand community of visiting and returning émigrés in republican Guangdong'.[5] This early identification with the place of settlement predisposed the settlers to seek allies in the white community and fostered a sympathetic view of the doctrine of labour internationalism preached by communists in Shanghai and Guangzhou. As Julia Martínez argues in her study on Aboriginal and Asian labour in Darwin, the Australia-wide upsurge in Chinese nationalism did not exclude a strong sense of Australian nationalism.[6]

The Australasian Guomindang responded more positively to the Guomindang's Soviet-inspired reorganisation than its branches in the United States, up to then a main source of funding for Sun's party. In 1924 and 1925, political remittances to China from the United States started to fall off. This was in part a response to the Guangzhou centre's growing reliance on local sources of funding and to fall-out from the worldwide split between the Guomindang and the Chee Kung Tong, which had a strong base in San Francisco. Beyond that, it was a sign of the rejection by America's Chinese of the Guomindang's 'reddening' (*chihua* 赤化) as a result of Soviet and communist influence.

The membership of many of the Guomindang's overseas branches shrank after reorganisation, but in Australasia it grew. At one point in 1924, the San Francisco and the Australasian branch both had just over 4,000 members, but the Australasian membership soon topped 6,000, overtaking that in the United States and coming to comprise almost one-seventh of the Guomindang's international membership.[7] John Fitzgerald explains this growth in part as a consequence of the rationalisation of party organisation in the South Pacific, but he adds that key figures in the Australasian branch enthusiastically endorsed the China-based Guomindang's reorganisation, its new leftist turn, and its alliance with the Soviet Union.

The leftists in the Australasian Guomindang were bolstered by support from Guangzhou, where the party's international apparatus fell partly into communist hands. Among leftists dispatched across the world to 'rectify' the foreign branches in 1924 was the Australian Chinese Wang Jianhai 王健海. During the reorganisation of the Guomindang's Sydney branch, anti-red factions were expelled.

For as long as the united front survived in China, the Australasian Guomindang followed a radical line and aligned itself with the left wing of international labour. At the time of the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, when workers and students in Shanghai and other Chinese cities staged strikes and demonstrations in a wave of anti-imperialist agitation, supporters of the Red International of Labour Unions agitated among Chinese seafarers in Australia, brought them out on strike, and held rallies seeking international aid for the Shanghai workers. In 1926, the Guomindang's Sydney branch backed the Guangdong–Hong Kong strike and raised more than 50,000 Chinese dollars by staging shows. The branch also won the backing of sections of the Australian trade union movement and Labor Party, which called for the Australian navy's withdrawal from China.[8]

In 1925, the Australasian Guomindang began recruiting Chinese seafarers and engineers on ships working the Australasian ports, thus further chiming with the pro-labour policies of the Guomindang leftists in China. Over the next few years, the Australasian branch set up 15 sub-branches on ships operating out of Sydney, Perth, and Auckland, with at least 600 and possibly as many as 1,000 members. At one point, around one-sixth of the party's entire membership in Australasia consisted of seafarers and engineers.

This pro-labour turn led to one of the first acts of solidarity between Chinese and white trade unionists. In September 1925, Chinese seafarers donated £10 to the Seamen's Union of Australia (SUA), in support of 'the courageous stand the British seamen are making against the reduction of wages by the capitalistic owners'. The letter continued: 'We Chinese seamen who have been working under the most deplorable, bloodsweating conditions only lately slightly improved by a militant struggle on our part, can full appreciate the object of your fight against capitalism'.[9]

Samuel Wong 黄来旺, a senior official in the Australasian party, was the driving power behind its approach to Chinese seafarers and the labour movement. Wong's leftwing views antagonised the party's conservative wing in the Australian Chinese business elite, which expelled him and his supporters in 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek ended the united front in China. Chiang's purge weakened the republican left in Chinese communities throughout the world. Wong's expulsion marked the start of a steep decline in the Australasian Guomindang's membership, which halved within a year to around 3,500. A second wave of expulsions followed in 1934, when General Cai Tingkai 蔡廷锴 visited Australia as a part of a world tour to rally support among Chinese overseas for his opposition to Chiang's government. The Sydney Guomindang banned its members from greeting General Cai and expelled those who joined the welcoming committee.[10]

Australian labour and the Chinese workers

White trade unionists were a mainstay of the anti-Chinese agitation that culminated in the White Australia doctrine. The agitation started in 1878, when the Australasian Steamship Navigation Company's hiring of Chinese labour provoked a seafarers' strike. The strikers denounced the employment of an 'alien race' and forced the Chinese crew's removal. The President of Sydney Trades and Labor Council told a meeting:

> The working man should unite to put down Chinese labour in every form; they should refuse to buy articles made by them; to deal in shops in which goods were sold by them; to cease dining in places in which they served as waiters; and if they came across a Chinaman on a footpath it was their bounden duty to shove him off it.[11]

The growth of Chinese furniture manufacture in Australia, starting in the mid-nineteenth century, led to renewed trade union protests and the passage of a hostile resolution at the Second Trade Union Congress in Sydney in 1880. The Sydney

Bulletin, a journal of radical republicanism in nineteenth-century Australia, and Queensland's *Northern Miner* spearheaded the anti-Chinese movement. Early campaigns by Chinese to organise seafarers and cabinetmakers in trade unions showed that a policy of class unity might have been practicable. In 1893 and 1897, Chinese furniture workers in Victoria went on strike against planned wage reductions and won. On the whole, however, Chinese were seen as a threat to white workers' livelihoods. The Chinese seafarers' presence led to the formation in Sydney of the Anti-Chinese League, which later spread to the woodworking trades.[12] Overtures in the first decade of the twentieth century by Chinese requesting membership of the all-white United Furniture Trades Union were rebuffed. White workers saw Chinese furniture makers' victories in campaigns to improve their employment conditions as a cause for concern rather than for celebration.[13]

However, Australian trade unionists were not uniformly opposed to interracial solidarity. On occasions, labour organisers stood up for Chinese workers' rights. In 1890, for example, Robert Stevenson persuaded the Amalgamated Shearers' Union to allow Chinese barred by racist rules in 1888 to re-enrol and received strong support from within the General Labourers' Union.[14]

Alongside the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the main opponents of the White Australia policy in the early twentieth century were organisations on the far left such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), which spread to Australia in 1913.[15] Like their comrades in North America, the Australian Wobblies opposed working-class racism. Where they gained support, they sought to destroy the 'colour bar'. In 1916 in Broken Hill, the mining city in New South Wales, they removed the bar on Chinese joining the miners' union, on the grounds that 'the yellow man is as good as the white'.[16] Yet even the Wobblies hesitated to side too openly with the Chinese. Some seemed more concerned about the use of non-European workers as cheap labour than about discrimination as such, a view criticised by Julia Martínez as 'cold-hearted pragmatism'.[17] Others thought white Australians were an 'advanced' race.

The Victorian Socialist Party (VSP) was a main early battleground of racists and anti-racists. In 1905, it was the first labour organisation to promote internationalism, when a member advocated the opening of Australia's empty spaces to Asians. In 1912, the VSPer Bernard O'Dowd argued that Asians should be recruited and the party should 'forge links with "advanced bodies" in Asian countries'. Later, however, it took a racist stance.

When the Communist Party of Australia (CPA) was founded in 1920, many VSPers joined, including a few who imported their racist attitudes into the new party. On the whole, however, the CPA followed an internationalist line and took a stand against the xenophobia of the Australian Workers' Union (AWU), Australia's primary trade union, which opposed immigration. The CPA was also able to rally some support for its policy in the trade unions. One in four of those attending the AWU's Inaugural Convention in 1922 voted with the internationalists. Some leftists boycotted the AWU because of its racist line. For example, Tom Walsh, President of the Seamen's Union, refused to affiliate to the AWU because of its bar on Japanese and Chinese.[18]

By 1925, some Australian seafarers' leaders had come to see Chinese as equals rather than as juniors in need of tutelage. This changed perception was probably a result of the Shanghai strikes and agitation at the time of China's May Thirtieth Movement, which opened the eyes of trade union activists in many countries. The Australian *Seamen's Journal* carried a translation of a special bulletin published by Chinese seafarers:

> Fellow seamen of the world! You are likewise oppressed and exploited by the capitalists. Our enemy is one . . .. We know no distinction of nationality or race. We know only the distinction between the capitalist-class and the working-class . . .. Let us unite and form a world family of workers! Injury to one is injury to all! Three cheers for our unity![19]

But, despite this message, pragmatism rather than principle remained the reason most seafarers were prepared to open the union door at least some way to Asian workers.

The Australian communists believed in reforming the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and the AWU from within. In that respect, they differed from the Wobblies, who aimed to set up 'One Big Union'. The idea of 'One Big Union' (OBU) was realised in Australia (in 1922) in a form that bore little resemblance to the vision of either party. Instead, it was conceived as a means of unifying existing labour organisations and maximising the industrial power of the white workforce. The Wobblies derided it as One Big Onion and deplored its refusal to enrol Chinese and South Sea islanders. The founding of the OBU delayed (until 1927) the emergence of an Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU). The OBU kept the colour bar, despite the opposition of a minority.[20]

Even the CPA sometimes wavered in its opposition to White Australia and came out against importing 'large numbers of coloured workers'. One former member described its stance as 'tortuously qualified'. By the late 1920s, however, it had become a bedrock of labour internationalism. Starting in 1925, it published appeals in languages other than English and set up Greek and Russian branches.[21] In 1927–28, its supporters secured the affiliation of the newly formed ACTU and the New South Wales Trades and Labor Council to the Comintern's Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, which was based in Vladivostok and ran trade unions in China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Japan.[22] This affiliation gave rise (according to Bob Gould) 'to a hysterical clamour from the establishment and right-wingers in the labour movement, like the bureaucrats of the Australian Workers' Union (AWU), who accused the Sydney Labor Council of thereby undermining the White Australia Policy, which was in fact true, and completely laudable'.[23] In 1930, racist leaders of the ACTU severed the tie, on the grounds that the Secretariat's campaign to remove racial barriers would 'be an open door for the coloured hordes of the North Pacific'.[24]

The CPA achieved its greatest triumph over the anti-Chinese lobby in the run-up to and during the Second World War, when some labour leaders came to accept the coincidence of Chinese and Australian foreign policy interests. In

the mid-1930s, Chinese-crewed vessels began reaching Australian ports in larger numbers, as world trade started to revive. In 1937, Chinese seafarers in Australia went on strike in protest against the Australian export of pig iron to Japan. A handful deserted Japan-bound vessels in 1937 and were hidden from the authorities by CPA seafarers, coalminers, and steelworkers.[25] In October 1937, the New South Wales Trades and Labor Council called on unions to block goods to or from Japan, and the ACTU called on consumers to boycott Japanese goods. In January 1938, waterside workers in Sydney refused to load tin clippings; in November, workers in Kembla refused to load pig iron. The boycotts were denounced by the government, which was practising a British-style appeasement of Germany and Japan, and by the shipowners and employers, who locked out 4,000 workers. These boycotts were part of a global anti-Japanese campaign by Comintern supporters, which started in Germany in 1931 and resumed in British ports in 1937. Australian unions raised funds to support the Chinese seafarers and helped the unions' Chinese affiliates fight in industrial courts for better pay and conditions.[26]

Chinese associates of the Trades Hall leftists in Sydney ran their own campaign in support of the boycott. They raised money for the Waterside Workers' Federation and mobilised Chinese stallholders in the Sydney markets to donate lorryloads of fruit and vegetables to the strikers. These actions were initiated by Fred Wong, a greengrocer and founder of the leftwing Chinese Youth League 澳洲侨青社 (CYL), which ran its own 'no pig iron for Japan' campaign. At the same time, Chinese crews donated money to the Port Kembla wharfies.[27] In 1939, Chinese crews raised money for the CPA's candidate in a local election, to thank it for launching the Hands Off China Campaign.

In the war, communists in the unions and their Chinese allies in organisations such as the CYL ran a successful campaign to recruit stranded Chinese seafarers into the SUA, with the help of a group of ethnic Chinese working in the union's Sydney office. On 22 January 1942, an Australian branch of the Chinese Seamen's Union (CSU) came into being at a Sydney meeting attended by 300 Chinese. (It was said to be the first non-Australian union formed in Australia.) The CSU helped with welfare and mediated in dealings with the Australian authorities. Fred Wong acted as the seafarers' unofficial banker, keeping their savings in his shop safe.

Hundreds more Chinese seafarers working on a score of British, Dutch, and French cargo and passenger vessels were stranded in Australia in 1942, after the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor and the fall of Singapore. Most were from southern China, but some were ethnic Chinese from Singapore or Indonesia. Like other Chinese seafarers, they worked under contractors who paid the seafarers' families on their behalf and spent some of the seafarers' earnings on supplies provided by the shipping companies. Most were able seamen, stokers, firemen, donkey-men, greasers, carpenters, cooks, and kitchen hands, while an educated minority worked as engineers, wireless operators, and quartermasters.[28]

In Australia as in Britain, Chinese could no longer be deported during the war, which removed a curb on militancy. Most Australian unions supported the Chi-

nese seafarers in the war years. The strongest support came from the SUA, led by E. V. Elliot, a communist. Elliot played a central role in helping Australia's CSU organise refugee Chinese seafarers from all over Asia.[29]

Elliot's campaign was part of an international drive by communists in several countries (including Britain) to restore the CSU to health after its decline in the years up to 1937. News and proposals passed between the union centres in Liverpool and Sydney. 'We worked together internationally,' said Arthur Lock Chang 郑嘉乐, a seafarers' leader in Australia. '. . . I became very famous internationally. My name, in Chinese, was known all over the world as secretary of the Chinese Seamen's Union'.[30]

The CSU faced up to the authorities on several fronts in Sydney and other ports. The Australian government had commandeered stranded vessels for military purposes. The dismissed Chinese seafarers, owed several months' back pay, were expected to rejoin the fleet without reimbursement and on the usual 'race' scale. The unionisation campaign led to a string of victories in the fight on this and other issues.[31]

The British authorities had already approved bringing Chinese pay more in line with British levels. In Australia, the Chinese sought Australian rates, which were higher still. Five hundred Chinese seafarers staged a strike in Fremantle that was broken by troops, who killed two strikers. A pay rise followed. With the encouragement of the SUA, other Chinese volunteered for land jobs with the Australian Army. Posted to Western Australia, they formed their own battalion with Chinese officers. The move away from seafaring alarmed the government, the immigration authorities, and the shipping companies, which had to deal with the CSU to rally crews.[32] Like the seafarers, Chinese who enlisted in the labour corps received nearly the same rate of pay as whites.[33]

The CSU in Australia included among its objectives the promotion of seafarers' patriotism and general education. Its aims were to support seafarers' interests; distribute news from China; improve wages and conditions; 'open a reading room and supply sailors with literature'; and 'enable [members] to prosecute the war against Japan and assist China in peaceful reconstruction'. It also campaigned against gambling and the use of opium. At one point, union militants fired guns into the ceilings of Sydney's fan-tan clubs to dissuade club owners from admitting seafarers. The Australian authorities knew about the union's communist ties and their intelligence services tried to discredit it, by portraying it as keen to avoid war risks and interested only in making money.

By 1944, Chinese seafarers enjoyed the same hours as Australians and 80 per cent of their pay. These gains were extended to Indonesians, Indians, and Malayans, who had been paid before the war on a scale dependent on nationality. In other respects, however, the old 'racial' regime continued. An enquiry found that Chinese were often ill-treated and even beaten by officers on shipboard, lacked rudimentary medical care, and lived in conditions 'designed for native crews'.[34] After the war, in late 1946, trouble flared up again when Chinese crews in Sydney learned – probably from their compatriots in Liverpool – that British crews were

still receiving war risk payments. The Sydney-based Chinese came out on strike against the removal of the bonus, a confrontation that Holt's agents in China had already predicted.[35]

In 1945, Richard Dixon, the CPA's Assistant Secretary, denounced the White Australia policy as 'abhorrent' and explained that the party favoured immigration as long as immigrants got 'the full rate and ruling conditions' and could join unions. In a caveat, he said immigration should continue to be subject to quotas, but the quotas should not be established 'on colour grounds', for Australia owed its wartime survival in large measure to 'China's heroic struggle'. He went on:

> Today the Seamen's Union is actively assisting Chinese seamen, on boats entering Australian ports, to organise and secure wage increases that correspond to the prevailing rates in this country. Chinese seamen have waged a series of strikes with the sympathy and help of Australian seamen who work on the principle that by raising the level of all low wage seamen to the Australian standard and by helping them organise themselves, there is little hope of the shipping magnates reducing Australian standards.[36]

In the war, more than 10,000 Chinese entered Australia. Most went home after the peace, but around 200 wished to stay. Some had quit the sea and become labourers or market-gardeners; others had married Australian women. Their applications had the backing of the SUA and the CYL. Arthur Calwell, Minister of Immigration in the postwar Labor Government, tried to deport the refugees under his War-time Refugee Removal Act (June 1949), but they took legal action and gained support in the trade unions and among the general public. In the end, most won the right to stay.[37]

The CPA and the CYL continued to cooperate after the war, when the old system of 'race'-based pay revived and the wartime gains eroded.[38] They waged a joint campaign against a return to the so-called 'Asian standard' (around one-third of the white wage) in the shipping industry. Chinese seafarers continued to take militant action. In December 1946, a group walked off ship in a wage protest and were sent to prison – for 'taking a stand against imperialist exploitation', according to the Secretary of the CSU. The CPA played a key role in helping Chinese activists recruit catering workers to the Restaurant Employees and Liquor Trades Union and founded the Chinese Workers' Association (CWA) in the 1950s. The CWA campaigned on immigration as well as labour issues. Chinese labour leaders denounced the bondage or 'piglet' system, whereby Chinese employers could import 'assistants' who had to remain with their sponsor unless they could find work with another 'eligible' employer.[39]

The CYL's and CSU's alliance with Australian communists and trade unionists brought them into contact with other 'colonial' workers in Australia. Together with the SUA, they helped found unions for Indonesians, Indians, and Malayans working out of Australian ports. During the postwar Indonesian struggle for independence, Chinese and other Asian workers joined the boycott of Dutch chartered ships organised by the wharfies' and seafarers' unions in Sydney. Some went on

strike and persuaded groups of other Asian workers to take part. The CSU led the action, donating £1,000 to the boycott and providing free meals in Chinese cafes for Indonesian workers who went on strike against the shipping lines. It also collected food from the Chinese market gardens and distributed it around the union hostels. It raised most of the funds for Joris Iven's film *Indonesia Calling*, which opposed the Dutch military operation in Indonesia. It also joined in the campaign to release Indonesians interned by the Australian authorities.[40]

In 1947, communist-influenced Chinese, including Fred Wong and Louis Wong, an Indonesian-born Chinese seafarer, joined Australian leftists in a plan to help the Indonesian Republic (declared in 1945 but not formally recognised by the Dutch until 1949) by setting up an airline for it. However, the scheme was sabotaged by agents of the Australian authorities.[41]

Other Chinese, especially those born in Australia, joined the CPA (rather than the CCP, which Chinese in other countries joined). One of the most prominent Chinese Australian communists was Albert Leong, a half-Chinese and half-Aboriginal waterfront worker. Immigrants such as Arthur Lock Chang supported the CPA on the grounds that its members were 'the only people that really showed any sympathy and rendered practical help' to Chinese workers. Even so, Lock Chang declined to take a party card, on security grounds.[42] Drew Cottle points out that Chinese seafarers attended separate Chinese branches of the CPA and criticises this as 'racial separatism', but the CPA also ran Greek and Yugoslav branches in the 1930s and 1940s. Foreign-language branches were not unusual in communist parties, and should be viewed as an exercise in tolerance and accommodation rather than as separatism.

In his studies on the Australian CSU, Cottle shows that, in some ways, its relations with the Australian union continued to be blighted by racist attitudes and practices, despite the wartime reconciliation. At the start of the Chinese agitation in 1937, the SUA was in turmoil following the 1936 seafarers' strike. Elliot, its youthful leader, set about rebuilding the union ship by ship, more or less at the same time as the CSU was following a similar strategy. The symbiosis between Australians and Chinese therefore depended partly on coincidence as well as on the principle of labour solidarity.

Julia Martínez shares Cottle's reservations about the SUA's attitudes and motives. In a study on the Indian Seamen's Union that also looks at Chinese and Indonesian seafarers, she describes 'the unsteady progress of internationalism from the 1920s to 1945 and the lingering influence of white paternalism' in Australia. This paternalism led to a view of Asians 'as victims in need of white benevolence' and of the Australian trade unionists themselves 'as teachers of Asian workers', who were portrayed as 'illiterate and politically naïve'. Absent from much Australian trade union writing in the 1920s about the need for labour internationalism was a perception of Asians as potential allies with their own tradition of organisation and industrial solidarity. However, the depiction in the *Seamen's Journal* (published by the SUA) of Chinese and Japanese unionism was less stereotyped and ignorant than that of Indian workers, who continued to be perceived in colonial terms, as 'coolies'.[43]

Chinese and white crews remained segregated on separate ships in the war, a set-up that both unions approved. Cottle infers that the 'barriers of race and culture' may have been too high for the CSU or SUA to surmount: 'The Chinese Seamen's Union never threatened the Great White Walls of prejudice in Australia least of all among their Australian counterparts'.[44]

That racist attitudes persisted among white seafarers is beyond dispute. However, the segregation was not necessarily or exclusively due to racism. Seafaring is a 24-hour occupation and journeys could last for weeks or months. The two groups spoke different languages and had different tastes in food and attitudes to money and leisure. The Chinese would have felt more comfortable in the company of other Chinese whatever the state of their relations with white seafarers. What was important was that the segregation was reflected less in differential wages than in prewar days. Even so, from the point of view of most seafarers, racist practices were put on hold rather than erased by the wartime experience of transethnic solidarity, as their revival in Australia's postwar trade union movement shows.

Chinese and the labour movement in the Top End

Histories of the Chinese in Australia have recently begun to stress interstate diversity rather than lump together under an Australian heading experiences that differed widely. This is a theme of Jan Ryan's study on the Chinese in Western Australia[45] and of Julia Martínez's work on the Northern Territory. Martínez gives 'a northern tropical perspective on "race" relations', which were 'continuously pluralist' in Darwin.[46] According to Regina Ganter:

> the polyethnic qualities of northern townships like Broome, Darwin and Thursday Island present such strong similarities, and read so differently from the more profuse southern histories, that it seems much more sensible to point to the differences of experience between geographic regions like north and south, or between pearling belt and metropolis, than to argue differences between states.[47]

The first European settlement in Darwin was in 1870, later than in other parts of Australia. In 1874, the first group of Chinese labourers sailed into the port. In later years, politicians and entrepreneurs in South Australia (to which the Northern Territory was attached until 1911) encouraged Chinese immigration into the Top End on the grounds that 'coloured' labour was racially suited to the climate.[48] In 1880, Chinese outnumbered whites in Darwin by six to one, and throughout the rest of the decade the ratio never dropped below three or four to one. The Chinese kept their preponderance until 1911.[49]

Many Chinese ended up in the port after working on the Darwin–Pine Creek railway. Chinese diggers who turned up in the Territory in the late nineteenth century were described as 'old travellers who have worked in California, NSW, Queensland, New Zealand, or Victoria'. They were independent migrants 'working their own thing', free of sponsors and indentures.[50] Local merchants deplored

this independence and denounced the migrants of 1888 as the 'scum of Canton and Macau'.[51] Chinese memoirs talk of the Darwin pioneers' determination to build a new life in the territory, by dint of hard work. They were least likely to see themselves as sojourners. 'They just didn't want to give up and go back,' a veteran told Diana Giese.[52]

Early Chinese communities in Australia were less urbanised than (say) those in Southeast Asia. In Australia, only 32 per cent of Chinese lived in metropolitan areas in 1911 (and fewer before then), compared with 58.9 per cent in 1947 (when the percentage of urban-based Chinese overtook that of whites). This difference was important in determining the character of the community. The rural start allowed Chinese to compete with whites on a less unequal basis. The rural setting (in which they worked as shepherds or miners and later as market-gardeners) fostered a 'frontiersman spirit' among Chinese, particularly in the Northern Territory. They moved around a lot, in tiny groups or by themselves, and developed liaisons with Aboriginal women. Their remoteness from the towns, and thus from the main Chinatowns, shielded them from the influence of the associations run by the Chinatown elites.

