



"Diaspora Party": the origins, characteristics and development of the Southeast Asian branch of the Chinese Communist Party before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident

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ABSTRACT

In the first half of the 20th century, overseas branches of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) existed not only in Europe, Soviet Russia and Japan, but also in Thailand, Singapore and Malaya, the Philippines and other parts of Southeast Asia. These Southeast Asian branches of the CCP, generally referred to as "Diaspora Party(侨党)"/"Overseas Chinese Party(华侨党)" by those involved, are generally limited in size and have difficulty operating openly in overseas Chinese communities across Southeast Asia. After the failed revolution of 1927, a large number of CCP members or members of the Communist Youth League from southern Chinese provinces such as Guangdong, Fujian and Hainan scattered across the Nanyang(南洋) to escape the pressure of the Kuomintang. This was the main basis for the origin of the CCP' "Diaspora Party" in Southeast Asia. In the context of the international communist movement, the CCP diaspora parties generally had a special organisational and operational relationship with the local communist parties and communist movement, showing the characteristics of mutual integration. According to the changing situation and the needs of the overseas Chinese, under the leadership of the core cadres of the party, the members of Overseas Chinese Party would use Chinese schools, Chinese newspapers, reading clubs and other tools to mobilise a group of overseas Chinese, especially overseas Chinese students and youths, and then form a unified mass organisation such as "Anti-Imperialist Grand League" to unite all sectors of the overseas Chinese community; before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the most remarkable achievement of the Overseas Chinese Party in Southeast Asia in terms of Overseas Chinese Movement Work(侨运工作) was the unification of a group of students and young political activists, and after the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, these leftist Chinese youths were mobilised to return to China and became active cadres in various CCP systems.

Keywords: Overseas CCP, Southeast Asian branch of the CCP, Overseas Chinese Party, Overseas Chinese Movement Work, leftist Chinese youth

The close association of the Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia with the Tung Meng Hui, the Xinhai Revolution and the Kuomintang is well known to the academic community. In view of the special relationship between Southeast Asian Chinese and the Kuomintang, Fitzgerald even directly referred to the Kuomintang as "an overseas party".¹ Zhang Kaiyuan has long held the view that "the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party(CCP) are two melons on the same vine", pointing out certain similarities between the two parties.² In fact, similar to the Kuomintang, the CCP is also a party with a deep overseas background. Part of Han Donglin's PhD thesis argues that overseas students were an important part of the early CCP leadership.³ There is also a wealth of literature, especially scholarly writings, on the overseas party organisations of the CCP in Europe, Soviet Russia,

¹ Fitzgerald Stephen, *China and the Overseas Chinese: A Study of Peking's Changing Policy, 1949-1970* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 6-7.

² Zhang Kaiyuan, 'Preface I', Wang Qisheng, *Dangyuan 、 dangquan yu dangzheng* [Party Members, Party Power and Party Struggle] (Beijing: Huawen, 2010), p. 3.

³ Han Donglin, 'International Migration and Domestic Politics: Perspectives from Overseas Return Migration in China, 1920-2007' (Ph.D. diss. , Hong Kong University of Science and Technology, 2009).

Japan and the United States.⁴

In the first half of the 20th century, the Chinese diaspora community in Southeast Asia, which consisted mainly of migrants from Guangdong and Fujian provinces to the south, had reached a sizeable population of over 5 to 8 million, which was close to the population of Guizhou, a province in China at that time.⁵ Was there, then, a CCP organisation overseas among these expatriate populations in Southeast Asia? The Southeast Asian branch of the CCP, which continued for nearly 30 years, is not well known to us because of its exotic location, its small scale, and the importance of secrecy by those involved. In the *Zhongguo gongchandang zuzhi shi ziliao* [Materials on the Organizational History of the CCP], which was published in 2000 and prepared under the leadership of the Organisation Department of the Central Committee of the CCP, there is mention of two "overseas organisations"—the "Branch of the CCP in Moscow" and "Branch of the CCP in Europe", but there is no mention of its branches in Southeast Asia.⁶

It is clear that the Southeast Asian branch of the CCP as a whole has not yet entered the scholarly consciousness of either English or Chinese academics, and no formal studies on this issue have yet been published. The knowledge of the phenomenon in English-language scholarship is probably limited to the presence of Chinese in communist organisations throughout Southeast Asia. In the Chinese literature, Xie Kan Kan published a paper in 2019, attempting to dip into "the activities of the (Chinese) Communist Party in Southeast Asia", but it was difficult for him to expand on this topic due to the lack of concrete historical materials.⁷ Xu Zhimin has written, based on the memoirs of Chen Ping, former General Secretary of the Communist Party of Malaya, that the "Nanyang branch" of the CCP "survived for only three or five years", suggesting that the Southeast Asian branch of the CCP lasted only a few years;⁸ but according to the elaboration of the Southeast Asian branch of the CCP in this article, Xu's statement is obviously questionable. It is worth mentioning that some scholars have paid attention to the presence of the CCP in individual countries in Southeast Asia: Jiang Fan published a paper on the "Burmese Overseas Chinese Communist Party" in 2016, describing the general situation of the organisation from its birth to the 1950s and explaining its historical contributions during its existence;⁹ Fan Hongwei's monograph also shows that the author may have noted the existence of a CCP branch in the Myanmar overseas Chinese community.¹⁰ However, if we compare the analysis of the Burmese "Diaspora Party" in this article, we will find that Jiang Fan and Fan Hongwei's studies on the Burmese branch of CCP also suffer from a lack of historical materials, which leads to insufficient details and errors in detail.

Existing research has left a lot of room for later researchers to venture into this field. Based on the memoirs and retrospective articles of the "Diaspora Party" members and those involved, as well as various materials compiled by various institutions in Guangdong and Fujian, two major provinces involving overseas Chinese, this article will present and analyse in a more systematic manner the origins, characteristics, development and other situations of the Southeast Asian branches of the CCP before the outbreak of the war in 1937, so as to get a glimpse of the Southeast Asian branches of the CCP and, to a certain extent, advance our understanding of the phenomenon of "overseas CCP".

I. THE ORIGINS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VARIOUS "DIASPORA PARTIES" IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

After the failure of the Revolution in 1927, the CCP had to resist the strong pressure brought by the Kuomintang externally and to eliminate all kinds of unstable factors internally, such as Chen Tu-hsiu's Right opportunism, Gu Shunzhang's mutiny, and later Zhang Guotao's "alternative central committee" from 1935 to 1936.¹¹ As a result, until the Xi'an Incident in 1936 and the outbreak of the war in 1937, the CCP was unable to take care of its business in the southern provinces and even in the Nanyang, and it was difficult to carry out various organisational, propaganda and united-front activities. For example, around 1930, it was difficult to maintain telecommunication links between the CCP Central Committee and the Party organisations in the south.¹² And according to the accounts of the people concerned, by 1936, the CCP's organisation in Hong Kong had been destroyed for

⁴ Wang Yongxiang, 'Guanyu Zhonggong lufa xiaozu he luou zhibu' [About the CCP's French Group and the European Branch], *Shixue yuekan* 3(1983); Sun Yefang, 'Guanyu Zhonggong lumo zhibu' [About the Branch of the CCP in Moscow], in *Zhonggong dangshi ziliao* (Series No. 1), (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao, 1982); Xu Zhimin, 'Zhonggong Dongjing zhibu kaolun' [An examination of the Tokyo branch of the CCP], *Zhongguo shehui kexue* 5(2019); He Libo, 'Zhonggong haiwai zuzhi meigong zhongyang zhongguoju' [The CCP's Overseas Organization: the Chinese Bureau in Central Committee of the Communist Party of United States], *Dangshi bolan* 7(2016).

⁵ For the population of the Chinese community in Southeast Asia in the first half of the 20th century, see Zhuang Guotu, 'Yapian zhanzheng hou Dongnanya huaqiao de renkou jigou' [The Demographic Structure of the Chinese in Southeast Asia after the Opium War], *Nanyang wenti yanjiu* 1(1994), p. 5; Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in Southeast Asia* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 3. For the population of Guizhou province in the first half of the 20th century, see Hou Yangfang, *Zhongguo renkou shi* [A Demographic History of China] (vol. 6), (Shanghai: Fudan daxue, 2005), p. 209.

⁶ Organization Department of the Central Committee of the CCP, Party History Research Office of the Central Committee of the CCP, Central Archives, *Zhongguo gongchandang zuzhi shi ziliao* [Materials on the Organizational History of the CCP] (13 volumes), (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi, 2000).

⁷ Xie Kan Kan, 'Zhanqian Dongnanya gongchan zhuyi yundong zhong de "Zhongguo xing" yu "huaren xing" wenti - yi Yin Ma Yue Tai weili' [Conceptualizing "Chineseness" in Southeast Asian Communist Movements during the Interwar Period: Indonesia, Malaya, Vietnam, and Thailand in Comparative Perspectives], *Dongnanya yanjiu* 6(2019), pp. 142-144.

⁸ Xu Zhimin, 'Zhonggong Dongjing zhibu kaolun', p. 187.

⁹ Jiang Fan, 'Miandian huaqiao Gongchandang de lishi gongxian' [The Historical Contribution of the Burmese Overseas Chinese Communist Party], *Tanqiu* 2(2016), pp. 34-41.

¹⁰ Fan Hongwei, *Miandian huaqiao huaren shi* [A History of the Overseas Chinese in Myanmar] (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2016).

¹¹ Party History Research Office of the Central Committee of the CCP, *Zhongguo gongchandang de qishi nian* [Seventy Years of the CCP] (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi, 1991); Zhang Guotao, *Wo de huiyi* [My Recollections] (vol. 3), (Xiandai shiliao biankan she, 1981); Liping and Fang Ming, ed., *Zhouenlai nianpu: 1898-1949* [The Chronology of Zhou Enlai: 1898-1949] (revised), (Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian, 1998).

¹² Liping and Fang Ming, ed., *Zhouenlai nianpu: 1898-1949*, p. 151.

more than two years.¹³ Again, according to documents contained in *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji*[Selected Documents of the Central Committee of the CCP](Volume X), between 1935 and 1937, the Central Committee of CCP, which was surviving in a difficult situation, attached great importance to the issue of the united front; it even instructed the whole Party to carry out united front work among the Hui people in the northwest and the Society of Brothers(哥老会) in the southwest provinces, but very little attention was paid to the Chinese in Southeast Asia.¹⁴ Under such circumstances, between 1927 and 1937, the CCP had only limited contact with overseas Chinese communities across Southeast Asia in terms of scale and momentum.

These limited contacts were mainly in the form of small branches of the CCP that developed throughout Southeast Asia after the failure of the Revolution in 1927. Lian Guan 连贯, a native of Meizhou, Guangdong, who had long been covertly in charge of the CCP's branches in Southeast Asia and was a key figure in the CCP responsible for that part of the work, wrote cryptically in a retrospective article after the establishment of the People's Republic of China, "In the 8th Route Army office in Hong Kong ... I also assisted Liao Chengzhi 廖承志 in much of his overseas Chinese work and Diaspora Party work."¹⁵ Apparently, according to Lian Guan, these branches of the CCP in Nanyang could be collectively referred to as the "Diaspora Party(侨党)". This was the first time that the term "Diaspora Party" was introduced to me and I began to take an academic interest in it. Since then, as the historical materials accumulated, terms such as "Diaspora Party" and "Overseas Chinese Communist Party" kept appearing in the recollections of Diaspora Party members themselves and their families: in Thailand and Vietnam, these Southeast Asian branches of the CCP were generally referred to by those involved as the "Diaspora Party(侨党)", and in Vietnam also as the "Overseas Chinese Communist Party(华侨共产党)"; in Singapore and Malaya, the "Diaspora Party(侨党)"; in Indonesia, it was also known as the "Indonesian Overseas Chinese Communist Party(印尼华侨共产党)"; and similar to Indonesia, it was also called the "Filipino Overseas Chinese Communist Party(菲律宾华侨共产党)" in the Philippines.¹⁶ In addition, in documents such as correspondence within the CCP, encyclopedias compiled by later generations, these branch organizations were also referred to as the "Overseas Chinese Party(华侨党)" or "CCP Diaspora Party(中共侨党)".¹⁷ It is worth noting that, for reasons of secrecy, in the memoirs of the Nanyang Overseas Chinese Party members themselves, these branches are also vaguely referred to as "progressive organizations of overseas Chinese", or "leftist organizations", or "revolutionary organizations", and so on.¹⁸

Due to the large number of expatriates and the looser control of the Thai government, the Diaspora Party had become more mature in Thailand and had a formal name in Thailand—the "Siam Branch of the CCP(中共暹罗支部)"¹⁹, or the "Siam Working Committee of the CCP(中共暹罗工委)", for example, Qiu Ji 邱及 became "the member of the Standing Committee of Siam Working Committee of the CCP(中共暹罗工委常委)" in Bangkok in 1941²⁰. The size of diaspora parties in Southeast Asia was generally limited. Even in Thailand, as far as I know, the total number of official members of the Siamese branch of CCP would be only about 100. In Vietnam, according to the account of Lin Ming 林明, a core member of the Vietnamese Diaspora Party, there were probably only a few dozen members.²¹ Around 1948, when the colonial authorities in the Nanyang launched a wave of anti-communism, the Diaspora Party began to shrink, with members returning to China one after another via Hong Kong; however, during this period, less than 200 Party members were transferred to the Hong Kong Bureau of the CCP Central Committee from both the Nanyang and Shanghai.²² Not only was it not a large scale, but also, the Diaspora Party generally found it difficult to operate openly throughout Nanyang. According to Chen Jiageng, the CCP was "latent" in the overseas Chinese community of Singapore: "Due to local decree, the Communist Party was latent, and the Kuomintang was not active; out of a

¹³ Li Jingxian, 'Yi chizi zhi xin baoxiao zuguo—Lai Shiang tongzhi shengping jieshao'[Serving the motherland with the pure heart - an introduction to the life of Comrade Lai Shiang], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8), ed. Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2015), p. 316.

¹⁴ Central Archives, ed., *Zhonggong zhongyang wenjian xuanji*[Selected Documents of the Central Committee of the CCP](Volume X), (Beijing: Zhonggong zhongyang dangxiao, 1985), pp. 1-313.

¹⁵ Lian Guan, 'Huiyi Balujun zhu Xianggang banshichu' [Memories of the Eighth Route Army Office in Hong Kong], in *Xianzhe buxiu: Lianguan tongzhi jinian wenji*, ed. the compilation group of *Lianguan tongzhi jinian wenji* (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1995), p. 282.

¹⁶ For their titles in Thailand and Vietnam, see Si Ming, Si Jian and Si Min, 'Shenqie huainian mama Li Qi' [Deeply remembering mother Li Qi], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8), p. 528; Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi' [A chronicle of the founding of the South Vietnamese Overseas Chinese Communist Party and the Overseas Chinese Movement Work], *Hainan wenshi ziliao* 15(1999), p. 1. For its title in Singapore-Malaya, see Liao Jingtian, 'Yongbu xiaoshi de huainian'[The Memory that Never Dies], in *Jinian chengqichang wenji*, ed. Party History Research Office of the Meixian County Committee of the CCP and the Guangdong Meixian Dongshan Secondary School Alumni Association, 2008, p. 128. For its title in Indonesia, see Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an' [The Indonesia's 'Red Tide' Incident], in *Suiyue jihen: Yige Mosike Zhongshan daxue nvsheng de huiyi* (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 1991), p. 77. For its title in the Philippines, see Bai Ren, *Wenxue qishi nian* [Seventy Years of Literature](Beijing: Zuoja, 2015), p. 21.

¹⁷ For the source of the term "Overseas Chinese Party(华侨党)", see 'Zhonggong zhongyang huanan fenju guanyu yingjie renmin jiefangjun nanxia zhi gequ dangwei bing bao zhongyang dian(1949 nian 7 yue 22 ri)'[The telegram of the South China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee to the District Party Committees and Central Committee on Welcoming the People's Liberation Army Marching South (22 July 1949)], in *Di yuanhoufang youjizhazheng* (Beijing: Jiefangjun, 2006), p. 676. For the source of the term "Chinese Communist Diaspora Party(中共侨党)", see Yang Baoyun, ed., *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu: Renwu juan*[Encyclopedia of Chinese Overseas: People Volume](Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2001), p. 273.

