

USSR / Comintern Alliance With KMT & CCP

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Three agencies of USSR, i.e., Peking's USSR embassy, Comintern stationed in Shanghai and USSR corps in Guangzhou (Canton), were involved in China's politics. The three groups had different agenda and objectives and often had conflicting functions and redundant tasks. Voitinsky and Maring were responsible for developing and organizing the CCP. Maring and Joffe were responsible for changing Comintern's "Irkutsk line" to full cooperation with Sun Yat-sen. With Trotsky's financial support and endorsement, Borodin brought 120,000 (?) rifles and 2 million Mexican dollars to Sun Yat-sen's KMT in Canton and contributed to the so-called China's "*Da Ge-ming*" (i.e. "Grand Revolution"), also termed the 'First Revolutionary Civil War' by the CCP, a campaign that would unite China under Sun Yat-sen's KMT government.

Voitinsky (Wei-jing-si-ji) worked with Li Dazhao and Zhang Guotao in Beijing as early as 1920. Comintern established a 'Russo-Chinese News Agency' in Shanghai, with a branch in Beijing. ('Russo-Chinese News Agency' also set up a branch in Canton.) Voitinsky and four Chinese revolutionaries set up a 'revolutionary committee' in Shanghai, with three offices of publication, information and organization. This 'revolutionary committee' had hosted "conference of students' representatives" in Beijing and resulted in the 'Socialist Youth League' of China on Aug 17th of 1922. Replacing Voitinsky would be Comintern Rep Maring who worked with Chen Duxiu in Shanghai on establishing the Chinese Communist party (CCP), with Chen's "*The New Youth*" magazine and its 7-8 centers across the nation as a nexus. At the absence of Chen Duxiu who left for a education post in Guangdong Province, Maring assisted Zhang Guotao in founding the CCP in July 1921 as a branch of the Comintern. Maring pushed through the Moscow demand, at the Second CCP National Session, to have CCP ally with KMT in June of 1922 against the objections of Zhang Guotao. Zhang Guotao, having suffered a setback when Wu Peifu cracked down on the Feb 7th 1923 Jing-han Railroad Workers' Strike, agreed to shift CCP's revolutionary agenda to Shanghai/Guangzhou in the south and accept the KMT-CCP alliance during the Second Plenary of the Second CCP National Session. CCP agreed with Maring that China's revolution should go through two stages the same way as USSR had undergone the 1905 & 1917 revolutions, i.e., i) democratic revolution and ii) socialist revolution.

Sun Yat-sen, initially ignored by USSR, met Voitinsky in Shanghai. But M. I. Yurin despised Sun Yat-sen's political influences. Sun Yat-sen obtained General Chen Jiongming's support in establishing a government in Canton in 1920. Maring came to China in the spring of 1921

and met Sun Yat-sen in Guangxi Prov. On Oct 31st of 1921, Chicherin wired to China Republic's foreign affairs ministry to inquire about the possibility of establishing relations with Canton Government without antagonizing the Peking Government. With Lenin's approval, Chicherin instructed USSR emissary to China, A. K. Paikes, to have secretive contacts with Sun Yat-sen in Canton. Maring observed the January 1922 Seaman's Strike in Canton/HK and appreciated the Chinese nationalism under Sun Yat-sen's KMT leadership. In August 1922, Sun Yat-sen, being expelled from Canton by the warlord or militarist Chen Jiongming (Ch'en Chtiung-ming), arrived in Shanghai. Maring, who went to Guangxi Province for seeing Sun Yat-sen in 1921, met Sun Yat-sen again on Aug 25th of 1922 in Shanghai and requested for Sun Yat-sen's approval to have CCP members join KMT on an individual basis. Zhang Ji would lead CCP leader Li Dazhao to a meeting with Sun Yat-sen, and Li Dazhao promised to serve the cause of national revolution under Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. Maring returned to Moscow the next month and proposed to reverse the "Irkutsk line" of the Comintern by cooperating with KMT. Adolph Joffe, a top Soviet diplomat, was empowered with furthering formal contacts with Sun Yat-sen. Joffe was dispatched to China in July 1922 as plenipotentiary for negotiations on Outer Mongolia and China Eastern Railroad. In Sept 1922, one month after Sun-Joffe meeting, Liao Zhongkai accompanied Joffe to Tokyo where they prepared the Jan 1923 Sun-Joffe Declaration. After failing to get Wu Peifu agree on a joint south-north government as well as achieve any breakthrough in negotiations on Mongolia/China eastern RR, Joffe began to pay more and more attention to tacking on Sun Yat-sen as a partner. On Dec 12th, Joffe reported to Moscow that Sun Yat-sen's KMT should be utilized as a strong force for moving the agenda of nationalist revolution inside of China.