Their growing economic prosperity at a time of rising white unemployment in the Territory created resentment in the north and alarm among southern colonists, whose fear of a Chinese invasion through the open port of Darwin was fanned by a propaganda campaign launched by its European residents. In 1888, anti-Chinese agitation led to intercolonial cooperation against the 'threat' to the north.[53]

Many Chinese in Darwin and the pearling belt lived with Aboriginal women, putting Anglo-Celtic hegemony at apparent risk across the north and creating what Ganter calls a 'siege mentality'.[54] Others lived with white women. These unions created a large 'mixed race' population that blurred ethnic boundaries. Chinese settled in urban and rural places throughout the north, switching from job to job and place to place.[55] As they moved, they formed new bonds, with both Chinese and non-Chinese. Their communities became jumbled, unlike the more homogeneous Chinese communities of the southern states.[56] Quite a few Chinese settled as farmers, an occupation that weighed against the sojourning mentality, given farming's sense of rootedness and permanence and the farmers' remoteness from the unifying influences of Chinatown.[57] This remoteness promoted a spirit of independence. Darwin had a Chinese quarter, with the usual hierarchy and institutions, but many Chinese rejected its 'class distinctions' and prided themselves on their friendships with local Aborigines and whites.[58]

Forming liaisons with Aboriginal women gave the Chinese a stake in local society. It helped distance them from Chinatown and was a measure of Chinatown's lack of hold. A comparison with the United States is helpful. In both countries, there was an extreme shortage of Chinese women, partly as a result of discriminatory immigration laws. In the United States, anti-miscegenation laws prevented Chinese intermarriage with whites, and there seems to have been none with native Americans and little with blacks. In Australia, there was much early intermixing (including marriages) between Chinese men and Aborigines or whites. The Chinese usually cared for the children of such unions and expected to be cared for

by them in old age. As many as 10 per cent of northern Aborigines are known as 'yella fellas' because of their ancestry and looks. They include prominent Aboriginal politicians and entrepreneurs. The intermixing was facilitated by the lack of Chinese (and British colonial) controls on the Chinese, out of reach in the bush. The British-run aboriginal protectorate tried to stop 'miscegenation', but with limited success.

Chinese in and around Darwin took jobs in a wider range of occupations than elsewhere in Australia. They worked as miners, railwaymen, and skilled tradesmen, including bricklayers, stonemasons, carpenters, cabinetmakers, and boilermakers.[59] This pattern of employment confutes the stereotype of the Chinese as clannish and uniform and paved their way into a broader transethnic community. They developed a strong Territorian identity and were more likely than other Chinese in Australia to form 'interracial' relationships.[60]

White workers in Darwin opposed Chinese immigration almost from the start. This hostility was in part an echo of South Australia's anti-Chinese movement. In 1886, rising unemployment led to calls for a poll tax on Chinese like that imposed in South Australia. In a countermovement, Chinese artisans pledged not to work for less than 5/6d. a day for white employers, a higher rate than Chinese bosses paid. In 1890, they united in boycotting the Chinese Steam Navigation Company to protest against a rise in fares.[61] Opposition to Chinese immigration spread to white traders and merchants in the Territory at around the turn of century, when Chinese began founding enterprises that threatened white business interests.[62]

In 1901, Darwin's trade unions supported the White Australia policy, but they could hardly forget that they were greatly outnumbered by non-whites and continued to be outnumbered by Chinese for the first decade of the new century. (In 1911, Darwin's population included 442 Chinese, 374 Europeans, and 247 'full-blood' Aboriginals.) As a result, whites in Darwin were unable to apply the policy with the same rigour as in other places.[63] In the First World War, British Australians viewed the growth in immigration by other Europeans, including Italians, Greeks, and Russians, as a new threat to their interests. Scapegoated by the Anglo-Celts, the newcomers formed a constituency for the far left in Darwin.[64]

In the 1910s, pro-white labour laws imposed on Darwin by the South Australian government resulted in the sacking of Chinese waterside workers and fishermen and an offer of free repatriation. These ordinances were not universally welcomed by local whites, some of whom had started to support the Chinese.

In the 1920s, some local labour movement activists began to make overtures to the Chinese. The newly founded CPA was the driving force behind this move towards labour solidarity. In the CPA's view, equal pay with whites was the only solution to the problem of cheap Chinese labour. A campaign along these lines was launched in 1922 and took off in 1925, when a wave of anti-imperialist strikes, boycotts, and demonstrations in Shanghai and other Chinese cities put the Chinese in a new light and demolished the perception of them as strikebreakers.

The Sydney Guomindang's pro-labour views, which had led to an alliance with white radicals in 1920, were replicated in Darwin, where the local Guomindang criticised conservatism and backed the workers. In 1928, Harold Nelson, a trade

union pioneer in Darwin, campaigned for the right of Chinese to join the North Australian Workers' Union (NAWU) and got the backing of one in three members. Despite Nelson's failure to achieve a majority, the Guomindang in Darwin supported the NAWU wherever possible and developed close relations with local CPA activists, a strategy that alienated Darwin's Chinese business class. The branch continued in an informal alliance with the communists until 1930.[65]

Before the communists, internationalism was represented in Darwin by the IWW. The Wobblies had no formal branch in the Territory, but they were not without influence. The president of Darwin's AWU in 1913 was a Wobbly (despite the union's support for White Australia). As part of the IWW's Darwin campaign, a decision was taken to translate the organisation's literature into Chinese. The translating was done by the editor of a Chinese workers' paper in Burma. Plans were laid to bring a Chinese organiser to Darwin to set up IWW branches for Chinese workers. The branches never happened, but Chinese translations of the IWW's famous *Preamble* circulated in the region. According to Verity Burgmann, the Australian IWW had been in touch with Chinese anarchists since at least 1914.[66]

Chinese workers in Darwin stood by the union during a waterside workers' strike in 1913, and a gang of 23 Chinese and Filipinos, as well as three whites, were identified in 1915 as IWW supporters. The IWW campaign on behalf of Chinese and 'coloured' workers on the wharves met with opposition from the AWU executive and Tom Barker, secretary of the IWW, but it contributed to a gradual change in mentality among Darwin whites. However, Martínez again concludes that the Australian IWW's notion of 'solidarity' was pragmatic rather than heartfelt and that its anti-racism was paternalistic. Moreover, it failed to sink roots in Darwin.

After the Wobblies, internationalism was kept alive in Darwin by followers of the Bolsheviks, including British Australians and Greek and Russian newcomers. Others, including Harold Nelson, supported a policy Martínez calls 'inclusive nationalism', a moderate form of nationalism that extended to groups such as the Australian-born Chinese. This Darwin-style nationalism, which tended to dissociate itself from imperialism and jingoism, was well suited to a small and ethnically diverse community. Darwin after the First World War came to be seen in other parts of Australia as anarchic and radical, although local white leftists did not necessarily oppose each and every tenet of the White Australia policy. Nelson, for example, accused the capitalists of wanting to import 'that dread curse – colored labor' and spoke of the 'hideous faces of the teeming hordes of the East'.

By the late 1920s, the Comintern had formed a global framework of institutions and operatives. Its Sixth Congress in 1928 prophesied the final crisis of capitalism and a chain of revolutionary explosions across the planet, led by communists. This view, known as the 'third period' of extreme leftism, led to a radicalisation of communist parties throughout the world. Combined with an even stronger opposition than before to race prejudice and support for ethnic and national minorities, the new policy led in Australia to an all-out attack on racism.[67]

In Darwin, the CPA's internationalism and class-against-class approach briefly

influenced the previously racist leadership of the NAWU, whose president allied with the communists in 1929 and wrote an article for the Comintern's *Pan-Pacific Worker*. Within months, however, the alliance had collapsed. The CPA in the Territory then mounted its own campaigns in support of 'coloureds', Aborigines, and the unemployed. In 1931, it proposed the creation of independent Aboriginal republics, a novel and audacious idea at the time (at least for the left).[68] It also set up an Unemployed Workers' Movement that protested on behalf of jobless Chinese and other non-white and non-Anglo-Celtic immigrants. Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, white, Italian, and Greek workers enthusiastically supported the CPA's demonstrations between 1928 and 1931, in the heyday of communist influence in the Territory. By the mid-1930s, Darwin's CPA branch had a score of members and, in 1940, it captured the leadership of the NAWU. By that time, however, the union had already admitted 'coloureds', and the union's non-white members (including Chinese) no longer backed the party to the same extent as in the old days.

In the interwar years, Chinese wages rose, as labour in the Territory grew scarce because of the immigration ban. At the same time, the Chinese share of the population dropped, to 20 per cent in 1933 and just 10 per cent in 1941. Within Darwin's Chinese group, the proportion of the Australian born rose steadily. The talk was of their 'Australianisation' – their adoption of Australian dress and pastimes and of Christianity. Starting in the 1920s, western sports became popular among young Chinese. In the late 1920s, when the issue of Chinese civil rights was raised, leftwing NAWU leaders and local Communists opposed the 'colour line' in sport. Sport proved to be a great leveller, more so in the Top End than in other parts of Australia. Chinese interaction with Aborigines on the playing fields created a sense of multiculturalism that undermined the efforts of the white exclusionists, and Darwin's Chinese community developed an even stronger Territorian identity.[69]

Ethnic interaction in the working-class community is illustrated by the story of Henry Lee (1917–95), Darwin's so-called 'White Chinaman'. Lee, born to European parents, was raised from early infancy by a Chinese family, after his mother's widowing. He spoke fluent Cantonese and learned English only after starting school. His biography describes an interethnic children's gang in the 1930s consisting of Chinese, 'half-castes', and 'lower English', and a communist-led association that attracted 'lower-class' support, including working-class Chinese. Described in an obituary as 'a permanent wharfie and occasional farmer', Lee was on the NAWU executive and a member of the Chinese Temple and the Chinese Workers' Club.[70]

Julia Martínez's rediscovery of white Australian internationalism in Darwin has helped to dismantle a central paradigm of Australian historiography. She has rescued the Australian past from the supremacists, with their monoracial myth of the period of settlement, and from those on the left whose preoccupation with racism has inadvertently reinforced the concentration on monoculturalism and ethnic uniformity. Instead, she writes the history of Plural Australia, in opposition to the mainstream concentration on White Australia.

In Darwin, white internationalists helped break down interethnic 'racial' barriers in both the workplace and the community.

> They kept the issue of 'racial' discrimination in the forefront of local debate . . .. They lived by their ideology, socialising, drinking, dancing and playing sport alongside Darwin's coloured residents. In so doing, they were joined by a number of so-called 'half-caste' Aboriginal workers, and by Filipino, Chinese and 'Malay' workers who similarly advocated internationalist solidarity. From this perspective there was a marked change over time. The influence of communism after 1928 was an important factor in changing white attitudes.[71]

The CPA's influence on the Darwin waterfront forced the NAWU to rethink its ban on non-white membership. Support in Darwin for the 'colour bar' waned throughout the 1930s and collapsed in the 1950s, ahead of other places. This victory in the Territory for an inclusive union contributed to the defeat of racism in the mainstream labour movement throughout Australia.

Between internationalism and transnationalism in Chinese Australia

In Australia, as in other countries, Chinese internationalism was closely linked with a nationalist and patriotic attachment to China. All the Chinese organisations connected with the CPA or identified with internationalist factions in the Australian labour movement – the Australasian Guomindang, the CYL, and the CSU – were oriented towards the ancestral homeland.

A main focus of the Australasian Guomindang, as an overseas section of the China-based parent party, was by definition on China. For a while, it wavered between support for the Guomindang and the Chinese communists. Even after resolving this conflict of loyalty in favour of Chiang Kai-shek, it edged back towards a bipartisan stance in the late 1930s, at the time of the resumption of the united front in China. The CPA's campaigns in the 1920s (in support of the May Thirtieth Movement) and in the 1930s (in opposition to the Japanese invasion of China) influenced the political direction taken by the Australasian Guomindang, just as the Guomindang's own campaigns chimed with those run by the Australian communists.

Many supporters of the CYL such as Arthur Lock Chang and Maurice Leong had formed their anti-Japanese views in China, before migrating to Australia. Drawing on the talent it inherited from organisations such as the Chinese Youth Dramatic Association 悉尼埠侨青抗战话剧社, the CYL raised money for China in the late 1930s and funded Victory Loans in the 1940s by staging plays and concerts and Cantonese and Hainanese operas. The operas were performed by stranded seafarers (who included accomplished singers and musicians). Like the Australasian Guomindang, the CYL was galvanised to action by the CPA's Hands Off China Campaign. It worked together with other Chinese organisations to send

money and aid to China, including ambulances, winter clothes, and medicine. Because of its leftist stance, it concentrated on assisting the CCP-run armies.[72]

As for the CSU, it joined in the anti-Japanese boycott run by communist-influenced sections of the labour movement. It also helped to stir up support for the anti-Japanese resistance in established Chinese communities in Australia. CSU members and other seafarers who switched to land-based employment were well placed to influence settled Chinese workers and merchants. Chinese members of the labour corps in Western Australia worked together with the Chinese restaurant community in Perth to raise hundreds of pounds in support of a Chinese famine appeal.[73]

Just as the seafarers shored up patriotic and progressive feeling in Chinatown, so Chinatown shored up the seafarers. Cottle shows that Chinatown's proximity to the Sydney wharves 'was of crucial cultural, social, economic and political significance to the CSU'. Chinatown was a place to live, eat, talk Chinese, and make friends. But for its support, the seafarers may not have become so active on political issues.[74]

CYL and CSU members' political identification with China climaxed in 1949 in a boisterous celebration of Mao's proclamation of the People's Republic of China (PRC). Those present included non-communists such as Samuel Wong, a former president of the Guomindang in Australia who came out in 1949 as a member of the Revolutionary Committee of the Guomindang 中国国民党革命委员会, a pro-communist breakaway group formed in Hong Kong in January 1948. Most politically minded Chinese in Australia continued to support the Chiang Kai-shek regime after its move to Taiwan, but militants such as Arthur Lock Chang backed Beijing.

Lock Chang and his comrades later discovered the limits of their relationship with Beijing. In the 1950s, the PRC authorities repudiated the militants' internationalism and pro-labour views. It is well known that, after 1949, Beijing subordinated its dealings with ethnic Chinese in Southeast Asia to its diplomatic relationships with newly independent states in the region. Organisations such as Chee Kung Tong, which had acted as a transnational support of the CCP after coming under communist influence in 1946, gave up their international work after 1949. In Australia, Beijing representatives warned pro-communist Chinese to beware of seeming like a Fifth Column. Pressure from China forced Lock Chang to abandon a campaign for a 48-hour week for Chinese restaurant workers. The Revolutionary Committee of the Guomindang was ordered to disband, a step some members saw as 'selling out'. The pro-Beijing activists redirected their work towards the Australia–China Friendship Society, which Lock Chang helped to form. Others went to help rebuild China.[75]

Chinese members of the CPA were also active in campaigns to aid China. Maurice Leong and others raised funds for the anti-Japanese resistance. Some later joined the Soviet–Australian Society, an obvious choice for party members. Later, however, they formed the Chinese Fellowship and supported China in the 1960s and the 1970s, after the Sino-Soviet split.[76]

Australian Chinese internationalism in perspective

The Chinese community in Australia had much in common with immigrant and ethnic Chinese communities in other countries, but it also differed from them. Chinese in the Americas retreated into small, independent, communal enterprises shaped by ethnic networks in the early twentieth centuries, after a brief period of economic competition between Chinese and whites. Where they were contracted to plantations (mainly in the Caribbean), they quit at the first opportunity. Provenance and kinship persisted as the main principles of social organisation, as a result of white racism and the way in which Chinese emigrated and settled. Ethnic identities prevailed. Working-class identities, which depend on the erosion of ethnic boundaries, were slow to form. In Southeast Asia, the ascendancy of middle-class interests in the Chinese population and native anti-Chinese feeling also tended to reinforce Chinese identity, economy, and community.[77]

At first, racial thinking was less entrenched in Australia than in California, and anti-Chinese sentiment took longer to harden. Unlike in 'the great republic of the West', Chinese in Australia rarely competed with white workers after the goldfields' mid-century decline. Few moved into the towns. Most left the country in the early 1860s. Marriages between Chinese men and European or Aboriginal women were not uncommon, whereas strict taboos prevented 'racial' mixing in California. Not until the end of the nineteenth century did white attitudes to the 'Chinese problem' in the two places converge, partly through the translation to Australia of Californian thinking by Chinese migrants.[78] Thereafter, self-reliance in the teeth of racist exclusion became the Australian Chinese norm.

Studies note a decline in inclusive organisations based on counties of origin in the late nineteenth-century Chinese community and a polarisation into merchants and labourers, giving rise in the twentieth century to a two-class system.[79] Immigrant societies everywhere are liable to internal divisions, but the extent to which they burst into open conflict varies. Members of an ethnic minority who tend to live in isolation from one another or control means of livelihood and enter into relationships independent of their ethnic community are less likely to accept inequality than those cemented by economy and everyday living. The Australian Chinese, particularly in remoter areas, worked in a variety of jobs and trades, unlike the niches in which migrant Chinese usually live, and were more likely to form close relations with non-Chinese.[80] They were less constrained than other Chinese by the power elites that ruled the Chinatowns. Their institutions and intraethnic ties were looser and more fissile: they were more given to individualistic and anarchic ways.

The assumption that Chinese overseas automatically resort to homeland forms of association for self-defence and self-advancement rests on the belief that all early Chinese emigration was a form of sojourning rather than of settlement. This assumption is sometimes justified, but the sojourner spirit has been exaggerated in Australia, where some Chinese saw themselves as settlers from the start. This self-perception shaped their social and economic behaviour. It is one reason why Chinese associations in Australia never achieved the rich texture of those in Southeast Asia and North America.

Parts of the prewar and interwar Chinese community were sharply divided by social class. The early indentured labourers were deceived or abducted by crimps and brokers, and were from a wide range of places. They were less cohesive and disciplined than many free migrants, who either paid their own way or were subsidised by relatives. Unlike immigrants recruited and controlled by kin, they were not beholden to their patrons. Even those Chinese – at one point the majority – who reached Australia under the credit ticket system in the late nineteenth century were able to take advantage of distance and poor communications to free themselves from Chinese headmen and their agents. In 1897, a deputation of Chinese merchants complained to the authorities in the Northern Territory that masses of Chinese debtors were absconding to Queensland, an exodus amplified by the lifting of restrictions on movement after federation.[81] In 1912, large numbers of Chinese fled Atherton in Queensland and set up their own businesses along the coast when political violence erupted in Chinatown after the fall of the Qing.[82]

A main grievance among less established immigrants was the bondage system, which trapped them into servitude under a Chinese sponsor. This system arose from the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, which exempted some categories of non-competitive Chinese labour from the Dictation Test (held in a European language). The system was doubly hated in that it prevented the bonded worker from making a free choice of employment on the wider labour market. If he did manage to switch jobs, it had to be to another 'eligible' employer in the ethnic Chinese economy.

Arthur Lock Chang is an example of the animosity this system generated. Both he and his father worked for a slave-driving fellow-villager. Lock Chang was sacked when he tried to form a 'partnership' of Chinese workers. His new employer turned out to be no less exploitative than the first. These experiences led to Lock Chang's awakening to communism. Pearl Harbor put the bondage system temporarily out of action, for transgressors could no longer be repatriated. There is a parallel here with the seafarers, whose position also changed as a result of China's closure by the Japanese occupation. Lock Chang called this his moment of 'liberation', when he went to Sydney and plunged into class struggle.[83]

Australia's wealthier Chinese had a different trajectory. Like the poor, they continued to identify with China – even more so, for they were freer to spend time in China and therefore less likely to 'go native' in Australia. Their cosmopolitan lifestyle precluded a profound identification with Australians. Their relationships with rich whites lacked the depth of the communal solidarities formed by some poorer Chinese with working-class whites, for they occupied an independent base in politics and business.[84] Their kinship ties stayed stronger than those of poorer Chinese, many of whom experienced sharp breaks within their families.[85]

A clinching point in the radicalising of the Chinese was the seafarers' stranding in the early 1940s. In Australia as in Europe, the seafarers were targeted by union militants and communist agitators in the CPA and the CCP. No insurmountable barrier separated the Australia-grown and the seaborne Chinese revolutionaries. Symptomatic of their intermeshing was the appointment as seafarers' organiser of Lock Chang, who first kicked over the traces in Tingha, a small inland service town in New South Wales. The union's other best known leaders, Fred Wong,

William Jong, and Stanley Wei, were the educated sons of prominent Sydney merchants. They were acceptable to Guomindang diplomats in Australia and fluent in English.[86]

However, there were limits to the internationalism of Australian seafarers in the war years, despite the new attitudes. Cottle calls the CSU a movement of 'proletarian patriotism', whose flowering into full-blown internationalism was impeded by the racial exclusionism for which the Australian labour movement was well known.[87]

Quoting recent Australian writings, Neale Towart notes that 'a new generation of labour historians has been having a fresh look at unions and "non-white" labour and finding that there is more to this story' than labour racism.[88] I have mentioned several instances of white Australian intervention in support of Chinese rights. Guomindang-inspired socialism was in part a response to agitation by white labour leaders, while local initiatives by white trade unionists working in their own communities helped to influence the national picture.

The dismantling of racist barriers in Darwin is a striking example of a local community influencing Australia's wider labour movement. The White Australia ideology was not applied with uniform rigour throughout the country. There was a more pluralist outlook in the underpopulated and ethnically more mixed Northern Territory, where Chinese were less segregated than in the south. The progress made in the north pointed the way to a new view of Asian labour in the rest of Australia.

The interaction between Chinese and white labour was not just political and institutional. In his study on early Australasian Chinese politics, John Fitzgerald cites a comment by Vivian Chow, a Guomindang leftist born in Australia in 1906, that highlights the role played by Australia's working-class ethos in forming Australian Chinese attitudes. Writing in 1932, shortly after the Guomindang's expulsion of its left wing, Chow commented:

> Send a Chinese to America and he tries to become a monopolist because of the ambitious example set before him; send him to British Singapore and he strives to become a contractor with designs on knighthood . . .. Send a Chinese to Australia, he becomes a labor leader and a booster 'for the working man's paradise'.

Chow believed that Australian Chinese differed from Chinese around the world in that they sympathised with the working man. According to Fitzgerald, he and Sam Wong 'shared pride in this Australian working-man's heritage as well as his Chinese ancestry'.[89]

The Chinese heritage that animated Chow and other politically minded Australian Chinese was republican revolution and a tradition of rebellion dating back to the Taipings. Like others of his generation, Chow saw Australian Chinese as a people apart, 'of great courage and enterprise, . . . the leaders of Chinese initiative and the instigators of Chinese progress . . ., the only Chinese trained and equipped mentally and physically for such a task [of rejuvenating China]'.[90]

8 Esperanto

This chapter is about the support Chinese internationalists in Japan and France gave the Esperanto movement and the movement's effect on China, which became one of its main world bases. The approach is somewhat different from that of the preceding chapters, in that the focus is more or less equally on the Chinese response to Esperanto overseas and the debates and political and cultural activities it sparked at home.

Esperanto is an artificial language created by L. L. Zamenhof, a Jewish oculist, for use as a global second language. Zamenhof grew up in Poland under Russian occupation and experienced at first hand the linguistic, ethnic, national, and religious tensions between Jews, Catholic Poles, Orthodox Russians, and Protestant Germans. He identified problems of communication as a main cause of conflict and constructed Esperanto as the remedy. He presented his work to the public in 1887. As a doctor, he wrote under the pseudonym Doktoro Esperanto – the Hoping One. Subsequently, this name was transferred to the language.[1]

Zamenhof set out the structure of Esperanto in his *Fundamento de Esperanto*, published in 1905. It strove towards maximum simplicity. The grammar consisted of just sixteen rules, the spelling was phonetic, nouns were genderless, and verbs were regular and uninflected. The vocabulary was based on Latin, English, German, French, and Russian.[2] Zamenhof tested and expanded the language by translating works ranging from the Old Testament to plays by Shakespeare, Molière, and Goethe.