¹⁸ For the sources of the three terms, see Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong'[The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77; Ou Yang, 'Daonian Li Hua'[In memory of Li Hua], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(1), ed. Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1989), p. 397; Gong Taoyi, 'Gong Taoyi zishu'[Autobiography of Gong Taoyi], in *Aiguo guiqiao Huang Fukang yijia*, ed. Gong Taoyi (Beijing: Zhongguo zhigong, 2002), p. 179.

¹⁹ Feng Wanben, 'Zhandou zai kan bu jian de zhanxian li'[Fighting on the Invisible Front], in *Yefeng jiaoyu hua qiaoqing: Hainan guiqiao koushu lu*, ed. Lin Mingjiang (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi, 2008), p. 46.

²⁰ 'Qiu Ji nianpu'[A Chronology of Qiu Ji], in *Nan lizi Qiu Ji*, ed. the Editorial Committee of *Nan lizi Qiu Ji* (Beijing: Zhongguo shijieyu, 1993), p. 436.

²¹ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi'.

²² 'Muqian ganggongwei de zuzhi gaikuang(1949 nian)'[An Overview on the Organization of the Current Hong Kong Working Committee (1949)], in *Zhonggong zhongyang xianggang fenju wenjian huiji* (1947.5-1949.3), ed. Ye Jinrong (Zhongyang danganguan, Guangdongsheng danganguan, 1989), pp. 485-487.

hundred or a thousand people, only one or two had Party membership."²³ Due to the limited information and the complexity of history, for example, the organization of the Overseas Chinese Party and its personnel and affairs have shown many and complex changes in different periods and different regions, it is difficult for us to outline the overall picture of the Overseas Chinese Party. However, based on the limited information available, we can still present the origin of the Overseas Chinese Party, and analyze its characteristics, such as its integration with the local Communist Party in Southeast Asia in the context of the international communist movement.

There were two bases for the formation of diaspora parties across Southeast Asia. First, the CCP members or the leftists, who escaped to the overseas Chinese communities in Nanyang and became scattered there after the failure of the Great Revolution. Chen Yingmei 陈英梅, the daughter of Chen Zhuozhi 陈灼之, the first secretary of the Overseas Chinese Party of Thailand, recalled that after the failure of the Revolution in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang "massacred the Communists and revolutionary masses and staged a white terror, turning Guangdong and Hainan into a world of terror. In 1928, the Party committee decided to scatter and hide the Communists in Guangdong and Hainan in order to save the seeds".²⁴

These were the "seeds" of the Reds who were "scattered and hidden" in Thailand from Guangdong and other provinces after the defeat of the Revolution: Liu Shushi 刘漱石, a native of Huilai, Guangdong, who wandered to Thailand around 1927 after the defeat of the Revolution; Li Hua 李华 (who was also known by the pseudonym "Yang Xuetao 杨雪涛"), a member of the Communist Youth League and a native of Chaoan, Guangdong, who arrived in Bangkok in 1931; Huang Yaohuan 黄耀寰, a CCP member from Meixian, Guangdong, who went to Bangkok in mid-December 1931 due to the failure of the riot; and Xu Xia 许侠, a native of Chenghai, Guangdong, who was evacuated to Thailand twice in 1928 and 1931 on orders from the Party organisation.²⁵ In Vietnam, according to Lin Ming's recollection, "during the days of white terror ... some Communists from China's Shanghai, Guangdong, Hainan Island and Fujian took refuge in Saigon and Cholon in Vietnam".²⁶ Typical examples include Chen Bingquan 陈炳权 and He Boxiang 何伯翔.²⁷ In Singapore and Malaya, according to Chen Ping's recollection, Zhang Huangshi 张黄石 (known in the party as "Huang Cheng 黄诚") was originally a member of County Committee of CCP in China, who fled to Malaya after Chiang Kai-shek's purge of the party, and soon became the second most important figure in the Communist Party of Malaya(CPM), only after the General Secretary Wright (Note: in the early days, the CPM and the Overseas Chinese Party in Singapore and Malaya were almost the same organisation, see below for details).²⁸ Fang Junzhuang 方君壮, a native of Puning in Guangdong, joined the CCP in Guangzhou in 1926 and then went to Chenghai County to engage in the peasant movement; he lost contact with the Party after the defeat of the Revolution in 1927 and went to Sumatra in Dutch Indonesia the following year, then moved around Penang and Singapore to carry out leftist activities.²⁹ Furthermore, Su Hui 苏惠, a native of Puning, Guangdong, participated in the Hailufeng Uprising(海陆丰起义) after the "April 12th Incident" in 1927; after the failure of the uprising, she lost contact with the CCP organization, then went to Nanyang in 1928, where she moved around Singapore and Bangkok.³⁰ In the Philippines, in 1927, Li Jinrong 李锦蓉, a member of the Communist Youth League, was evacuated from Shanghai to the Philippines with her brother Li Yongxiao 李永孝, who was a member of the Party.³¹

The main catalyst for the sprouting of the Nanyang Diaspora Party was these members of the CCP or Communist Youth League who had dispersed from the southern provinces of China, such as Guangdong, Fujian and Hainan, to various parts of the Nanyang to escape KMT pressure after the failure of the National Revolution. According to Quan Zhongren 全仲仁, a key member of the CPM, the branch of the CCP in Nanyang was "formed by members of the CCP who were exiled from the coastal provinces of China after the defeat of the Chinese Revolution in 1927".³² Huang Chuqing 黄绰卿, a core member of the Burmese Diaspora Party, describes it in more detail:

In 1927 the Kuomintang reactionaries betrayed the revolution and they colluded with the imperialists and feudalists to attack the CCP and the Chinese people, and a massacre took place. At this time, some revolutionaries were forced to flee overseas, and they established working positions in various areas of the Nanyang to continue the fight ...³³

²³ 'Nanyang huaqiao lingxiu Chen Jiageng tongdian(1941 Nian 3 yue 5 ri)'[Circular Telegram from Chen Jiageng, Overseas Chinese Leader in Nanyang(5 March 1941)], the original in the Central Archives, cited in *Wannan shibian*, ed. the Editorial Committee of *Wannan shibian* (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi ziliao, 1990), p. 272.

²⁴ Chen Yingmei, 'Huainian fuqin Chen Zhuozhi'[Remembering my father Chen Zhuozhi], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(4), ed. Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1997), p. 100.

²⁵ For information on Liu Shushi, see Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng'[Liu Shushi lives forever], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(1), p. 127. For Li Hua, see Lin Heshi, 'Wei gongchan zhuyi fendou zhongshen de Li Hua'[Li Hua, who fought for communism for life], *Chaoan wenshi* 11(2007), p. 74; Ou Yang, 'Daonian Li Hua'[In memory of Li Hua], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(1), p. 397. For Huang Yaohuan, see Huang Shenghong, 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian wenshi ziliao* 19(1991), p. 128. For Xu Xia, see Ouyang Hui, 'Jing dao Xu Xia shizhang'[In Memoriam to Teacher Xu Xia], in *Cong Meinanhe dao Lancangjiang—Yunnan Taiguo guiqiao geming licheng jishi*, ed. Chen Qi and Guan Ping (Kunming: Yunnan minzu, 2003), p. 543.

²⁶ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 1.

²⁷ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 1, p. 4; Yang Baoyun, ed., *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu: Renwu juan*, p. 173.

²⁸ Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*[My Side of History] (Singapore: Media Masters Pte Ltd, 2004), p. 45.

²⁹ the Editorial Committee of *Guangdong shengzhi*, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi (32·Renwu juan)* [Chronicles of Guangdong Province(32·People Volume)](Beijing: Fangzhi, 2014), p. 40.

³⁰ the Editorial Committee of *Guangdong shengzhi*, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi (32·Renwu juan)*, p. 316.

³¹ Xu Chengjian et al, 'Shenqing huainian qinai de mama Li Jinrong'[Fondly remembering my dear mother Li Jinrong], in *Feilubin huaqiao kangri aiguo yinghun lu*, ed. Gong Taoyi (Beijing: Huawen, 2001), p. 329; Li Lijun, 'Wo de fuqin Li Bingxiang (Li Yongxiao) de yisheng'[The life of my father Li Bingxiang (Li Yongxiao)], in *Feilubin huaqiao kangri aiguo yinghun lu*, p. 15.

³² Quan Zhongren, *Magong neibu fengbao*[The Internal Storm of the Malayan Communist Party](Thailand: *Kaonankang didao weiyuanhui*, 1998), p. 93.

³³ Huang Chuqing, 'Mianhua aiguo yundong xianqu—Lin Huandao tongzhi de zhandou yisheng'[The Fighting Life of Comrade Lin Huandao, Pioneer of Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry, Vol. 25, No 1, (2025), pp. 693-712

The second basis for the formation of the Diaspora Party was the cadres who were directly dispatched by the CCP to work in Nanyang before and after the defeat of the Revolution. The earliest member sent by the CCP to work in Nanyang would be Xu Tianbing 徐天柄, who was sent by the CCP to study at the Moscow Oriental University in the Soviet Union in the second half of 1926, and then sent by the CCP Central Committee to Singapore in 1929 to form the "Nanyang Provisional Committee of CCP(中共南洋临委)", and became its secretary, responsible for leading the CCP organisations in Malaya, Thailand, Indonesia and Vietnam.³⁴ But in 1930, due to betrayal by traitors, Xu was arrested by the British colonial authorities and sent to Shantou in China to be killed.³⁵ Thereafter, another Party member, Wang Xuanhua 王宣化 (also known as "Wang Yanzhi 王炎之"), was dispatched to Singapore-Malaya area. Around 1934, he was sent by the Party organization of Shanghai to Ipoh, the capital of the Malayan state of Perak, where he also established a small organisation shortly afterwards.³⁶ As late as 1949, there were also moves by the CCP to send cadres to the South Seas to carry out organisational activities.³⁷

After its germination, the Nanyang Diaspora Party also developed a full-fledged organisation similar to that of the CCP in China. Li Hua, for example, successively served as the Propaganda Minister, United Front Minister, Secretary and General Secretary of the Thai Diaspora Party.³⁸ What is more noteworthy is that in the context of the international communist movement, in all parts of the South Seas, especially in the mainland region of the South Central Peninsula, the overseas Chinese parties generally had a special organisational and operational relationship with the local communist parties and communist movement. In the case of the more developed Thai Diaspora Party, for example, as mentioned above, the Thai Diaspora Party has its official names as the "Siam Branch of the CCP" and "Siam Working Committee of the CCP", but there is also some literature that refers to it as the "Branch Bureau of the Communist Party of Thailand(泰国共产党支部局)"³⁹. In addition, according to Chen Yingmei and others, in the late 1920s, Chen Zhuozhi was the first Secretary of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party, but was also the first General Secretary of the Communist Party of Thailand(CPT).⁴⁰ Also, in the recollective writings of the person concerned, Huang Yaohuan, a native of Meixian in Guangdong, was one of the key leaders of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party in the 1930s;⁴¹ local records of Meixian also state that Huang Yaohuan was the member of the Central Standing Committee and the Secretary of the Bangkok Municipal Committee of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party(泰国侨党中央常委兼曼谷市委书记) in 1937.⁴² However, there are also some documents which indicate that Huang Yaohuan was also an important leader of the CPT. For example, Huang Shenghong, Huang Yaohuan's son, recalls that Huang Yaohuan was the member of the Central Standing Committee and the Secretary of the Bangkok Municipal Committee of the CPT(泰国共产党中央常委兼曼谷市委书记) in the 1930s;⁴³ a document compiled by the Party History Research Office of the Meixian County Committee of the CCP, also states that Huang was elected as "the member of the Central Standing Committee and the Secretary of the Bangkok Municipal Committee of the Siamese Communist Party(暹共中央常委兼曼谷市委书记)" around 1936.⁴⁴ Moreover, many of the recollections of those involved published in China clearly indicate that Liu Shushi 刘漱石, Li Hua and Li Qixin 李启新 were the main leaders of the Thai Diaspora Party, but Long Ning, an informed source of CPT history, refers to them as secretaries of the CPT.⁴⁵ Clearly, this dual identity of Chen Zhuozhi, Huang Yaohuan, Liu Shushi and others means that the Thai Diaspora Party and the CPT may have actually been the same organisation at a certain time. Long Ning has also mentioned that in the early days the mainstay of the CPT was the overseas Chinese from China and ethnic Chinese in Thailand; by 1935, attempts to establish a CPT were even then simply abandoned, as Party members from China were preoccupied with domestic affairs of China.⁴⁶ Apparently, according to his account, the mix of the CPT and the Thai Diaspora Party was rooted in the fact that the main Party members were Chinese and that the Chinese members were more

the Burmese Chinese Patriotic Movement], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, ed. Zheng Xiangpeng (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubansongsi, 1990), p. 465.

³⁴ 'Xu Tianbing: Huangpu junxiao diyi qi tebie guanzuo'[Xu Tianbing: The Special Officer of the First Class of Whampoa Military Academy], in *Zhongguo gongchandang zaoqi de Hainan ren*, ed. Party History Research Office of the Hainan Provincial Committee of the CCP (Haikou: Hainan, 2011), p. 48.

³⁵ 'Xu Tianbing: Huangpu junxiao diyi qi tebie guanzuo', p. 48; 'Xu Tianbing: Zhenzheng de geming yingyong'[Xu Tianbing: A True Revolutionary Valour], in *Zai hongse de Hainandao shang: Qiongya geming yizhi xunfang*, ed. Liang Zhenqiu and Zhong Yechang (Haikou: Hainan, 2012), p. 48.

³⁶ Huang Xiaying, ed., *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*[Essays in Memory of Wang Xuanhua](Fuzhou: Fujian renmin, 1996).

³⁷ 'Xianggang fenju zhi zhongyang ji tongzhanbu dian—Dade xueyuan beifeng jingguo(1949 nian 3 yue 2 ri)'[Telegram from the Hong Kong Bureau to the Central Committee and the United Front Work Department - The Sealing of Dade College (2 March 1949)], in *Zhonggong zhongyang xianggang fenju wenjian huiji* (1947.5-1949.3), p. 448.

³⁸ Lin Heshi, 'Wei gongchan zhuyi fendou zhongshen de Li Hua', p. 74.

³⁹ Party History Research Office of the Guangdong Provincial Committee of the CCP, ed., *Aomen guicheng* [The Return of Macao](Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin, 1999), p. 110; the Editorial Committee of *Guangdong shengzhi*, ed., *Guangdong shengzhi (32-Renwu juan)*, p. 316.

⁴⁰ Chen Yingmei, 'Huainian fuqin Chen Zhuozhi', p. 99; 'Chen Zhuozhi: Congshi guoji gongyun de gemingzhe'[Chen Zhuozhi: a revolutionary engaged in the international communist movement], in *Zhongguo gongchandang zaoqi de Hainan ren*, p. 98. However, Loning argues that the CPT was founded in 1930 and that its first general secretary was Wu Zhenguo 吴振国; according to the information available to the author, it is highly likely that Loning has ignored the history of the CPT and the Thai Diaspora Party before 1930, and has broadly concluded that the history of the CPT began in 1930, thus arguing that the first general secretary of the CPT was Wu Zhenguo. For more details on Loning's view, see '<Taigong dangshi> zhuanxiezhe fangtan lu'[Interviews with the Writers of the 'History of the Communist Party of Thailand'], in *Zouguo xiaoyan de suiyue(2): Magong ge danwei chengyuan fangtan lu*, ed. Lei Yang (Kuala Lumpur: Celue zixun yanjiu zhongxin, 2016), pp. 220-223. It is worth noting that the interview with Loning and some of the materials published on the CPM today also broadly put the founding of the CPM in 1930; for more details on this, see below in the analysis of the early history of the CPM.

⁴¹ Ouyang Hui, 'Huainian lao zhanyou Lu Wen'[Remembering Old Comrade Lu Wen], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8), p. 181; Hu Ying and Hu Qing, 'Xin Zhongguo tielu jianshe shiye de xianxing zhe—mianhuai cifu Hu Fengjie'[The Forerunner of New China's Railway Construction - In Memory of My Loving Father Hu Fengjie], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8), p. 348.

