Chinese Conversations Project
Introductory Materials

This document includes excerpts from: The Guomindang in Europe: A Sourcebook of Documents by Marilyn Levine and Chen San-ching. (Berkeley: University of Calif. Institute of East Asian Studies, 2000)

Includes:
1. A historical introduction
2. Comparative chronology
3. Introduction to nine archives in Europe and Asia
4. Abbreviations
5. A biographical glossary of over 1,100 names
6. A selected bibliography

For Translation usages and protocols, see: Chinese Conversations Project Protocols document
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AAE</td>
<td>Archives du Ministère des affaires étrangères, Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAUFC</td>
<td>Archives Association Universitaire France-Chinoise, Lyons</td>
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<td>AN</td>
<td>Archives Nationales, Paris</td>
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<td>AOM</td>
<td>Archives Nationales Section d'Outre-Mer, Aix-en-Provence</td>
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<td>BIC</td>
<td>Banque industrielle de Chine</td>
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<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party</td>
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<td>CFC</td>
<td>Comité franco-chinois de patronage des jeunes Chinois en France</td>
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<td>CLC</td>
<td>Chinese Labor Corps</td>
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<td>ECCO</td>
<td>European Branches of the Chinese Communist Organizations</td>
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<td>ECCP</td>
<td>European Branch of the Chinese Communist Party</td>
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<td>ECYC</td>
<td>European Branch of the Chinese Communist Youth Corps</td>
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<td>EGMD</td>
<td>European Branch of the Chinese Guomindang</td>
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<td>EHESS</td>
<td>Écoles des hautes études en sciences sociales, centre de recherches et de documentation sur la Chine contemporaine, Paris</td>
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<td>FGMD</td>
<td>French Branch of the Chinese Guomindang</td>
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<td>GMD</td>
<td>Chinese Nationalist Party, (Guomindang)</td>
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<td>GYS</td>
<td>The Surplus Society (Gongyushe)</td>
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<td>PCF</td>
<td>French Communist Party (Parti Communiste Français)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>PRO</td>
<td>Public Record Office, London</td>
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<td>QND</td>
<td>Chinese Youth Party (Qingniandang)</td>
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<td>SDP</td>
<td>The Chinese Social Democratic Party</td>
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<td>SFEA</td>
<td>Sino-French Educational Association</td>
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<td>SFI</td>
<td>Sino-French Institute (at Lyons)</td>
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<td>SFIO</td>
<td>French Socialist Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>SLOTFOM</td>
<td>Service de liaison avec des originaires des territoires de la France outre-mer (at the AOM)</td>
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I've heard the varying perspectives on the Party, and they can be analyzed in the following categories: The Free-thinking faction: This faction mostly composed of the youth after May Fourth, who stand in the most Leftist positions, who oppose political parties. They object to politics, even to the point of rejecting all tools of revolution, but just prattling about revolution. Those to the slight Right, although they cannot compare to those with Leftist tendencies (in opposing everything), they reject all political parties of the past. Moreover they do not recognize the value [of political parties] in their days; nor do they ask about [the parties] historical mission in the historical process. They obliterate everything. All they have is an idealized political party platform. Yet they themselves do not experiment personally. Although some [of these] people do recognize the value of the Tongmenghui in history, they definitely do not recognize its important position in the people's revolution in the country during the current time period. They are unwilling to subordinate to other people (in reality if one receives the orders of others because of a belief in an ideology, it does not mean being subordinate). Each of them sets upon an individual banner. It is really a case of in the aftermath of May Fourth the new youth organizations "sprouting like spilling bamboo after the rain," and thus multiplying. Yet one has never seen them following one banner of revolution.

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

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

**Historical Introduction**

*The Chinese Political and Cultural Predicaments*

The Chinese people have often looked upon their history as a cyclical process. As the West impinged on China in the mid-1800s, the Chinese were near the bottom of the cyclical curve. Philip Kuhn outlines this process in his work about military formations and the process of decentralization in late imperial China. Among his conclusions is that the Chinese were at a point where they needed new political and social organizations to deal with dynastic
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decline.1 The Qing dynasty was considered foreign, composed of Manchus from the northeast who overthrew the Ming in 1644. Yet the Qing rulers had energized the country and ruled successfully, until problems of population and corruption exploded during the mid-1800s. Although withstanding numerous revolts and foreign conflicts, the Qing were unable to adapt quickly enough either their own or Western institutions to cope with the situation and were subsequently overthrown in the Revolution of 1911.