The Esperanto movement started to take off in the late nineteenth century. Today, the Universala Esperanto-Asocio, founded in 1908, has members in 83 countries and represents more than 100,000 Esperanto speakers, who send delegates to the World Esperanto Congress each year. More than 100 periodicals appear in the language and more than 30,000 books have been published in it, many of them in China.

As it grew in influence and extent, the Esperanto movement was increasingly wracked by internal conflict. Zamenhof himself tried to inject it with a quasi-religious meaning. Others saw it as a neutral tool of communication. Officially, Esperantists set aside their differences and agreed on a vague general platform of understanding between peoples and world peace, but tensions in the movement persisted.[3]

Socialists and anarchists, including Chinese, saw Esperanto as a perfect vehicle for internationalism and world revolution. Esperanto was initially imported into China by foreigners and achieved little impact. However, leading Chinese radicals outside China – primarily anarchists in France and Japan – passionately embraced the Esperanto cause and did their best to establish it in China and the diaspora. Chinese Esperantists contributed greatly towards the injection of a spirit of internationalism into Chinese politics, at home and overseas. Their debates (especially that between the Paris anarchists and Zhang Binglin 张炳麟) played a central part in making the case and stimulating a general movement for language modernisation in China.

In later years, Esperanto won a following among Chinese communists. After the October Revolution, in the 1920s, networks of Esperantists in the Soviet Union set up a workers' press.[4] In 1921, at its inaugural meeting, a communist-supported International Association of Non-Nationals (Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda, SAT) emphasised the use of Esperanto in class struggle and condemned the mainstream Universala Esperanto-Asocio as politically neutral. In 1931, the Internationale of Proletarian Esperantists (IPE) was founded with the goal of sidelining SAT and supporting the Comintern. The IPE established its main support in Germany, but it also had a flourishing branch in China.[5] The Soviet experiment in Esperanto ended in tragedy in 1937, when its supporters were purged during Stalinist Russification, but it later revived.[6]

The Tokyo group of Chinese anarchists

Chinese anarchists in Tokyo and Paris began publishing journals, independently of one another, in the spring of 1907. The Tokyo group originated in the Shehui zhuyi jiangxi hui 社会主义讲习会 (Society for the Study of Socialism), which Liu Shipei 刘师培 led. Liu's Tokyo journal was called *Tianyi* 天义 (Natural Justice). It was followed later by *Hengbao* 衡报 (Equality), which had a somewhat different outlook. Together with his wife He Zhen 何震, Liu called for social revolution incorporating feminism. Unlike the Paris group, which assumed that the universals of western thinking were also valid for China, Liu and He were strongly attached to Chinese culture and believed that anarchist principles grew out of a Chinese cultural 'essence' that would facilitate China's transition to an anarchist future.[7]

The Tokyo Chinese anarchists believed that it was necessary to express oneself as simply as possible to reach the widest number of people and supported the call for an international means of communication. Delegates at the World Congress of the Second International in Stuttgart and of the anarchists in Amsterdam, both in 1907, raised the question of Esperanto, but while the former did not consider the problem urgent, the latter responded with enthusiasm.[8]

In Japan, the anarchist Ōsugi Sakae 大杉荣 had learned Esperanto and was keen to pass on his knowledge, including to the Chinese anarchist Jing Meijiu 景梅九, an occasional contributor to *Tianyi*. Esperanto made its first appearance in *Tianyi* – without comment or translation – in the caption to a picture of the French anarchist Elisée Reclus.[9] *Tianyi* nos. 16–19 published a picture of Zamenhof, an

Esperanto hymn by Zamenhof, and an article by Liu Shipei on Esperanto.[10] Liu wrote that only an artificial language could be truly international and that a worldwide union would come about only if all goods were owned in common and there was a world language.[11] Liu, whose knowledge of foreign languages probably did not extend beyond a smattering of Japanese, found Esperanto fascinating. Would it not solve the problem of communication in China, with its host of mutually incomprehensible dialects? According to Liu, Esperanto had much in common with Chinese and would be easy to learn. (He had used the same argument for anarchism, to 'prove' that it would not lead to cultural alienation – on the contrary, China would provide its worldwide vanguard.) Liu reckoned Esperanto could be learned in three months. If everyone agreed to adopt it, the revolutionary literature of the whole world would become available to people everywhere.

For Liu, Esperanto would be the sole foreign language. He accepted it would be hard to abolish Chinese and may never have intended to do so, given his attachment to Chinese tradition.[12] In 1908, in an article for the magazine *Guocui xuebao* 国粹学报 (National Essence), he stressed that Chinese should be preserved as a unique cultural monument for, being 'archaic', it could provide information about the evolution of human society. Instead of following the Japanese model of romanisation, the ancient Chinese dictionary *Shuowen jiezi* 说文解字 should be translated into Esperanto with guides to pronunciation, to make Chinese accessible to the world.[13]

In 1908, the Japanese authorities closed down *Tianyi* after it published a translation of the *Communist Manifesto*. It was succeeded by *Hengbao*, dedicated to 'anarcho-communism, anti-militarism, the general strike, reports about the people's suffering, and links with the international revolutionary labour unions'. *Hengbao* published material in English and Esperanto and recruited participants for Ōsugi Sakae's Esperanto courses. Its Esperanto section explained that Chinese anarchists in Japan suffered as a result of the language problem for, like most foreign revolutionaries in Japan, they knew only their own language. Moreover, translating cost time and effort. Ōsugi, the driving force behind this Chinese campaign, promised that Esperanto could be learned in six months to a year.[14]

The Paris group of Chinese anarchists

The Paris group of Chinese anarchists was led by Wu Zhihui 吴稚晖, Li Shizeng 李石曾, Zhang Jingjiang 张静江, and Chu Minyi 楮民谊, who had been recruited by French anarchists. In 1907, they launched the journal *Xin shiji* 新世纪 (New Century). They believed in a world citizenship that would transcend state and cultural frontiers and in the need for a world language. Esperanto was in vogue in Europe at the time, especially in the internationalist circles the Chinese anarchists frequented, and Paris was its stronghold. *Xin shiji* started life with an Esperanto subtitle, *La Novaj Tempoj* (New Times). Its publishers saw Esperanto as a practical medium, simply constructed and easy to learn, and as a way of subverting the linguistic hierarchies of natural speech and promoting internationalism.

Esperantism brought the *Xin shiji* group into contact with an even wider range of radical opinion.[15] It particularly attracted Chinese in Europe, where they came

up daily against a variety of languages. They were aware that their own language, particularly the script, was considered exotic in the west. Liu Shipei's interest in Esperanto was mainly practical, but *Xin shiji* saw it as a way of polemicising against the Chinese language as the carrier of Chinese tradition.

Xin shiji's first article about Esperanto described the isolation of its author, lodging with monoglot Europeans of different national backgrounds, and his admiration for the sole Esperantist among them. It spoke enthusiastically about the Esperanto World Congress in Geneva and claimed that there were 20 Chinese among its 2,000 delegates.[16] A further article reported on the Third Esperanto World Congress in Cambridge, where Zamenhof described Esperanto as a bridge to peaceful coexistence and proposed making it compulsory in primary schools.[17]

Xin shiji later went on to compare Esperanto and Chinese. Li Shizeng and Chu Minyi argued in separate articles that Chinese characters were an obstacle to communication and by definition elitist, as ordinary people lacked the time and money to master them. The result was illiteracy and the blocking of knowledge. A phonetic script would require the elimination of dialects, so it might be better to replace written Chinese with an international language such as Esperanto.[18]

Xin shiji summarised its advantages: (1) In many languages, the script diverges from pronunciation, but not in Esperanto. (2) The accent is always on the penultimate syllable. (3) Each word can be identified infallibly as this or that part of speech. (4) Multiple meanings are impossible, so interpretation is unnecessary. (5) Words can easily be looked up in dictionaries.[19] *Xin shiji*'s correspondent recommended the general use of Esperanto in China. He insisted his recommendation had nothing to do with a lack of patriotism. Quite the opposite: China was culturally retarded, so extreme measures were needed. Alphabets were useful in the natural sciences, such as mathematics. Unlike Chinese characters, they corresponded to modern needs. Did not characters obstruct the acquisition of new knowledge? Did not Chinese homophony sow confusion? Did not dialects disfigure Chinese to the point of incomprehensibility? It was enough to open a Chinese dictionary to see how unfit the script was. Even the Japanese, despite developing a syllabary, had failed to create a rational reference system. And how simple it was to look up words in an alphabetic dictionary. If China did not want to change to English or another natural language, it should opt for Esperanto, which was superior to natural languages. The 'barbarian' Chinese script system should be radically eliminated.[20]

This thesis did not go unchallenged. A reader – perhaps Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 – argued that Esperanto could not be introduced into China overnight. Chinese must first be reformed. Particles could be used to signal parts of speech and characters could be simplified – to which Wu Zhihui, in an editorial comment, added that it would be best to limit the number of characters, as the Japanese had done, and that the simplifications should follow the handwritten short forms. Each Esperanto word should have a one-to-one Chinese equivalent. The script should be written horizontally from left to right rather than vertically from right to left. Finally, Chinese sentence structures should be adapted to western ones, as Europeans are able to think clearly while Chinese sentence structures prevent Chinese

from doing so. If Chinese were thus reformed, a Chinese could learn Esperanto in three months.[21]

The article provoked a flood of letters. One reader criticised the proposal to reform Chinese as redundant and advised everyone to learn Esperanto instead and teach it to others.[22] Wu Zhihui suggested setting up an Esperanto society and attending Esperanto courses in Europe, as well as introducing Esperanto in Chinese primary schools (although he predicted that patriots would resist). He argued it was absurd to forbid the teaching of foreign languages in Chinese schools (as was being proposed at the time) when Chinese was so obviously unfit for acquiring knowledge. Why else was it necessary to import Japanese neologisms? And why use Japanese instead of the source language? After all, the Japanese themselves favoured English and had turned their backs on Chinese. Better switch directly to Esperanto, as the most perfect language. Government prohibitions and the views of self-appointed patriots could safely be ignored – the generation of the 'over-30s' was in any case finished. But hope remained for the young, who should be the main target of the campaign to spread Esperanto.[23]

Xin shiji's strong defence of Esperanto provoked Zhang Binglin, editor in Tokyo of *Minbao* 民报 (People's Newspaper), the organ of Sun Yat-sen's party. Zhang had even opposed plans to standardise the use of Chinese characters in the different countries of East Asia, so he would hardly accept a switch to Esperanto.[24] Liu Shipei had spoken up for Esperanto but had never called for the elimination of characters, so Zhang had not bothered to react.[25] However, Zhang saw *Xin shiji*'s position as an attack on China's national identity and polemicised against it in *Minbao* and *Guocui xuebao*. In his opinion, Esperanto was not international at all, because its vocabulary was based on western languages. It was a language 'of the whites'. Without its language and script, China would lose its cultural identity and future. China had already suffered political humiliation: now, it would be subjected to language imperialism. *Xin shiji* should be ashamed of assisting in such a project.

Zhang dismissed the complaints about Chinese as groundless. Mastering characters was a matter of schooling. Were there not more illiterates in Russia than in China? Did not the Japanese manage with characters? To claim that an alphabet demonstrates cultural superiority was ridiculous – did not the Mongols have a phonetic script? The advantage of characters was that they were not directly linked to pronunciation and could be used across dialects and historical periods. So the Chinese were in the enviable position of being able to access ancient texts. Chinese dialects were not a problem, as they drew on the same genetic roots and could therefore provide the basis for a standardised pronunciation. Language was something that grew naturally and should be left alone. Emotions were attached to languages: it was wrong to dissect them pragmatically and functionally. This was why it is so difficult to translate poetry. Zhang was in any case convinced that people would veto any attempt to manipulate the language in the ways *Xin shiji* proposed.

Zhang identified two fundamental errors in the demand for the abolition of characters and the introduction into China of the Esperanto form of the western

alphabet. Such a plan might work in Europe, as European languages are closely connected, but the situation in China was different. Moreover, the sound structure of the Esperanto alphabet would make differentiation difficult.

Even so, Zhang strove to make a contribution to defining the sounds of Chinese and (using archaic characters) developed his own system of phonograms, defined on the basis of the pronunciation of the Tang period (AD 618–907). This system served as the model for the phonetic alphabet (called Zhuyin fuhao 注音符号 or Bopomofo ㄅㄆㄇㄈ) still used in Taiwan and now attributed to Wu Zhihui. (This is a small irony of history for, although Wu did the final shaping, the basic scheme was Zhang's.)

Zhang recognised the problem of creating a standardised pronunciation of Chinese but rejected as redundant other changes suggested by *Xin shiji*, such as the grammatical adjustment of Chinese to European languages (e.g. by marking plurals). Primary school pupils could already understand texts from the Han period (206 BC–AD 220). Why cut them off from tradition? Zhang believed that *Xin shiji*'s insistence on China's backwardness was wrong and mocked its publishers for not knowing the heights of their own civilisation.[26]

Wu Zhihui did not accept Zhang's censure. He replied that language is nothing more or less than a means of communication. The confusion of languages was damaging, and Esperanto was the way out. Nevertheless, Wu had apparently been convinced by the moderate proposals of the reader (Cai Yuanpei?) who had demanded in the first instance a 'new Chinese'. He therefore proposed a three-stage process. First, create a standard pronunciation of Chinese, as the Japanese had done with Tokyo dialect. Second, introduce mandatory instruction in a western language as a qualification for admission to high school and mastery of two foreign languages for admission to university (also as the Japanese had done). Third, replace western languages with Esperanto once sufficient Esperanto teachers had been trained.

Wu accused Zhang of wanting to cultivate fossilised languages, thus preventing the acquisition of new knowledge and cementing the west's superiority. It was egoistic to want to withhold from the west China's contribution to world culture or to expect westerners to learn Chinese, for knowledge is the property of all. That Chinese was so hard to translate proved it failed to meet the requirements of the modern age. If to translate was to betray, an international language would make translation redundant.[27]

Gradually, the Esperanto craze in *Xin shiji* died down. Reports about the annual Esperanto World Congress and calls for China to found scientific magazines in Esperanto continued to appear, but Esperanto had become a distant goal – rather like anarchism. A Chinese in Scotland who argued for the abolition of Chinese within 20 years and asked *Xin shiji* to show more commitment was told that, while he was right in principle, Chinese could be abolished only in the medium term. The editor gave as an analogy missionary work, which was impossible without learning the language of the to-be-missionised. In any case, there was no point in worrying, as evolution would ensure that the best won out. At present, reforming Chinese was the first step.[28] Esperanto had therefore become less urgent. This

relegation was reflected in *Xin shiji*'s masthead, which swapped its Esperanto subtitle *La Novaj Tempoj* for the French *Le siècle nouveau*.

In the final days of *Xin shiji*, the language debate rekindled when Zhang Binglin, writing in *Minbao*, returned to the attack with an article on *Xin shiji*'s idea of language revolution and its refutation of his earlier arguments. He accused the Paris group of being slaves of the whites and of wanting to cover up their own ignorance of Chinese culture. If a lingua franca were needed, the Asians could devise one (e.g. for use in the postal service). If the argument was about the perfectness of Esperanto, then in some fields, e.g. kinship terminology, Esperanto was inferior to Chinese. As in all European languages, the same term in Esperanto applied to several different sorts of person. *Xin shiji* itself admitted Esperanto would only be generally accepted after the establishment of an anarchist world society. Then, the family system would have been abolished (so kinship terms would no longer be important). Under such circumstances, Esperanto might perhaps become a world language.

In the meantime, Chinese had to be preserved. Beyond their purely practical function, characters were also aesthetic. They had been handed down and were therefore 'natural'. Every language grew on the basis of a society's experiences and was culturally specific. To introduce another language would be linguistic imperialism, as practised by the Russians in Poland. *Xin shiji* had shown itself to be indifferent to the mother country's fate. It allowed only whites to retain their 'national essence'. But China and the west had different roots, a divide that should be respected. The argument that Esperanto was practical was irreconcilable with *Xin shiji*'s claim to be scientific, for science looks for what is true, not for what is practical.[29]

Zhang's attack appeared in *Minbao* no. 24, which the Japanese banned. *Xin shiji* therefore received it late, after Zhang had returned to Shanghai and written a letter that *Xin shiji* published. In it, he deplored Esperanto's growing popularity in Shanghai.[30] He repeated the accusation that Esperanto reduced the 'world' to Europe and added that Esperanto was less creative than Chinese, which can produce an immense vocabulary on the basis of 3,000 frequently used characters. Esperanto was like a translation that clings to the foreign model. Chinese, on the other hand, was self-sufficient and self-determining.

Zhang resented what he saw as the arrogance with which Chinese students in Europe looked down on those in Japan and their apparent assumption that only the west had anything to offer. In truth, the only independent cultures in the world were those of China, India, and Greece – all else was poor imitation.

Xin shiji refused to accept Zhang's criticisms. It argued that Zhang was so fixated on China and Chinese that he could not see a millimetre beyond them. But the law of evolution was implacable. The meaningful and the practical would win out regardless of human wishes. People could not afford to waste precious years learning such a complicated script. Wasn't the popularity of Esperanto in Shanghai (which Zhang deplored) proof? If Zhang spurned Esperanto because it was based on European languages, he simply demonstrated that his horizon was limited by race. Who in the One World was interested in whether you were

yellow or white? European languages were chosen as the source of Esperanto's vocabulary mainly because they are alphabetic, whereas eastern languages are graphic. Moreover, Chinese has tones, which are impractical.[31]

To call Esperanto inferior on account of its kinship terminology was nonsense. Kinship terms were an expression of social reality, which manifested its unfairnesses even in language. The problem lay not in language but in the family system. Doubts were also raised about Zhang's competence to discuss foreign languages (properly so, for even his Japanese was shaky). Anyone familiar with western languages would know that English takes at least five years to learn and French at least seven. Esperanto, on the other hand, could be learned in a year. The Chinese script was anyway a property of the elite, of those who could afford the time to learn it – not of the Chinese people.[32]

Xin shiji stopped publishing shortly afterwards, but its final issue was dedicated to Esperanto. It quoted Tolstoy that spreading Esperanto would bring humanity closer to paradise. *Xin shiji* concluded: all humanity would benefit from the abolition of the Chinese script; each of us should make a personal commitment to Esperanto rather than wait for other countries to do so; China would win respect if it replaced the Chinese script with Esperanto; foreigners would help spread Esperanto in China; the abolition of Chinese script would influence other East Asian countries and bring *datong* 大同, the era of great harmony, closer.[33] So *Xin shiji* remained faithful to its ideals right to the end, even though they were relegated to a more distant future.

In the debate, *Xin shiji* and Wu Zhihui argued chiefly on practical grounds. In evolutionary perspective, Esperanto was a crowning point of human ability, purged of the defects of natural language. Zhang Binglin repudiated this functionalist view, on the grounds that language was historical and a component of national identity. He suspected non-linguistic intentions behind attempts to manipulate language. His view of language was organic, whereas Wu Zhihui's was mechanistic.

These debates, particularly those concerning Chinese, were marked by a failure to distinguish between the written and the spoken. Usually characters were the issue, but the linguistic structure of Chinese (including tonality) and the dialect problem also figured in the discussion, as did the question of literary versus colloquial. It was unclear whether Esperanto was meant as a lingua franca (to replace English) or as a language for use in China (like English in India). Probably no one imagined people in China would converse solely in Esperanto, but the lack of clarity left room for doubt.

The discussion showed that the language problem was subordinate to the main issue, ideology. Zhang knew next to nothing about Esperanto (or any western language), and was vulnerable to the shafts *Xin shiji* aimed at him. On the other hand, how far members of the *Xin shiji* group mastered Esperanto is open to question. But Esperantists were already active in China (as Zhang's letter showed), so *Xin shiji* in Paris, like *Tianyi* and *Hengbao* in Tokyo, were not lone voices. Its main initial base was in Shanghai, although it later spread to Guangzhou and Beijing.[34]

That there were Chinese Esperantists in Paris is evident from the pages of *Xin shiji*. When Chinese started going home from abroad after 1911, Esperanto in China received a further lift, and several Chinese anarchists joined the movement. However, the early advocates of Esperanto around *Xin shiji* or *Tianyi* and *Hengbao* played no direct role.

Jiang Kanghu 江亢虎 and Shifu 師復

Jiang Kanghu, a Jiangxi intellectual who had studied in Japan and Europe, began organising the Chinese Socialist Party in China in 1911. Jiang is sometimes said to have advocated state socialism, like Sun Yat-sen, but in fact he started out as an anarchist and continued to believe in socialism from below even after the switch.[35] He also supported Esperanto, and introduced it to the curriculum of a school he set up in Beijing.[36] In 1913, many of Jiang's followers deserted him because of his submissive gestures (made for opportunistic reasons) to the then discredited Yuan Shikai, the autocratic first President of the Chinese Republic. The defectors united with other former members of the party's anarchist wing.

Among those who left was the publisher of the socialist newspaper *Rendao zhoubao* 人道周报 (Human Weekly), Xu Anzhen 许安镇, who began to cooperate with the anarchist Shifu. The newspaper continued the close connection between Esperanto and socialism that Jiang Kanghu had pioneered and was one the first periodicals in China to publish an Esperanto column. The newspaper, subtitled *Ĥina Socialisto* in Esperanto, appeared in Shanghai, China's Esperanto bastion at the time.[37]

Shifu was China's best known and most influential anarchist. Born in Guangdong in 1884, he went to Japan to study and became a revolutionary. He converted to anarchism in 1912 in China, after reading *Xin shiji*, and set up the anarchist Xin she 心社 (Heart Society) in Guangzhou. Its covenant forbade eating meat, drinking alcohol, smoking, using servants, riding in rickshaws, marrying, using family names, serving as an official, serving as delegate to an assembly, joining a political party, joining the armed forces, and following a religion.[38] In 1914, Shifu moved to Shanghai and set up the Society of Anarchist-Communist Comrades.[39]

The Shifu group was strongly committed to Esperanto, which Shifu adopted after reading *Xin shiji*. He and his friends learned Esperanto at a summer course run in Guangzhou in 1912 by Xu Lunbo 许论博, who had studied in France.[40] Then they themselves organised further courses. Thus began a longlasting connection between anarchism and Esperanto in China.[41]

Several later leaders of Chinese anarchism joined the courses. They included Huang Zunsheng 黄尊生, Ou Shengbai 区声白, and Liang Bingxian 梁冰弦. Shifu and Xu Lunbo set up an Esperanto society in Guangzhou, which became China's second Esperanto centre (after Shanghai), and joined the Universala Esperanto-Asocio. While the Shanghai Esperantists kept in touch with Jiang Kanghu's Socialist Party, in Guangzhou, the main link was with anarchism.[42]

In 1913, Shifu's group founded an urban commune. A plan to set up a rural commune and practise self-subsistence failed, but Shifu continued to try to live by

his anarchist principles. The group acquired a printing press and launched *Huiming lu* 晦鸣录 (Cock-Crow Record), with the subtitle *Pingmin zhi sheng* 平民之声 (Voice of the Common People) and the Esperanto title *La Voĉo de l'Popolo* (subsequently amended to *La Voĉo de la Popolo*). The magazine was later renamed *Minsheng* 民声 (Voice of the People). The aim was to use it to connect physical toil with labour of the heart.[43]

The first issue came out in August 1913, at a time when Yuan Shikai was persecuting supporters of the 'second revolution' against his rule. Its goals were defined as social revolution by anarchism and Esperanto. The magazine published an Esperanto section, to inform comrades in other parts of the world about China. Shifu was more committed to exchanging views and information with non-Chinese than the producers of magazines run by He Zhen and Liu Shipei and *Xin shiji*.