⁴² 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', in *Meixian kejia jiechu renwu*, ed. Meixian Local Chronicles Office and the Meixian Local Chronicles Society (internal material, 2007), p. 210.

⁴³ Huang Shenghong, 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian wenshi ziliao* 19(1991), p. 128.

⁴⁴ 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian geming renwu* 1(1991), p. 330.

⁴⁵ '<Taigong dangshi> zhuanxiezhe fangtan lu', pp. 223-227.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 223, p. 225.

inclined towards Chinese affairs. By 1948, according to *Ta Kung Pao*, the then Prime Minister of Thailand, Luang Phi Boon, told a Reuters correspondent in Siam that "according to general observation, the communists in Siam are only Chinese, and few Siamese are actually found".⁴⁷ From the above analysis, it seems that, at least until 1948, when most of the members of the Thai Diaspora Party withdrew to China, the Diaspora Party was to some extent a substitute for the CPT.

A similar situation existed between the Diaspora Party in Singapore-Malaya(DPSM) and the Communist Party of Malaya(CPM). The aforementioned Wang Xuanhua, soon after his arrival in Singapore and Malaya, established close ties with the CPM as a pioneer of the DPSM. According to his own recollection, before he left Shanghai for Ipoh around 1934, "the organisation said that they would introduce me to the local organisation, but this did not happen for a long time".⁴⁸ Later, Wang Xuanhua's "Anti-Japanese and criticizing Chiang Kai-shek" activities in Ipoh's *China Morning Post* 中华晨报 attracted the attention of the CPM, and thus he became associated with CPM.⁴⁹ During his time in Ipoh, he wrote to the CPM's Central Committee in Singapore for instructions, and also gave instructions to some members of the CPM; for example, Li Cheng 李诚, a member of the Penang Municipal Committee of the CPM, visited Ipoh to ask Wang Xuanhua for advice on issues, and a member of the CPM surnamed Lin also asked Wang for advice on propaganda matters.⁵⁰ As for the almost integrated organisation and close operational ties between overseas Chinese parties and local communist parties in Southeast Asia in the context of international communist movement, we can even get a glimpse of this from Lin Ming's recollections of the situation relating to the Vietnamese Diaspora Party:

In 1933, the Vietnamese Communist Party joined the Communist International and came under the leadership of the Eastern Bureau of the Communist International, changing its name to the Communist Party of the East(i.e. the Communist Party of Indochina, abbreviated as CPI), which included Vietnamese, Laotian, Cambodian and all overseas Chinese Communist Party organisations, in order to pool their efforts and unify their actions to form an international anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle front. However, the overseas Chinese Communist Party organisations are allowed to remain relatively independent, i.e. they are allowed to carry out two major tasks politically and accept a dual leadership relationship organisationally. Firstly, they had to obey the leadership of the CCP, carry out the work of the Chinese Movement 华运 and assist the Chinese revolutionary war; secondly, they had to accept the leadership of the CPI and support the Indo-Chinese people in their anti-imperialist and anti-colonial struggle. Liu Lidao 刘立道, an overseas Chinese Party member, joined the leadership of the CPI Central Committee, while (overseas Chinese Party members) He Boxiang 何伯翔 and Yaren 亚仁 joined the leadership of the CPI in Nam Ky(Cochinchina).⁵¹

According to Wang Qisheng, the mass movement is not only an important means for the CCP to enhance its strength, but also what it is good at.⁵² The creation of branches and the mobilisation of the Chinese in Nanyang overseas Chinese community by the CCP's cadres were also in a rigorous, sophisticated and effective process, based on the premise that the Party and its policies would be in line with the needs of the overseas Chinese. Generally speaking, members of the CCP who were exiled or assigned to overseas Chinese communities in the major cities of South Seas had already emerged as Party cadres at home. For example, Xu Tianbing had been dispatched by the Party in 1924 to serve as a Special Officer of the First Class of Whampoa Military Academy before he went to Singapore in 1929 to set up the "South Seas Provisional Committee of CCP";⁵³ before Huang Yaohuan arrived in Bangkok in 1931, he had already served as a member of the Standing Committee of the CCP Meixian County Committee and Minister of Organisation.⁵⁴ In most cases, these outstanding core cadres of the Party would find new occupations in the local area, such as teachers, newspaper men and shop assistants, upon arrival in South Seas, and would use these occupations as a cover to remain hidden, and then carry out activities: either founding overseas Chinese parties in the region, or growing to become leaders in established overseas Chinese parties. For example, Huang Yaohuan worked as a shop assistant and a newspaper type-setter upon his arrival in Bangkok in mid-December 1931, and soon became a member of the Central Standing Committee of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party and Secretary of the Bangkok Municipal Committee.⁵⁵ In Singapore and Malaya, as Chen Ping recalls, Zhang Huangshi was already a member of the CCP County Committee of a Chinese county before arriving in Singapore and Malaya, and after first arriving in Perak, he worked as a salaried secretary at the Perak Hokkien Association in Ipoh, then as a reporter for a local Chinese newspaper, and during his tenure as a reporter, he became a leading member of the peripheral organizations controlled by the CPM and the Singapore-Malaya Overseas Chinese Party, shortly thereafter, he rose to become the number two figure in CPM.⁵⁶

Broadly speaking, the general steps in creating the Diaspora Party and developing a popular movement under the leadership of these core cadres—leaders were as follows. First, members of the CCP who had entered the overseas Chinese communities in the major cities of South Seas in a piecemeal fashion contacted each other internally to form an overseas branch of the CCP. Then, under the guidance of the unified Diaspora Party, individual members used their public identities as teachers, journalists, editors and secretaries to operate in schools, newspapers, factories, women's groups and other settings, and to establish peripheral

⁴⁷ Ying Qin, 'Xianluo fangong yu huaqiao'[Siamese Anti-Communism and the Overseas Chinese], *Ta Kung Pao* (Hong Kong edition), 12 Aug. 1948, p. 3.

⁴⁸ Wang Xuanhua, 'Cong mahua 'kang yuan' dao huiguo kangzhan'[From the Malayan Chinese "Anti-Enemy Backing-Up 抗援" to Returning Home to Resist Japan], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, pp. 78-79.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 79.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 79.

⁵¹ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', pp. 5-6.

⁵² Wang Qisheng, *Dangyuan, dangquan yu dangzheng*, p. 154.

⁵³ 'Xu Tianbing: Huangpu junxiao diyi qi tebie guanzuo', p. 48.

⁵⁴ Huang Shenghong, 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian wenshi ziliao* 19(1991), p. 127.

⁵⁵ Huang Shenghong, 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian wenshi ziliao* 19(1991), p. 128; 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', in *Meixian kejia jiechu renwu*, p. 210. Also refer to '<Taigong dangshi> zhuanxiezhe fangtan lu', pp. 222-223.

⁵⁶ Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*, p. 45.

organisations such as reading clubs, trade unions and women's unions. Ultimately, through these activities, the Diaspora Party could achieve two goals: firstly, to attract a group of expatriates, especially Chinese students and young people, in the context of it could cater to public opinion trends, so that these political activists influenced by the party's activities would become leftists and even new members of the party; secondly, to unite these activists in the light of the changing situation and the needs of the expatriates, and on this basis, to form a unified mass organisation that unites overseas Chinese from all walks of life, such as the "Anti-Imperialist Grand League", to fulfil its political objectives at different periods.

Next, we describe the details of the Overseas Chinese Party in the major cities of Southeast Asia before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, focusing on its use of schools, newspapers, periodicals, reading clubs and other tools to mobilise the overseas Chinese, especially students and youth, under the leadership of its core cadres—leaders and the establishment of the unified mass organisations based on these young political activists, such as the Anti-Imperialist Grand League, in order to reveal what Lian Guan and others involved call the CCP's "Overseas Chinese Movement Work(侨运工作)" in South Seas, thus presenting the development of diaspora parties in Southeast Asia before the outbreak of the war. As mentioned earlier, the overseas Chinese parties were more developed and typical in Thailand in various aspects; therefore, we begin our account and analysis with the Thai overseas Chinese community.

II THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE "DIASPORA PARTY" IN CHINESE COMMUNITIES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

(i) The flourishing of Diaspora Party in Thailand

Xu Tianbing, the secretary of the South Seas Provisional Committee of Chinese Communist Party(CCP), was mentioned earlier, and according to Chen Yingmei's recollection, it was Xu who led the brothers Chen Zhuozhi 陈灼之 and Chen Zhuoming 陈灼明 to establish the Thai Diaspora Party in the first place; Chen Zhuozhi entered Thailand in 1917 and became the first secretary of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party around 1924.⁵⁷ At its inception, the Thai Diaspora Party was less active and did not develop a particularly strong presence in the Chinese community. Thereafter, with the gradual increase in the number of CCP members who fled to the Nanyang after Chiang Kai-shek's purge in 1927, the Thai Diaspora Party began to grow and develop, centered on Bangkok, the capital of Thailand.

The first person who went into exile in Thailand after the defeat of the Revolution and grew to become a major leader of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party(TOCP) would be Liu Shushi 刘漱石, a native of Huilai County, Guangdong Province, who entered Bangkok in the second half of 1927;⁵⁸ Liu Shushi joined the TOCP upon his arrival in Bangkok and became the General Secretary in 1936.⁵⁹ At the end of 1931, Li Hua 李华 fled to Bangkok due to the destruction of the Party organisation in the Chaoshan area of Guangdong. In 1932, he joined the organisation of Overseas Chinese Party under the introduction of Liu Shushi.⁶⁰ At almost the same time, a CCP member, Huang Yaohuan 黄耀寰, a native of Meixian in Guangdong, also retreated from the Meixian area to Bangkok in mid-December 1931 and soon afterwards became a member of the TOCP.⁶¹ Also in 1931, Xu Xia 许侠 went into exile from Chaoshan to Bangkok and later joined the TOCP to continue his revolutionary work.⁶² These exiled communists, who arrived in Bangkok in the late 1920s and early 1930s, soon became the main leaders of the Thai Diaspora Party and led it to grow and develop.

By the early and mid-1930s, under the leadership of the unified Diaspora Party, Liu Shushi and others not only established the Diaspora Party Youth League, but also ran a number of leftist schools, or in neutral schools under the guise of their avocations as teachers, targeting the Chinese youth in Bangkok.⁶³ For example, Liu Shushi and Li Hua ran the Xie Yi Primary School 协益小学 and the Pei Min Primary School 培民小学, with Liu Shushi as headmaster and Li Hua as head of grade.⁶⁴ For example, Huang Yaohuan had founded the Qiming School 启明学校 and the New Chinese School 新中华学校.⁶⁵ Since then, Xu Xia has been the headmaster of the Qiming School and the Xinghua School 醒华学校.⁶⁶ And again, under the influence of Xia Mengyun 夏梦云, a communist who was a teacher at Guangzhao Public School 广肇公学, students such as Lu Wen 鲁文, Lu Jingzi 卢静子 (also known as "Lu Dinghua 卢定华"), Ouyang Hui 欧阳惠, Mu Jun 牧军 and Pan Nv Xiong 潘女雄 became leftists; after the outbreak of the Song-Hu War in 1932, Xia Mengyun led these leftist students to stage a demonstration to demand that Chiang Kai-shek's government send troops to fight against Japan, which became the first ever student strike against Japan in the history of Thai-Chinese; as the neutral Guangzhao Public School expelled Lu Wen and Lu Jingzi, who were determined to strike, they founded the Chong Shi School 崇实学校 with leftists such as Zhuang Shiping 庄世平 and Huang Liu 黄流 soon after they

⁵⁷ Chen Yingmei, 'Huainian fuqin Chen Zhuozhi', pp. 99-100.

⁵⁸ Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng', p. 127.

⁵⁹ '<Taigong dangshi> zhuanxiezhe fangtan lu', p. 223.

⁶⁰ Lin Heshi, 'Wei gongchan zhuyi fendou zhongshen de Li Hua', *Chaoan wenshi* 11(2007), p. 74.

⁶¹ Huang Shenghong, 'Huang Yaohuan (1903-1981)', *Meixian wenshi ziliao* 19(1991), pp. 127-128.

⁶² Ouyang Hui, 'Jing dao Xu Xia shizhang', pp. 543-544.

⁶³ For information on the establishment of the Youth League by Liu Shushi and others, see Ma Song, 'Yi you Taiguo benfu Yanan'[Recollections of heading for Yan'an from Thailand], in *Wo yaoqu Yanan*, ed. Ren Wen (Xian: Shanxi shifan daxue chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2014), p. 134.

⁶⁴ Huang Zhong, 'Cong Mangu dao Yanan—Huang Zhong zishu'[From Bangkok to Yan'an - Huang Zhong's Autobiography], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8), p. 281; Ma Song, 'Yi you Taiguo benfu Yanan', p. 134. It should be noted here that Xie Yi Primary School and Pei Min Primary School are the same school, and that 'Pei Min' was re-established by Liu Shushi and others after 'Xie Yi' was closed down, as detailed in the references listed here.

⁶⁵ Mu Lan, 'Tao li man tianxia—huainian Huang Yaohuan laoshi'[Peach and Plum Flowers Blooming all over the World - Remembering Teacher Huang Yaohuan], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(1), p. 237.

⁶⁶ Ouyang Hui, 'Jing dao Xu Xia shizhang', p. 544.

withdrew from the school.⁶⁷ Under the control of the leftists, the Chong Shi School became a natural stronghold for the TOCP to strengthen its influence. In the spring of 1936, Xu Yixin 许一新, a Thai local-born Chinese, became the Discipline Officer at the Chong Shi School, when he was the propaganda director of the Bangkok Municipal Committee of the TOCP.⁶⁸ Longning also perceived a special link between the TOCP and Chinese schools, noting that the TOCP's "main base was the schools, many of which were presided over by Siamese Communists at the time, and many of which were attended by Siamese Communists".⁶⁹

In these left-wing primary and secondary schools, mainly based in Bangkok, with the names of "Chong Shi" "Shu Ren 树人" "Xie Yi" and "Pei Min" "New People 新民" "Qiming" and "Xinghua", "New Chinese" and "Yellow Soul 黄魂", members of the TOCP were active in promoting patriotism, socialism and other leftist ideas to students. For example, students were instructed to read Ai Siqi's *Popular Philosophy*, Zou Taofen's *Public Life* and Lev Abramovich Leontiev's *Political Economy*, as well as taught to sing songs such as *March of the Volunteers*, *Along the Songhua River*, *Farewell to South Sea* and *Taking the Fight Back to Hometown* 打回老家去.⁷⁰ Another example is that Wu Chao 吴潮 sojourned in Bangkok with his parents when he was a teenager, and then attended the Qiming School founded by Huang Yaohuan; during his studies at the school, Huang Yaohuan invited him to Huang's dormitory for a talk, introducing him to read *How the Steel was Tempered*, and introducing him to the situation in northern Shaanxi and Yan'an.⁷¹ Moreover, with the school as the centre, the Overseas Chinese Party also established a number of peripheral organisations. For example, Wu Feng 吴风, a young overseas Chinese, was an apprentice and was absorbed into the peripheral organization "Latin New Literature Society" during his studies at the night school of the Qiming School.⁷² Another example is the literary organisation known as the "Proletarian Literary League", which was established under the name of the Overseas Chinese Party;⁷³ Su Qing 苏青, who came to Thailand with his parents as a teenager to earn a living, joined the "Proletarian Literary League" under the introduction of his senior classmates during his primary school years and "practised writing articles to criticize current politics".⁷⁴ These outfits, based in schools, etc., also included student unions, trade unions, federation of trade unions, and women's unions;⁷⁵ There are also reading societies such as "We Reading Society", "South Sentinel Reading Society", "Shengli Reading Society 生力读书社", "Gear Reading Society", "Spiral Reading Society (run by the women's sector)", and "Federation of Trade Unions Reading Society".⁷⁶ Some examples show that the leaders of the Thai Overseas Chinese Party will personally join these reading societies and act as members of the reading societies, in order to influence overseas Chinese students and youth in a practical way. For example, Liu Shushi and Xu Xia were involved in the We Reading Society;⁷⁷ Su Hui 苏惠 participated in the activities of the Gear Reading Society.⁷⁸ Reading societies also published regularly; for example, the We Reading Society published the journal *We*.⁷⁹ In general, these reading societies met regularly to talk about the political situation of China and the international situation, and to circulate the *Jiuguo Times* 救国时报 published in Paris by the European branch of the CCP.⁸⁰ In the first and middle thirties, in addition to its activities in schools, workers' and women's groups and other settings, the Thai Diaspora Party also founded or influenced some newspapers, such as the Bangkok-based *Overseas Chinese Daily* and the *Chinese People's Daily*, which became its propaganda mouthpiece and had an impact on the Chinese community in Bangkok.⁸¹

Based on the above-mentioned literary societies, trade unions, student unions, women's unions and reading societies, as well as leftist Chinese schools and Chinese newspapers, the leaders of the Thai Diaspora Party used various means to cultivate political activists in the Thai Diaspora community, mainly students, young workers, teachers, newspaper/periodical editors and newspaper/periodical contributors. Using these leftist activists as a basis, the Overseas Chinese Party would develop a larger-scale mass organization in response to the changing situation and the needs of the people. For example, as the slogan of the early CCP was "Down with imperialism" and "Eradicate the warlords", in 1928, aforementioned Chen Zhuozhi, the first head of the Thai Diaspora Party, set up a mass organisation called the "Anti-Imperialist Grand League" (referred to as "Anti-League").⁸² From then on, until the outbreak of the war, later leaders of the Overseas Chinese Party, such as Liu Shushi and Huang Yaohuan,

⁶⁷ Ouyang Hui, 'Huainian lao zhanyou Lu Wen', pp. 179-180.