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

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

Sun Yat-sen has been considered the “Father of the Chinese Republic” by historians in the PRC and ROC.2 Westerners have held a more ambivalent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It was France, rather than Great Britain, Germany, or the United States, which was perceived as the best place for sojourning Chinese. This fact was reflected not only by the popularity of the Work-Study Movement, but also by the great number of self-supporting Chinese students who went to France. It should also be noted that thousands of Chinese laborers from among the over 175,000 strong Chinese Labor Corps, which had aided the Allies during the First World War, elected to continue working in France, in the early twenties. The French were perceived as the most friendly of foreigners. "Frenchmen were fraternal and without boundaries toward foreigners, and that was the reason foreign students went to France in the greatest numbers." The spirit of the French Revolution, of French fraternity, equality, and liberty, were sources of real inspiration for the Chinese. There were several aspects of French society that were seen as resonating with the values and goals of the New Culture Movement. The concept of a popular education was highly attractive to the Chinese, who saw this trend exemplified in the French law of 1907 that separated the church and state in education. France was perceived as the most sophisticated Western country in terms of science, philosophy, and general intellectual trends. From the philosophes who prompted the French Revolution to Pasteur and the beginnings of microbiology, from Auguste Comte to Lamarck, the Chinese were excited to immerse themselves in a whole new world of advanced Western culture and knowledge. The more pragmatic goals of the Work-Study Movement were linked with working in factories and pursuing technical educations in France. The Chinese hoped that the growth of Chinese technology and economic development would serve as a basis for raising the standard of living and education in China, and promote the ultimate end of creating an informed and politically active citizenry.7

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Yunhou's compendium on May Fourth organizations, the GYS was organized in 1922.\textsuperscript{12}

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{13} Hu Guowei, \textit{Bali xingying} [Paris impressions], 2d ed. (Taipei: Puti chubanshe, 1970).
Their activities included the publishing of a newspaper, *Shaonian* (少年, Youth) and then *Chiguang* (赤光, The Red Light), recruitment of Chinese labor, organization of rallies and speeches, and ideological study. The ECCO is significant because of the celebrity of Chinese leaders who entered the party or adopted Marxism before the actual formation, including Deng Xiaoping, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De, Nie Rongzhen, Li Fuchun, Chen Yi, Liu Bojian, Xiao San, Cai Hesen, Xiang Jingyu, Cai Chang, Luo Xuezan, Li Lisan, and Li Weihan. Perhaps more important is the type of activities, ideological sophistication, and training in Leninist principles that were prevalent within the ECCO. For example, unlike the situation in China (as will be very evident in this sourcebook) the ECCO, along with the Leftist EGMD, controlled the United Front. In fact, Zhou Enlai played an integral role in founding the EGMD as the Paris correspondent in 1923, while he was the secretary of the ECYC, and before the United Front was activated in China. The ECCO's relationship with the French Communist Party (*Parti Communiste Français*, PCF) was also worthy of note, and during the anti-imperialism drives of 1926 and 1927, the PCF, along with other French political organizations, held huge meetings and rallies of sympathy. The ECCO eventually moved its headquarters to Hamburg, Germany, during the late 1920s; it published *Chiguang* until the early 1930s.

The European branch of the Guomindang was formed officially in November 1923 in Lyons, France. The secretary was Wang Jingqi (1894–1925), a worker-student from Zhejiang who had been expelled during the Lyons Incident. He returned to France, apparently under instructions from the GMD to form a European branch. His correspondence illustrates both organizational detail and the process of radicalization. Wang was helped by Zhou Enlai (Paris branch) and Fang Ditang (Belgian branch) as well as by several section chiefs who were sailors and who widely recruited members. The activities of the EGMD included recruitment, propaganda, ideological training, and the publication of a paper, *Guomin* (國民, the Nation). Altogether the EGMD had several hundred members in France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Great Britain, and Italy. The EGMD was controlled by the Communists and Leftists, but the Right EGMD, led by Fang Ditang, Cao Desan, Xi Wende, Huang Jian, and others, similar to the Western Hills faction, established an independent branch at 3 rue Thouin and published a newspaper, *Sanmin* (三民, Three People's Principles). After the occupation of the Chinese legation during the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925, surveillance
on Chinese political activities was intensified, and Wang Jingqi was expelled once again. Ill with tuberculosis, he died on the journey and was buried at sea. During 1927, the EGMD split into factions, but each faction continued to appropriate the mantle of legitimacy and publish the party paper Guomin. Essentially by mid-1927 there were three EGMD factions: the Left (41 rue des Écoles),¹⁴ Right (3 rue Thouin), and Extremist or Communist (330 rue St Jacques, later 26 rue des Carmes).