On Jan 4th of 1923, Soviet politburo endorsed Joffe's policy of full support for KMT. Back in Dec 1922, Sun Yat-sen obtained the support of Guangxi Army General Liu Zhenhuan in expelling Chen Jiongming's Guangdong Army from Canton. General Liu Zhenhuan, in cooperation with Yunnan Province Army General Yang Ximin, attacked Canton on Jan 5th 1923. (Li Zongren memoirs stated that in the summer of 1922, Sun Yat-sen called upon Yunnan & Guangxi troops in fighting Chen Jiongming, and that in Dec, departing from Wuzhou & Hexian, Shen Hongying, together with Liu Zhenhuan and Yang Ximin, expelled Chen Jiongming from Canton.) On Jan 16th of 1923, Sun Yat-sen's army, comprising of Dian-jun and Gui-jun, defeated Chen Jiongming and recovered Canton. Chen Jiongming fled to Huizhou. Dian-jun and Gui-jun chased their way towards Huizhou and destroyed bulk of the Yue-jun army. Xu Chongzhi was empowered with rebuilding Yue-jun army by absorbing the stranded Chen Jiongming soldiers as well as recalling the troops which had retreated to Fujian at the time of Chen Jiongming rebellion.

Trotsky endorsed Joffe's decision. Joffe's five-member team left for Shanghai where they met Sun Yat-sen. On January 26, 1923, Joffe and Sun issued a 'Joffe-Sun Joint Statement' in which Joffe agreed, per Harold Isaacs that "conditions do not exist here for the successful

establishment of Communism or Socialism," that "the chief and immediate aim of China is the achievement of national union and national independence." Liao Zhongkai later went to Japan for drafting the cooperation paper with Joffe one more time. On Jan 29th, Sun Yat-sen completed the writing of China's revolutionary history per KMT records.

Trotsky, on March 8th, had Soviet politburo agree to delivering an aid package of 2,000,000 Mexican dollars to Sun Yat-sen in addition to dispatching military and political advisers. On March 21st 1923, Sun Yat-sen was restored his 'grand marshal' post in Canton. However, Sun Yat-sen was facing financial hardship as a result of Chen Jiongmings hijacking of the vault as well as increased burden for support of Guangxi-Yunnan armies. Sun Yat-sen did not forget to recall Chiang Kai-shek, but Chiang Kai-shek was too busy with stock trading to report to Canton. To solve financial crisis, Sun Yat-sen resorted to threats against foreign legations in taking over Canton customs office for withholding surplus funds in the spring of 1923.

Michael Borodin, a rep of the Politbureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, came to serve as an adviser to Sun Yat-sen in the fall of 1923. Borodin, being a USSR rep in Canton from Oct 1923 to July 1927, would now take over Maring's role in supporting Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek's KMT government as well as maintaining the CCP-KMT alliance. Sun Yat-sen's resorting to Canton surplus withholding would lead to the 17 foreign warships' charge at White Swan Pond. British Admiral Leveson led the fleet in sailing along the Pearl River in Canton. Foreign Minister Chen Youren, in a news conference attended by Reuters and numerous international reporters, claimed that Western gunboat policy compelled Sun Yat-sen into shaking the "friendship hand" of USSR. Chen Jieru memoirs claimed that Sun Yat-sen's news broadcast was merely a "threat" in winning over support from "democratic countries", not an ultimate shift of political standgrounds.

USSR/Comintern alliance With KMT & CCP hence became a tricky issue. Borodin, not a rep for the Comintern, was to reorganize the KMT into "a disciplined party organization with a powerful mass movement behind it". Per Harold Isaacs, the Executive Committee of the Comintern ruled on January 12, 1923 that "... the E.C.C.I. considers that it is necessary to coordinate the activities of the Kuomintang and of the young Communist Party of China" and that "the Kuomintang should be the central force of the national revolution and should stand in the leading position". The Third Conference of the Chinese Communist Party in June 1923 agreed to the slogan: "All work to the Kuomintang!"