⁶⁸ Ouyang Hui, 'Huainian 'Kanglian' zhuxi Xu Yixin tongzhi' [In Memory of Comrade Xu Yixin, Chairman of the "Resistance League 抗联"], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(2), ed. the Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao chubansongsi, 1991), p. 84.

⁶⁹ '<Taigong dangshi> zhuanxiezhe fangtan lu', p. 225.

⁷⁰ Ma Song, 'Yi you Taiguo benfu Yanan', p. 135; Mu Lan, 'Tao li man tianxia—huainian Huang Yaohuan laoshi', p. 237.

⁷¹ Tian Fu, 'Mianhuai Wu Chao tongzhi' [In Memory of Comrade Wu Chao], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(3), ed. the Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1993), p. 296.

⁷² Cai Mian, 'Huayiyi Wu Feng tongzhi' [In Memory of Comrade Wu Feng], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(2), p. 412.

⁷³ Ouyang Hui, 'Huainian 'Kanglian' zhuxi Xu Yixin tongzhi', p. 85.

⁷⁴ Su Yan et al, 'Huainian jingai de fuqin Su Qing' [Remembering my beloved father Su Qing], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(5), ed. the Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2003), p. 195.

⁷⁵ Huang Yaohuan, 'Kangri zhanzheng qianhou Xianluo huaqiao geming douzheng shiji huiyi lu' [Memoirs of the Revolutionary Struggle of Siamese Overseas Chinese before and after the Anti-Japanese War], in *Meijiang fengyun—Taiguo huaqiao kangri aiguo huodong huiyi lu*, ed. the Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1993), p. 201; Ouyang Hui, 'Jing dao Xu Xia shizhang', p. 545; Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng', p. 127.

⁷⁶ Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng', p. 127; Ma Song, 'Yi you Taiguo benfu Yanan', p. 134; Xu Xia, 'Yi 1936 nian Mangu juxing zhuidao Lu Xun xiansheng dahui qingkuang' [Recollections of the 1936 memorial meeting for Mr. Lu Xun in Bangkok], in *Lu Xun yanjiu niankan*(1980), ed. the Lu Xun Research Office of Northwest University (Xi'an: Shanxi renmin, 1984), p. 78.

⁷⁷ Xu Xia, 'Yi 1936 nian Mangu juxing zhuidao Lu Xun xiansheng dahui qingkuang', p. 78.

⁷⁸ Liu Bang, ed., *Beijing chaoren renwu zhi* [The Records of Chaoshan People in Beijing] (Beijing: Zhongguo wuzi, 1996), p. 173.

⁷⁹ Xu Xia, 'Yi 1936 nian Mangu juxing zhuidao Lu Xun xiansheng dahui qingkuang', p. 78.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng', p. 128; Wang Weizhi, 'Gaoshan yangzhi haoqi changcun—shenqie daonian Lu Jingzi laoshi' [A High Mountain to Behold with Awe and A Noble Spirit That Will Never Perish - Deepest Condolences to Teacher Lu Jingzi], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(5), p. 376.

⁸² Huang Yaohuan, 'Kangri zhanzheng qianhou Xianluo huaqiao geming douzheng shiji huiyi lu', pp. 200-201; Chen Yingmei, 'Huainian fuqin Chen Zhuozhi', p. 101.

relied on the pro-communist activists in student unions, trade unions, women's unions and various literary and reading societies to continuously strengthen the Anti-League.⁸³

The most remarkable achievement of the Thai Diaspora Party in the Bangkok Diaspora community on the eve of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, through the above-mentioned mobilisation efforts, was to attract a large number of students and young workers, who rallied around the Party and became pro-Communist political activists. For example, while studying at the Thai Overseas Chinese Party-run Xie Yi Primary School, Ma Song 马松, a Thai local-born Chinese of mixed Chinese and Siamese descent, was introduced by Li Hua, an Overseas Chinese Party leader who was openly a teacher at Xie Yi Primary School, to join the Anti-Imperialist Grand League in 1934 (at the age of 14).⁸⁴ In May 1934, shortly after becoming a member of the Anti-League, Ma Song also introduced fellow student Huang Zhong 黄忠 (also known as "Huang Zhongxun 黄忠训") to join the Anti-League; after joining the Anti-Imperialist Grand League, Huang Zhong did some work such as distributing pamphlets.⁸⁵ In the spring of 1936, Li Hua went to the Qiming School to preach to the students of the teacher training class on articles such as "Tell the Chinese youth in uncertainty" and "Where is China going"; later, almost all the students of this class ran to Yan'an or joined the New Fourth Army.⁸⁶ In the 1930s, among a series of leftist schools controlled or influenced by the Thai Diaspora Party, the most famous was the Chong Shi School; this school specialised in enrolling the sons and daughters of poor overseas Chinese and sent large numbers of anti-Japanese cadres to the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army.⁸⁷ For example, Zhuang Jiang Sheng 庄江生, a native of Puning, Guangdong, went south to Thailand with his grandparents when he was a teenager, and because his grandparents were unable to work, Zhuang went to Chong Shi School to do volunteer work and study for free in the spring of 1933; during his stay in the school, he joined the Anti-League and served as a commissary in charge of organization for the first division of the League.⁸⁸ Tang Min 唐民 (also known as "Tang Dao Min 唐道民") was born in 1916 to a poor peasant family in Wenchang, Hainan, and went to Thailand with his father to earn a living in 1926; he entered Chong Shi School in 1932, and joined the Communist Youth League of the Overseas Chinese Party in 1933, and became a full member of the OCP in 1934.⁸⁹ The aforementioned Su Qing, who had similar origins to Zhuang Jiangsheng and Tang Min, joined the Proletarian Literary League in 1932 and then the Anti-Imperialist Grand League in the spring of 1934, before being introduced to the OCP Youth League at the Qiming School in January 1937 and then becoming a full member.⁹⁰ In the late autumn of 1936, when news of Lu Xun 鲁迅's death spread from the Huangpu River to the Mae Nam River, almost all of those who held memorial services at that time were the peripheral organizations and their members influenced by the Thai Diaspora Party, such as the "We Reading Society" and its members Ouyang Hui 欧阳惠 and Mu Jun 牧军, and the "Shengli Reading Society" and its members Chen Nian Xian 陈念先, the "South Sentinel Reading Society" and its members Shao Zi 哨子 and Chen Lihui 陈立惠, the "Spiral Reading Society" and its members Zhang Boying 张伯英, etc; according to the recollections of the overseas party leader Xu Xia himself, all these young people later ran to Yan'an or joined the New Fourth Army.⁹¹

(ii) The achievements of the Diaspora Party in Myanmar and Vietnam

In contrast to the early leaders of the Thai Diaspora Party, such as Liu Shushi, Li Hua, Huang Yaohuan and Xu Xia, who generally had an eastern Cantonese background as mentioned before, the early leaders of the Burmese Diaspora Party (BDP) had a Jiangzhe background. The early days of the branch are depicted in some detail in the recollections of Ai Wu 艾芜 (formerly known as "Tang Dao-Keng 汤道耕"), a core member of the BDP, who wrote:

Wu Huaishi 吴怀世, originally named Wu Jingxin 吴景新, studied in Shanghai ... He was neither Cantonese nor Fujianese ... It was Wu Jingxin who propagated Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese and set up the Communist Party organization and was its leader. He was considered the first secretary. In this initial Communist Party organization, apart from Wu Jingxin as secretary, Wang Sike 王思科 was in charge of organization, and I was in charge of propaganda. Later on, due to the harsh environment (noticed by the British government), Wu Jingxin went to London to study, and he introduced Lin Huandao 林环岛 from Shanghai as the secretary. Lin Huandao was from Yuhuan County, Zhejiang Province, and had studied at the Chinese University of Arts in Shanghai. Like Wu Jingxin, he joined the Party in Shanghai ... He was the second secretary, propaganda and organisation, still me and Wang Sike, but with a much wider scope of activity. He got the shop assistants' union of Yangon Chinese to pay for a newspaper ... named *New Sprouts Small Daily*, with Lin Huandao as editor-in-chief ... and me editing the supplement and as a proofreader, and it was the two of us who ran the paper.⁹²

From Ai Wu's recollections, it is clear that the first two secretaries of the BDP were Wu Huaishi (or "Wu Jingxin") and Lin

⁸³ Huang Yaohuan, 'Kangri zhanzheng qianhou Xianluo huaqiao geming douzheng shiji huiyi lu', pp. 200-201; Huang Yaohuan, 'Kangri zhanzheng qianhou Xianluo huaqiao geming douzheng shiji de huigu' [Review of the Revolutionary Struggle of Siamese Overseas Chinese before and after the Anti-Japanese War], in *Chongshi xuexiao—Xianluo <Chongshi xuexiao> jinian wenji (1932-1994)*, ed. the editorial committee of *Chongshi xuexiao* (Beijing: Renmin jiaotong, 1995), pp. 13-14; Mu Lan, 'Liu Shushi yongsheng', p. 127; Huang Zhong, 'Cong Mangu dao Yanan—Huang Zhong zishu', p. 281; Chen Bilin, ed., *Liao Yue wenji* [The Collected Works of Liao Yue] (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 1992), pp. 317-318.

⁸⁴ Ma Song, 'Yi you Taiguo benfu Yanan', p. 134.

⁸⁵ Huang Zhong, 'Cong Mangu dao Yanan—Huang Zhong zishu', p. 281.

⁸⁶ Ou Yang, 'Daonian Li Hua', p. 397.

⁸⁷ See *Chongshi xuexiao—Xianluo <Chongshi xuexiao> jinian wenji (1932-1994)*.

⁸⁸ Zhuang Zhi et al, 'Danxin baoguo xian zhongsheng—huainian jingai de fuqin Zhuang Jiangsheng' [With a Heart of Pure Loyalty to Serve the Country for a Lifetime - Remembering the Beloved Father Zhuang Jiangsheng], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu* (6), ed. the Thai Returned Overseas Chinese Friendship Association (Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2007), p. 274.

⁸⁹ Zhuo Weiran et al, 'Jianzhen weiyu gusong zhi—dao Tang Min tongzhi' [The Only Thing That is Steadfast is the Branch of the Age-old Pine Trees - A Tribute to Comrade Tang Min], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu* (3), pp. 409-410.

⁹⁰ Su Yan et al, 'Huainian jingai de fuqin Su Qing', p. 195.

⁹¹ Xu Xia, 'Yi 1936 nian Mangu juxing zhuidao Lu Xun xiansheng dahui qingkuang', p. 78.

⁹² Ai Wu, *Ai wu quan ji* [The Complete Works of Ai Wu] (vol. 13), (Chengdu: Sichuan wenyi, 2014), pp. 161-162.

Huandao, both of whom had a Jiangzhe background. It is difficult to gather information on Wu Huaishi. Lin Huandao, also known as Lin Yuntao 林云涛, was born in 1904 in the Yuhuan-Dongtou area of Zhejiang province; he joined the CCP in 1926 while studying at Jinan University in Shanghai; after the failure of the Revolution, Lin was dispatched by the Party organisation to Yangon from Shanghai on 30 March 1929, where he later became the secretary of the BDP - the "Burma Prefectural Party Committee 缅甸地委".⁹³

Ai also mentions that the core members of the early BDP were also responsible for propaganda and organisation, namely Ai himself and Wang Sike (or "Wang Enke 王恩科" or "Wang Sko 王斯科"); Ai also mentions that after Lin Huandao became the second secretary, the BDP was "with a much wider scope of activity", and Lin asked the "shop assistants' union of Yangon Chinese" to pay for the establishment of a newspaper called the *New Sprouts Small Daily*. In fact, according to the recollections of some other members of the Diaspora Party, such as Chen Dongming 陈东明, the "shop assistants' union of Yangon Chinese" mentioned by Ai Wu was the "Burmese Chinese Clerks' Association", an organisation led by Lin Huandao and others, which consisted of accountants from shops in Yangon.⁹⁴ With the support of the "Clerks' Association", the BDP published the *New Sprouts Small Daily* on 1 October 1930, with Lin Huandao, the secretary of the Party, as editor-in-chief, and Ai Wu, who was in charge of propaganda within the Party, edited the supplement and also served as a proofreader, and then Qiu Banning 邱巴宁 (or "Qiu Youru 邱筱儒" or "Qiu Xiao Ru 邱小如"), a member of the Clerks' Association, as manager.⁹⁵ After its publication, in the overseas Chinese community of Yangon, the *New Sprouts Small Daily* propagated the revolution, and then "started a big pen fight" with the Kuomintang's *Jue Min Daily* 觉民日报 (also known as the *Guo Min Daily* 国民日报) in Yangon.⁹⁶ Based on peripheral organisations and propaganda such as the Clerks' Association and the *New Sprouts Small Daily*, the BDP led by Lin Huandao and others soon gained ground in the Yangon Chinese community. As Ai Wu pointed out, with the above-mentioned work, "the party organisation in Yangon gradually developed and grew stronger and stronger".⁹⁷

And, similar to the Thai Diaspora Party, which was active in developing trade unions among Chinese workers in Bangkok, the BDP was also active in strengthening its influence in the Yangon diaspora community through various trade union organisations in its early years. For example, according to the recollections of Huang Chuoqing 黄绰卿, a key member of the BDP:

During their activities in Yangon, Brother Lin (note: Lin Huandao) and others had already established mass organisations such as the Coolie Union (overseas Chinese unloading workers), the Engineering and Learning Mutual Aid Society (2nd floor, No. 131, Riverside Street), the Printing Workers' Mutual Aid Society (2nd floor, No. 45, Riverside Street), the Sewing Workers' Boarding House (Jiuwentai 九文台), and the Seamen's Friend Group (overseas Chinese seamen sailing in India and Burma).⁹⁸

However, the growing BDP soon attracted the attention and vigilance of the British colonial government; within four months of the publication of the *New Sprouts Small Daily*, the core members of the Diaspora Party, including Lin Huandao, Ai Wu and Wang Sike, were arrested by the British authorities in January 1931 and deported shortly afterwards.⁹⁹ The deportation of Lin Huandao and others was a major setback for the BDP, but the seeds sown by Lin and others still lurked in the Rangoon Diaspora community, typified by Huang Chuoqing. According to the account of Zheng Xiangpeng 郑祥鹏, a member of the BDP, Huang Chuoqing was a Burma local-born Chinese, born in Yangon in 1911; in 1927, he became a typographer at a newspaper; in December 1928, he joined the BDP under the introduction of Ai Wu; after the expulsion in early 1931, the BDP "existed in name only", and Huang had to "carry out activities in secret".¹⁰⁰

It was not until 1934 that Huang organized the "Ye Feng Society 椰风社" (also known as the "Ye Feng Art Society 椰风文艺社") in Rangoon and published the weekly *Ye Feng* 椰风 in a supplement of the local *Rangoon Daily*.¹⁰¹ In 1935, Wang Qinhe 王琴鹤, a member of the CCP, "went to Burma to carry out work with the consent of the Xiamen Central Municipal Committee of the CCP in Fujian Province", and upon his arrival in Rangoon, he "immediately interacted with Huang Chuoqing and participated in the writing and editing of *Ye Feng*".¹⁰² In 1936, the leftist Yang Zhangxi 杨章熹 (also known by the pseudonym Yang Jizhuang 杨季庄

⁹³ Party History Office of the CCP Wenzhou Municipal Committee and Party History Office of the CCP Dongtou County Committee, 'Aiguo zhuyi he guoji zhuyi zhanshi Lin Huandao tongzhi'[Comrade Lin Huandao, a patriotic and internationalist fighter], in *Kangri fenghuo zhong de xiaer tuan*, ed. Zhang Zhaohan and others (internal material, 1997), pp. 193-194; Zhang Zhaohan, 'Mianhuai Lin Yuntao tongzhi'[In Memory of Comrade Lin Yuntao], in *Lin Huandao wenji*, ed. Party History Research Office of the CCP Wenzhou Municipal Committee and Party History Office of the CCP Dongtou County Committee (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi, 2009), pp. 395-398.