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

The French Political and Cultural Environment. A wide range of political and cultural activity also animated the French during the early 1920s.¹⁵ Many Western youth were particularly discouraged by the outcome of the Versailles Conference and felt betrayed by their political leaders. The growing inflation and unemployment produced a wide series of strikes among French laborers in the immediate postwar period. Social Democratic parties, the French Communist Party (1920) and Radical Right Fascist parties grew in strength.

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

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

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

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

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

Sourcebook Introduction and Overview

The Archival Collections and Sources

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

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17 See the chronology at the end of this section for a more detailed and comparative analysis of French events.
materials in Chinese and French archival collections.\textsuperscript{18} In all the collections we used, there was much more material than we have been able to include; other scholars will need to conduct further explorations in each of these archives. The French archives contain hundreds of cartons that include information relevant to the activities of the Chinese. Although the collections do overlap, because many reports were sent to several agencies, one can find original treasures in each archive. The materials gathered in France or in other Western countries are important because they provide insights unobtainable in other ways: Western political analysis or surveillance reports, for example, support (or refute) recollections by Chinese and Westerners in later years. Furthermore, many of the original Chinese materials (newspapers, proclamations, confiscated letters, and meeting reports) have been lost in China in the chaos of war and political movements. It is in fact a real irony that we can get a more objective history because of Western colonial and ideological concerns in the 1920s.\textsuperscript{19}

The following collections are used in this sourcebook:

1. Shanghai Guomindang Archives (Yangmingshan, Taipei, Taiwan). The material collected in these archives includes the communications between Wang Jingqi and the GMD headquarters, in the form of letters, telegrams, minutes, announcements, and reports. Zhou Enlai has one report and one letter to the GMD headquarters. Many of these documents had not been used before. One would need knowledge of Wang Jingqi or the European branch to use the index.\textsuperscript{20}

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

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

\textsuperscript{19} For a more detailed explanation of how to use these archives, see Marilyn A. Levine, "Conducting Research in the French Archives on Chinese Radicalism," \textit{Republican China} 22:2 (April 1997): 93–102.

\textsuperscript{20} Permission is needed to use this collection, and photocopying is not allowed (by a national law), so one must copy document contents by hand.
Introduction

includes extensive materials on the Work-Study Movement, such as the complete set of Liu Ou zhoukan (The travel to Europe weekly).

3. Archives Nationales (AN, Paris). There is a special collection of documents on the Chinese worker-students that had been stored in the Alliance Française for decades and finally donated to the Centre de Recherches et de Documentation sur la Chine Contemporaine, Écoles des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, where they were organized and catalogued through the painstaking efforts of Geneviève Barman and Nicole Dulioust. There are literally hundreds of dossiers, including sources ranging from school catalogues to signed loan statements, factory and school name lists, and attempts at placement. But the seemingly benign can have great utility. For example, one can trace early addresses left on loan receipts or school and factory listings in box after box of materials. This sourcebook uses the letters of Father Lebbe, presumably written to E. Bradier.21 Also in the Archives Nationales are other special collections, such as Affaires Politiques. To our knowledge, Nora Wang was the first to cite two particularly useful dossiers in this “F7” series.22 These documents contain some of the earliest surveillance of Deng Xiaoping; the police report on Wang Jingqi; confiscated letters, reports, overseas GMD election ballots, telegrams, newspaper articles on the Chinese radical activities; and Sûreté reports. There are also other Archives Nationales collections that have been underused, for example in Nanterre.

4. The Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (AAE, also known as the Archives Diplomatiques, Paris). The AAE has well-indexed guides to the China series.23 Some fascinating diplomatic correspondence on the Lyons Incident was first cited by Annie Kriegal, upon her examination of these