The magazine's eight basic maxims were communism, anti-militarism, syndicalism, rejection of religion, rejection of the family, vegetarianism, the convergence of languages, and worldwide *datong*. By publishing it bilingually, Shifu hoped to enable ordinary Chinese (the *pingmin* 平民) to join a worldwide alliance in support of the 'holy work' of revolution.[44] Shifu demonstrated the importance of exchanges with foreign comrades by translating a letter from Havana about Latin America. He also introduced international Esperanto associations and the magazine *Universala Unuiĝo* (Universal Union) (which he translated as *datong*) to readers.

Huiming lu's Esperanto section contained translations of Chinese contributions and specially written articles of potential interest to foreign comrades. Even Confucius was called to witness, with his dictum that 'an inhuman government is crueller than a tiger'.[45] The Esperanto sections of later issues were designed not only for foreign comrades but also for Chinese learners. They included articles by western authors translated into Esperanto and letters in the language.

During Yuan Shikai's crackdown on dissidents, Shifu and his group fled temporarily to Macao, where they continued to publish under the name *Minsheng*. Their main focus was on translations, which supplied information about the worldwide anarchist movement. Again, Shifu was keen to demonstrate he had contacts everywhere, by translating letters from foreign comrades and listing all the magazines and correspondence he received. The main medium for this contact was Esperanto. Among the links he established (following the Heart Society's second maxim) was one with the League of Esperantist Teetotallers.[46]

In February 1914, when Yuan Shikai's pressure reached Macao, Shifu's group had to look for a new sanctuary. They chose Shanghai, where the international settlements offered cover and there was a ready-made Esperanto movement. As the focal point of Jiang Kanghu's activities, Shanghai was home to many socialists and anarchists. Shifu had only a year to live. The final issue of *Minsheng* under his editorship appeared in August 1914. Shifu's last few months were the high point of his anarchist work. The composition of the group in Shanghai was essentially the same as in Guangzhou. Zheng Bi'an 郑彼岸 had gone to Canada, Huang Zunsheng was in Japan, and Xu Anzhen had joined the Shifu group in Macao.

Shifu's support for Esperanto was central to his anarchism. His interest in

philology was one reason for the special role language questions played in East Asian anarchism. Most of *Minsheng*'s foreign correspondence was in Esperanto.[47] In an addendum to a translation from *Freedom* of an article on 'Esperanto and Anarchism', Shifu argued against objections to Esperanto and its use by anarchists. As a language, it was neutral, yet Shifu could identify with the idealistic goals of Esperant*ism*. World peace, Zamenhof's main aspiration, was also a goal of anarchism. That anarchists must sometimes commit violent actions did not invalidate it. To counterpose Esperanto as pacific and anarchism as destructive was wrong.[48]

So *Minsheng* closely followed developments in the world Esperanto movement. Its Esperanto section was run by Sheng Guocheng 盛国城, a prominent Esperantist and another ex-member of Jiang Kanghu's party, who had previously done the same for *Rendao zhoubao*. Apart from Esperanto versions of articles in the Chinese section, Sheng wrote original contributions and inscriptions in Esperanto. As a result of its Esperantist policy, *Minsheng*'s links with Japanese anarchists strengthened. The Esperantist Ōsugi corresponded with Shifu and arranged for his friend Yamaga Taiji 山鹿太治, another anarchist and Esperantist, to help Shifu with *Minsheng*, in the magazine's most productive period (in 1914).[49] Yamaga had often been in China and spoke some Chinese. Having worked in Dalian as a typesetter using Latin script, he was a useful addition to the *Minsheng* staff. His arrival was among the first instances of material international cooperation between Chinese and foreign anarchists. As an Esperantist and experienced technical worker, his contribution was invaluable. He left the group in the autumn of 1914, when it was on the point of financial collapse. At the time, Ōsugi needed him for his own new magazine, *Heimin shinbun* 平民新闻.[50] However, Yamaga continued to liaise between the Japanese and Chinese anarchists.

In November 1916, *Minsheng* stopped appearing and did not restart until 1921. Zheng Peigang 郑佩刚 did his best to spread Shifu's ideas by reproducing his articles as pamphlets.[51] In 1916, he and Sheng Guocheng brought out their own Esperanto magazine, *La Ĥina Brileto/Huaxing* 华星 (China Star). Later, the Cantonese anarchist and Esperantist Ou Shengbai joined. Sheng had already launched China's first Esperanto magazine, *La Mondo/Shijie* 世界 (The World), in November 1911, but it was a purely linguistic venture and folded after the first issue. *La Ĥina Brileto* was China's first durable Esperanto magazine. It carried articles about language and the war.[52] At more or less the same time, Ou Shengbai in Guangzhou published the Esperanto magazine *Internacia Popolo/Shijie yuebao* 世界月报 (International People/The World), in which he propagated anarchist ideas through Esperanto.

Esperanto also had its advocates among anarchists in the west, but only in China did it acquire a solid base. (The Anarchist Congress conducted its business exclusively in French, English, and German.[53]) It owed much of its popularity to Shifu and his group, whose work was of immense practical value in introducing anarchist and Esperantist internationalism to Chinese. Towards the end of his life, Shifu conducted a huge number of exchanges with Esperanto publications all over

the world. His commitment was a direct manifestation of the extreme idealism of Chinese socialists on the eve of the First World War – an idealism that was never fully recovered after the disappointments caused in China by the war and its aftermath.

Xin qingnian 新青年

Around 1915, reform-minded Chinese scholars started to assert a new role for themselves as critics of Confucianism and champions of new-style values, including science and democracy. This New Culture Movement attacked the Chinese writing system and the use of classical Chinese, and called for a literary revolution and the promotion of the vernacular, known as *baihua* 白话. The educational debate and experiments in new styles of learning and living associated with the New Culture Movement made anarchism more acceptable in China, and helped it to spread and diversify. The New Culture Movement culminated in 1919 in the May Fourth Movement, named after the date of strikes and demonstrations against the decision of the Peace Conference at Versailles to let Japan keep concessions in China previously controlled by Germany.

Nearly all the influential figures in China's anarchist movement at the time had been connected with Shifu. Through their propaganda, a new generation of Chinese anarchists grew up. Linked with anarcho-communism as Shifu promoted it were Esperanto and the idea of a strategic turn to the workers, which Shifu's heirs pushed vigorously. Neither field was an anarchist monopoly, but each critically shaped the movement.

After *Minsheng* folded in 1916, the group restricted its communication to an occasional bulletin.[54] Some members temporarily become workers. Others published works in Esperanto.[55] Towards the end of 1916, however, Esperanto suddenly achieved wider fame when it became a topic of intense debate in *Xin qingnian* (New Youth), the magazine of the New Culture Movement.

In November 1916, a series of readers' letters and commentaries sparked off a lengthy debate about Esperanto's merits and demerits. A letter from 'T. M. Cheng' asked whether it was worthwhile to learn Esperanto, and raised arguments for and against. Chen Duxiu 陈独秀, editor of *Xin qingnian*, replied with a guarded yes. However, when the reader wrote again asking whether it would not make greater sense to learn French (given that Chen had praised the French contribution to civilisation), Chen conceded that learning Esperanto was not urgent.[56]

The editors and principal contributors to *Xin qingnian* worked at Beijing University, led at the time by Cai Yuanpei, who had studied in France. Cai had come out in favour of Esperanto in the days of *Xin shiji* and endeavoured to learn it. It was probably Cai who first discussed Esperanto in the context of the modernisation of Chinese, a big issue in later years. At the start of the Republic, as Minister of Education, Cai arranged for Esperanto to be taught as an option in colleges and universities. He saw its role as that of an auxiliary language in international commerce and an aid to learning western languages.[57] His actions boosted Esperanto's

popularity in China. In 1913, *Dongfang zazhi* 东方杂志 gave Lu Shikai 陆式楷, probably China's first Esperantist and joint founder of the Chinese Esperanto Union, the chance to comment in detail on Cai's views.[58]

As Dean of Beijing University, Cai appointed Sun Guozhang 孙国璋, a veteran of the Esperanto movement, to teach the language.[59] Sun knew about the connection between Esperanto and socialism and anarchism from his days in Shanghai, but he was on the movement's 'neutral' wing.[60]

Through its anchorage at Beijing University, Esperanto was drawn back into the language debates that unfolded in *Xin qingnian* and elsewhere. A main participant was the linguist Qian Xuantong 钱玄同, who took up the Esperanto cause in a reader's letter.[61] A pupil of Zhang Binglin who had studied in Japan and learned some Esperanto, Qian returned to the debate between his mentor and Wu Zhihui.[62] He considered *Xin shiji*'s call for the replacement of Chinese by Esperanto premature but, unlike Zhang Binglin, he argued for Esperanto as a second language in China's schools. Also unlike Zhang Binglin, he was motivated by practical rather than aesthetic arguments. Even so, he believed that, in the future One World, Esperanto would replace national languages.[63]

Qian's letter did not go unchallenged. The sociologist Tao Menghe 陶孟和 attacked Esperanto as a form of alienation. Reiterating the arguments of Zhang Binglin, he stressed the connection between language and national character. Esperanto was like a permanent translation of originals. Would the westerners give up their languages? And if not, why should the Chinese? The future must be unity in diversity, not uniformity. According to Tao, Esperanto was as dictatorial as the Confucianism that *Xin qingnian* sought to overthrow. Moreover, it had no Asian components.

Chen Duxiu, to whom the letter was addressed, had previously signalled cautious support for Esperanto. He now praised Tao's objections as a useful corrective to an exaggerated enthusiasm for the language, but he criticised Tao's refusal to envisage a role for Esperanto in the One World as nationalistic. Although Tao did not question the goal of *datong*, he had denied the need for a unitary language. For Chen, however, its unitary nature was Esperanto's main attraction. It would provide a means of communication freed from the restraints of national character. What Tao deplored, Esperanto's lack of maturity compared with natural languages, was an advantage for Chen: being artificial, it was free of baggage.[64]

Qian Xuantong, who joined *Xin qingnian* in January 1918, pushed his argument against Tao even further. Language was mere symbol. What was dictatorial about an artificial lingua franca? Qian wondered whether misunderstandings might have arisen because of the Chinese rendering of the word Esperanto. The translation, literally 'world language', a Japanese borrowing, implied a wish to replace or to absorb other languages. Tao had called for Chinese elements. For Qian, however, Chinese, with its characters and their inherent ambiguities, was unsuitable for integration. Apart from issues of transcription, for which Qian favoured romanisation, the Chinese vocabulary lacked the quality of abstraction necessary for modern life. Western terms would have to be integrated into Chinese whether one wanted to or not, but on the basis of which western language? Clearly, Espe-

ranto was the best choice. Only in the classical field could Chinese culture enrich Esperanto – which would happen automatically if Chinese historical texts were translated into it.

'World language' meant no more than lingua franca. Qian turned down other Chinese renderings of 'Esperanto', for example *wanguo xinyu* 万国新语 (new language of the ten thousand nations) and phonetic mimickings such as *aisibunandu* 爱斯不难读 (loved because it is not difficult to learn).[65] In Shanghai, Lu Shikai agued that content was the main thing and proposed *aishiyu* 爱世语 (the language that loves the world). He pointed out that Esperanto was not just a language but a worldview. Sun Guozhang argued on pragmatic grounds for retaining the word *shijieyu* 世界语 (world language) and that an accurate translation would anyway be *xiwangzhe* 希望者 (the hoping one).[66]

Qian was drawn to Esperanto because of his dissatisfaction with Chinese, which he hoped eventually to abolish. He did not fear the loss of China's cultural heritage, as 99 per cent of it was ossified Confucianism and Daoist magic-mongering, which *Xin qingnian* was pledged to wipe out. However, propagating Esperanto by means of 'international correspondence', like the Esperantists in Shanghai, seemed to Qian narrow-minded and unimaginative.[67]

Qian's comments stung Sun Guozhang to reply. Writing in Beijing University's daily newspaper, he stressed Esperanto's neutrality and practicality and denounced Tao Menghe's implication that 'natural' languages were not human made. Sun had no wish to replace Chinese – he wanted Esperanto as an international lingua franca. He criticised the Shanghai Esperantists as too ideological (and for their poor teaching). For Sun, a 'neutral' Esperantist, the debate should not stretch to extralinguistic issues, either cultural or sociopolitical. On this point, he took a different position from the anarchist Esperantists.[68]

The Chinese Esperantists had expressed no real opinion on the question of replacing Chinese, which was Qian's goal. This perhaps explains in part why, in later years, Qian gave up on Esperanto. As a linguist, he did not react to Sun's comments about politicisation, although he himself had ties with the anarchist Ou Shengbai. Rather, he criticised the Esperantists for failing to stress how much new knowledge Esperanto would make accessible. Tao Menghe, on the other hand, argued that Esperanto had gone out of fashion in the west. That people in China were still discussing it showed only how far China lagged behind.[69]

From another direction, anarchist Esperantists attacked Sun for criticising ideological Esperantism. Liang Bingxian said that *datong* and the anarcho-communist society remained the eventual goal of Esperanto, just as in the days of *Xin shiji*. He criticised Sun for trying to patent Esperanto, as if there were no room for pluralism.[70]

This debate remained largely internal to the Esperanto movement. *Xin qingnian* seemed to have lost interest. Hu Shi 胡适, an Esperanto sceptic, thought enough had been said. Chen Duxiu remained undecided and continued to call for a unitary lingua franca, but he did not tie himself to Esperanto and seemed increasingly indifferent to it.[71] However, Qian Xuantong put the topic back into the public eye.

At first, the sceptics in *Xin qingnian* seemed to have won the day.[72] However, when supporters of Esperanto started to write in, a topic previously confined mainly to the letters column found its way onto the main pages. Wu Zhihui, who had supported Esperanto in the early years of *Xin shiji* and was himself busy planning to reform Chinese, continued to take the part of Esperanto, although with more reservations than in the past. He saw Esperanto as a distant goal and recommended simultaneously integrating other major western languages into the curriculum. Sooner or later, a world language would become generally accepted, in the form of an optimised or amplified Esperanto.[73]

The younger anarchists were more determined. Ou Shengbai doubted whether Chinese was reformable and stressed (as a Cantonese) that making Mandarin the standard would create unfairness. Better to begin immediately with Esperanto.[74]

Huang Lingshuang 黄凌霜 asked which language should be adopted as world language, to take the wind out of the sails of Esperanto's critics, and accused them of having only the haziest understanding of Esperanto and of being motivated by the nationalistic argument that Chinese had played no part in its construction. He brought the debate back onto linguistic grounds, by comparing Esperanto with Volapük and Idiom Neutral.[75] Volapük was already out of the running in the west, and Idiom Neutral had barely got going. Esperanto was evidently superior, and had most speakers.[76]

In a further letter, Huang connected Esperanto with China's New Culture Movement. Critics argued there was too little literature in Esperanto for it to be worth learning. Huang pointed out that the same could be said of the vernacular, which Hu Shi and others were trying to promote. To prove Esperanto's worth, he translated an article by the Englishman Bernard Long, which had appeared in Japan, and praised Esperanto as an ideal bridge between the English- and Japanese-speaking nations. It also radiated new hope for a united world in the postwar period. Huang nominated the following models for treating China's ills: Tolstoy for literature, Ibsen for drama, Kropotkin's 'mutual aid' for science, and the revolution in Russia for society.[77]

The Esperanto debate in *Xin qingnian* ended in February 1919, when Chinese disappointment at the outcome of the Versailles peace treaty led to a cooling of internationalist sentiment and a rising tide of political revolution. Now, even the discussion about Chinese gave way to social and philosophical issues. However, the language question had played an important role in the early stages of the New Culture Movement and in China's modernisation debates.[78] In content, the debate had not advanced much beyond that between Wu Zhihui and Zhang Binglin. However, as the principal discussants wrote not from an attachment to Esperanto but from a wish to abolish Chinese and equip China for the future, it is not surprising that Esperanto dropped from sight in 1919, when other causes started to look more promising. The commitment to Esperanto remained confined to China's organised Esperantists and anarchists, particularly because Esperanto was an integral part of the social renewal they hoped to carry out.

Xuehui 学汇 and Erošenko

Numerous anarchist groups sprang up in China in the early 1920s, but most soon folded. The main centres remained Beijing, Shanghai, and Guangzhou.[79] Central to these developments was the journalist Jing Meijiu, who had earlier been affiliated to the *Tianyi* group and was the sole personal link between them and later anarchism. In Beijing, starting in the autumn of 1922, Jing created a broader audience for anarchist thought by publishing *Xuehui* (Collected Learning), a supplement to the daily newspaper *Guofeng ribao* 国风日报 (National Customs). *Xuehui* was not purely anarchist, but it carried numerous translations and articles by anarchists.[80] Many were taken from other publications, so *Xuehui* was more transmitter than innovator. Non-Chinese authors included Kropotkin, Ōsugi, and Tolstoy, and it also published Eltzbacher's outline of anarchism. But, although many of the translations were not new, they now reached a wider circle.

The supplement looked to China's own anarchist traditions, a concept elastic enough to include Laozi and Zhuangzi, China's archetypal Daoist philosophers.[81] Several authors argued that China was cut out for anarchism, and writers such as Zheng Taipu 郑太朴 and Jing Meijiu specifically recommended sinicising it. Some suggested a New Village strategy, an idea borrowed from Japan, where anarchists and others started experimenting with communal forms of rural living in the late 1910s. Mixing with the rural population like the nineteenth-century Narodniks and building organisations from the bottom up was thought to be essentially Chinese.[82] (Such ideas were carried out in some places.[83]) Others argued for a more radical line and exhorted readers not to ignore soldiers as targets of anarchist propaganda (as the ruling classes would not give up without a fight[84]) or women.[85]

Xuehui also talked about Esperanto. Jing Meijiu had learned some Esperanto from Ōsugi in Japan and was interested in language issues. In Shanghai, where Jing lived until 1922, Esperanto had spread quickly, just as it was now spreading in Beijing. Although the first big Esperanto debate (in *Xin qingnian*) had subsided in 1919, Sun Guozhang continued to offer courses at the university and had no difficulty in attracting students.[86] He had always stressed Esperanto's practical advantages. The language received an added boost when Cai Yuanpei invited the blind poet and Esperantist Vasilij Erošenko to Beijing University.

Erošenko, a native of Ukraine, then part of the Soviet Union, had ties to East Asia and the international socialist movement.[87] Born in 1890, he had gone blind at the age of four. A talented linguist and musician, he learned Esperanto and enrolled through Esperantist contacts at a blind school in London in 1912, to study music. He was expelled for 'improper behaviour', but not before getting to know Kropotkin and the British anarchists. In 1914, he left Ukraine for a second time, after hearing that, in Japan, blind people could study to become doctors. Also through Esperantist contacts, he enrolled at a college in Tokyo. He linked up with Ōsugi and other radical intellectuals, including the 'proletarian' dramatist and Esperantist Akita Ujaku 秋田雨雀, and began to write and publish. After travelling through South and Southeast Asia between 1916 and 1919, he was expelled

by the British colonial authorities as a 'dangerous Russian'. Back in Japan, he came under police supervision. In June 1921, the Japanese government expelled him on suspicion of 'Bolshevism'. However, he was unable to prove himself as a Bolshevik to the Soviet authorities, who refused him entry. He preferred anyway to go to China, where he arrived in October 1921.

In Shanghai, the writer Lu Xun 鲁迅 (1881–1936) had already begun to publish translations of Erošenko's work (from Japanese).[88] Hu Yuzhi 胡愈之, the publisher of *Dongfang zazhi* and himself a prominent Esperantist, had also written about him. Reports had already appeared in *Juewu* 觉悟 (Awareness), the supplement to the Guomindang newspaper *Minguo ribao* 民国日报 (in which Jing Meijiu was involved), about Erošenko's activities in Japan and his treatment by the Japanese authorities.[89] After his arrival in Shanghai, many more reports and translations appeared. Erošenko had his biggest impact at Beijing University, where he was appointed in February 1922 to teach Esperanto. During this period, he lived in the home of Lu Xun and Lu's brother Zhou Zuoren 周作人.

Esperanto, which Sun Guozhang had taught as a mere language, received a big boost at Beijing University after Erošenko's arrival. Erošenko argued in his lectures – usually in English – that Esperanto had much to offer, including its own literature, and that it could not be identified with a single ideology. Esperantists were in principle humanists and pacifists.[90] He spoke freely about his ideals. He criticised the Bolsheviks for their many errors, but he accepted that they were inspired by love for the people and could be expected to succeed. He spoke positively about the Narodniks and suggested them as a model for Chinese youth. Besides criticising Japanese imperialism, which went down well with his audience, he remarked that some Chinese intellectuals were prepared to sacrifice only others and not themselves.[91] As a result, many previous sympathisers started boycotting him. He also made enemies among pro-Bolshevik students, who disliked his criticisms of the Soviet Union, and among anarchists, for rejecting violence. He supported the humanist wing of Esperantism, which Zamenhof had founded. Erošenko always retained a certain affinity for anarchism and preferred the company of anarchists but never joined an explicitly anarchist organisation. He was a socialist only in a very general sense, moved more by the longing for a pure, peaceful world than by dogma.

While his star at Beijing University was waning, Erošenko set about founding his own Esperanto school in Beijing with the help of Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei, and other members of the old *Xin shiji* group, and with the support of Lu Xun and Zhou Zuoren. As a representative of the Chinese Esperanto Association, he attended the Esperantists' World Congress in Helsinki in the summer of 1922. This time, he was allowed to cross the Soviet Union, and the Japanese gave him a permit to cross Manchuria. On the way, he met the Japanese socialist Katayama Sen 片山潜, who helped him gain entrance to the congress.[92] (The Esperantists were in the middle of a split and at first distrusted him.)

On his way back to China, Erošenko gained a poor impression of conditions in the Soviet Union. However, he held back in his criticism. Perhaps he realised that he would sooner or later return to Ukraine, particularly as he no longer felt

at home in Beijing. He may also have feared making further enemies in China.[93] He left China in the spring of 1923. In the Soviet Union, he worked for a while as a Russian teacher and as a translator at the University for the Toilers of the East, but he was sacked in 1927 as 'ideologically unreliable'. He later worked in blind education and died in his home village in 1952.[94]

In Beijing, the new Esperanto school started to take off. At the end of 1922, while Erošenko was still in China, the Esperantists' Association held a conference to mark Zamenhof's birthday. Several prominent people expressed their support. Cai Yuanpei argued that Esperanto would allow Chinese to present China in a better light in the west and asked the Chinese diplomat Wellington Koo 顾维钧 to send the meeting a message in Esperanto.[95]

As a result of the conference, Esperanto was much in the news. Translations of Erošenko's works by Lu Xun, Zhou Zuoren, and Hu Yuzhi played a big part in restoring it to visibility. As publisher of *Dongfang zazhi*, Hu Yuzhi promoted the language in various ways and brought out a special section on it.[96] He argued that international languages were not a substitute for national languages but a means of communication between peoples. In itself, language was neutral. Even so, international languages promoted internationalism and would end nationalism and racism. Just as lack of communication gave rise to conflict, so an international language would lead to peace and social progress worldwide. Which language was best equipped to do so? From the point of view of numbers, Chinese was an obvious choice, but Chinese was hard for foreigners to learn. Moreover, national languages were tied to nations, which lessened their efficacy as vehicles of internationalism. The best choice would be an artificial language, regularly constructed and easy to learn. Esperanto was the most widely accepted such language, as it was linguistically superior and ideologically neutral. Zamenhof's humanism should not be viewed as a binding philosophy, for it was no more than a general expression of universal love. Thus Hu Yuzhi presented Esperanto as the solution to the problem of international communication and Chinese isolation.[97]

Other contributors to the special section included Ou Shengbai and Huang Zunsheng, anarchists who had studied together in Lyons and run Esperanto courses at the Institut Franco-Chinois. The pair had attended a conference in Geneva in April 1922, called to discuss a proposal debated at the League of Nations the previous year to adopt Esperanto in schools. The conference accepted Huang's suggestion to found a translation committee, so countries could translate their newest and most important discoveries into Esperanto.[98]

Huang, who lived in France until 1926, represented China at several Esperanto congresses in Europe, including a meeting in Venice in 1923 on the need for a common trade language, when he represented the Chambers of Commerce of Beijing and Tianjin. In 1924, he accompanied Cai Yuanpei to the Esperantists' World Congress in Vienna. In 1925, he represented the Chinese Ministry of Education at a conference in Paris on the use of Esperanto in the pure and applied sciences and again at the Esperantists' World Congress in Geneva. In 1924, he was elected to the Language and Central Committee of the Esperanto movement and subsequently attended congresses in Spain, Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia.[99]

He was the first Chinese to play a prominent role in the international Esperanto movement.