According to the account of Huang Chuoqing, a core member of the BDP, Lin Huandao arrived in Burma in 1928, but we no longer use this account after comparing and analysing the available information; the source of Huang Chuoqing's account can be found in Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua aiguo yundong xianqu—Lin Huandao tongzhi de zhandou yisheng', p. 465. In addition, other sources also suggest that the early BDP was commonly referred to as the "Burma Prefectural Party Committee 缅甸地委", for details of which see Zheng Xiangpeng, 'Huang Chuoqing zhuanlue'[A Brief Biography of Huang Chuoqing], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 778.

⁹⁴ Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong'[The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77; Huang Chuoqing, 'Dianyuan he xingqi xiuye'[Shop Assistants and Weekly Closure], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 259.

⁹⁵ Ai Wu, *Wangshi suixiang*[Reflections on the Past](Chengdu: Sichuan renmin, 2000), p. 176; Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua baokan fazhan shilue'[A Brief History of the Development of the Burmese Chinese Press], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 355; Huang Chuoqing, 'Dianyuan he xingqi xiuye', p. 259.

⁹⁶ Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong'[The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77; Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua baokan fazhan shilue', p. 355.

⁹⁷ Ai Wu, *Wangshi suixiang*, p. 176.

⁹⁸ Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua aiguo yundong xianqu—Lin Huandao tongzhi de zhandou yisheng', p. 467.

⁹⁹ Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua aiguo yundong xianqu—Lin Huandao tongzhi de zhandou yisheng', pp. 466-467; Ai Wu, *Wangshi suixiang*, p. 176.

¹⁰⁰ Zheng Xiangpeng, 'Huang Chuoqing zhuanlue', pp. 776-778.

¹⁰¹ Huang Chuoqing, 'Shangren fenzi qun'[Group of Businessmen], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 442; Zheng Xiangpeng, 'Huang Chuoqing zhuanlue', p. 778.

¹⁰² Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong'[The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry, Vol. 25, No 1, (2025), pp. 693-712

or Yang Jizhuang 杨纪庄) also arrived in Rangoon from Xiamen and established contact with Wang Qinhe.¹⁰³ Also in 1936, the Malayan Communist Party also sent Lin Jiqun 林纪群 (once known as "Li Chunhui 李春辉", "Li Juexin 李觉新" or "Li Hua 李华") to Rangoon and established contact with Huang Chuoqing, Wang Qinhe and others.¹⁰⁴ The establishment of the Ye Feng Society and the arrival of Wang Qinhe, Yang Zhangxi and Lin Jiqun strengthened the Burmese Overseas Chinese Party and gave a strong impetus to the Burmese Overseas Chinese Movement Work.

In terms of propaganda, when Wang Qinhe arrived in Yangon he not only co-organised *Ye Feng* with Huang Chuoqing, but together they also published a supplement, *Dawn*, in the KMT's *Jue Min Daily*.¹⁰⁵ And, after Yang Zhangxi arrived in Yangon, Wang Qinhe co-organised with him the *Southland Life* 南国生活 (also known as the *Southland Herald* 南国导报 and *Southland Literature* 南国文学).¹⁰⁶ In terms of organisation, according to Huang Chuoqing's recollection, some of the female members of the Ye Feng Art Society, such as Chen Yuerong 陈月容 (also known as "Chen Yuerong 陈月蓉" or "Chen Yueying 陈月莹", pen name "Yaying 亚莹"), Huang Xiuluan 黄秀鸾 (alias "Huang Huaiping 黄怀平", pen name "Ding Ding") and so on, initiated the establishment of the "Burmese Overseas Chinese Women's Union" in Lanmadaw Street, Rangoon in January 1935, which became "the initial work of the Burmese Chinese Women's Movement".¹⁰⁷ At the end of 1935, some members of the Ye Feng Society also organised the "Burmese Overseas Chinese Youth Study Society", which published a journal called *Tomorrow*; Wang Qinhe and Qiu Banning, the manager of the aforementioned *New Sprouts Small Daily*, participated in the launching work of the society.¹⁰⁸

Through these propaganda and organisational activities, the Burmese Diaspora Party attracted a large number of young people and women from the Yangon diaspora community to its ranks. According to Huang Chuoqing's recollection, the Ye Feng Art Society had more than ten members, while the Burmese Overseas Chinese Women's Union had "200 to 300 sisters joining it at the beginning" and the Women's Voluntary Evening School run by the Women's Union had "more than a hundred students".¹⁰⁹ As Chen Dongming 陈东明, a member of the BDP, recalls, the Women's Union "had considerable prestige among the Chinese".¹¹⁰ In the case of the Burmese Overseas Chinese Youth Study Society, Zeng Guanying 曾冠英, an eyewitness, also wrote that the formation of the Society "was the greatest unity of patriotic overseas Chinese youth in the history of Yangon".¹¹¹

Based on these young political activists, and similar to the Thai Diaspora Party, before the outbreak of the war, core members of the Burmese Diaspora Party, such as Wang Qinhe, Lin Jiqun and Huang Chuoqing, also took up the banner of the "Anti-Imperialist Grand League".¹¹²

When focusing on the Thai and Burmese diaspora parties, we find a wealth of detailed and vivid reminiscences and other materials; comparatively less information is available on the Vietnamese Diaspora Party.

As early as the first and middle of the 19th century, the economic, cultural and educational activities of overseas Chinese in Vietnam, as well as various associations, were concentrated in Saigon and Cholon (note: Cholon was essentially attached to Saigon) in Nam Ky. By the 1930s, there were about 500,000 overseas Chinese in Vietnam, including 400,000 in Nam Ky.¹¹³ Thus, similar to the Thai Diaspora Party, which operated mainly in Bangkok, the Vietnamese Diaspora Party operated mainly in Saigon and Cholon in Nam Ky. According to Lin Ming's recollection, as early as November 1927, Chen Bingquan and other members of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) who had gone into exile in Saigon and other places in Vietnam initiated the establishment of the "Special Committee of the South Vietnamese Overseas Chinese Communist Party" in Cholon, with Chen Bingquan and others as members; in the second half of 1930, the special committee was transformed into the "Viet Nam Nam Ky Working Committee",

3(1981), p. 77.

¹⁰³ Chen Zunfa, 'Yipian danxin cuiwanchong—huainian Yang Zhangxi shi' [With a Heart of Pure Loyalty to Serve - Remembering Teacher Yang Zhangxi], *Xiamen wenshi ziliao* 9(1985), p. 111; Xiamen Municipal Committee for the Compilation of Local Chronicles, ed., *Xiamen shizhi* [Xiamen Municipal Chronicles] (Vol. 5), (Beijing: Fangzhi, 2004), p. 3899.

¹⁰⁴ Xie Guang and Zheng Xiangpeng, 'Yixin wei geming de Lin Jiqun' [Lin Jiqun, who was bent on the revolution], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu* (2), p. 176; Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 78.

¹⁰⁵ Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 78; Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua wenyi yundong' [The Burmese Chinese Literary Movement], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 262.

¹⁰⁶ Huang Chongyuan, 'Miandian huaqiao xinwen shiye jilue' [A Brief Account of the Burmese Chinese Journalism], in *Mianhua zawan ji*, ed. Zeng Guanying (Internal publication), p. 102; Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 78; Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua wenyi yundong', p. 263.

¹⁰⁷ Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua wenyi yundong', p. 262; Huang Chuoqing, 'Liangge bu pingfan de nvren' [Two Extraordinary Women], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, pp. 453-454; Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77.

¹⁰⁸ Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua wenyi yundong', p. 262; Huang Chuoqing, 'Jiawang yundong de qianzou' [Prelude to the Salvation Movement], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 265; Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), pp. 77-78; Zeng Guanying, 'Mianhua wenhuajie jiechu zhanshi Ba Ning' [Ba Ning, The Outstanding Warrior in Burmese Chinese Cultural Community], in *Mianhua zawan ji*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁹ For the number of people in the Ye Feng Art Society, see Huang Chuoqing, 'Mianhua wenyi yundong', pp. 261-262. For the number of Burmese Overseas Chinese Women's Union, see Huang Chuoqing, 'Jiawang yundong de qianzou', p. 264. For the number of Women's Voluntary Evening School, see Huang Chuoqing, 'Zhanqian de mianhua yexue' [The Night Schools of the Burmese Chinese before the War], in *Huang Chuoqing shiwen xuan*, p. 208.

¹¹⁰ Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77.

¹¹¹ Zeng Guanying, 'Mianhua wenhuajie jiechu zhanshi Ba Ning', p. 71.

¹¹² Chen Dongming, 'Miandian huaqiao de jinbu huodong' [The Progressive Activities of the Burmese Overseas Chinese], *Dongnanya yanjiu ziliao* 3(1981), p. 77; Xie Guang and Zheng Xiangpeng, 'Yixin wei geming de Lin Jiqun', p. 176; Yang Bingkun, 'Yang Zhangxi chuanguan <Zhongguo fandi da tongmeng Miandian liutong she>' [Yang Zhangxi founded "The Burmese Circulation Society of the Chinese Anti-Imperialist Grand League"], *Xinglin wenshi ziliao* 3(1997), p. 77.

¹¹³ Zhang Yu, *Yuenan Jianpuzhai Laowo huaqiao huaren manji* [The Chinese in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos] (Hong Kong: Xianggang shehui kexue, 2002), pp. 29-30.

with He Boxiang 何伯翔 as secretary, Chen Bingquan and others as members.¹¹⁴

As mentioned earlier, before the outbreak of the war, the Thai Diaspora Party had long been active among students and workers in Bangkok, and had cultivated a number of pro-communist leftists among them. At the beginning of its existence, the Vietnamese Diaspora Party(VDP) also worked among workers in South Vietnam, establishing a series of trade unions, such as the "Zheng Ai Trade Union 正爱工会", the "Jing Yi Trade Union 精益工会" and the printing industry trade union.¹¹⁵ In addition, some members of the Party infiltrated some of the old industry associations, such as Chen Bingquan, who became a representative of the watch and clock industry association.¹¹⁶ In 1931, after the September 18 Incident, the Nam Ky Working Committee organised the "Vietnamese Overseas Chinese Food Reduction and National Salvation Association" among the industrial and commercial groups in Saigon and Cholon.¹¹⁷ By 1933, the Party was leading a series of peripheral organisations: the "Jinde Book and Newspaper Society 进德书报社" in Saigon, organised by Chen Bingquan and others; the "Kuang Lu Book Society 匡鲁图书社" in Cholon, organised by He Boxiang and others; and the "Petrel Reading Society" organized among workers' groups.¹¹⁸ According to the accounts of those involved, the most notable of these organisations established or influenced by the overseas Chinese party was the Jinde Book and Newspaper Society.¹¹⁹ The society had about 100 members and was headed by Chen Bingquan, the main leader of the VDP, and included Xu Anru 徐安如 (also known as "Xu Panshi 徐磐石" or "Xu Panshi 徐盘石") etc; after its establishment, the society often held seminars on current affairs, published wall posters, taught songs for national salvation, and held classes on the Latinized New Script; similar to the Thai Diaspora Party, which disseminated the *Jiuguo Times* in its reading clubs, the Jinde Book and Newspaper Society also distributed the newspaper published in Paris by the CCP.¹²⁰

Similar to the case of the Thai and Burmese overseas Chinese parties, the Vietnamese Overseas Chinese Party's activities in organising trade unions, book and newspaper societies and anti-Japanese organisations in South Vietnamese Chinese society united a group of young Chinese around them. Huang Yu 黄宇, for example, went to Vietnam as a teenager to earn a living, and worked as a printer, "joined the Chinese Communist Party in Vietnam in 1930, and served successively as Secretary of the Printing Branch of the Overseas Chinese Communist Party of Vietnam Cholon (now Ho Chi Minh City), Minister of Workers of the Overseas Chinese Special Committee, and Secretary of the Temporary Branch of the Overseas Chinese Communist Party".¹²¹ Another example is Xu Anru, who was born in Hua County, Guangdong Province in 1912; after the failure of the Great Revolution in 1927, his father was persecuted by the Kuomintang for participating in the peasant movement, so his family left for Vietnam; in 1931, Xu joined the Jinde Book and Newspaper Society in Saigon and became its director.¹²² And, moreover, some Vietnamese local-born Chinese were attracted to the Jinde Book and Newspaper Society (JBNS). For example, Zhang Guangbiao 张广标 (also known as "Zhang Nianshi 张念式"), born in Vietnam in 1918 and originally from Shunde County in Guangdong, joined the JBNS in Saigon in 1935;¹²³ according to Lin Ming, this Vietnamese local-born Chinese of Zhang family officially developed into a member of the VDP around the time of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.¹²⁴ Another example is Chen Jianzhong 陈健中 (also known as "Chen Yue 陈越"), born in Vietnam in 1919, originally from Nanhai County, Guangdong, who joined the JBNS in 1938.¹²⁵

(iii) Activities of CCP member Wang Xuanhua in Singapore and Malaya

In the Singapore-Malaya area, based on previous studies and the information available, the history of the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM) and the Diaspora Party in Singapore-Malaya(DPSM) before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937, as well as later scholars' research on it, generally have the following two features.

I. Due to complicating factors such as the use of pseudonyms for certain key figures within the CPM and the fact that it was loosely organised and often underwent dramatic changes, we do not yet know exactly what happened to the CPM in its early years.¹²⁶ Due to lack of materials, the tool book *Dictionary of Overseas Chinese*, edited by Nanjing Zhou, has become a crucial

¹¹⁴ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 1, p. 4.

¹¹⁵ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 4.

¹¹⁶ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 10; Xu Anru, 'Huiyi Yuenan huaqiao de aiguo jiuwang yundong'[Memories of the Patriotic Salvation Movement of the Vietnamese Overseas Chinese], *Wenshi ziliao xuanji* Vol. 30 (2011), p. 52.

¹¹⁷ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 5; Zhang Yu, *Yuenan Jianpuzhai Laowo huaqiao huaren manji*, pp. 29-30.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Wen Shi, 'Daitou xuanchuan kangri de huaqiao zhiming renshi Xu Panshi'[Xu Panshi, a well-known Overseas Chinese who led the propaganda against the Japanese], *Huadu wenshi ziliao* 15(1995), p. 100; He Jinzhou, 'Shoujie quanguo zhengxie daibiao, fu shengzhang ji ganbu Huang Yu'[Huang Yu, the Delegate of the First National CPPCC and Vice-governor-level Cadre], *Jiangmen wenshi* 42(2007), p. 182.

¹²⁰ Xu Shanfu and Lin Minghua, *Yuenan huaqiao shi*[A History of Vietnamese Overseas Chinese](Guangzhou: Guangdong gaodeng jiaoyu, 2016), p. 350; He Jinzhou, 'Shoujie quanguo zhengxie daibiao, fu shengzhang ji ganbu Huang Yu'[Huang Yu, the Delegate of the First National CPPCC and Vice-governor-level Cadre], *Jiangmen wenshi* 42(2007), p. 182.