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


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

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

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

25 Admission to these archives is not difficult, and there are useful catalogue rooms and several indexes. Photocopying is controlled, and there are restrictions on the total number of pages that can be copied in one order.
26 The Indochine collection, in particular, has been utilized for Chinese research; see J. Kim Munholland, “The French Connection that Failed: France and Sun Yat-sen, 1900–1908,” *Journal of Asian Studies* (November 1972): 77–95; and Barlow, *Sun Yat-sen and the French, 1900–1908*. Although for our purposes the SLOTFOM collection was very valuable, there are unsuspected possibilities in other collections. For example, there is a whole classification of documents devoted to the Vichy correspondence with Hanoi (Affaires Politiques). This correspondence is likely to include information on Wang Jingwei and his collaboration with the Japanese.
in the works of William Duiker, David Marr, Huynh Kim Khanh, and Hue-Tam Ho Tai. A large number of the French documents in this sourcebook were found in the SLOTFOM collection, in particular the 1929 Right faction EGMD Report (originally in a folio-size newsprint document). This document, because of its extensive detail of events and names, can be compared to other sources of evidence, and we have found it to have a high degree of accuracy. The report not only provides a wealth of information but will, we hope, stimulate new interpretations on questions of ideology and radicalism.

The SLOTFOM collection includes reports on all overseas political activity that may have affected French colonial possessions; monthly reports on revolutionary propaganda and activity abroad cover the world. Such reports provide a very broad view of events. For example, in 1927 one finds information on the respective visits to China by Jacques Doriot (PCF) and Albert Thomas (SFIO), analyses of the political situation in China, French translations of the documents captured in the Soviet embassy during the raid in Beijing, tracking of the Northern Expedition (with photostats of Chiang Kai-shek's letters to Vietnamese comrades and photos of the Huangpu cadets), and so forth.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

31 Access to the Public Record Office is relatively easy. Photocopying must be submitted to a central service in the archives.
Significance of a Sourcebook on the European Guomindang

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table I.1. Chronology of Events

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

Ao Daokui 敖道魁
Ba Guangheng 巴广恒
Bai Shenyun 白深雲
Bai Shimao 白士茂
Bao Guanru 鲍冠儒
Bi Xiushao 裴修勺
Bian Weifei 卞衛飛
Bin Pengzhu 賀勝翥
Bo Jinzhi 柏勤直
Cai Bolin 蔡泊霖
Cai Chang 蔡暢
Cai Chiping 蔡志平
Cai Hesen 蔡和森
Cai Lin 蔡霖
Cai Shichun 蔡時春
Cai Wuji 蔡無忌
Cai Yuanao 蔡源高
Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培
Cai Zhihua 蔡支華
Cao Desan 曹德三
Cao Dumou 曹度謀
Cao Qingping 曹青萍
Cao Qingtai 曹清泰
Cao Shifang 曹世芳
Cao Tingxun 陳廷醜
Cao Xisan 曹錫三
Chen Baifang 陳百芳
Chen Changwu 陳常武
Chen Chaoneng 陳朝能
Chen Chi 陳赤
Chen Chongxian 陳崇憲
Chen Chu 陳楚
Chen Chuanyong 陳傳詠
Chen Dianxue 陳典學
Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀
Chen Ge 陳哥
Chen Guifang 陳桂芳
Chen Gongpei 陳公培
Chen Guangxi 陳光熙
Chen Guangxu 陳光旭
Chen Guoliang 陳國樑
Chen Hao 陳浩
Chen Huasong 陳華松
Chen Jiaqi 陳家齊
Chen Jiazheng 陳家珍
Chen Jilie 陳繼烈
Chen Jiuding 陳九董
Chen Jiuzhen 陳九珍
Chen Kehuan 陳克愼
Chen Lie 陳烈
Chen Liezhi 陳烈之
Chen Lihe 陳立鶴
Chen Pengnian 陳彭年
Chen Pinshan 陳品善
Chen Qiaolian 陳喬年
Chen Qitian 陳啓天
Glossary of Chinese Names