In *Dongfang zazhi*, Zhou Zuoren returned to the old discussion about Esperanto and the reform of Chinese. Like Qian Xuantong, Zhou and Lu Xun had studied under Zhang Binglin. At Beijing University, Zhou had followed the Esperanto discussion in *Xin qingnian*. A translator of foreign literature and a writer, he had a special interest in the controversy about national languages and the pros and cons of the vernacular. He was close to Erošenko and a patron of his school. Nevertheless, he remained lukewarm about Esperanto. He announced in *Dongfang zazhi* that the time had come to wind up the language debate. The extreme demand, to abolish Chinese and replace it with Esperanto, was illusory and undesirable. Esperanto could serve as a second language, but it was also necessary to improve Chinese. Zhou gave only limited support to Hu Shi's idea that the new Chinese should draw on the vernacular-based novels of the Ming and Qing periods, for they lacked the rigorous logic China needed. On the other hand, it would be wrong to reject traditional writing out of hand, just as it would be wrong to reject regional expressions. The new Chinese must integrate foreign words to express modern themes and align itself with western grammar. It was not his aim to westernise by force, but he thought – after all, he was no linguist – that grammars could be artificially adjusted, at least within limits. The new national language needed a grammar and dictionaries that could be made compulsory in the schools and publishing houses.

Zhou's main criterion was practical. He still believed in the struggle for One World and thus in Esperanto, but not at the expense of national languages. On the other hand, the construction of a national language should not be at the cost of dialects. Just as everyone would learn high Chinese alongside his or her native dialect, so he or she can also learn a foreign language or Esperanto. In a word, Zhou was calling for linguistic unity in diversity.[100]

This relegation of Esperanto to an ever more pragmatic level helped to widen its acceptance. However, the anarchists continued to try to harness Esperanto to their schemes. The new Beijing school became a meeting point for anarchists and helped Chinese anarchists abroad distribute their publications. Jing Meijiu was not directly involved at first, but he published reports about the school in *Xuehui*. There were numerous contacts between Jing and young anarchists at the school. In late 1922, Yamaga visited Beijing on Ōsugi's behalf and met Erošenko, who introduced him to Jing by way of a Korean anarchist and Esperantist. Jing, who knew Ōsugi from Japan, had developed close ties with Sun Yat-sen, despite his own anarchist beliefs. Yamaga noted that Jing practised a style of anarchism all of his own. Apart from his political promiscuity, he led a free and easy life and took opium. (Yamaga, who was more familiar with the strait-laced anarchists of the Shifu group, was amazed.[101]) Jing Meijiu was nevertheless a central figure in the Beijing anarchist scene, as he could offer *Xuehui* as a forum for those interested in anarchism and Esperanto. Most young anarchists flocked to his standard – and to the Esperanto school.

One young anarchist, Feng Shengsan 冯省三, a student at Beijing University

and occasional secretary to Erošenko, compiled an Esperanto reader for which Zhou Zuoren wrote a preface. Lu Xun protected Feng after his expulsion from university for agitating against the raising of print fees on student publications, and Qian Xuantong wrote an obituary on the occasion of his death in 1924. Although not themselves anarchists, the three professors were sympathetic to anarchism, whereas they kept their distance from Bolshevik students. In 1924, Jing Meijiu was appointed director of the Esperanto school and published an Esperanto supplement to his *Guofeng ribao* (probably a sequel to the *Xuehui* supplement). Some Russians – like Erošenko, no Bolsheviks – also taught at the school, so Esperanto continued to be seen either as anarchist or as a neutral language, rather than as Bolshevik.

Anarchism and Esperanto in the late 1920s

Chinese communism had roots in anarcho-communism but, by the mid-1920s, the two traditions no longer saw themselves as linked, by either past ties or a shared agenda. The split, says Peter Zarrow, was 'deep and bitter'.[102] The differences, in China as elsewhere, concerned attitudes towards the state and the Soviet Union. Chinese anarchists were at first sympathetic to the Bolsheviks but, by the mid-1920s, they saw the regime in Moscow as oppressive. They polemicised against the Chinese Communist Party's statist goals and its promotion of 'proletarian dictatorship' and 'iron discipline'.

During the revolution of 1925–27, the CCP worked on Comintern instructions in a united front with the Guomindang, an authoritarian party populist in rhetoric but tied in practice to defending the interests of China's business groups and elites. The terms of the alliance required the CCP's subordination to the Nationalist leaders and the submersion of its membership.

The anarchists were divided on whether to join. Wu Zhihui wanted to, but others favoured building their own independent constituency. In 1925–26, anarchists were reduced to passive observers both of the labour movement, which came under communist control, and of the Northern Expedition launched by the Guomindang to reunify China. In 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek started a bloody purge against his communist 'allies', the anarchists faced a test. Some opposed Chiang, others supported him out of a deep-seated antagonism towards the communists. Still others favoured a third way. On the pro-Guomindang wing were veteran leaders such as Wu Zhihui, Li Shizeng, Cai Yuanpei, and Zhang Jingjiang. At more or less the same time as the purge of the communists, its supporters launched three initiatives, the magazine *Geming zhoubao* 革命周报 (Revolutionary Weekly), the Workers' University, and *Ziyou shudian* 自由书店 (Freedom Bookshop).[103]

For a while, *Geming zhoubao* concentrated on anti-communist polemics and abstract theorising. In time, however, it reverted to a more overtly anarchist direction. Topics such as the relationship between revolution and morality resumed their traditional prominence. Esperanto also made a comeback, as the 'third revolution' after anarchism and communism. (Anarchism stood for political, communism for economic, and Esperantism for spiritual revolution.) The aims

of Esperantism were listed in 14 points: for an anarcho-communist society; for a culture and science based on philanthropy; for an education in the same spirit; for human liberation; for permanent peace; for a morality based on philanthropy rather than on law; for the free association of peoples; for individual freedom; for an aesthetic life; for free love; against nationalism and militarism; against the need to struggle for existence; against every form of dictatorship; and against class dictatorship.[104]

Anarchism and Esperanto in China in the 1930s

The tensions that arose in 1927 affected the whole anarchist enterprise. After 1928, the Guomindang began to deal more harshly with the anarchists. Those who had ingratiated themselves with it were now let down. The Workers' University and *Geming zhoubao* were forced to close. Anarchists who had applauded the smashing of the communist-led labour movement now saw their own unions banned and had to retreat into literary and educational activities. Even then, the authorities interfered.[105]

In Shanghai, the anarchist left around Lu Jianbo 卢剑波 and his League of Young Chinese Anarchists and Anarcho-Communists were among those forced to retreat. By promoting Esperanto and his own brand of 'proletarian culture', Lu tried to preserve a base for anarchism, but bans thwarted his efforts. He opposed the call for armed struggle, which he associated with 'heroes from foreign novels', and urged anarchists to play the role of humble and patient servant.[106]

These 'foreign-style heroes' were probably a reference to the novels of the writer Ba Jin 巴金 (1904–2005), a prolific anarchist writer and leading literary figure who made foreign revolutionary heroes popular in China. Ba Jin's 'romanticism' was criticised by literary critics and anarchists alike. But, although he and Lu had fallen out in 1927, they later became reconciled.[107] So Ba Jin, who had in the meantime gained fame as a writer, added his weight to Lu's magazine *Jingzhe* 驚蛰. He contributed an article about the Spanish anarchist Buenaventura Durruti and argued for a coalition of socialists, communists, anarchists, and anti-fascists.[108]

Whereas Lu Jianbo stood for the fast-disappearing political side of China's anarchist movement, Ba Jin represented its cultural influence, which remained strong in the 1930s. He continued to identify with the anarchists, but no longer propagandised for them. He maintained a strong commitment to Esperanto. After returning to China from France, he lived for a while on the premises of the Esperanto Association in Shanghai and acted as publisher of *La Verda Lumo/Lüguang* 绿光 (Green Light), its magazine, and of Erošenko's fables. However, he had to move after the Japanese attack on Shanghai in January 1932, when the premises were destroyed. After that, he only rarely translated from Esperanto.[109]

Ba Jin first wrote about Esperanto in the magazine *Banyue* 半月 (Half-monthly) in Chengdu in 1921, when he quoted *Xin qingnian* and praised the language as a means of spreading anarchism.[110] In 1924, he applied to join the Tutmonda Ligo de Esperantistaj Senŝtatanoj (World League of the Esperantist Stateless),

an anarchist organisation that had split from the Sennacieca Asocio Tutmonda (World Society of the Stateless).[111] He published in *La Verda Lumo/Lüguang* for the last time in 1933.[112] His interest in Esperanto was reinforced by his close ties in France with the Esperantist Hu Yuzhi.[113]

Ba Jin distanced himself from the Esperanto movement after 1932, at the same time as the link between it and anarchism began to fray. Previously, Esperanto in China had been associated mainly with anarchism. Now, Chinese communists began to take an interest for the first time.[114] Developments in the Soviet Union led to the founding in China of the pro-communist League of Proletarian Esperantists 中国普罗世界语者联盟. Leading Shanghai Esperantists, including Hu Yuzhi, turned away from anarchism and towards the CCP.[115] Under the motto 'With Esperanto for the liberation of China', large parts of the movement joined the CCP's anti-Japanese campaign. Only Lu Jianbo clung to a recognisably anarchist line.

In the 1930s, Chinese Esperantists became more active on general language issues, particularly the latinisation movement, which received support from Soviet Esperantists. The Chinese Esperantists proposed the adoption in China of the system of romanisation (Latinxua Sin Wenz 拉丁化新文字)[116] created by the Soviets for their own Chinese minority (and thus paved the way for Hanyu Pinyin 汉语拼音, developed in China in the 1950s).[117]

Because of Esperanto's internationalist character, its pro-communist supporters in China hoped to use it to win foreign support for the anti-Japanese cause. The Guomindang opposed the campaign, not just politically but from a language point of view, because the Guomindang opposed romanisation.

An outstanding example of a non-Chinese Esperantist who contributed to the anti-Japanese resistance was the Japanese woman writer Hasegawa Teru 长谷川テル (1912–47), who accompanied her Chinese husband to China in 1937. In Japan, Teru was a member of the Klara Circle, named after Klara Zamenhof, the wife of the author of Esperanto, and the German communist Clara Zetkin. The Circle worked to promote proletarian Esperantist literature among women. From her new home in China, writing under her Esperanto name Verda Majo, she addressed an open letter to Japan's Esperantists asking them to support the Chinese resistance and another to the Esperantists of the world urging them to boycott Japan.[118]

Conclusions

'Anarchism,' wrote Ed Krebs in his study on Shifu, 'set the agenda for [China's] dialogue on New Culture' in the 1910s. Chinese anarchists in Tokyo and Paris had promoted, and often pioneered, most of the topics the New Culture Movement raised – Esperanto, female equality, the dignity of labour, the importance of science, internationalism, and China's role in world revolution. Their support for Esperanto was an expression of their 'consistent advocacy of internationalism'. Their internationalism was at the same time a form of patriotism, for they saw worldwide revolution as the way to destroy imperialism.[119]

The course of China's Esperanto debate, starting with Wu Zhihui's utopian

expectations and ending with the mobilisation of Esperantists in the romanisation campaign of the 1930s, is marked by a progressive loss of social and political relevance. Shorn of its ideological pretensions, the Esperanto movement spread into ever wider areas of Chinese society. In the 1980s, China's Esperanto Association was a stronghold of the World Association. However, it owed its strength to government backing, for which the price was submission to political control.[120] The welfare of Chinese Esperantism was always tied to political factors, whether the Esperantists liked it or not. (Not surprisingly, it got nowhere in Taiwan under the Guomindang.)

What did China's Esperantists hope to achieve? For most, Esperanto was a badge of internationalist commitment and belief. For some, it was a universal key to the 'west' that would spare China the need to engage separately with each western culture and language. However, the First World War proved to radical Chinese of the May Fourth era that the west was far from homogeneous and even further from the One World ideal. Moreover, Esperanto failed to achieve the global breakthrough its supporters dreamed of and banked on.

Many Chinese Esperantists emphasised the language's international and neutral character. A lingua franca needs interlocutors, so the hopes of the Chinese movement were tied to its fate abroad. Esperanto had the advantage of being nationless. But nationlessness was also a disadvantage, for it deprived Esperanto of a noisy lobby and the material resources of a state. Esperanto was a vacuum filled with ever-changing ideals – but this further sapped its strength, for it came to be identified with sectarianism and quixotry.

After the communists came to power in 1949, the role previously played by Esperantists in language reform was recognised and rewarded. Hu Yuzhi and Ye Laishi 叶籁士 were appointed vice-presidents of the script reform committee. In the event, however, reform was confined to the simplification of Chinese characters. In the early 1950s, China's Esperanto movement was suppressed, following the Soviet example, but it revived in the late 1960s. During the Cultural Revolution, Chinese Esperantists – like everyone in China with foreign contacts – suffered discrimination and persecution, but official ties to the international Esperantist movement remained. Books and magazines continued to be published (but their contents were restricted to official propaganda).

The collapse of communism in Russia and eastern Europe robbed Esperanto of main sources of political and financial support, and recent changes in China have weakened it still further. With English more than ever rampant, the practical arguments of Wu Zhihui and others appear less valid.[121] Esperanto is back where it started, dependent on the idealism of individuals. It remains to be seen whether nativism, anti-Americanism, language purism, or some other form of ideologically motivated reaction will rebound on English and bring Esperanto back into the debate in China.[122] Such a development cannot be ruled out entirely, especially in the computer age, when the idea of artificial languages acquires a new significance.

9 Conclusions

Marx, Bakunin, and the early social-revolutionaries thought that industrialism, with its expansionist wars, global markets, and mass migrations, would 'denationalise' the workers. Nationalism's progress after 1870 undermined this expectation, but the thought was kept going by libertarians and anarchists and had new life breathed into it at the start of the twentieth century by the Wobblies and the Bolsheviks, who created revolutionary institutions with a global reach. At the same time as promoting internationalism, the Bolsheviks advocated support for colonised peoples and the principle of national self-determination.

Stalin's renationalisation of the revolution after the death of Lenin and the defeat of Leon Trotsky led to tensions between Moscow and foreign communists, and eventually to the fragmentation of large parts of the world communist movement along national lines. However, internationalist rhetoric could still rouse activists, who sometimes broke through the confines within which Stalin's Comintern agents worked to contain them.

This study is unique in that it tells the story of the engagement of Chinese emigrants with labour and social-revolutionary movements of an internationalist type, rather than with campaigns relating exclusively to China. It raises conceptual issues neglected in China studies and in ethnic and transnational studies. It questions conventional ideas of existing scholarship, much of which is based on the perception of Chinese migrants as sojourners, docile, and lacking in political agency or interest. This reconceptualisation leads to the uncovering of a hidden field in the history of Chinese politics and Chinese settlement overseas. It reveals a simultaneous Chinese migrant activism in labour movements in several countries, organised along class rather than ethnic lines, and Chinese workers and students joining non-Chinese political parties. It extends the concept of transnationalism by bringing political activism across ethnic relations to the fore and suggesting new and important approaches to the study of transnational relations.

The study shows that Chinese abroad are no exclusive tribe but members of a common humanity, although that realisation is often blocked by the everyday experience and collective memory of racism. Among Chinese anarchists at home and abroad, the ideal of international solidarity and worldwide revolution struck deep. The Bolsheviks' rethinking of the 'national and colonial question' encouraged

Chinese patriots to pursue their goals within an internationalist framework. China was the main front in Lenin's plan for world revolution in 1920, after the postwar disappointments in Germany and elsewhere. The Chinese communists' alliance with Sun Yat-sen gave them access to the Guomindang's sections overseas, which they assiduously subverted. In the early twentieth century, Chinese labour radicals had tried to link up with the Second International but met with a combination of hostility and indifference, at a time when many labour leaders subscribed to the Yellow Peril ideology. For a while, the Wobblies provided a home for some Chinese radicals. After the Wobblies' collapse, the Comintern was the only world labour organisation interested in recruiting Chinese workers. Several times in the first half of the twentieth century, Chinese abroad joined forces with foreign radicals in the belief that oppressed peoples share a common fate. In places such as Britain, Cuba, Australia, and France, they joined or allied with national sections of the Comintern, in what to many must have seemed a logical passage from the transnationalism in which they were already so well versed to Chinese internationalism. Some seemed to slough off narrow allegiances altogether – examples can be found among Chinese Esperantists and Chinese migrants in Russia and Spain. Others espoused internationalism as a reciprocal exchange between peoples. For still others, who saw the national cause as paramount, internationalism provided a shield for China's national interests.

Early Chinatown campaigns meant different things for Chinese internationalists and nationalists. For the latter, China's interests heavily outweighed Chinatown's: Chinatown campaigns had little intrinsic worth but were instrumental to a greater end, the fight to restore China's sovereignty. Even their commitment to bringing literacy and hygiene to Chinatown was often driven by the wish to stop foreigners looking down on Chinese. The internationalists, in contrast, catered to Chinatown's as well as China's interests. They too wished to see China in a more glorious light, but they wanted to serve China not just as a virtue in itself but as an integral part of a wider campaign to change the world.

The focus in studies on Chinese overseas on the role of ethnic networks and associations has blinded scholars to the part played by the labour movement (based in host nations or in China or the Soviet Union) in organising Chinese immigrants along class lines and in trade unions – either general unions or unions formed specifically for Chinese. Most such studies have little to say about the ways in which local and Chinese radicals combined in countries throughout the world to heal 'racial' divisions and foster interethnic solidarity.

A strong syndicalist or communist presence in the local labour movement seems to have been a prerequisite for such organising. As migrant workers, Chinese seafarers were connected across the world by a tissue formed from intertwining ethnic and subethnic elements and by class-based trade unionism and, in some cases, labour internationalism. In Britain and Australia, this dimension of Chinese transnationalism did not open fully until the Second World War, at a time when communist parties on the European mainland and in the Chinese ports were driven deep underground. During the Second United Front between the Guomindang and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP),[1] resistance to Japanese expansionism was

both the focus of Chinese politics and a burning political issue in Britain and Australia, at a time of strong communist growth in both countries. This political convergence reinforced the cooperation between China and the allied governments and between Chinese migrants and labour movements overseas.

Although class and ethnic identities are not mutually exclusive, the former can undermine the latter, especially among poor immigrants. Class identification was especially pronounced among Chinese seafarers: because they are workers, because they travel widely, and because they are subethnically more mixed than other groups of migrant Chinese and less susceptible to the disciplines of clan or the influences of regional culture and politics. Studies assume that migration did not become normatively transnational until the late twentieth century – as a result of shifts in the global order, the compression of time and space by new technologies, and the expansion of social networks from below.[2] However, transnational practices were commonplace in Chinatown even in the early twentieth century, in part as a result of Chinese employment by steamship companies. The Chee Kung Tong, an international party, was exported from San Francisco across oceans, in some cases by seafarers. So, as we have seen, were the politics and institutions of Chinese republicanism and communism.

The role that seafaring played in spreading socialism, communism, and movements of national liberation across the world rarely features in ethnic, labour, and migration studies, but it is crucially important. Michelle Stephens describes in her study on black internationalism how Marcus Garvey realised the part steamship communication could play in knitting together 'the different branches of the Negro race scattered in Africa, the Americas, and the West Indies' and shows how his Black Star Line, founded in 1919 as a three-vessel operation, 'was meant to function as an organized transnational network for the creation of a black diaspora based on transnational movement and communication'.[3] Just a couple of years earlier, in 1917, Chinese entrepreneurs in Sydney had set up a shipping line to break the white monopoly and promote trade and travel between Australia and Hong Kong.[4] North American seafarers were responsible in the pre- and interwar years for exporting the Wobbly idea of One Big Union around the world, particularly to Europe and Australia.[5] These initiatives stemmed from the perception by some workers' and immigrant leaders that only by creating an independent means of transport and communication could they overcome their worldwide dispersion and divisions and challenge the power of the capitalist and white establishments. Such developments are downplayed or ignored in transnational studies, which normally picture transnationalism as a child of the technology of the 1990s.

Class-based organisations helped to distance Chinese migrants from ethnic associations of the traditional sort (usually led by entrepreneurial elites) and contributed in some cases to the creation of transnational ties among Chinese workers in the labour diaspora (for example, between Chinese communists in Rotterdam and Singapore and between the wartime Chinese seafarers' unions in Liverpool and Sydney). Studies often project clan associations as the essential organising principle of Chinese society overseas. However, archives on ethnic Chinese communities include fat files on early Chinese immigrants who, for one reason or

another, did not join ethnic associations.[6] These non-joiners rarely figure in studies on the communities, even though their abstention throws into question the essentialist assumptions that underlie much such writing. The extent to which clan associations are in the hands of wealthy entrepreneurs and Chinatown grandees is sometimes understated, just as their cross-class composition is exaggerated. Poor immigrants comment on the clan associations' elite orientation and give it as a reason for steering clear; looking back, others say they were too poor to join. Subethnic groups consisting mainly of workers find association-forming harder than do groups led by traders and intellectuals, and the rich and educated look down on clan associations dominated by the poor. Migrant workers sometimes use trade unions to counteract the harmful effects of clannishness on worker solidarity. Skilled migrants may try to avoid clanspeople, partly because they have skills they want to keep to themselves or to protect by joining trade unions. All these examples show that associating with kinfolk is not an instinctive reflex but a strategic choice, made or not made on the basis of a calculation of interest.

Owing to ideological sensitivities, internationalism is largely absent from Chinese studies on the Chinese Revolution, which today connotes overwhelmingly with nationalism. The demise of anarchism, the CCP's maturation towards political independence from Moscow in the 1930s, and Stalin's rapprochement with Chiang Kai-shek in Nanjing in 1937 confirmed the ascendancy of transnationalism over internationalism among Chinese overseas. The abolition of the Comintern in 1943 marked the end of even the pretence of an internationalist approach by Moscow and led eventually to the full-scale nationalisation of China's own communist revolution.

Because of the discrediting of internationalism by Stalin and the Comintern leaders, who reduced it to slavish subordination to the national interests of the Soviet Union, Chinese historians and commentators have tended to ignore or conceal the political activities of their leftwing compatriots overseas, in the knowledge that such people were compromised by their 'foreign' ties. In the Cultural Revolution, zealots fingered Chinese with ties abroad as likely traitors. Internationalist episodes in party or migrant history that could be cited to counter racism and nurture tolerance and openness are left unexplored because of their possible association with political deviance. This approach, which swings between stigmatisation and neglect, helps to swell the tide of narrow and unreasoning nationalism, which the Beijing flagwavers promote to rally support for their faltering project.

Western historians have tended to reinforce the nationalisation of the Chinese Revolution, despite its obvious international connections. The promotion of a China-centred approach to modern Chinese history from the 1980s was one factor in the downgrading of the importance of its international context and in the general failure of many western China historians to think beyond the nation-state.

The bigger and more cohesive the overseas community, the more likely it was to be drawn into internationalist ventures. In Russia and Cuba and in the world's seaports, Chinese were sufficiently numerous to present a rewarding target for internationalist recruiters. In Russia, the Huagong auxiliaries were at home on the battlefield and an aggrieved community, ripe for enlistment and bonded by the

collective experience of work and war. They swung the balance in some military theatres after 1917, and Bolsheviks set a premium on recruiting them.