¹²¹ The Party History Research Office of the Dongguan Municipal Committee of CCP, ed., *Dongguan kangri shilu*[The Record of Dongguan Anti-Japanese](Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi, 2006), p. 633.

¹²² Zhang Yu, *Yuenan Jianpuzhai Laowo huaqiao huaren manji*, p. 146.

¹²³ Zhang Yu, *Yuenan Jianpuzhai Laowo huaqiao huaren manji*, p. 152.

¹²⁴ Lin Ming, 'Nanyue huaqiao Gongchandang de chengli yu huayun gongzuo de jishi', p. 10.

¹²⁵ Zhang Yu, *Yuenan Jianpuzhai Laowo huaqiao huaren manji*, p. 153.

¹²⁶ For information on the use of pseudonyms for certain key figures within the CPM, see Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*(Petaling Jaya, Selangor, Malaysia: Strategic Information and Research Development Centre, 2017); Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*; Quan Zhongren, *Magong neibu fengbao*. For the fact that CPM was loosely organised and often underwent dramatic changes, see Fujio Hara, 'Di erci shijie dazhan qian de Malaya gongchandang'[The CPM before the Second World War], in *Zhanqian dixia douzheng shiqi (er)—fan faxisi, yuanyuan kangri jieduan* (The Collected Works of the CPM, Second Series), ed. Editorial Department of 21st Century Press(Jilongpo: 21 Shiji, 2010), p. 285; Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, pp. 24-25.

source for later scholars to study the history of CPM in this period.¹²⁷ Given the special relationship between the CPM and the DPSM, we can still make great efforts to dig up materials on some of the Chinese Communist Party(CCP) members in exile in the South Seas, such as those of Xu Tianbing, Su Hui and Wang Xuanhua mentioned earlier, in order to serve as supplementary information when studying the early history of the CPM.

II. Many sources show that 1930 was an important year in the history of the CPM; and that the founding of the CPM was quite closely linked to the Communist International, and its representative in the Far East, Ho Chi Minh.¹²⁸ More notably, similar to the early history of the Communist Party of Thailand, the CPM was almost identical to the DPSM in the general climate of the international communist movement. In correspondence in the late 1920s and early 1930s, some communists saw the CPM as "a Malay branch of the CCP";¹²⁹ in a 1930 evaluation of the CPM by the Comintern and its Far East Bureau, the CPM was also seen as "nothing more than a Singaporean organisation of the CCP".¹³⁰ In some resolutions adopted around 1930, the CPM itself admitted that some of the movements she launched were largely dependent on the overseas Chinese;¹³¹ given that the CPM system is affiliated with and heavily dependent on the Diaspora Party of CCP, some members of the CPM also insisted on the organisation of an independent communist party that would include all the people of Malaya.¹³² Moreover, Fujio Hara, after taking into account various considerations, also argued that the CPM failed to complete its indigenisation until the time of the Pacific War.¹³³ According to Chen Ping's recollection, at the end of the Second World War, the General Secretary of the CPM also went to Shanghai to receive advice from Zhou Enlai and his deputy, Dong Biwu 董必武.¹³⁴ Again, according to the relevant documents of the Hong Kong Bureau of the CCP Central Committee(HKB), as late as early 1949, the Dade College 达德学院 run by the Hong Kong Working Committee under the HKB still had an address book related to Malaya students and the CPM.¹³⁵

Due to its special relationship with the CCP, the CPM-DPSM also aligned its Overseas Chinese Movement Work with that of the Thai Diaspora Party(TDP). When the TDP formed the Anti-Imperialist Grand League(AIGL) in 1928, the DPSM-CPM also formed an AIGL in 1928.¹³⁶ However, there is no detailed information on the activities of the AIGL in Singapore and Malaya under the auspices of the overseas Chinese Party, and the details of the activities of the DPSM in the Singapore-Malaya Chinese community before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in 1937 did not become clear until the arrival of CCP member Wang Xuanhua in 1934 in South Seas.

After the CCP's Shanghai organisation was severely damaged, Wang Xuanhua was arranged by the organisation to set up a newspaper in Malaya in 1934 to carry out anti-Japanese propaganda work.¹³⁷ As mentioned earlier, Wang Xuanhua established close ties with the CPM immediately after his arrival in Malaya and worked as part of it. Not only that, similar to the Thai and Vietnamese diaspora parties, which used settings such as schools, trade unions and peripheral organisations such as reading club to attract activists among students and young people, Wang Xuanhua also used the newspaper as the centre of his efforts to rally a large number of students and young people in Malaya. According to Wang's own recollection, he first presided over the *Chinese Morning Post* in Ipoh, the capital of Perak, in 1935, where he served as editor-in-chief and later used the paper to advocate anti-Japanese resistance and criticise the non-resistance policies of the Chiang regime, which played a certain role.¹³⁸ Through activities centered on the *Chinese Morning Post* and in close cooperation with other members of the overseas Chinese party, Wang also initiated the creation of special issues such as *Women, Students, Drama, Film* and the *Malayan Chinese Cultural Workers*; and based on these Chinese newspapers and issues, a number of peripheral organisations were set up under the call of "Anti-Japanese and National Salvation", including a seminar on current affairs called the "Weekly Seminar" and a small reading society called the "Lu Xun Library 鲁迅图书馆".¹³⁹ From the memory of Wang Xuanhua by a person who witnessed the incident—Guo Geqi 郭戈奇, then Penang *Modern Daily* reporter stationed in Ipoh, we can clearly see how Wang Xuanhua gradually drew the local Chinese in Ipoh, especially students and young people from all walks of life, to the Diaspora Party through newspapers, periodicals, current affairs seminars and reading clubs, and then used these leftist activists as the "backbone" to "launched" the Perak Overseas Chinese Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society(POCABS) 霹雳华侨各界抗敌后援会, a unified mass organisation that united all sectors of the Chinese community:

It was during this period that I wrote an article on the Salvation work and submitted it to the *Malayan Chinese Cultural Workers*, which caught the attention of Wang Xuanhua after publication. He asked me to come to the newspaper to talk to him, giving me

¹²⁷ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 2.

¹²⁸ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 8; Editorial Department of 21st Century Press, ed., *Zhanqian dixia douzheng shiqi (yi)—jiandang chuqi jieduan*[The Pre-War Period of Underground Struggle (I) - The Early Phase of Party Building](The Collected Works of the CPM, First Series), (Jilongpo: 21 Shiji, 2010), p. 19; Editorial Department of 21st Century Press, ed., *Malaiya gongchandang lishi huace*[The History of CPM in Pictorial](upper volume), (Jilongpo: 21 Shiji, 2018), foreword; Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*, p. 51; 'Taigong dangshi' zhuanxiehe fangtan lu', p. 222.

¹²⁹ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 31.

¹³⁰ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 43.

¹³¹ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 37.

¹³² Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 38.

¹³³ Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 49.

¹³⁴ Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*, pp. 145-146.

¹³⁵ 'Xianggang fenju zhi zhongyang ji tongzhanbu dian—Dade xueyuan beifeng jingguo(1949 nian 3 yue 2 ri)', p. 448.

¹³⁶ C. F. Yong, *The Origins of Malayan Communism*(Singapore: South Seas Society, 1997), p. 140. However, there are some sources that suggest that the CPM's Anti-Imperialist Grand League was formed in 1932, as seen in Fujio Hara, *The Malayan Communist Party as Recorded in the Comintern Files*, p. 93.

¹³⁷ Huang Xiaying, 'Wang Xuanhua zhuan lue'[A Biographical Sketch of Wang Xuanhua], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, p. 3.

¹³⁸ Wang Xuanhua, 'Mahua kangri yundong huiyi lu'[Memoirs of the Malayan Chinese Anti-Japanese Movement], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, pp. 67-68.

¹³⁹ Wang Xuanhua, 'Mahua kangri yundong huiyi lu'[Memoirs of the Malayan Chinese Anti-Japanese Movement], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, p. 70; Wang Xuanhua, 'Cong mahua 'kang yuan' dao huiguo kangzhan', p. 79.

due praise and encouragement for my article, and hoping that I would contact and mobilise more young intellectuals to write articles. I introduced several people to him, and he met with them one by one, and then suggested to us that we should hold a seminar on current affairs, and I was chosen as one of the conveners. The seminar was attended by young cultural workers of both sexes, as well as shop assistants, workers and students from English schools. The seminar on current affairs had a central speaker, spoke extemporaneously, asked questions, had questions and answers, and ran in a lively manner, which helped to inspire participants to think and raise their awareness of the national tragedy.

On this basis, Wang Xuanhua then proposed to us the establishment of a reading club. This was a little more demanding than the current affairs seminar. The reading club selected progressive books and magazines, such as the *Jiuguo Times* run by Wu Yuzhang in Paris, works by Lu Xun, Guo Moruo and Gorky. Through these studies, the awareness of the young people to unite against the Japanese was greatly enhanced. Wang Xuanhua went on to use the backbone of the reading club as the initiator for the establishment of the POCABS, and held the founding meeting in the fall of 1936 at a scenic spot called "San Bao Cave", with nine people present, including Wang Xuanhua, Huang Shi 黄石, Wu Tianwang 伍天旺, Guo Geqi, Liao Bing 廖冰, Zeng Aiqiu 曾艾秋 and Chen Rujiu 陈如旧. Wang Xuanhua made a speech at the meeting, to the effect that ... the purpose of establishing the POCABS is to promote the glorious tradition of patriotism among the overseas Chinese, mobilise them to participate in the Movement of Resistance Against Japan and Save the Nation from Extinction, and support the anti-Japanese war in the motherland politically, economically and in terms of manpower.

Once the "Anti-Enemy Backing-Up 抗援" was formed, it went into battle. I remember two things that were done with great success. The first was the news of the peaceful resolution of the Xi'an Incident reached the South Seas, and we held a seminar through associations, and the participants felt that there was hope for the KMT and the Communist Party to unite and resist. The other was the Eighth Route Army won a major victory in defeating the Itagaki Division of the Japanese Army at Pingxingguan, which greatly boosted the morale of the Chinese people ... "Anti-Enemy Backing-Up" comrades held a seminar, and after hearing the good news, the participants ... donated money to the 8th Route Army soldiers ...¹⁴⁰

In short, before the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, similar to the case of the Thai, Burmese and Vietnamese diaspora parties, the DPSM, represented by Wang Xuanhua, also united a large number of activists by using various flexible methods of Overseas Chinese Movement Work to "raise awareness on the national tragedy" among the diaspora and to awaken "the consciousness of young people to unite against the Japanese". Among them, the more typical ones were the young Chinese such as Guo Geqi himself and Liao Bing, mentioned in Guo Geqi's recollection above;¹⁴¹ and also the Chinese students such as Xie Baiqiu 谢白秋 (also known as "Xiaolang 晓浪" and "Xiaolang 啸浪"), Chen Qingshan 陈青山 and Jiang Tian 江田 of Penang's Chung Ling High School.¹⁴²

(IV) The Indonesian Diaspora Party before and after the "Red Tide Incident"

In the context of the international communist movement, similar to the situation in the Mainland Southeast Asia, the Indonesian Communist Party(PKI) had close links with the Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party(CCP), as well as with the Communist Party of Malaya (CPM).¹⁴³ According to Justus M. Van der Kroef, the PKI was explicitly a branch of the Comintern from its early days under the influence of Sneevliet (or 'Maring'), a Dutch representative of the Comintern.¹⁴⁴ Nanjing Zhou notes that as late as early 1946, Alimin, one of the founders of the PKI, returned to Indonesia to rebuild the party with the help of Zhou Enlai.¹⁴⁵ However, in contrast to the situation in the Mainland Southeast Asia, the PKI and the Indonesian Diaspora Party(IDP) developed largely independently in the island nation of Indonesia. The Indonesian Communist Party, also known as Partai Komunis Indonesia (PKI), was founded on 23 May 1920 in Semarang, with Semaun and Raden Darsono as its main leaders.¹⁴⁶ According to the materials available, the PKI developed relatively independently after its formation until the 30 September Movement in 1965, and no evidence of close ties between the PKI and the IDP has been found.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁰ Guo Geqi, 'Huainian mahua kangri jiuwang yundong de yinlu ren'[Remembering the Guiding Light of the Malayan Chinese Anti-Japanese and Salvation Movement], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, pp. 120-121.

¹⁴¹ For more information on Liao Bing at that time, see also Liao Bing, 'Shenqie huainian Wang Yanzhi tongzhi'[Deeply Remembering Comrade Wang Yanzhi], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*, pp. 112-114.

¹⁴² For more details on Xie Baiqiu, see Xiaolang, 'Huainian yiwei heai keqin de zhangzhe'[Remembering an Amiable Elder], in *Wang Xuanhua Jinian wenji*; Xie Baiqiu, 'Touben xinsijun'[Running to the New Fourth Army], in *Zhengrong suiyue—huaqiao qingnian huiguo canjia kangzhan jishi*, ed. the Overseas Chinese Group of Committee of Cultural and Historical Data of National CPPCC (Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi, 1988); Huang Wangqi, 'Tiejun' zhanshi Xie Baiqiu'[Xie Baiqiu, Soldier of the 'Iron Army'], in *Taiguo guiqiao yinghun lu*(8). For Chen Qingshan, see Zheng Zhang, *Qingshan changzai*[The Green Mountain is Always There](Beijing: Jiefangjun, 2006). For Jiang Tian, see Literature and History Office, 'Jiang Tian jianjie'[Introduction to Jiang Tian], *Dabu wenshi* 25(2007).

¹⁴³ Justus Maria Van der Kroef, *The Communist Party of Indonesia: Its History, Program and Tactics*(Vancouver: Publications Centre, University of British Columbia, 1965); Ai Di, *Ai Di xuan ji*[Selected Works of Ai Di](vol. 1), (Beijing: Renmin, 1963); Xu Jingxian, *Yinni shinian, 1941-1950*[Ten Years in Indonesia, 1941-1950](Yajia: Xinqi ribaoshe, 1953); Ma Shuli, *Yinni dili yundong shi*[History of the Indonesian Independence Movement](Taipei: Zhengzhong Shuji, 1977); Wang Renshu, *Yindunxiya jindai shi*[A Modern History of Indonesia](lower volume), (Beijing: Beijing daxue, 1995); Shi Zhe, *Zai lishi juren shenbian: Shi Zhe huiyi lu*[At the Side of the Giants of History: Shi Zhe's Memoirs](Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian, 1995); Zhou Nanjing, *Zhou Nanjing you hua shuo—huaqiao huaren yanjiu jilu*[Zhou Nanjing Has Something to Say - A Collection of Overseas Chinese Studies](Xianggang: Xianggang shehui kexue chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2006); Chen Ping, *Wofang de lishi*.

¹⁴⁴ Justus Maria Van der Kroef, *The Communist Party of Indonesia: Its History, Program and Tactics*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁵ Zhou Nanjing, 'Shi Zhe huiyi lu zhong de yige cuowu'[A Mistake in Shi Zhe's Memoirs], in *Zhou Nanjing you hua shuo—huaqiao huaren yanjiu jilu*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁴⁶ Justus Maria Van der Kroef, *The Communist Party of Indonesia: Its History, Program and Tactics*, pp. 4-6; Ai Di, *Ai Di xuan ji*(vol. 1), p. 36; Xu Jingxian, *Yinni shinian, 1941-1950*, p. 172; Ma Shuli, *Yinni dili yundong shi*, p. 42; Wang Renshu, *Yindunxiya jindai shi*(lower volume), p. 827.