Fan Yi 范一
Fan Ying 范樱
Fang Ditang 方德棠
Fang Dunyuan 方敦元
Fang Ming 方明
Fang Shiliang 方士亮
Fang Tao 方焘
Fang Zhigang 方志刚
Feng Erquan 冯尔铨
Feng Hanying 冯翰英
Feng Jiasheng 冯家昇
Feng Jing 冯敬
Feng Xianlan 冯獻閔
Feng Xuezhong 冯作舟
Fu Binchao 符斌超
Fu Changjiu 傅昌钜
Fu Chuanbo 傅傳بوت
Fu Guoshao 傅國韶
Fu Hanying 傅漢英
Fu Ji 傅驥
Fu Jizhou 傅錦周
Fu Jiyi 傅繼毅
Fu Kui 傅奎
Fu Lie 傅烈
Fu Lun 傅輪
Fu Rulin 傅汝霖
Fu Ruren 傅儒仁
Fu Wenming 傅汶明
Fu Yingwei 傅英偉
Fu Yisheng 傅逸生
Fu Yizhang 傅益彰
Fu Zhong 傅鍾
Gan Rui 甘瑞
Gao Chengyuan 高承元
Gao Feng 高風
Gao Fengzao 高風藻
Gao Shang 高尚
Gao Xianying 高憲英
Gao Yisheng 高怡生
Gao Yuhan 高語罕
Ge Jianhao 葛建豪
Gong Daihuan 龔代煥
Gong Shenglu 龔聲律
Gong Xianming 龔賢明
Gu Gongxu 顧弓敘
Gu Wenbin 顧文彬
Gu Wenxi 顧文熙
Guan Xiangying 關向迎
Guo Chuntao 郭春濤
Guo Fangrui 郭方瑞
Guo Guobin 郭國賓
Guo Longzhen 郭隆真
Guo Mingzhong 郭名忠
Guo Qingzheng 郭清正
Guo Tianshu 郭天樞
Guo Xinghan 郭興漢
Guo Yichen 郭一岑
Guo Yuchang 郭玉昌
Guo Zechen 郭則忱
Guo Zhifen 郭志汾
Hai Jingzhou 海荆州
Han Fuxi 韩馥熙
Han Luchen 韩陵塵
Han Qi 韩琦
Han Rulin 韩儒林
Han Shaoqi 韩少琦
He Changgong 何長工
He Chaodong 何朝棟
He Cunhou 何存厚
He Dan 何旦
He Dehe 何德鶴
He Fangli 何方理
He Guo 賀果
He Haichao 何海潮
He Haoxiang 何浩翔
He Jiamo 何嘉謨
He Jingqu 何經渠
He Luzhi 何魯之
He Qichang 何其昌
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<th>Chinese Name</th>
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<td>Jiang Mingqian 蒋明谦</td>
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Glossary of Chinese Names