In Cuba, 90 per cent of Chinese were from Guangdong's Siyi counties; and 90 per cent of Chinese labourers worked on the sugar estates.[7] They had strong links both of origin and of occupation. In some settings, ethnic and subethnic loyalties can stand in the way of class consciousness among migrants, but where class and ethnic affiliation coincide, as they did among Chinese in Cuba, the two can reinforce each other, especially against a background of endemic rural rebellion. Marronage in the Caribbean was facilitated by black slaves' cultural and linguistic affinities, a precondition for their resistance, escape, and survival in the jungle and the mountains.[8] Despite dialect differences even within Siyi, Chinese participation in the Cuban fight against exploitation and for independence was facilitated by a broad proximity of language and culture. As for Cuba's Chinese intellectuals, they had political connections to the CCP and the Comintern. Chinese labourers, historically ingrained onto the rebel fabric, offered a way for Chinese and Cuban communists into the ethnically diverse and politically strategic plantations.

Communities formed or influenced by workers were more likely than those formed by petty traders to be won to internationalist campaigns. This was true of the Chinese in Russia and in Cuba and also of the part-communities of Chinese seafarers in western Europe and Australia, who belonged to a worldwide fraternity bonded by work and accounted for a good part of the world's deep-sea crews.

In places with a powerful communist and internationalist tradition, the incentive for ethnic or migrant minorities to form alliances and join movements and campaigns was greater than in countries with no such tradition. In Germany, local communists and agents and institutions of the Comintern provided an internationalist framework that swung Chinese students and intellectuals to their political standpoint. Sections of the Comintern steered scores of overseas Chinese volunteers into the International Brigades, where they were integrated into units containing a majority of communists from other nations. The Chinese in Germany cohered around a common goal, the creation of a strong China. Those in Spain were least uniform in terms of provenance or prior occupation but were most united – by political affiliation and a common dream.

What is the relationship between these internationalist interludes and Chinese transnationalism? Internationalism is in essence an ideology, while transnationalism is more a movement and a set of institutions. But the two modes were not necessarily divergent or at odds. By pushing internationalist campaigns and striving to root Chinese workers in foreign labour movements, Chinese and non-Chinese agitators did not rule out supporting China's national revolution. On the contrary, in practice, the two enterprises were nearly always closely linked.

In the 1930s, political developments on a world scale and in China tended to prioritise a narrowly nationalist perspective, but the national question in China was always thoroughly internationalised and could never be convincingly detached from the larger movement for national liberation and against imperialism. As Rebecca Karl shows in *Staging the World*, Chinese conceptions of nationhood were framed from the first in a global context that included not merely the west

but also countries such as Poland, Turkey, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Hence, the period of the formation of Chinese nationalism between 1895 and 1911 was China's most 'expansive and internationalist' moment.[9] For Chinese emigrants of an internationalist bent, the fate of China was likewise always more than 'domestic' politics. It was a genuinely international issue for them, just as it was for their non-Chinese political allies in countries such as Germany, Cuba, Australia, and Britain.

For much of the time, China was the main content of Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (KPD) 'foreign policy' in the 1920s: the Chinese radicals' internationalist tie to the KPD deepened their transnational allegiance. Huagong leaders in Russia hoped to export the socialist experiment to China (although some came to see Russia as their home). In Cuba, Chinese communists took the Northern Expedition as their model, to apply in the new setting. After the Cuban communists' defeat in the early 1930s and China's renewed militancy in the late 1930s, Cuba's Chinese leftists transferred their attention to the Chinese end of the transnational tie, spurred by new migrants voicing home-directed sentiments. In Australia, the Chinese engagement with homeland politics created grounds for the Australasian Guomindang to interact with radical whites, while Chinese who joined the political movement in Australia as workers rather than as nationalists took up homeland causes in the Second World War and the Cold War. For Chinese who went to Spain, China took precedence after the International Brigades' retreat to France. As for the Chinese seafarers in Europe and Australia, their internationalist connections served Chinese interests and their patriotic campaigns helped to rally Chinatown behind the anti-Japanese resistance.

Tragically, Chinese abroad were sometimes deflected from the possibility of internationalism and driven back towards a more single-stranded engagement with homeland politics by the lingering stink of sinophobia among white trade unionists. In a word, internationalism and transnationalism form a continuum. However, patriotism suffused by internationalism differs fundamentally from the 'portable nationality' of the extreme transnationalist,[10] who, while not indifferent to the notion of shared humanity, is less likely to be strongly moved by it.

Notes

1 Introduction

1. Holbraad (2003: 1–2).
2. Pieke (2005).
3. Holbraad (2003: 1–2).
4. Karl (2002).
5. Anderson (1998: 58–74).
6. Benton and Gomez (2001); Gomez and Benton (2004).
7. Stephens (1998) provides a thoughtful and lively introduction to the different meanings that arose in the discourse on transnationalism in the 1990s. I draw on her distinctions.
8. Both forms are tragically tainted by their association with ‘proletarian internationalism’ à la Stalin, the polar opposite of reciprocity and symmetric exchange.
9. Van der Linden (2003: 157).
10. Carr (1996: 210–12).
11. For example, McKeown (2001) and Duara (1996).
12. Wang Gungwu (2004a: 169; 2004b: 188).
13. Chinese Christians overseas also tried to immerse themselves in the workers. In 1914, the Chinese Students’ Christian Union in London sent people to Chinatown to teach seafarers politics and hygiene (Tyau 1920: 315–16). In or around 1916, a Workers and Merchants’ Union (*gongshang gonghui* 工商工会) was initiated in London’s East End by Pan Shaotang, a Christian student who lived among the seafarers and labourers (‘Lundun gongshang’ 1917).
14. Kolakowski (1981, vol. 1: 348); Avineri (1969: 26–7).
15. Light (1988: 75).
16. Carr (1966, vol. 1: 421).
17. Messer-Kruse (1998: 207–10 and (quoting Samuel Gompers on the ‘faddists’) 228).
18. *Woodhull-Claflin’s Weekly*, 2 July 1870, cited by Messer-Kruse (1998: 211).
19. Messer-Kruse (1998: 210).
20. Marx (1988 [1869]).
21. Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CC, CPSU (1964: 254–55).
22. Engels (1971 [1892]).
23. Carr (1966, vol. 1: 422).
24. Haupt (1964: 69–70).
25. Li Yu-ning (1971: 16, 59).
26. Feng Ziyou (1906), cited in Scalapino and Schiffrin (1959: 327).
27. Haupt and Reberioux (1967: 38–9).
28. The article in *Vooruit* appeared in French in *Le Peuple* a few days later. Bernal (1976: 65–6) has an English translation. Meng shu (1981–1986) is a Chinese translation of Bernal’s translation.

29 Haupt (1964: 69–70); Haupt and Reberioux (1967: 39). According to Rachline and Weill (1967: 56), J. A. Jackson was English.
30 The original of Sun's letter, written in English, is kept in the archive of Taiwan's Guomindang dangshi hui 国民党党史会. A Chinese translation is Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen) (1994 [1915]).
31 Rachline and Weill (1967: 49–50).
32 Krebs (1998: 79–80).
33 Kiang [Jiang] (1914: 24).
34 Engels, letter to Kautsky, 12 September 1882, extracted in Carrère d'Encausse and Schram (1969: 124–5).
35 Carrère d'Encausse and Schram (1969: 15, 129).
36 Milligan (1995: 32–42, 84–102) argues that the bad conscience of sections of the British middle classes created 'a vague anticipation of retribution for . . . the Empire's controversial opium-trading practices' and the founding of Chinatowns intimated the shocking possibility of a 'reverse colonisation' by the 'vindictive Orient'. On Kaiser Wilhelm's alleged coining of the Yellow Peril slogan, see Gollwitzer (1962: 20–42).
37 On these labour 'heroes', see *inter alia* Gainer (1972), Jenkinson (1986: 185), and May (1973: 124).
38 Hobson (1988 [1902]: 305–8, 316).
39 May (1973: 13–28).
40 Saxton (1971: 258).
41 Cannon (1955: 6).
42 Foner (1965: 13–14, 121–124, 394); Choi (n.d.).
43 On the Anti-Authoritarian International, see Cahm (1989: 28–35) and Nomad (1966: 69–73).
44 Müller (2001a: 37). The Bureau set up at the 1907 meeting published a monthly bulletin for two years but had died out by 1911, as a result of shortage of funds and lack of interest (Nomad 1966: 86).
45 Nomad (1966: 79–83).
46 However, in 1922, the anarchist Huang Lingshuang 黄凌霜, representing the Cantonese anarchist-oriented Mechanics' Union, attended the First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East in the Soviet Union, where he stayed for several months (Müller 2001a: 471). For another, somewhat different account of Huang's visit, see Cadart and Cheng (1983: 294–304).
47 On anarcho-syndicalism and the IWMA, see Rocker (1938) and Nomad (1966: 87–90).
48 Gotelind Müller, personal communication, 15 December 2004. On the peddler, see Chapter 6.
49 On Chinese anarchism, see Scalapino and Yu (1980 [1961]), Xu Shanguang and Liu Jianping (1989), Lu Zhe (1990), Jiang Jun and Li Xingzhi (1990), Zarrow (1990), Dirlik (1991), Saga (1994), Krebs (1998), Müller (2001a), and Cho Se-hyŏn (2003).
50 Krebs (1998: 1, 110, 140); Müller (2001a: 173, 178, 194–5).
51 Müller (2001a: 219–24). According to Gotelind Müller, in his memoirs Jean Grave (1973 [1930]: 541) even seems to forget that they were anarchists.
52 Müller (2001a: 220, 483).
53 Burgmann (1995: 8) makes this point. The IWW's demise is generally dated to the 1920s, but the organisation survives even today in the United States, Canada, Australia, and one or two other countries.
54 Salerno (1989: 45, 87) mentions members among Swedish and Russian lumberjacks and miners and Spanish-speaking branches in California and Arizona.
55 Renshaw (1967: 275).
56 Foner (1965: 121).
57 Dubofsky (1988: 148). In England, the Wobblies were also strongest among immigrants – in this case, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh (Renshaw 1967: 279).

58 Turner (1969: 7).
59 Burgmann (1995: 69–79).
60 *Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World* (1905: 298).
61 Choi (n.d.).
62 Rosenberg (1995: 77–8); Foner (1965: 123).
63 *The Nation*, 5 September 1923. Numerous etymologies of the word have been advanced, and more than one place of origin has been suggested even for the Chinese explanation.
64 Laut (1913: 24). However, the same man wanted separate schools, so his granddaughter would not have to share a desk with a Chinese child.
65 Creese (1988: 40). Words such as 'Chink' (Chinese) and 'Bohunk' (a labourer from Bohemia) were normally meant as insults, but the Wobblies were proud of their support for immigrant workers and seem to have revelled in using them (Green 1960: 204).
66 Creese (1988: 50–1) lists 51 strikes in the Greater Vancouver area between 1900 and 1939 in which 'Asian' workers participated and says the list is probably incomplete. The City of Vancouver Archive has materials in Chinese and Japanese from 1931 belonging to the Chinese and Japanese branches of the Vancouver section of the NUWA, including a cyclostyled magazine in Japanese with the English name *Workers' Voice* (75-F-1, file 10).
67 'Fengyu jisheng lu' (A record of the cock crowing), *Minsheng*, no. 8 (2 May 1914): 8.
68 Foner (1965: 82, 122); Renshaw (1967: 25, 31); Burgmann (1995: 88). Ed Krebs, Shifu's biographer and a historian of Chinese anarchism, tells me in a letter that Liang Bingxian (based in Singapore at the time) introduced Wobbly pamphlets to the Chinese anarchists in the mid-1910s and may have sent them to Shifu, and that Shifu himself may also have translated Wobbly materials for *Minsheng*. See also Krebs (1998: 153).
69 Krebs (1998: 155).
70 A Fourth International was founded by supporters of Leon Trotsky in 1938, two years before Trotsky's murder by Stalin's agent in 1940. Its purpose was to oppose the Comintern's failure to mount an effective struggle against fascism, and to unite anti-Stalinist oppositions in communist parties around the world. Of the dozens of Trotskyist organisations formed outside Russia after 1927, the Chinese Left Opposition (which went on to join the Fourth International) was among the largest, the most mature, and the most able. Initially, its biggest base was among Chinese students in Moscow, but it attracted little support elsewhere in the Chinese diaspora. It was not until the 1960s that ethnic and overseas Chinese began to show an interest in Trotskyist politics. The Fourth International therefore falls outside the purview of this study. (On the Chinese Trotskyists, see Benton 1996, 1997.)
71 The invitation was written by Leon Trotsky. For the text, see Adler (1980).
72 Riddell (1987: 17).
73 Carr 1966 (vol. 1: 368).
74 Quoted in Light (1988: 157).
75 Carrère d'Encausse and Schram (1969: 16).
76 Quoted in Carr (1966, vol. 1: 434).
77 Riddell (1991, vol. 1: 228–34).
78 *Congress of the Peoples of the East* (1977 [1920]: 121, 175).
79 Light (1988: 90).
80 Degras (1965: viii); Holbraad (2003: 69–70).
81 Congress of the Communist International (1975 [1921]).
82 On KUTV, see Wang Fan-hsi (1980) and Benton (1997).
83 Tsiperovich (n.d.).

84 Köstenberger (2001).
85 Renshaw (1967: 48).
86 Kostiainen (1983).
87 Reiter (2002).
88 Shafir (1985: 26).
89 Schatz (1991: 12). Schatz goes on to show how Jews became victims of Stalinist anti-Semitism in later years.
90 Degras (1965: 124–35).
91 On these questions, see Ching and Pakkasvirta (2000: 139); Mothes (1996: 95); Solomon (1998: 78–9); Berland (1999–2000); Paredes (1987). These and other sources are cited in Marc Becker, 'Marc's House of Knowledge,' http://www.yachana.org, July 2004.
92 See, for examples, Redding (1990), Kotkin (1993), and Fukuyama (1995).
93 Part of the title of a Soviet study (Andreyev 1975).
94 On the Communist Youth Party and the European Branch of the CCP, see Benton (1997). On the CCP's Moscow branch, see Wang Fan-hsi (1980).

2 Chinese in the Russian Revolution and Civil War

1 General sources used for this chapter include Larin (1998); Li and Chen (1991: 288–90); Fang and Xie (1993: 293–4); Huaqiao zhi (1979: 135); Clubb (1971); Huaqiao jingji nianjian (1996: 822–3).
2 Fang and Xie (1993: 293–4); Huaqiao zhi (1979: 135); Clubb (1971: 22, 40–2).
3 Clubb (1971: 22, 33–4, 47–8).
4 Li and Chen (1991: 287).
5 On the railways, see Clubb (1971: 119–31).
6 Fang and Xie (1993: 294).
7 Li and Chen (1991: 288).
8 Larin (1998: 281).
9 Huaqiao jingji nianjian (1996: 822). The figures given here and in the next pages are from different sources and at some points inconsistent and only approximately reliable.
10 Ren Guixiang (2004: 28).
11 Fang and Xie (1993: 294); Li and Chen (1991: 288); Wusijiluofu (1997: 29); Ustinov (1961); Larin (1998: 281–5).
12 Li and Chen (1991: 289).
13 On these constitutional issues, see Carr (1966: vol. 1).
14 Martin (2001: 1).
15 Martin (2001: 43). (Jewish agricultural resettlement was abolished in 1938, as part of Russification (Martin 2001: 411–12).) On Soviet Jewish culture in the 1920s, see Shneer (2004).
16 Jansen (1986: 71, 76–7); Walter (1999: 129–30); Erikson (1962: 675, fns 3 and 4).
17 Hugh Thomas, cited in Jansen (1986: 69).
18 Ren Guixiang (2004: 28).
19 Riddell (1987: 17–18).
20 Riddell (1991, vol. 1: 242).
21 The successor organisation to the Zhonghua lü E lianhehui 中华旅俄联合会 (Chinese Federation in Russia) (Ren Guixiang 2004: 26).
22 The character forms of Chinese names in this chapter are not necessarily accurate. Some may have been reconstructed from Cyrillic transcription.
23 Wusijiluofu (1997: 38); Ren Guixiang (2004: 29).
24 Persits (1969); Wusijiluofu (1997); Liu Yunan (1961: 12–13, 17–25, 39–50, 134–5); Zhonggong zhongyang (1997, vol. 2: 1–27).
25 The radio telegram is translated in Butt *et al*. (1996: 37–8).

26 Larin (1998: 289–94).
27 Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 109).
28 Li Xingpei (1997).
29 It is not clear whether this was the same organisation represented by Liu Shaozhou at the Comintern congresses.
30 Persits (1969: 77).
31 An exception is Liu Shaozhou, who joined China's Ministry of Foreign Affairs after 1949.
32 Benton (1997).
33 Ren Guixiang (2004: 32–7).
34 *Pravda*, 30 June 1920, cited in Ren Guixiang (2004: 30).
35 Ren Guixiang (2004: 38–40); Yao Jinguo (2004: 514).
36 Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 110).
37 Larin (1998: 294, 297).
38 Maslov (1998: 329).
39 Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 109).
40 Larin (1998: 294, 297).
41 Li and Chen (1991: 288); Huaqiao jingji nianjian (1996: 822–3).
42 Larin (1998: 296); Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 110).
43 Martin (2001: 199); Riedlinger (1989). The movement envisaged five separate alphabets for what were identified as China's five major dialects.
44 Li and Chen (1991: 288); Huaqiao jingji nianjian (1996: 822–3).
45 Larin (1998: 294–5).
46 Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 110–12).
47 Martin (2001: 311–43).
48 Wusijiluofu (1997); Persits (1969); Liu Yunan (1961: 45–7, 139–40); 'Lü E Zhongguo gongchandang ren zuzhi zhangcheng' (1997 [1920]).
49 Jansen (1986: 70–9).
50 'Zhongguo chi weidui zhandou zai bei Gaojiasu' (1997 [1957]).
51 Cai Yunchen (2000 [1933]: 109); Guowu yuan qiaoban qiaowu ganbu xuexiao (2005: 178).
52 Cadart and Cheng (1983: 229–55).
53 In another context, Van der Linden (2003: 12) discusses the transition from prenational to national internationalism.
54 Archaimbault (1987).

3 Germany

1 General sources on the Chinese in Germany include Knödel (1995), Xu Bin (1957), Yao (1988), and Fang and Xie (1993).
2 Fang and Xie (1993: 287); Yao (1988: 24); Xu Bin (1957: 20).
3 Xu Bin (1957: 24); Gütinger (1997: 197–8); Huaqiao zhi (1979: 136–7); Fang and Xie (1993: 287).
4 Yao (1988: 51–2).
5 Yü-Dembski (1996: 32).
6 They are mentioned in van Heek (1936).
7 Xu Bin (1957: 5, 21).
8 Zhang Ningjing (1988: 40).
9 Yao (1988: 53–4).
10 The British Communist Party (CPGB) had two ethnic Chinese leaders: Sam Chen, a Jamaica-born seafarer (Clegg 1997), and H. B. Lim, a Malayan (National Museum of Labour History, CP/CENT/INT/36/04). The Comintern commended the CPGB's work among Chinese students (Degras 1965: 20).
11 Levine and Chen (2000: 13–15, 123).

12 Flechtheim (1969: 141).
13 Fischer (1991: 22–69).
14 Fowkes (1984: 161); Flechtheim (1969: 276).
15 Rosenhaft (1983: 200–4).
16 For a comparison of immigration to France and Germany and attitudes towards foreigners in the two countries before and after the First World War, see Fetzer (2000), Bade (1995), and Noiriel (1995a,b). For a Chinese description of German xenophobia, including sinophobia, in the early 1920s, see Wang Guangqi (1922; cited in Felber 1988: 598–9).
17 Jews who favoured a militant course usually joined the Reichsbanner, an anti-communist fighting group led by Social Democrats and other parties, and were recruited to the KPD's streetfighter groups only after the Nazis had taken power (Rosenhaft 1983: 199–200, 254, fn. 43).
18 Fischer (1991: 58–9, 79).
19 On this 'anti-Semitism of the left', see Silberner (1983).
20 Guowu yuan qiaoban qiaowu ganbu xuexiao (2005: 176).
21 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 52–7); Felber (1988: 597–8); Felber and Hübner (1988: 154–9); Kampen (2003); Harnisch (1999: 238–43).
22 In Berlin, in 1930, the Circle had eight members. Other cities had their own cells.
23 In 1931, when Hu Lanqi was expelled from the Berlin cell of the KPD's Chinese Circle by 'leftists' who disapproved of her close relationship with Song Qingling, KPD officials supported her (Hu Lanqi 1985: 245–56).
24 Kampen (2001a); Hu Lanqi (1985: 227–8, 238–9, 256); Yü-Dembski (1996: 33–5).
25 Yü-Dembski (1996: 35–6).
26 Hu Lanqi's account of her imprisonment is translated by Hu Mingliang as 'In a German Women's Prison, 1937' in Dooling (2005).
27 Tie Zhuwei (1998: 92); Felber and Hübner (1988: 167–72); Hu Lanqi (1985: 242–61).
28 Yü-Dembski (1997).
29 Fowkes (1984: 193).
30 Kampen (2001b); Krüger (2002).
31 Felber and Hübner (1988: 159–60); Xu Xiaosheng (1987, 1993).
32 Krüger (2002: 181–2).
33 Felber and Hübner (1988: 167); Yao (1988: 55).
34 Zeng Ruiyan (1988: 39–59); Guowu yuan qiaoban qiaowu ganbu xuexiao (2005: 176).
35 Yao (1988: 55).
36 Yü-Dembski (1996: 35; 1997).
37 Yao (1988: 55); Wang Qisheng (1995: 106); Felber and Hübner (1988: 171–2).
38 Yü-Dembski (1996: 36).
39 Ji Xianlin (1992: 108).
40 Gütinger (1998: 201–2); van Heek (1936).
41 Yü-Dembski (1996: 36; 1997).
42 Xu Bin (1957: 20); Fang and Xie (1993: 287); Knödel (1995: 121).
43 Koch (1995: 23).
44 Mezhdunarodnaia organizatsiia pomoshchi bortsam revoliutsii.
45 Piazza (2002: 167–9). See also Münzenberg (1972). Vatlin (1998: 123) says Germany, as the only major European power to have lost its colonies, was an ideal place to host the AIL. Piazza (2002) says the Comintern at first opposed the AIL, for fear of losing control over it to non-communists.
46 Kampen (2002).
47 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 108–47); Piazza (2002: 167–9); Felber and Hübner (1988: 158–64).

4 Cuba

1 Centro de Estudios Demográficos (1976: 13, 66–9).
2 Wakeman (1993).
3 Corbitt (1971: 18–19, 28).
4 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 31).
5 Corbitt (1971: 52).
6 Deschamps Chapeaux and Pérez de la Riva (1974: 245–7). The authors say 'compared with Cuba and Peru, Trinidad and Jamaica were paradise', a difference they ascribe to English liberalism as against Spanish indifference.
7 McKeown (2001: 67).
8 Pérez de la Riva (1978: 67–9); Deschamps Chapeaux and Pérez de la Riva (1974: 247); Jiménez Pastrana (1983: 57–8); Corbitt (1971: 79–80).
9 Corbitt (1971: 84).
10 Corbitt (1971: 88).
11 Song (1957: 12). According to Li and Chen (1991: 441), 6,000 Chinese joined the rebels.
12 García Triana (2003: 11), citing Martín (1939).
13 Wakeman (1993); Corbitt (1971: 22).
14 Pérez de la Riva (1978: 79, 83). Some captured Chinese were sent to penal colonies in Ceuta and Melilla, Spanish possessions on the North African coast, from where they made their way to Spain on completion of their sentences (Beltrán Antolín and Saíz López 2002: 9). Note that the word maroon, used here to describe the Chinese, is normally reserved for runaway slaves.
15 Eng Herrera, *Breve reseña*; García Triana (2003: 102–12).
16 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 70–1).
17 Thus ends a famous article by Quesada y Aróstegui (2000 [1892]: 191).
18 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 82–7); García Triana (2003: 132–3).
19 Walton Look Lai (1998).
20 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 94–106).
21 Alonso Valdés (2000: 134–5).
22 It is impossible to say exactly how many Chinese joined the rebels, because Chinese immigrants were usually obliged by custom or legislation to assume the names their employers chose for them or the names they received at baptism. (Baptism conferred certain contractual and economic advantages.) See Martín (2000 [1946]: 179–80) and Alonso Valdés (2000: 134). Jiménez Pastrana (1983: 151) found only two Chinese names, José Achin and Carlos Achón, in the famous *Índice alfabético y defunciones del Ejército Libertador de Cuba* (Alphabetic index and deaths of the Liberation Army of Cuba) compiled between 1895 and 1898, but this was probably due to the 'Spanishisation' of the rest.
23 García Triana (2003: 148–55); Eng Herrera and García Triana, *Martí en los chinos*.
24 Fang and Xu (1995: 35–9). Chinese 'Californians' also turned up in Britain, where they may have played a similar missionary role (Shang 1984: 8).
25 Corbitt (1971: 89–91); Estrada (2004).
26 Álvarez Ríos (1995: 11). Tanco Armero's book about his trip to China, undertaken at a time when the Taipings still ruled Nanjing, mentions no such episode – in fact, it seems not to mention the Taipings at all (Tanco Armero 1861).
27 Pérez de la Riva (2000: 118–20).
28 Chuffat Latour (1927: 28); see also Lopez (2005).
29 Wong Tze-Ken (1998: 19–28).
30 See also Chang Rodríguez (1958).
31 Chuffat Latour (1927: 70); Martín (1939: 32); Baltar Rodríguez (1997: 38); Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 18–19).
32 Chang (2005: 124).
33 Pérez de la Riva 2000: (244–52).