¹⁴⁷ Justus Maria Van der Kroef, *The Communist Party of Indonesia: Its History, Program and Tactics*; Xu Jingxian, *Yinni shinian, 1941-1950*; Ma Shuli, *Yinni dili yundong shi*; Zhou Nanjing, *Yindunxiya huaqiao huaren yanjiu jilu*[A Study of Overseas Chinese in Indonesia](Xianggang: Xianggang shehui kexue chubanshe youxian gongsi, 2006); Fuzhou Overseas Chinese Historical Society, ed., *Qindao fengyun—Yinni huaqiao kangri minzhu yundong shi*

According to the information I have so far, the IDP is mainly present in large cities such as Medan in the north of Sumatra, as well as Jakarta and Surabaya on the island of Java. There also seem to be signs of CCP members and leftists operating on other major Indonesian islands such as Kalimantan and Sulawesi, but they are almost negligible and this article will not go into detail about them.¹⁴⁸

Not only did they develop independently of the local Communist Party, but unlike the overseas Chinese parties in Thailand and Singapore-Malaya, which had generally reached a mature form in the Mainland Southeast Asia, the scale and momentum of the overseas Chinese parties in Sumatra and Java were relatively small. Around 1930, a group of Chinese Communists and leftists went into exile in Sumatra and Java as a result of the White Terror created by the Kuomintang regime in Fujian. Among them was Xie Huaidan 谢怀丹 (note: in Indonesia, she went by the pseudonym "Xie Fang 谢芳"), who came from Shandong Province, China, was sent to study at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow in 1926, joined the CCP in 1930, was arrested while working in Xiamen, Fujian, and went into exile in 1931 to teach at a primary school in Asahan in northern Sumatra.¹⁴⁹ There was also Lin Zhong 林仲 (pseudonym "Lin Qiduo 林启铎") from Fuzhou, Fujian Province, who joined the CCP in 1926 while studying at Sun Yat-sen University in Guangzhou, and was sent to study at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow in the winter of the same year, and was later arrested while working in the the CCP Fujian Provincial Committee. After being released from prison, Lin went into exile to Medan in northern Sumatra around 1930, where he taught at the No. 8 Chinese Primary School.¹⁵⁰ Another person was Hong Xueli 洪学礼 (also known as "Hong Xueli 洪雪立", "Xueli 雪立", "Hong Zhi 洪植" and "Hong Li 洪立" and other pseudonyms), from Nan'an, Fujian, joined the CCP in 1929, was arrested in 1930 for participating in the Hui'an riot in Fujian, and fled to Surabaya and Malang (Note: Malang is not far from Surabaya) on the island of Java in 1931, and worked as the Chief of General Affairs in the Malang Overseas Chinese High School.¹⁵¹

Similar to the situation in Thailand, Vietnam and Singapore-Malaya, under the leadership of core cadres—leaders such as Xie Huaidan, Lin Zhong and Hong Xueli, these CCP members in exile in Indonesia also contacted each other to organise overseas branches of the CCP, and were active in the diaspora community, absorbing activists. Roughly in 1931, Xie Huaidan, Lin Zhong and Hong Xueli carried out activities on the islands of Sumatra and Java respectively. According to Xie Huaidan's own recollections, after arriving in Asahan and Medan on the Sumatra, Xie Huaidan and Lin Zhong carried out activities in the local area respectively, uniting a group of teachers, shop assistants and workers, and eventually merging the CCP members in Asahan and Medan to form the "Medan Provisional Overseas Chinese Branch"; this provisional branch consisted of five Party members: Lin Zhong, Xie Huaidan, Zhang Xishi 张希石 (also known as "Zhang Shi 张石"), Bian Xuefeng 边雪风 (also known as "Xuefeng 雪风"), and a shop assistant from a washing-dyeing shop in Medan.¹⁵² In Surabaya and Malang on Java, Hong Xueli also actively carried out activities. Targeting the shop assistants and other Chinese groups, Hong developed Hong Junsheng 洪骏声, Li Yihe 李一鹤 and Lu Shengwu 吕省吾 as members of the party;¹⁵³ Hong also organized and established the "Overseas Chinese Youth Mutual Aid Society" and other organizations in Surabaya in 1932, and this peripheral organization later absorbed young Chinese as members, including Wu Zhiman 吴志满 and Huang Fuming 黄复明 (also known by the pseudonym "Huang Ming 黄明").¹⁵⁴

By roughly 1932, Lin Zhong and Xie Huaidan on Sumatra were connected to Hong Xueli on Java, and under the arrangement

wenji[The Winds and Clouds on a Thousand Islands - A Collection of Essays on the History of the Indonesian Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Democratic Movement](Fuzhou: Fuzhoushi huaqiao lishi xuehui, 1997); Huang Shuhai, ed., *Wangbuliao de suiyue: Yinni Sudao huaqiao kangri douzheng "jiu-er o" shijian liushi zhounian ji huaqiao aiguo minzhu yundong jinian teji*[Unforgettable Years: A Commemorative Special for the 60th Anniversary of the "20 September" Incident of Overseas Chinese Anti-Japanese Struggle and the Overseas Chinese Patriotic and Democratic Movement in Sumatra, Indonesia](Beijing: Shijie zhishi, 2003); Qian Ren and Liang Junxiang, ed., *Shenghuo bao de huiyi*[Memories of Life Post](Guangzhou: Shijie tushu chubanshang youxian gongsi, 2013); Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 77.

¹⁴⁸ For information on the overseas Chinese parties in Kalimantan and Sulawesi and other places, see Lin Shifang, *Yinni xi Jialimandan huaren shi*[History of the Chinese in West Kalimantan, Indonesia](Yajia: Yin hua ribao, 2017), p. 64; Huang Luehan, 'Xi Poluo Zhou fanri tongmenghui jilue'[A Chronicle of the Anti-Japanese League in West Borneo], in *Guangdong wenshi ziliao cunqiao xuanbian*(Vol. 3), ed. the Committee of Learning and Cultural and Historical Data of Guangdong Provincial Committee of CPPCC (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin, 2005), p. 663; Xu Xueyu and Su Zhaoan, 'Sulaweixidao huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang'[An Overview of the Democratic and Patriotic Movement of Overseas Chinese in Sulawesi], in *Qiandao fengyun*, pp. 175-182.

¹⁴⁹ 'Yongyuan huaizhe dui dang de yipian danxin—jinian Xie Huaidan tongzhi shishi 20 zhounian'[Forever With a Heart of Pure Loyalty for the Party - Commemorating the 20th Anniversary of Comrade Xie Huaidan's Death], in *Yongan kangzhan wenhua shihua*, ed. Lin Hongtong (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi, 2013), p. 120; Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 75.

¹⁵⁰ The First Research Department of Party History Research Office of Central Committee of CCP, ed., *Zhongguo gongchandang diqici quanguo daibiao dahui daibiao minglu*[The Directory of Delegates to the Seventh National Congress of CCP](Vol. 2), (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin, 2005), pp. 872-873; Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 76.

¹⁵¹ Hong Xueli, 'Xianshen zuguo de geming shiye—wo, yige aiguo guiqiao de zishu'[Dedication to the Revolutionary Cause of the Motherland - I, a Patriotic Returnee's Autobiography], in *Gangtie de yiqun—Xiamen qingnian zhanshi fuwu tuan de tongzhi men*, ed. Xu Wenxin (Xianggang: Xianggang tongxing chubanshang youxian gongsi, 2008), pp. 32-41; Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 76; Hou Xiaoying, 'Hong Xueli (Xueli) tongzhi shilue'[A Brief History of Comrade Hong Xueli 洪学礼 (Xueli 雪立)], in *Kangri fenghuo zhong de xiaer tuan*, pp. 201-202; Bai Yang, ed., *Xinjiapo gongheguo huawen wenxue xuanji zawen pian*[An Anthology of Chinese Literature in the Republic of Singapore, Miscellaneous Essays](Taipei: shibao wenhua chubanshang shiye youxian gongsi, 1982), p. 574.

¹⁵² Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 76.

¹⁵³ Ibid, p. 77.

¹⁵⁴ Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang'[An Overview of the Javanese Overseas Chinese Democratic and Patriotic Movement], in *Qiandao fengyun*, pp. 48-49; Yang Baoyun, ed., *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu: Renwu juan*, p. 549. We have identified "Huang Fuming" and "Huang Ming" as the same person, which is of great importance in grasping the development of leftist organisations in the Indonesian region. There are many evidences supporting this judgment, mainly found in: 'Xinzhong xiaozhang He Xiluan'[The Principal of New Chinese School, He Xiluan], in *Yingjie luodi shenggen shidai—Yinni huaren wenhua jiaoyu shihua*, ed. Li Zhuohui (Yajia: liantong huawen shiye youxian gongsi, 2003), p. 86; Cai Renlong and Yang Qiujun, 'Bisheng yucai, fengfan changcun'[A lifetime of Nurturing Talent, A Style That Will Endure], in *Shenghuo bao de huiyi*, p. 212; Zhou Nanjing, ed., *Huaqiao huaren baike quanshu: Lishi juan*[Encyclopedia of Chinese Overseas: History Volume](Beijing: Zhongguo huaqiao, 2002), p. 86.

of Hong Xueli, who was publicly known as the Chief of General Affairs in the Malang Overseas Chinese High School, Lin Zhong, Xie Huaidan, Zhang Xishi and others all came from Sumatra to work or teach at the Malang Overseas Chinese High School.¹⁵⁵ Shortly afterwards, the seven Party members who had existed in Malang and Surabaya merged to form the "Malang Overseas Chinese Provisional Branch of the CCP", namely Lin Zhong, Xie Huaidan and Zhang Xishi from Sumatra, and four others, Hong Xueli, Hong Junsheng, Li Yihe and Lu Shengwu; with Hong Xueli as the branch secretary, Lin Zhong and Xie Huaidan as members of the branch committee; moreover, this Malang provisional branch was also connected with the previous provisional branch initiated by Lin Zhong and Xie Huaidan in Medan.¹⁵⁶ According to Xie Huaidan's own recollection, the Philippine Diaspora Party also sent Xu Jingcheng 许敬诚 ("Xu Li 许立") to guide the work of the Indonesian Diaspora Party (IDP) led by Hong Xueli, Lin Zhong and Xie Huaidan.¹⁵⁷ As mentioned earlier, the overseas Chinese parties in Thailand, Burma and Singapore-Malaya all set up mass organisations in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and operated under the name of the Anti-Imperialist Grand League (AIGL). At the same time, the IDP also secretly published a publication called *Red Tide* in late 1932 under the name of the Indonesian AIGL.¹⁵⁸

With the arrival of Xu Jingcheng and the publication of *Red Tide*, the IDP once gained a better momentum and had a certain influence in the Javanese diaspora community, centred on Malang and Surabaya. But not long after, in May 1933, the Dutch colonial authorities dispatched the military and police to conduct a major raid and the *Red Tide* was forced to cease publication, and the activities of the IDP and the AIGL also fell into a slump.¹⁵⁹ According to Xie Huaidan's recollections, there was a total of over 50 people arrested together at that time, including IDP members and ordinary Chinese who were united by IDP through the AIGL;¹⁶⁰ Hong Xueli, Xie Huaidan, Zhang Xishi, Hong Junsheng and Xu Jingcheng, all key leaders of the IDP, were arrested and deported.¹⁶¹ The incident once caused a sensation in Java and became known as the "Red Tide Incident" or the "East Java Incident".¹⁶²

The Red Tide Incident caused a major setback for the development of the IDP. Since then, there has been no clear evidence of CCP branch organizations developing a more mature form and a greater presence on the Indonesian islands. However, it is clear that the above-mentioned activities of the IDP sowed the seeds of the leftist movement in the diaspora communities of Sumatra and Java. For example, on Sumatra, we will see that Zhao Hongpin 赵洪品 joined the local CCP organisation in 1932 after arriving in Medan and continued to show signs of activity after the Red Tide Incident: Zhao Hongpin, a native of Yueqing, Zhejiang province, supported the underground members of the CCP during the May 30th Movement in 1925 and went to Medan in northern Sumatra in 1930 to make a living;¹⁶³ became a CCP member in the Medan area in March 1932;¹⁶⁴ thereafter, in line with the usual practice of diaspora parties across the South Seas, Zhao also organised the AIGL in Medan, and also set up organizations such as the "Medan Overseas Chinese Association for the Relief of Victims in the Motherland 棉兰华侨筹赈祖国灾民协会".¹⁶⁵ In Java, Hong Xueli and others had previously united with young Chinese such as Huang Fuming and Wu Zhiman through the peripheral organization "Overseas Chinese Youth Mutual Aid Society" in Surabaya; after Hong Xueli and others were arrested and left the country, Huang and Wu continued to carry out propaganda and organisational activities around Surabaya, and had a large influence for a time.¹⁶⁶ What is more noteworthy is that after the Red Tide Incident in 1933, there were also members of the CCP in Fujian, such as He Xiluan 何希銓, Liu Jianzhi 刘建智 and Yang Xinrong 杨新容, crossing over to Indonesia under the pressure of the Kuomintang, and joining forces with Huang Fuming and others to continue to mobilise the local Chinese community by using such popular slogans as "Anti-Japanese" and "Patriotic" as their rallying cry.

He Xiluan (also known as "He Yu 何余") was born in Fuqing, Fujian, into a family of overseas Chinese. He was absorbed into the Fuqing County Committee of the CCP in 1930, and left for Surabaya in 1935 because of the deteriorating revolutionary situation in the country.¹⁶⁷ Liu Jianzhi (also known as "Liu Jiaofu 刘角夫"), a native of Longxi County, Fujian, joined the CCP in 1936, and later served as Secretary of the Party Branch of Xiamen Gulangyu. In 1939, he was sent by the Zhangzhou Central County Committee to carry out activities around Surabaya, Indonesia.¹⁶⁸ In Surabaya City, Java Island, He Xiluan arrived there and made contact with Huang Fuming, and the two rebuilt the Surabaya Xinhua High School in 1935, in which they spread

¹⁵⁵ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁵⁶ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 77; Hou Xiaoying, 'Hong Xueli (Xueli) tongzhi shilue', p. 202. Hou Xiaoying believes that there were five party members of the "Malang Overseas Chinese Provisional Branch of the CCP", and Xie Huaidan's own recollection is adopted.

¹⁵⁷ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 77.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an' [The Indonesia's 'Red Tide' Incident], in *Mumianhua you kaile: Xie Huaidan sanwen xuan*, ed. Wei Zhuanhuang (Fuzhou: Haifeng, 2008), pp. 127-128.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni <chi chao> an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 78.

¹⁶² Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48; He Xiluan, 'Yinni qiaoshe minzhu aiguo yundong shilue' [A Brief History of the Indonesian Overseas Chinese Community's Democratic and Patriotic Movement], in *Qindao fengyun*, pp. 12-13.

¹⁶³ Huang Anhua, 'Jiufu Zhao Hongpin zai Nanyang' [Uncle Zhao Hongpin in Nanyang], *Yueqing wenshi ziliao* 5(1987), pp. 86-87; Pingfan, 'Zhao Hongpin geming de yisheng' [A Revolutionary Life of Zhao Hongpin], in *Wangbuliao de suiyue*, pp. 166-169.

¹⁶⁴ Huang Anhua, 'Jiufu Zhao Hongpin zai Nanyang' [Uncle Zhao Hongpin in Nanyang], *Yueqing wenshi ziliao* 5(1987), p. 86.

¹⁶⁵ Pingfan, 'Zhao Hongpin geming de yisheng', p. 167.

¹⁶⁶ Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48.

¹⁶⁷ Yu Xianlong, 'Jishi lao guiqiao, youshi lao tongzhi—He Xiluan tongzhi jianjie' [Both an Old Returned Overseas Chinese and an Old Comrade - A Brief Introduction to Comrade He Xiluan], *Fuqing wenshi ziliao* 16(1997), pp. 23-27; Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48; 'Xinzhong xiaozhang He Xiluan', pp. 85-89; Yang Baoyun, ed., *Huaqiao huaren baiken quanshu: Renwu juan*, p. 180.