Long Yin 龙吟
Long Zhanxing 龙詹兴
Lou Shaocheng 马绍承
Lou Shaolian 马绍连
Lü Huanyi 吕焕义
Lü Longqing 吕隆庆
Lu Qichang 陆其昌
Lu Qing 陆庆
Lu Xiaofei 陆霞飞
Lu Xueshan 陆学善
Lu Zhangyao 陆章耀
Lu Zhenggang 陆政纲
Lü Fengchan 呂风蟾
Lü Menggeng 呂梦庚
Lü Songqin 呂松琴
Luo Chengrong 罗成rong
Luo Gan 罗干
Luo Han 罗汉
Luo Jingzhong 罗景中
Luo Mingjun 罗明俊
Luo Qicai 罗奇才
Luo Ruifen 罗瑞芬
Luo Shifen 罗世芬
Luo Yuefeng 罗岳锋
Luo Xuezan 罗学赞
Luo Yinong 罗印农
Luo Yirong 罗贻荣
Luo Zhangxian 罗章贤
Luo Zhensheng 罗振声
Ma Baoju 马保俊
Ma Guangchen 马光辰
Ma Guangqi 马光启
Ma Heng 马衡
Ma Shouzheng 马守正
Ma Sicang 马斯藏
Ma Yuanxi 马元熙
Ma Yufu 马禹
Ma Zhaocai 马兆彩
Ma Zhiyuan 马志远
Ma Zusheng 马祖圣
Mao Bin 毛斌
Mao Decheng 毛德成
Mao Kesheng 毛克生
Mao Shengxuan 毛升选
Mao Yushun 毛羽顺
Meng Guangbin 孟广斌
Min Da 閔達
Min Qiwei 閔基偉
Mu Qing 穆清
Nie Rongzheng 綺榮臻
Niu Bingshen 鈕秉申
Ou Shengbai 欧承白
Ouyang Ming 欧明
Ouyang Qin 欧勤
Ouyang Tai 欧泰
Ouyang Ying 欧莹
Ouyang Ze 欧泽
Pan Fang 潘方
Pan Hannian 潘漢年
Pan Jiwu 潘继武
Pan Rong 潘融
Pan Wuwo 潘無我
Pan Xiguang 潘錫光
Pan Xinghua 潘興華
Pan Yong 潘勇
Pan Zaizhong 潘再中
Pei Wenzhong 裴文中
Peng Hongzhang 彭鴻章
Peng Jiayan 彭嘉言
Peng Kuan 彭宽
Peng Shikai 彭世楷
Peng Shiqin 彭世勤
Peng Shumao 彭樹茂
Peng Shumin 彭樹敏
Peng Sumin 彭素民
Peng Xiang 彭襄
Pi Yinglin 皮迎麟
Qi Zhonghao 祁忠厚
Qian Linzhao 钱臨照
Qian Sanqiang 钱三强
Qiao Pichen 喬丕成
Qiao Pixian 喬丕顯
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Xu Zuxiong 許祖熊
Xue Chenglai 徐承來
Xue Shilun 徐世論
Yan Bingjun 嚴秉鈞
Yan Changyi 顏昌義
Yan Chengzhang 顏成章
Yan Jiaxi 顏家熙
Yan Jici 顏濟慈
Yan Jijin 顏繼金
Yan Jin 顏瑾
Yan Renguang 顏仁光
Yan Rongyi 許榮一
Yan Ruisheng 嚴瑞升
Yan Xiaowen 閻效文
Yan Wei 閻偉
Yang Anran 楊安然
Yang Anxiang 楊安祥
Yang Changmao 楊長茂
Yang Chao 楊超
Yang Chuncheng 楊春成
Yang Daorong 楊道融
Yang De 楊德
Yang Dongchun 楊東臣
Yang Fenglin 楊峰琳
Yang Gang 楊剛
Yang Gengtao 楊庚陶
Yang Gongda 楊公達
Yang Guangbi 楊光弼
Yang Haocang 楊浩滄
Yang Hechuan 楊合川
Yang Jie 楊傑
Yang Kairong 楊開榮
Yang Kun 楊堃
Yang Lisan 楊立三
Yang Mengzhou 楊夢周
Yang Pinsun 楊品孫
Yang Qian 楊潛
Yang Quanyu 楊全宇
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Yang Tihua 楊體懷
Yang Weikan 楊維侃
Yang Xiufeng 楊秀風
Yang Yixiang 楊一香
Yang Yizhi 楊一之
Yang Yu 楊聿
Yang Yutian 楊雨田
Yang Zhenzong 楊振宗
Yang Chi-hua 楊志華
Yang Zhihua 楊之華
Yang Zhongfang 楊中
Yang Zifu 楊自福
Yang Zixuan 楊子軒
Yao Baozhi 噪保之
Yao Congwu 噪從吾
Ye Changling 葉長齡
Ye Changyu 葉昌餘
Ye Chucang 葉楚滄
Ye Guohua 葉國華
Ye Jilan 葉濟瀧
Ye Qisun 葉企孫
Ye Rikui 葉日葵
Ye Sanduo 葉三多
Ye Xichun 葉熙春
Glossary of Chinese Names

Zhang Ming 张明
Zhang Ming 张萌
Zhang Mingzhu 张铭柱
Zhang Nan 张楠
Zhang Qixiang 张其相
Zhang Rong 张荣
Zhang Ruoming 张若名
Zhang Shanxin 张善信
Zhang Shaozeng 张绍曾
Zhang Shenfu 张申府
Zhang Sheng 张盛
Zhang Shenwei 张慎徽
Zhang Tianyi 张天翼
Zhang Tiesheng 张铁生
Zhang Tiuyuan 张惕源
Zhang Tong 见桐
Zhang Wanyou 张万有
Zhang Weihan 张维汉
Zhang Weiming 张维明
Zhang Wen 张文
Zhang Wenjia 张文甲
Zhang Wenjin 张文晋
Zhang Wenming 张问明
Zhang Wuqiao 张悟桥
Zhang Wuyuan 张务源
Zhang Xi 张熙
Zhang Xingzhou 张星舟
Zhang Yaoguang 张耀光
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Zhang Yongba 张永拔
Zhang Yongsheng 张永生
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Zhang Zhaoefeng 张兆锋
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Zhu Zhenwu 朱振武
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Zhuang Changgong 莊長恭
Zi Kunfu 資琨舫
Zong Xijun 宗錫鈞
Zou Huanzi 鄒換智
Zou Xinkai 鄒昕楷
Zuo Jizeng 左紀增
Zuo Jizhen 左紀楨
Zuo Shaoxian 左紹先
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Gongren 工人 (Paris)
Guomin 國民 (Paris)
Guomin 國民 (Lyons)
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Sanmin 三民 (Paris)
Shaonian 少年
Shaonian Zhongguo 少年中國
Tianjin wenshi ziliao xuanji 天津文史資料選輯
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