34 In 1899, the United States extended its own immigration laws to territories (such as Cuba) under military occupation. The 1901 Platt Amendment to the Cuban Constitution conceded Washington the right to intervene in Cuban affairs. US intervention resulted in the placing of severe restrictions on Chinese immigration (Bejarano 1993).
35 Jiménez Pastrana (1983: 137–9).
36 Song (1957: 15–16); Walton Look Lai (1998).
37 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 116).
38 Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 40–70).
39 'Huaqiao Huaren' (1999: 150); Guowu yuan qiaoban qiaowu ganbu xuexiao (2005: 140); Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 85).
40 Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 73); Chang (2005: 132).
41 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 61–2). According to a captured document of the Guomindang's Overseas Support Bureau, the Cuban branch was big in 1924 – it had 1,644 members, compared with 2,924 in San Francisco, 1,848 in Mexico, and 2,236 in the Philippines (Levine and Chen 2000: 75).
42 Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 115). Münzenberg's AIL was perhaps mooted at the time of the WIR 'Hands Off China' Congress in Berlin in August 1925. Its precise relationship with its Latin American namesake is unclear. For Mella's role in founding the Cuban branch, see Padrón (1980: 124) and Instituto de Historia del Movimiento Comunista y la Revolución Socialista de Cuba (1975). For Mella's trip to Brussels, see Piazza (2002: 169).
43 Information supplied by Barry Carr in a letter. The CPUSA's initiation of the LAIA is noted in the proceedings of the Fourth National Congress of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, Report of the Central Executive Committee to the National Convention, Chicago, 21–30 August, p. 19, which adds that the LAIA 'was endorsed by the Comintern and the Profintern'. See also the CPUSA's *Workers' Monthly*, May 1925: 310–11, in which Manuel Gomez (a pseudonym) talks about the LAIA and developments in the Cuban labour movement.
44 García Triana (2003: 233–4).
45 Carr (1998: 236–7).
46 On Mella, see Soto (1995). Perhaps as a result of Mella's visit, 14 Latin American communist parties set up an RILU bureau in Buenos Aires in 1929 (Degras 1965: 70).
47 Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Havana, Secretaría de la Presidencia, 90/29. Subsecretaría de gobernación al jefe de la Policía Secreta Nacional, 2 January 1926 (source supplied by Barry Carr.)
48 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 117, 136, 181–3).
49 'Letter to the Editors from a Cuban Comrade,' *Chiguang* no. 55 (1930): 11–13, excerpted in Levine and Chen (2000: 258–9).
50 Choy *et al*. (2005: 72, 206). A photo of José Wong can be found in Chuffat Latour (1927: 153).
51 Soto (1995: 247); Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 103).
52 On the Alianza, see Jiménez Pastrana (1963: 114–22), Baltar Rodríguez (1997: 70–2), Carr (1998: 237–9), 'Huaqiao Huaren' (1999: 335), Guowu yuan qiaoban qiaowu ganbu xuexiao (2005: 140) and Eng Herrera, *Historia*.
53 'Letter to the Editors from a Cuban Comrade,' *Chiguang* no. 55 (1930): 11–13, in Levine and Chen (2000: 258–9).
54 See, for example, Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Donativos y remisiones, 307/8, Manifiesto 'A los obreros, campesinos pobres y medios, empleados, estudiantes, pequeños comerciantes, soldados, marinos, policías . . . mujeres, negros, blancos, chinos, nativos y extranjeros'. The manifesto was probably issued in late September 1933, by the PCC's Comité Distrital del Oriente (source supplied by Barry Carr.)
55 Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 107).
56 Bejarano (1993).

57 Corbitt (1971: 114); Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 110–15). Other information in this paragraph was provided by Barry Carr.
58 Zeng Ruiyan (1988: 42, 56–7).
59 Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 119).
60 Li Weilin (1988: 88).
61 *Bohemia*, November 1949; Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 144–5).
62 See Baltar Rodríguez (1997: 70–2).
63 Álvarez Ríos (1995: 47).
64 Eng Herrera, *Breve reseña*; Baltar Rodríguez (1997: 71–2); Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 166).
65 Choy *et al*. (2005).
66 Herrera Jerez and Castillo Santana (2003: 164–5).
67 This is a thesis of Carr (1998).
68 Corbitt (1971: 115). Taishan was known as Xinning until the 1910s.
69 Chang (2005: 124); Song (1957: 17, 22). Only a tiny number of Chinese women reached the island. In 1871, there were 66 women as against more than 40,000 men; in 1942, only 56 Chinese women were registered at the Chinese Consulate, compared with more than 18,000 men. In the early years, however, intermarriage seems to have been less common (Comisión cubana para la inmigración china 1876).
70 Corbitt (1971: 78, 114–15).

5 Chinese seafarers and the European Labour movement

1 Exceptions include the Huagong and the Zhejiangese, chiefly in France, and the small Hubeinese group, among whom there were few if any seafarers.
2 Jones (1979: 397).
3 On discriminatory measures enacted in the nineteenth century, see Kitchen (1980: 178–82).
4 McFarland (1991: 495–99).
5 Gordon (1985: 6–7).
6 Sherwood (1991: 234).
7 Public Records Office (PRO), HO 45/11843, pt 1.
8 Wong (1989: 25, 96).
9 The shipping-master should not be confused with the shipmaster, the captain of a ship.
10 Kitchen (1980: 149–155, 548).
11 National Archives of Singapore, oral history file A000064.
12 For a description of the boarding houses (of which there were up to 15) run by Chinese in Liverpool at the start of the twentieth century, see Wong (1989: 11–13).
13 *De Uitkijk* (The Outlook), 13 October 1911.
14 The following paragraphs are based, except where indicated, on Wubben (1986: 9–34). Stoomvaart Maatschappij Oceaan was a sister company of the British Ocean Steam Ship Company. Wubben's study is based on Dutch archives. Two other Dutch studies on Chinese seafarers in Dutch ports are van Heek (1936) and Brakenhoff (1984).
15 Wubben (1986: 42–3).
16 Jones (1979: 397–8).
17 *Report of the Commission* (1906–1907: 1749–50).
18 Wubben (1986: 59).
19 *Liverpool Courier*, 27 November 1906; Broady (1955: 68).
20 Ma Chaojun (1959, vol. 1: 47–50, 61); Li and Chen (1991: 40).
21 Lowe Chuan-hua (1933), quoted in Wales (1945: 202).
22 Public Records Office (PRO), HO 45/24683; PRO, HO 45/11843, pts 1 and 2; *East End News*, 9, 13, and 16 March and 4 May 1917.
23 Wales (1945: 22–4, 202).

24 Carr (1996: 213).
25 Holton (1973: 133). Jim Larkin, a legendary hero of the early British and Irish labour movements, was in fact among the chief disparagers of Chinese seafarers before the war, when they were denounced by trade unionists as cheap labour out to undercut white workers (Bower 1936: 168–9).
26 Parker (1998: 74).
27 'A Letter from Wang Jingqi to the Premier and Others,' 4 August 1923. See also Wang's comments on the political potential of deep-sea Chinese crews on European ships, in 'Report of the First Plenary Session of the European Branch of the Chinese Guomindang,' 25 November 1923; and the passages on seafarers in 'The Chinese Nationalist Party, French General Branch Report,' March 1929. Worried French secret service agents kept a close watch on Chinese seafarers in Hamburg. (Sources: Levine and Chen 2000: 48–52, 53–60, 123–53, 160, fn. 1.)
28 For both passages, see Tie Zhuwei (1998: 97–8).
29 Tie Zhuwei (1998); Fang and Xu (1995: 2–3).
30 Other dates are also given for its founding (see Wales 1945: 203).
31 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 126).
32 Wales (1945: 204).
33 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 123–7); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 78); 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 114–16). On the Guomindang's labour front, see Wales (1945).
34 Liao Chengzhi (1991: 341); Min Yifan (1991: 351–4); 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 117–20, 316, 323); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 92–105). Hardy (1956: 212–28) is a British communist memoir of the Seamen's International.
35 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 118); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 95–6); Min Yifan (1991: 351); Fang and Xu (1995: 2); Felber and Hübner (1988b: 164, fn. 57).
36 Liao Chengzhi (1991: 342). Liao returned to China to lead seafarers' work but was arrested and gaoled (Song Chao *et al*. 1985: 121).
37 The pamphlet (which has no date or colophon) was published in Amsterdam.
38 Tie Zhuwei (1998: 92–106); Min Yifan (1991: 355); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 94–103); 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 117–120).
39 Whittingham-Jones (1944: 6).
40 Min Yifan (1991: 356–8); Degras (1965: 418); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 94–5, 106–10, 139); 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 116, 122–5, 143–5). On Chu Hsueh-fan, see Wales (1945: 122). For British accounts, see Lane (1990: 23, 156, 162–4); Broady (1952: 9).
41 The Chinese name of Sam Chen, also known in English as Samuel Chinque (1908–2004), was Chen Tiansheng. He died aged 96. For an obituary, see Murray (2004).
42 Liu and Xinghan (1994: 25); Whittingham-Jones (1944: 58–9). The National Museum of Labour History, Manchester, has files on the CCC (CP/ORG/MISC/2/14).
43 Craggs (1983: 28, 12).
44 Clegg (1997: 144–5).
45 Whittingham-Jones (1982 [1944]).
46 Wales (1945: 121, 206).
47 Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MSS 238/IT/23/1–15.
48 Clegg (1997: 144).
49 Lo (1947: 19); File MT 9/3743, Ministry of War Transport (MOWT), 1942, Public Records Office, Kew, Letter from J. R. Hobhouse, Holt, to Sir Julian Foley, MOWT, 1 May 1942 (reference on p. 193 of file) (cited in Foley and Foley 2006).
50 Lane (1990: 164–5, 173); Craggs and Lynn (1985); Wu Lehua (1994: 179).
51 'British Wives of Chinese: A Wage and Living Crisis,' *Liverpool Echo*, 19 August 1946; File MT 9/3743, Ministry of War Transport, 1942, Public Records Office, Note on negotiations with Representatives of the Chinese Government, section headed 'As amended at Meeting of 7th March, 1942' (reference on p. 507 of file) (cited in Foley and Foley 2006).

52 Lane (1990: 8–9, 23, 162); Sherwood (1991: 241).
53 See, for example, the report in *The Seaman*, July 1908, no. 9, vol. 1: 1.
54 Wang (2001: 54). After the war, most Chinese returned to 'ethnic' jobs once the white workers were demobilised (ibid.: 75).
55 Wong (1982: 8).
56 Lane (1990: 157–8, 162–72, 177). Despite Lascar militancy in the Second World War, the gap between Lascar wages (just under £6) and Chinese wages (between £13 and £16) remained huge. Whites could earn up to £24 (Visram 2002: 234–48).
57 Whittingham-Jones (1982 [1944]).
58 Whittingham-Jones (1944); Lane (1990); Clegg (1997); Min Yifan (1991); Song Chao *et al*. (1985: 151).
59 See the chapter on Australia.
60 At the end of the war, quite a few Chinese seafarers were forced to leave the UK, although some had families there. A memorial plaque to these men was unveiled in Liverpool on 23 January 2006 (Foley and Foley 2006). Also after the war, the Liverpool Chinese Seamen's Union was apparently transferred 'lock, stock and barrel' to Hong Kong (File 2342 2A, Chinese Crews 1945–1955, Ocean Archive [Holt], Liverpool Maritime Museum, Conversation with Mr H. E. Price [reference on p. 3 of that note], cited in Foley and Foley 2006).
61 Collins (1957: 237); Broady (1952: 13); Whittingham-Jones (1944: 15).
62 Huang Wenzhong (1986: 29).
63 Whittingham-Jones (1944: 47).
64 *Sunday Express*, 19 November, 1944.
65 *Liverpool Post*, 20 December, 1941.
66 O'Neill (1972: 86).
67 Hu Zhiqiang (1989: 32).
68 Ng (1968: 53).

6 The Spanish Civil War, 1936–39

1 Xu Bin (1957: 45, 88–9); Pan (1991: 31–4); Beltrán and Saíz (2002: 17).
2 Beltrán (1998: 213–14).
3 Partido Obrero Unificación Marxista, Workers' Party for Marxist Unification.
4 Richardson (1982: 9–14, 26–30). On Zhang Changguan, see below.
5 Jackson (1994: 7, 96–116).
6 Estimates of the number of volunteers range from 35,000 to 59,000 (Jackson 1994: 61).
7 Richardson (1982: 76, 198, fn. 45); Jackson (1994: 84). In a letter dated 27 June 2005, Ed Krebs mentioned to me 'an old gentleman named George Sossenko, who himself joined the international brigade in Spain', and who had told him of some Chinese members of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade.
8 Jackson (1994: 50).
9 Diamant (1979: 127–8).
10 Petrou (2004).
11 Jackson (1994: 29, 42–51, 98). Even in the Soviet Union, Stalin is said to have viewed the Brigades as a chance to get rid of some of Russia's multitude of foreign communist *émigrés* (Thomas 1961: 297).
12 On the extraordinary scale of immigration and its causes, see Noiriel (1995a,b) and Ogden (1995).
13 Levine (1993); Levine and Chen (2000); Pairault (1995: 25–8); Benton (1997).
14 Pairault (1995: 27); Li Changfu (1981 [1936]: 133); Li and Chen (1991: 273); Live (1994: 7, 12, 25–6; 1998: 98).
15 Live (1994: 26–7).
16 Pairault (1995: 28–9). Live (1994: 27; 1998: 102) thinks these figures are an under-

estimate, caused by 'the wariness of migrants toward census officers as a result of the widespread xenophobia in France' and Chinese traders' mobility.

17 On the internationalism and immigrant membership of the PCF and the CGTU in the early 1930s, see Noiriel (1984: ch. 6). On the Chinese communists, see Levine and Chen (2000: 15). Like the KPD, the PCF also ran a Chinese-language section (mentioned in Hu Lanqi 1985: 235).

18 Tang Hongjin (1991: 130).

19 Jizhe (1920); Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 54).

20 Benton (1997: 31).

21 For this paragraph, see Liang and Holzman (1989: 179–88). For radical journals published between 1907 and 1921, see Live (1994: 16–17).

22 This journal was edited in Moscow under the general direction of Wang Ming.

23 Shum Kui-Kwong (1988: 30–7).

24 Jackson (1994: 75).

25 Richardson (1982: 27–31, 34). Communist parties recruiting for Spain asked for skilled workers as well as potential soldiers.

26 Geiser (1986) mentions a couple of Chinese in appendices on prisoners, but Academy of Sciences of the USSR (1975) omits China from its list of countries supplying volunteers. For other references, see Modern Records Centre, University of Warwick, MSS 308/3/RP/64.i; Gonzalez (1993); and Wang Dingxi (1991). An Asian dimension of any sort is hard to find in the Spanish narrative. The British battalion was originally named 'Saklavata' in honour of the CPGB's one-time Indian MP, but the name failed to stick (Richardson 1982: 73–4).

27 Richardson (1982: 201, fn. 23).

28 Jackson (1994: 30); Thomas (1961: 299, 621–2). Later, some veterans were rehabilitated.

29 Ni and Zou (2001: 407); Gao Fang (2002 [1980]).

30 Ni and Zou (2001: 259).

31 *The Volunteer for Liberty: Organ of the International Brigades*, vol. II, no. 20, 25 May 1938: 10.

32 On the controversy about Wuhan, see Benton (1975: 88–9).

33 The following paragraphs are based on Ni and Zou (2001) and Gao Fang (2002 [1980]; 2002 [1995]).

34 On Xie's role in Germany, see Felber and Hübner (1988). Zhang Tiesheng , a communist journalist and member of the KPD, also went to Spain (Felber and Hübner 1988: 172; Gao Fang 2002 [1995]).

35 Xu Bin (1957: 45). On Qingtianese migration to the Iberian Peninsula, see Wang Dingxi (1991). Few studies have noted their potential for politicisation, but Qingtianese migrants to Europe were not immune from political influences. In 1927, a group of 'twenty or thirty small merchants from Qingtian, who were selling small inkstones on the streets of Paris, [were persuaded] to surrender to the Communist false [Guomindang]' by a Communist agent, according to a hostile account ('The Chinese Nationalist Party [Guomindang], French General Branch Report,' March 1929, in Levine and Chen 2000: 123–53, at p. 133).

36 Ni and Zou (2001: 159–60).

37 Tsou and Tsou (1996); Ni and Zou (2001: 261–308).

38 Jimiteluofu (2002: 81). On the doctors, see Clegg (1997: appendix); Ni and Zou (2001: 317–61); Kampen (2003).

39 Hirson (2003: 154); Benton (1996: 113). Crook stayed in China after 1949 and worked as a writer. At the time of the Tian'anmen crisis in 1989, he became disillusioned with the regime and began to sympathise with the Trotskyists he had previously kept watch on. He tells some of the story of his work in Spain and China in his unpublished autobiography.

40 Xu Bin (1957: 46–51); Fang and Xie (1993: 292); Beltrán (1998: 215).

41 Gao Fang (2002 [1980]); Ni and Zou (2001: 159).
42 On the official bulletins, see Richardson (1982: 137).
43 The number of Chinese working in Boulogne-Billancourt practically halved (to 336) between 1926 and 1931 and had halved again by 1936. Some moved into petty trade and hawking (Live 1994: 26–7).
44 Richardson (1982: 178).
45 Thomas (1961: 393, 559 fn.).
46 Jackson (1994: 132–9).

7 Australia

1 Fitzgerald (2004) points out that, with the exception of C. F. Yong (1977), ‘the chronicle of Chinese Australian history recounts a story of Chinese as victims of popular racism and legislative discrimination’. Jennifer Cushman also points out that historians of Chinese settlement have treated the Chinese as passive victims of white racism (Cushman 1984, quoted in Chan 2001).
2 Yong (1977: 58).
3 Yong (1977: 137–54); Shao Minghuang (2003).
4 Yong (1977: 153); Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 79); Martínez (1999a: ch. 9).
5 Fitzgerald (2004).
6 Martínez (1999a: ch. 9).
7 Fitzgerald (2004); Shao Minghuang (2003); Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 37). The statistics given in different studies are not always reliable or compatible. According to Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 37, 64), the Guomindang’s international membership in 1923 was more than 30,000, whereas by late 1925, it had risen to 87,065, organised in 13 sections and 75 branches. Xu does not give sources, whereas John Fitzgerald’s statistics are from *Zhongguo guomindang zhoukan* and other contemporary sources.
8 Xu Xiaosheng (1993: 61–63, 111, 118, 148).
9 *Labor Daily* (Sydney), 2 September 1925.
10 The above paragraphs draw on Fitzgerald (2004).
11 Quoted in Rolls (1996: 153).
12 Markus (1979: 81–97, 125–8); Dixon (1945); Rolls (1996: 112–15); Rendell (1952: 267).
13 Fitzgerald (1997: 83).
14 Gould (n.d.); Markus (1979: 172); Rolls (1996: 138–9, 153–5).
15 Van der Linden (2003: 75, 145).
16 *Barrier Miner* (Broken Hill), 25 September 1916.
17 Martínez (2001).
18 Gould (n.d.); Martínez (1999a: 95–9, 101; 2001).
19 Cited in Martínez (2001: 310).
20 Burgmann (1995: 89); Martínez (1999a: 97–100).
21 Macintyre (1998: 126–7).
22 Dixon (1945); Martínez (1999a: 115).
23 Gould (n.d.).
24 Hearn and Knowles (1996: 142–3), quoted in Martínez (1999a: 115).
25 Fitzgerald (1997: 41). The story is told in Bird (1991: 6–15), cited in Cottle (2000: 6). See also Lockwood (1987).
26 Dixon (1945); Rankine (1995: 58–67); Macintyre (1998: 307–8); Rolls (1996: 465).
27 Fitzgerald (2001: 148–9); Rolls (1996: 465); National Library of Australia (NLA) Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang. Fitzgerald (2001: 144) notes that allegiances within the Chinese community were fluid and that there was no hard and fast line between the Guomindang and the Youth League. This was especially true of the late 1930s, when the wartime united front between the Guomindang and the CCP in China was at its height. Lock Chang’s name is given in some sources

as Gar-Locke Chang. For a biography of Fred Wong and information about the 1937 events, see Cottle (2000).

28 Fitzgerald (1997: 136 fn., 41); Cottle (2000: 7; 2003: 135–8, 145).
29 Wales (1945: 207); Rankine (1995: 58–67); Gould (n.d.); Fitzgerald (2001: 148–9).
30 'Shanghai haiyuan' (1991: 143–5); NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang.
31 Cottle (2003: 136–8).
32 Fitzgerald (1997: 42–3); Cottle (2000: 6).
33 Rankine (1995: 77–81).
34 Cottle (2000: 7; 2003: 139–46).
35 File 2342 2A, Chinese Crews 1945–55, Ocean Archive (Holt), Liverpool Maritime Museum; letter from Butterfield and Swire to Alfred Holt and Co. dated 14 November 1946, quoting letters of 6 January 1946, and 8 November 1946 (cited in Foley and Foley 2006).
36 Dixon (1945).
37 Rankine (1995: 147–51); Cottle (2003: 143); NLA, Oral History Project, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang; Huang Jianda (1999: 60–4). The refugees' case was also helped by the CCP's assumption of power in Beijing in October 1949 – an event that helped sway the incoming Liberal Government (elected in December 1949) in their favour. However, the refugees were refused the right to sponsor further immigration by family members or others (Choi 1975: 59–60).
38 Cottle (2003: 146).
39 NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang; Fitzgerald (1997: 43, 142). On the bonding regime, see Choi (1975: 41).
40 NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang; Gould (n.d.); Cottle (2000: 8; 2003: 146–7). See also Lockwood (1982). Martínez (2001) tells the story of the formation of the Indian Seamen's Union in Sydney in 1945 under the SUA umbrella.
41 Cottle (2000: 10–11).
42 NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang. Fitzgerald (2001: 143) speculates that Albert Leong may have been the CPA's only Chinese member in Sydney, but Lock Chang implies a wider Chinese membership (including Fred Wong and other Australian-born Chinese).
43 Martínez (2001).
44 Cottle (2003: 144–8).
45 Ryan (1995).
46 Martínez (1999a: 275–7).
47 Ganter (2000).
48 Martínez (1999a: 57–66).
49 Inglis (1967: 22–3); Choi (1975: 35); Martínez (1999a: ch. 9); Markus (1979: 137–8); Rendell (1952: 84).
50 McCarthy (1989: 29); Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Unit, NTRS 226, TS (1–2), Lily Ah Toy (born Darwin, 1917), April 1981.
51 Rendell (1952: 119–20).
52 Giese (1994: 1).
53 Markus (1979: 137–8).
54 Ganter (2003: 81); Giese (1997: 38–48).
55 Lo (1989: 42–8).
56 Cf. TRC 3662, Albert Chan, 1997.
57 Cf. Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Unit, NTRS 226, TS 211, Alec Fong Lim (born near Pine Creek, 1938), 6 May 1981; TRC 3447, John Fong On, 1996.
58 Cf. Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Unit, NTRS 226, TS (1–2), Lily Ah Toy (born Darwin, 1917), April 1981.

59 Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Unit. NTRS 226, TS 401, Addresses by Ah Toy, Charlie See Kee, and Ernest Fong, no date.
60 TR 3005, Eddie Quong, 1993; TRC 2904, William Fong, 1992.
61 Rendell (1952: 35, 97–105, 194).
62 Martínez (1999a: 63).
63 Gould (n.d.).
64 Martínez (1999a: 92).
65 Martínez (1999a: ch. 9).
66 Burgmann (1995: 88–90).
67 Martínez (1999a: 102–14; 1999b).
68 The movement for an Aboriginal state was promoted by a cross-section of Australian society, conservatives as well as radicals, but oddly mainly conservatives. See Blackburn (1999).
69 Martínez (1999a: ch. 9 and pp. 114–23; 2003). For Chinese comments on the levelling impact of sporting ties in Darwin, see TRC 3568, Felicia Lee Long and Bill Lee Long, 1997; and TRC 2905, Charles See-Kee, 1993. On the Territorian identity, see TRC 2904, 1992, William Fong.
70 Northern Territory Archives Service, Oral History Unit, NTRS 226, TS 261, Henry Lee, April 1981. On Henry Lee, see also Rolls (1996: 257); 'Mrs Jean "Toddy" Jan,' MCNT and TCC Oral History Project, 2001; and *Hansard Daily*, Northern Territory, Seventh Assembly First Session, 28 February 1995, Parliamentary Record No. 9: 2813–15 (Mr Mitchell) and 3061–2 (Mr Hatton).
71 Martínez (1999a: 276–7).
72 Fitzgerald (1997: 136–9); Cottle (2003: 144); Giese (1997: 130–2); TRC 4583, Maurice Leong, 2000.
73 Rankine (1995: 91).
74 Cottle (2003: 147–8).
75 Fitzgerald (1997: 142–5); NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang.
76 TRC 4583, Maurice Leong, 2000.
77 On these issues, see McKeown (2001: 48–9), Wang Gungwu (1988: 9–14), and Xinyang Wang (2001: 94–101).
78 Markus (1979).
79 Chin (1997: 76–85, 111).
80 On the diversity of Chinese employment in parts of New South Wales in the late nineteenth century, see Smith (1998: 40–1).
81 Rendell (1952: 237).
82 Ibrahim (1981: 24).
83 NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang.
84 See TRC 3542, Raymond Chin, 1996, and TRC 2905, Charles See-Kee, 1993, for illustrations.
85 See the case of Denis O'Hoy, scion of prosperous landlords, in the Australia Manuscripts Collection, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria PA 93/132, Chinese Archive. But there were exceptions. For example, Maurice Leong's father was a big merchant, but the son held leftist views. (See TRC 4583, Maurice Leong, 2000.)
86 NLA Oral History Project, 1991, TRC-2724, Arthur Lock Chang; Cottle (2003: 138, 143).
87 Cottle (2003: 148).
88 Towart (2001), citing Evans (1988), McQueen (1986), Cottle (2003), Small (2001), and Griffiths (2001).
89 Fitzgerald (2004), who points out that Vivian Chow cites the American and Singapore examples from J. S. Thompson, *China Revolutionized*, and himself extends the metaphor to Australia (V. Y. Chow, 'Adventurous Chinese,' *United China Magazine* vol. 1, no. 11 [October 1933]: 470).

90 V. Y. Chow, 'Odyssey in the South,' *United China Magazine* vol. 1, no. 11 (October 1933): 438, cited in Fitzgerald (2004).

8 Esperanto

1 Forster (1982: ch. 2).
2 On the linguistics of Esperanto, see Philippe (1991) and Blanke (1985).
3 On Esperanto as a movement, see Forster (1982), Janton (1993), and Lins (1990).
4 The Spanish anarchist Angel Pestaña (1888–1937), a delegate to the Comintern's Second Congress in 1920, tabled a motion calling for congress translations to be confined to Esperanto. The motion was referred to a committee (Riddell 1991, vol. 2: 772–3).
5 On the history of Esperanto in China, see Hou Zhiping (1985).
6 Lins (1990).
7 Krebs (1998: 29–31).
8 Nomad (1966: 86).
9 *Chenbao fujuan* (Supplement to the Morning Newspaper), reprinted in Beijing in 1981 in 15 vols, at p. 337 in the reprint.
10 *Chenbao fujuan*, p. 499 in the reprint.
11 'Esperanto cili tongshi zongxu' (Foreword to the rules of Esperanto, with explanations), in *Tianyi* nos. 16–19 (spring 1908): 655–64, at p. 655.
12 *Tianyi* nos. 16–19: 655–64.
13 'Lun Zhongtu wenzi you yi yu shijie' (The Chinese script is of use to the world). (See the reprint in *Liu Shenshu xiansheng yishu* [Literary remains of Mr Liu Shenshu], *tao* 5, file 46, pp. 1b–3a.)
14 *Hengbao* no. 1 (April 1908): 2.
15 An Esperanto magazine, *Internacia Socia Revuo*, was being published in Paris at the time. In 1907, anarchist Esperantists published a pamphlet (Chapelier and Marin 1907) for the Amsterdam congress.
16 The claim that 20 Chinese attended cannot be verified.
17 Xing (= Hua Nangui?), 'Wanguo xinyu' (Esperanto), *Xin shiji* no. 6 (27 July 1907): 3; Xing, 'Ji wanguo xinyu hui' (On the Esperanto Congress), *Xin shiji* no. 10 (24 August 1907): 2.
18 Min, 'Xu "Haogu zhi chengjian" ' (More on 'The prejudice of love for old things'), *Xin shiji* no. 30 (18 January 1908): 2. (On the language question as a whole, see Li Jinxi 1934.)
19 Xing (= Hua Nangui?), 'Xu wanguo xinyu zhi jinbu' (Continuation of 'The progress of Esperanto'), *Xin shiji* no. 35 (22 February 1908): 4.
20 Xing (= Hua Nangui?), 'Xu wanguo xinyu zhi jinbu', *Xin shiji* no. 36 (29 February 1908): 1–2.
21 Qianxing, 'Bianzao Zhongguo xinyu fanli' (General rules for the construction of a new Chinese), *Xin shiji* no. 40 (28 March 1908): 3–4.
22 Ran (= Wu Zhihui), 'Xinyu wenti zhi zada' (Mixed answers to the problem of a new language), *Xin shiji* no. 44 (25 April 1908): 2–3.
23 Ran (= Wu Zhihui), 'Xu "Xinyu wenti zhi zada" ' (Continuation of 'Mixed answers to the problem of a new language'), *Xin shiji* no. 45 (2 May 1908): 2–3.
24 Zhang Binglin, 'Hanzi tongyihui zhi huanglou' (The bleak vulgarity of the conference to unify characters), *Minbao* no. 17 (October 1907), reprinted in Taibei in 1957, at pp. 2789–94.
25 Zhang had a close but problematic relationship with Liu Shipei (see Müller 2001a: pt 2, ch. 3). His group was among the most culturally conservative of those who joined Sun Yat-sen's party. Even so, Liu Shipei supported Esperanto.
26 'Bo Zhongguo yong wanguo xinyu shuo' (Refutation of the theory that China should go over to Esperanto) in *Minbao* no. 21 (10 June 1908), in the reprint at pp. 3341–64 (signed by Taiyan, Zhang's sobriquet [*hao*]), as well as two sequels in *Guocui xuebao*

nos. 41 und 42 (20 May and 18 June 1908), in the 20-vol. Taiwan reprint, 1974, at pp. 5403–11 and 5543–60 (signed Zhang Jiang, his actual name [*ming*]).

27 Ranliao, 'Shu "Bo Zhongguo yong wanguo xinyu shuo hou"' (Reaction to 'Refutation of the theory that China should go over to Esperanto'), *Xin shiji* no. 57 (25 July 1908): 11–15.

28 Sugelanjun (A gentleman from Scotland), 'Feichu Hanwen yi' (On the abolition of Chinese), *Xin shiji* no. 69 (17 October 1908): 10–12, and no. 71 (31 October 1908): 11–15.

29 Taiyan, 'Gui *Xin shiji*' (Putting *Xin shiji* right) in *Minbao* no. 24: 41–65 (in the reprint at 3787–811).

30 Hou Zhiping (1985: 20). The Shanghai Esperanto Society was founded in 1908. See *1908-nian chuangshi Shanghai shijieyu xuehui fushe shijieyu hanshou xuexiao guicheng* (Rules of the Shanghai Esperanto Association, founded in 1908 and affiliated to the School for Esperanto Distance Learning), postscript dated 1933, Shanghai: Shanghaja Esperanto-Asocio.

31 Shanghai Mujun, 'Pi miu' (Clearing up a mistake), *Xin shiji* no. 118 (19 February 1910): 10–14.

32 Shanghai Mujun, 'Xu 'Pi miu'' (Continuation of 'Clearing up a mistake'), no. 119 (12 March 1910): 14–15.

33 Mujun (possibly the same as 'Shanghai Mujun', although written with different characters), 'Taosidaojun zhi jingjiaoshi shu' (Tolstoy's letter to a pastor), no. 121 (21 May 1910): 12–14.

34 A British man working as a consul in China is on the list of the first 1,000 Esperantists drawn up by Zamenhof in 1889, but it is not known whether he taught Esperanto to Chinese (Zamenhof 1889: 6). Hou Zhiping (1985: 20) names Lu Shikai as China's first Esperantist, who learned Esperanto from a Russian in Shanghai and then founded the first Chinese Esperanto Society.

35 Krebs (1998: 77–85); Wang Peiwei (1998).

36 See the archival materials in *Zhongguo wuzhengfu zhuyi he Zhongguo shehuidang* (Chinese anarchism and the Chinese Socialist Party), Jiangsu (1981: 191–6). Zhou Enlai's wife is said to have learned Esperanto at this school (Hou Zhiping 1985: 24).

37 Excerpts from no. 12 (20 April 1913) and nos. 14–15 (4 and 11 May 1913) of *Rendao zhoubao* are reprinted in Ge Maochun *et al.* (1991 [1984], vol. 1).

38 Krebs (1998: 8).

39 Wuzhengfu gongchan zhuyi she.

40 Huang Zunsheng, 'Xu Lunbo xiansheng' (Mr Xu Lunbo), in *1932 shijieyu niankan* (Esperanto yearbook 1932), Guangzhou: Guangzhou tiancheng chubanshe, 1932, p. 26.

41 Huang Zunsheng (n.d.: 47).

42 The leading Esperantists in Shanghai, Lu Shikai and Sheng Guocheng, were party members (Huang Zunsheng n.d.: 68).

43 Mo Jipeng (n.d.: 39b).

44 *Huiming lu* no. 1 (20 August 1913): 1–2, 'Bianji xuyan' (Editors' introduction).

45 *Huiming lu* no. 1, Esperanto section, p. 4, W. H., 'Malhumana regado pli kruela ol tigro'.

46 *Minsheng* no. 3 (15 December 1913): 5–6.

47 Zheng Peigang (in his memoir in Ge Maochun *et al.* 1991 [1984], vol. 2: 945) mentions other correspondence in English and French.

48 *Minsheng* no. 6: 8–9.

49 See Miyamoto (1988). For Japanese Esperantism in general, see Hatsushiba (1998). On 'subversive' Esperanto in Japan, see Ōshima and Miyamoto (1974). Yamaga later wrote an autobiography, *Tasogare nikki* (Diary of the dawn), which Mukai Kō made the starting point of his life of Yamaga (Mukai 1974). See also Mukai (1973). On Yamaga's contacts with Chinese anarchists in general, see Sakai (1983).

50 Mukai (1974: 39).
51 For the reprints, see Zheng Peigang's memoirs in Ge Maochun *et al*. (1991 [1984], vol. 2: 949–50).
52 *La Ĥina Brileto*, vol. 1, no. 2 (February 1916): 17–20.
53 *Minsheng* no. 17: 5.
54 The first bulletin, dated 1 April 1917, is in the reprint *Minsheng*: *Minshengshe jishilu* (Bulletin of the *Minsheng* group), edited by Hazama Naoki and published in Kyoto in 1992.
55 Cf. Ge Maochun *et al*. (1991 [1984], vol. 2: 1072–3).
56 *Xin qingian* vol. 2, no. 3, November 1916, readers' letters, p. 2.
57 *Das Esperanto, ein Kulturfaktor*, vol. 3, *Festschrift zum 8. Deutschen Esperanto-Kongreß*, Stuttgart 1913: 95. *Dongfang zazhi* ('The Eastern Miscellany'), vol. 9, no. 5 (1912): 18–20; reprinted in Taibei, 1967–80, at pp. 22338–40.
58 *Dongfang zazhi* vol. 9, no. 7: 9–22 (22723–36 in the reprint).
59 Hou Zhiping (1985: 121–4); or, in the Esperanto version, 'Cai Yuanpei kaj Esperanto' (Cai Yuanpei and Esperanto), *El Popola Ĉinio* (From People's China), July 1982: 10–11.
60 Sources include Sun's contributions to *Beijing daxue rikan* (Beijing University Daily), starting in November 1917 (reprinted in Beijing in 1981, in 16 vols). This newspaper published a supplement with a title in Esperanto on 20 February 1918.
61 In *Xin qingnian* vol. 3, no. 4 (June 1917), readers' letters, pp. 1–6.
62 See Qian's foreword to the 'famous Esperanto works' collected by an anarchist Esperantist and reprinted in *Chenbao fujuan*, 12 May 1924, pp. 1–2. For Zhou Zuoren's views on Qian, whom he had known since his Japan days, see Zhou Zuoren (1984).
63 *Xin qingnian* vol. 3, no. 4 (June 1917), especially pp. 2–4.
64 Tao's letter appeared in *Xin qingnian* vol. 3, no. 6 (August 1917), readers' letters, pp. 1–4. For Chen Duxiu's answer, see ibid.: 4–5.
65 The reply to Tao Menghe appeared in *Xin qingnian* vol. 4, no. 2 (February 1918): 173–7 (201–5 in the reprint).
66 Lu's article 'Aishiyu shiming' (Explanation of Esperanto) appeared in *Beijing daxue rikan*, 31 October 1918, pp. 3–4. Sun's 'Esperanto shiming' (Explanation of Esperanto) appeared in *Beijing daxue rikan*, 11 November 1918, pp. 3–4.
67 Cf. Qian's letter to Chen Duxiu, *Xin qingnian* vol. 4, no. 4 (April 1918): 350–6 (407–13 in the reprint).
68 In *Beijing daxue rikan* on 11 March 1918, pp. 5–6, and 12 March 1918, pp. 5–6; and in *Xin qingnian* vol. 4, no. 4 (April 1918): 357–62 (414–19 in the reprint).
69 *Xin qingnian* vol. 4, no. 4 (April 1918): 362–5 (419–22 in the reprint).
70 Bingxian, 'Lun Esperanto' (On Esperanto), *Laodong* (Labour) no. 3, 20 May 1918 (56–9 in the reprint).
71 *Xin qingnian* vol. 5, no. 2 (August 1918): 184–6 (204–6 in the reprint).
72 See, for example, the letter from a disappointed Esperanto student, *Xin qingnian* vol. 5, no. 4 (October 1918): 416–23 (460–7 in the reprint), who described Esperanto as a dead language.
73 Wu Jingheng, 'Bujiu Zhongguo wenzi zhi fangfa ruo he?' (By what means should one improve the Chinese script?), *Xin qingnian* vol. 5, no. 5 (October 1918): 483–507 (535–59 in the reprint).
74 See Ou's letter, *Xin qingnian* vol. 6, no. 1 (January 1919): 75 (85 in the reprint).
75 Volapük is an artificial international language, based chiefly on European materials, invented in 1879 by Johann M. Schleyer, a German priest. Idiom Neutral was devised by W. Rosenberg on the basis of Volapük and first published in 1903.
76 Lingshuang, 'Shijieyu wenti' (The problem of a world language), *Xin qingnian* vol. 6, no. 2 (February 1919): 196–203 (219–26 in the reprint).
77 Huang's letter, *Xin qingnian* vol. 6, no. 2: 232–6 (255–9 in the reprint).
78 Morosoli (1998).

79 Lu Zhe (1990: 250–61) reviews anarchism studies. See also Xu and Liu (1989: 142–53).

80 It appeared more than 500 times. See Li-Pei-Kan, 'La mallonga historio de la anarkiista movado in Ĉinio' (The short history of the anarchist movement in China), *La Libera Laboristo* (The Free Worker), vol. 2, no. 2, August 1926, pp. 24–6, at p. 26.

81 Wuxu, 'Zhongguo gudai wuzhengfu zhuyi chao zhi yipie' (A brief look at anarchist currents in old China), *Xuehui* nos. 138–9, 14 and 15 March 1923.

82 Xuantian, 'Wang xiangcun qu' (Go to the villages), *Xuehui* nos. 74–5 (25 and 26 December 1922). Partly reprinted in Ge Maochun *et al*. (1991 [1984], vol. 2: 641–7).

83 *Xuehui* nos. 413–24.

84 Sanbo, 'Wo de shehui geming de yijian' (My views on social revolution), *Xuehui* nos. 62–3 (13 and 14 December 1922). (Also in Ge Maochun *et al*. 1991 [1984], vol. 2: 637–41.)

85 [Lu] Jianbo, 'Zenyang xuanchuan zhuyi' (How to propagate [our] principles), *Xuehui* no. 194 (13 May 1923): 4–6.

86 The university daily, *Beijing daxue rikan* 北京大学日刊, regularly reported on internal Esperanto activities.

87 Fujii (1989) reports on Erošenko's activities in Tokyo, Shanghai, and Beijing.

88 *Xin qingnian* vol. 9, no. 4, August 1921. (Lu Xun's translations are republished *Lu Xun yiwenji* [Collection of Lu Xun's translations], 10 vols, Beijing 1958. See vol. 2.)

89 Fujii (1989: 70–2).

90 After Erošenko's departure, his lectures were published in Ailuoxianke (1923) (reprinted in Sakai and Saga 1994: vol. 12).

91 'Zhishi jieji de shiming' (The mission of the intelligentsia), reprinted in *Chenbao fujuan*, 7 March 1922, p. 1.

92 Fujii (1989: 125–7, 154–8).

93 Erošenko's embitterment is evident in his last lecture, given in March 1923 ('Xiandai xiju yishu zai Zhongguo de jiazhi' [The value of modern theatre art in China]) (republished in Ailuoxianke 1923).

94 V. Rogov, 'V. Erošenko', *El Popola Ĉinio*, June 1958: 195–7, at p. 197.

95 *Beijing daxue rikan*, 22 December 1922, pp. 2–3, and *Chenbao fujuan*, 22 December 1922, pp. 1–3.

96 Fukang, 'Shijieyu de guoji diweiguan' (On the international position of Esperanto), *Dongfang zazhi* vol. 19, no. 9 (10 May 1922): 71–4.

97 'Guojiyu de lixiang yu xianshi' (The ideal and the realisation of an international language), *Dongfang zazhi* vol. 19, no. 15, 1922, pp. 77–82. For similar arguments, see Hu Yuzhi, writing in the organ of the Shanghai Esperanto Association, *Ĥina Esperantisto*, no. 1 (January 1921): 9–10.

98 *Dongfang zazhi* vol. 19, no. 15: 93–6.

99 Hoŭ Ĝiping, 'Wong Kenn, pioniro de la ĉina Esperanto-movado' (Huang Zunsheng, pioneer of the Chinese Esperanto movement), *El Popola Ĉinio*, September 1987, pp. 15–17. (Huang used Wong Kenn as the latinised form of his name, following its Cantonese pronunciation. Many overseas Cantonese followed this practice.)

100 Zhou Zuoren, 'Guoyu gaizao de yijian' (Views on the reform of the national language), *Dongfang zazhi* vol. 19, no. 17, 1922, pp. 7–15.

101 Mukai (1974: 85–8) or Sakai (1983: 38–9).

102 Zarrow (1990: 223).

103 Müller (2001a: pt 2, ch. 11).

104 Xianmin, 'Shijieyu zhuyi de yuanli' (The principles of Esperantism), *Geming zhoubao* no. 14, 31 July 1927, pp. 111–13.

105 Müller (2001a: 600).

106 Daji [Lu Jianbo], 'Gongzuo de taidu,' *Jingde* vol. 3, no. 1, reprinted in Ge Maochun *et al*. (1991 [1984]: vol. 2, 884–9).

107 *Ba Jin nianpu* (1989: vol. 2, 1163).

108 Ge Maochun *et al*. (1991 [1984]: vol. 2, 1021).
109 Müller (2001a: pt 2, ch. 13).
110 The article is reprinted in Xu Shanshu (1995).
111 Forster (1982: 195).
112 Bakin [Ba Jin], 'Mia Frateto' (My little brother), *La Verda Lumo* no. 1, June 1933, pp. 6–7 (reprinted in Xu Shanshu 1995: 48–51).
113 Shimada (1983: 10). For Ba Jin's Esperantist ties, see Xu Shanshu (1995).
114 Some communists had already learned Esperanto. They included Zheng Chaolin 郑超麟, a founder in 1931 of the Chinese Trotskyist party (Benton 1997: 56).
115 On the League of Proletarian Esperantists, see Ĉ. Ĉen, 'Rememoroj pri Ĉina Proleta Esperantista Unio' (Recollections of China's League of Proletarian Esperantists), *El Popola Ĉinio*, April 1978, pp. 14–16.
116 Ladinghua xin wenzi, in Pinyin.
117 See Riedlinger (1989); Martin (1982: 83 ff.); DeFrancis (1950: ch. 5); Ye Laishi (1983: 125–9).
118 Müller (2001b). For Hasegawa Teru's autobiography, see Hasegawa (1982). For a biography, see Tone 1980 [1969]. On the movement for a proletarian Esperantist literature, see Ōshima and Miyamoto (1974: chs 6 and 7). On Japanese Esperantism in general, see Hatsushiba (1998). For the open letter to Japanese Esperantists, see 'Venko de Ĉinio estas ŝlosilo al morgaŭo de la tuta Azio' (China's victory is the key to tomorrow for all Asia), in *Flustr'el uragano* (Whisper from the storm), Chongqing 1941, reprinted in Hasegawa (1982: 374–6). For the open letter to the Esperantists of the world, see 'Al tutmonda Esperantistaro' (To the Esperantists of the world), written on 15 December 1938 (on Zamenhof's birthday), reprinted in Hasegawa (1982: 387–94).
119 Krebs (1998: 161–4).
120 Chan (1989: ch. 6).
121 Attempts have been made in China to use Esperanto for academic publications and conferences. See, for example, Shen Chengru (1987).
122 Cf. the arguments advanced by Zhang Qicheng 张企程, General-Secretary of the Chinese Esperanto Association, in his article 'Pri la angla lingvo kaj lingva hegemonio' (On English and language hegemony), *El Popola Ĉinio*, July 1983, pp. 2–3, in which he complains that English is used as a lingua franca even in countries previously colonised by the British.

9 Conclusions

1 The collaboration started in 1937 and ended in practice in January 1941, but technically it lasted until 1945.
2 Guarnizo and Smith (1998).
3 Stephens (1998: 600–1). See also Kimeldorf (1999: 70–1).
4 Zheng Jiarui (1992).
5 Van der Linden (2003: 75, 145); Carr (1996: 213).
6 My research in the oral history sections of the Singaporean and Australian archives turned up many such examples.
7 Mei and Zhang (2001: 102).
8 'Among the most widespread fallacies about slave societies in the New World is the belief that slaves were unable to communicate with each other' (Alleyne 1988: 120).
9 Karl (2002: x, 26).
10 Anderson (1996: 9).

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