¹⁶⁸ The Comrades' Association of "Xiamen Youth League", 'Liu Jiaofu (Jianzhi) tongzhi shengping' [The Life of Comrade Liu Jiaofu (Jianzhi)], in *Gangtie de yiqun*, pp. 71-74; Hu Bing, 'Huiyi Liu Jiaofu tongzhi' [Remembering Comrade Liu Jiaofu], in *Gangtie de yiqun*, pp. 85-88; Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48.

patriotism.¹⁶⁹ Later, He Xiluan also made use of his hometown connections to become the editor-in-chief of the *Yurong Weekly* 玉融周刊, the journal of the Fuqing "Yurong Guild 玉融公会"; through this, he exerted a certain influence among the overseas Chinese, especially the Chinese from Fuqing; in 1936, the weekly was suspended due to "propaganda for reddens".¹⁷⁰ Similar to He Xiluan, Liu Jianzhi also got in touch with Huang Fuming after being sent to Surabaya by the party organization in Zhangzhou area, and organized the anti-Japanese organization in Surabaya together with Huang under fire in the Second Sino-Japanese War.¹⁷¹ Yang Xinrong 杨新容 (also known as "Yang Xing 杨兴" and "Yang Xinrong 杨欣荣"), a native of Haicheng County, Fujian Province, joined the CCP in 1927 and served as a propaganda officer for Shanghai Zhabei District Committee of the CCP; in 1934, he fled to Indonesia because he was wanted by the Kuomintang authorities, and thereafter served for a long time as the principal of Xinhua School, a famous Chinese school in Jakarta.¹⁷² In Jakarta city, Java Island, after arriving at Xinhua School in Jakarta, Yang Xinrong cooperated with Zhang Guoji 张国基, who also taught at Jakarta, to spread patriotism, anti-Japanese and other leftist ideas among the Chinese students in Jakarta.¹⁷³

(V) Activities of Xu Li, Zhang Jisheng and others in the Philippine overseas Chinese community

In 1930, the Communist Party of the Philippines (Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, or "PKP") was officially founded.¹⁷⁴ According to Ken Fuller's research, the formation of the PKP was also under the guidance of the Communist International.¹⁷⁵ Unlike the Indonesian Diaspora Party(IDP), which was also based in the Malay Archipelago, the Philippine Diaspora Party(PDP) appears to have been more closely linked to the PKP.

For example, according to the account of the person involved, Lin Jiliang 林季良, in early 1933, a member of the PDP, Xu Li 许立 (also known as Xu Jingcheng 许敬诚), was sent by his Philippine comrades to teach at the "Malang Chinese High School" in Indonesia.¹⁷⁶ In the light of the introduction to the IDP, it is clear that the "Malang Chinese High School" mentioned by Lin Jiliang was the "Malang Overseas Chinese High School" where members of the IDP, such as Xie Huaidan and Hong Xueli, belonged. As mentioned above, Xu Li's actual task after his arrival in Indonesia was to guide the early organisation of the IDP initiated by Xie and Hong, the "Malang Overseas Chinese Provisional Branch of the CCP". According to Xie Huaidan's own recollection, "At that time, we asked the PKP to send someone to give specific leadership, and the PKP sent Xu Jingcheng (Xu Li). Xu Jingcheng was a member of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee of the PKP and Secretary of the Chinese Committee of the PKP, and had links with the Far East Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party(CCP)."¹⁷⁷ Apparently, according to Lin Jiliang and Xie Huaidan, Xu Li, who was a member of the Philippine branch of the CCP, was also a member of the PKP; moreover, Xu, who had a special status, also had a high position in the PKP. Some other indirect evidences also support these judgements. According to Jesus Lava, one of the members of the PKP whose interviews were used by Fuller in his research, in the early days of the PKP "it was the practice to attach a leading Chinese communist to each PKP department, as well as to the the general secretary".¹⁷⁸

And again, according to Fuller, Liang Shangyuan and others, the situation of the two prestigious organizations in the history of the Philippines and the history of overseas Chinese in the Philippines, "Huks" and "Wha Chi 华支", is roughly as follows. By the early 1940s, after the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, the PKP established the "Huks" in March 1942 as its anti-Japanese army (note: "Huks" is a Filipino word, meaning "Philippine People's Army Against Japan"), while the "Chinese Communists" formed the "Wha Chi" (note: also known as the "Philippine-Chinese Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Forces"); with the cooperation of the PKP and the "Chinese Communists", Huks established a close cooperation with the Wha Chi.¹⁷⁹ According to information from Fuller, in the early days of its establishment, the Huks Organization of the PKP was deeply influenced by these "Chinese Communists". For example, according to the conversation of Taruc, another member of the PKP, it was under the influence of the "Chinese Communists" who insisted on anti-Japanese ideas that the PKP named the anti-Japanese organisation it led as "Philippine People's Army Against Japan(Huks)".¹⁸⁰ Significantly, the same Taruc further argued that the influence from the "Chinese Communists" was so great that he felt: "If we were colonial minded in our attitude towards the United States ... we also had a colonial mentality with regards[sic] to the ("Chinese Communists"), admiring them, thinking that they were emissaries of Mao Tse-tung and Chu-teh."¹⁸¹

¹⁶⁹ 'Xinzhong xiaozhang He Xiluan', p. 86; Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48.

¹⁷⁰ Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 48; Yu Xianlong, 'Jishi lao guiqiao, youshi lao tongzhi—He Xiluan tongzhi jianjie'[Both an Old Returned Overseas Chinese and an Old Comrade - A Brief Introduction to Comrade He Xiluan], *Fuqing wenshi ziliao* 16(1997), p. 24.

¹⁷¹ Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 49; He Xiluan, 'Yinni qiaoshe minzhu aiguo yundong shilue', p. 15.

¹⁷² Cai Renlong and Yang QiuJun, 'Bisheng yucai, fengfan changcun', pp. 210-215; Xiamen Municipal Committee for the Compilation of Local Chronicles, ed., *Xiamen shizhi*(Vol. 5), pp. 3891-3892. Also see Yang Xizhi, 'Wei dang de gongzuo he jiaoyu shiye fendou zhongsheng de Yang Xinrong'[Yang Xinrong, who fought all his life for the work of the Party and for education], in *Chen Jiageng de qinshu, zuqin ji shiye xiangzhu zhe*(Ziliao xuanbian), ed. the Xiamen Jimei District Committee of CPPCC (Zhengxie Xiamen shi Jimei qu weiyuanhui chubao, 2002).

¹⁷³ Cai Renlong and Yang QiuJun, 'Bisheng yucai, fengfan changcun', pp. 210-211; Su Chaoyuan, 'Zhaowa huaqiao minzhu aiguo yundong gaikuang', p. 49.

¹⁷⁴ Ken Fuller, *Forcing the Pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas: From Foundation to Armed Struggle*(Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2007), p. 67; Liang Shangyuan, *Feilubin*[The Philippines](Shenghuo dushu xinxhi sanlian shudian, 1950), p. 65; Jin Yingxi, ed, *Feilubin shi*[History of the Philippines](Kaifeng: Henan daxue, 1990), p. 496. Also see Galileo C. Kintanar and Pacifico V. Militante, *Lost in Time: From Birth to Obsolescence: The Communist Party of the Philippines (Book One: 1930-1972)*(Quezon City: Truth and Justice Foundation, Inc., 1999).

¹⁷⁵ Ken Fuller, *Forcing the Pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas: From Foundation to Armed Struggle*, pp. 41-67.

¹⁷⁶ Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li'[Xu Li], in *Xu Li tongzhi zhuisi jinian kan*, ed. Liu Haoran (Feilubin xushi zongqin zonghui kanyin, 1995), pp. 8-9.

¹⁷⁷ Xie Huaidan, 'Yinni (chi chao) an', in *Suiyue jihen*, p. 77.

¹⁷⁸ Ken Fuller, *Forcing the Pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas: From Foundation to Armed Struggle*, p. 167.

¹⁷⁹ Ken Fuller, *Forcing the Pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas: From Foundation to Armed Struggle*, pp. 166-168; Liang Shangyuan, *Feilubin*, p. 66; Jin Kunping, *Dongnanya shehui zhuyi de lishi, xianzhuang ji fazhan qushi*[The History, Current Situation and Development Trend of Socialism in Southeast Asia](Beijing: Shehui kexue wenxian, 2014), p. 193.

¹⁸⁰ Ken Fuller, *Forcing the Pace: The Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas: From Foundation to Armed Struggle*, pp. 167-168.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

Taking the dual identity of Xu Li as a clue and combining it with the history of the Philippine Diaspora Party(PDP) around World War II, we can safely judge that the Philippine "Chinese Communists", as Fuller and Philippine Communists such as Lava and Taruc called them, were the Diaspora Party members who were widespread in other parts of the South Seas as described above, and it was they who formed the Philippine branch of the CCP.

According to the known historical sources, the first member of the Overseas Chinese Party to enter the Philippines was Lin Xingqiu 林星秋. According to Lin Jiliang's account, in the autumn of 1926, Lin Xingqiu (also known as "Lin Yimin 林逸民"), a student of Fudan University who was already a member of the Chinese Communist Youth League(CCYL), travelled from Shanghai to Manila to carry out his activities, developing members and establishing branches of the CCYL in the overseas Chinese community; in the Chinese community of Manila, Lin Xingqiu soon noticed Xu Li, who was working in the workers' movement at the time, and took him on as a member of the CCYL.¹⁸² According to the recollection of the person involved, Wang Yazhang 王亚璋, by 1928, the official name of the Philippine branch of the CCYL established by Lin Xingqiu was the "Chinese Communist Youth League (CY) Branch in the Philippines", of which Lin Xingqiu was the leader and Xu Li had also grown to be one of the persons in charge.¹⁸³ In July 1927, through the activities of Xu Li and Lin Xingqiu, the branch initiated the establishment of the "Philippine Overseas Chinese Federation of Trade Unions(POCFTU)".¹⁸⁴ According to the recollection of Shen Fushui 沈福水, one of the backbone of the trade union, the POCFTU was effective, with Xu Li and others playing a central role in it, uniting Chinese from all walks of life, including workers, shop assistants, clerks, teachers and freelancers in the overseas Chinese community; at that time, the Kuomintang General Branch in the Philippines also set up the Chinese General Workers' Union and the Youth Labour Association, in the hope of competing with the POCFTU, but they were not supported by all sectors of the Chinese community as a whole and soon came to a haphazard end.¹⁸⁵ Apparently, with the POCFTU as the peripheral organisation at the centre, the PDP cadres, Xu Li and Lin Xingqiu, also drew all sectors of the diaspora around them; the situation in Thailand, Burma, Vietnam, Singapore-Malaya and Indonesia was replicated in the Philippines.

Wang Yazhang was both an eyewitness to the events and the wife of Li Bingxiang, another key figure in the early days of the PDP, according to her recollections: Li Bingxiang 李炳祥 (also known as "Li Yongxiao 李永孝" and "Li Yongxiang" 李永祥) was born in Manila, Philippines, to a local Chinese mechanic; Li joined the CCP in 1924 while studying in Shanghai, and also arrived in Manila in August/September 1927 when Chiang Kai-shek launched an anti-Communist Incident in April 1927.¹⁸⁶ After arriving in Manila, Li Bingxiang soon established organizational connections with Lin Xingqiu and Xu Li. Moreover, with the help of his family's connections in the local Filipino workers' community and in the Philippine General Workers' Union(PGWU), the POCFTU established by Lin Xingqiu and Xu Li held a joint meeting with the PGWU at the end of 1928 and formally merged on May Day 1929.¹⁸⁷ By early 1930, Xu Li was sent to Moscow by the PGWU to attend the Fifth Congress of the "Red Workers' International 赤色职工国际" and returned to the Philippines via Shanghai at the end of the year; in the process, Xu Li was transformed from a member of the Communist Youth League to a full-fledged member of the CCP.¹⁸⁸ Thereafter, Xu Li and Li Bingxiang became the main leaders of the PDP. As mentioned earlier, before the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, the overseas Chinese parties in Thailand, Singapore-Malaya and Indonesia all based on the changing situation and the needs of the people, with the students and young overseas Chinese they had united as the core, uniting the overseas Chinese from all walks of life to establish unified mass organisations such as the "Anti-Imperialist Grand League(AIGL)" and the "Anti-Enemy Backing-Up Society". A similar situation is again evident in the Philippines. In 1935, when the Japanese triggered the "North China Incident" in northern China, Xu Li and Li Bingxiang and others, with the students, workers, shop assistants and cultural figures united around them as the main force, successively established the "Philippine Branch of the Chinese National Armed Self-Defense Association 中华民族武装自卫会菲律宾分会" ("National Armed Branch 民武分会" for short), and the "Philippine Chinese Cultural Anti-Japanese and National Salvation Society 菲律宾华侨文化界抗日救国会" (later renamed the "Cultural Resisting Japan and Saving the Nation from Extinction Association 文化界抗日救亡协会"), and other anti-Japanese groups.¹⁸⁹

As mentioned earlier, before the outbreak of the war, there was a continuous exodus of CCP members from Fujian and other places to Indonesia. In line with this, roughly before the outbreak of the war, a number of CCP members also successively went into exile from Fujian and other places to the Philippine overseas Chinese community, establishing contacts with Xu and Li and others, enriching the ranks of the PDP, and becoming active among the diaspora, uniting a large number of active members, mainly students and youth.

For example, according to the account of Yang Jian, Yang Jingtong's daughter, Yang Jingtong 杨静桐 joined the CCP in the 1920s and worked for a long time in the peasant movement in Xiamen and Zhangzhou; as the White Terror gripped Fujian, Yang also went into exile in the Philippines in September 1928; soon after arriving in the Philippines, he established contact with Xu Li, Li Bingxiang and Lin Xingqiu, the main leaders of the Overseas Chinese Party; with the support of Xu Li and others, Yang

¹⁸² Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li', p. 7. Also see Liu Haoran, *Xu Li zhuan*[Biography of Xu Li](Beijing: Zhongguo wenlian, 2005).

¹⁸³ Wang Yazhang and Li Lijun, 'Huainian Li Bingxiang tongzhi'[Remembering Comrade Li Bingxiang], *Zhongshan wenshi* 14(1988), p. 52.

¹⁸⁴ Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li', p. 7; Wang Yazhang and Li Lijun, 'Huainian Li Bingxiang tongzhi'[Remembering Comrade Li Bingxiang], *Zhongshan wenshi* 14(1988), p. 52; Liu Haoran, *Xu Li zhuan*, p. 32.

¹⁸⁵ Shen Fushui, 'Feilvbin huaqiao ge laogong tuanti lianhehui de guanghui licheng'[The glorious history of the Federation of Filipino Overseas Chinese Labour Groups], in *Feilvbin huaqiao kangri douzheng jishi*, ed. Gong Taoyi and others (Beijing: Zhongguo guoji guangbo, 1997), pp. 21-22.

¹⁸⁶ Wang Yazhang and Li Lijun, 'Huainian Li Bingxiang tongzhi'[Remembering Comrade Li Bingxiang], *Zhongshan wenshi* 14(1988), pp. 49-51.

¹⁸⁷ Wang Yazhang and Li Lijun, 'Huainian Li Bingxiang tongzhi'[Remembering Comrade Li Bingxiang], *Zhongshan wenshi* 14(1988), p. 52; Li Lijun, 'Wo de fuqin Li Bingxiang (Li Yongxiao) de yisheng'[The life of my father Li Bingxiang (Li Yongxiao)], in *Feilvbin huaqiao kangri douzheng jishi*, p. 354; Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li', p. 7.

¹⁸⁸ Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li', p. 8; Liu Haoran, *Xu Li zhuan*, p. 68.

¹⁸⁹ Lin Jiliang, 'Xu Li', pp. 9-10.

Jingtong founded the "Hong Guang School 洪光学校" in Manila in 1935, with Yang himself as its headmaster.¹⁹⁰ According to the recollections of those involved, Shi Yunqin and Zhang Zhenmin: Xu Li, the head of the PDP, was also the director of the English department of the school; after the establishment of the Hong Guang School, the anti-Japanese propaganda was vigorously promoted in the school, and the students were organised to sing songs such as *Ode to Yan'an*, *Guerrillas' Song*, *Song of the New Fourth Army* and *Along the Songhua River*, which promoted the CCP and patriotic sentiments.¹⁹¹

At the end of 1935, Zhang Jisheng 张极生, a member of the CCP who was active around Nan'an and Jinjiang, Fujian Province, also went into exile in the Philippines due to KMT pressure. Zhang Jisheng (also known as "Zhang Qing 张清" or "Zhang Jiang 张江"), a native of Nan'an, Fujian, went to Cebu City in the Philippines with his father in 1925, returned to China in 1930 to pursue his studies, and joined the CCP around 1930; in the autumn of 1933, he was elected as a propaganda member of the Jinnan County Committee of the Communist Youth League (note: Jinnan is south of Jinjiang City); at the end of 1935, he went into exile in Manila due to the "encirclement and suppression" of the Kuomintang regime.¹⁹² In Manila, Zhang Jisheng hooked up with Xu Li for organizational relations. Through Xu Li's arrangement, Zhang went to Cebu to set up a "Xuanwen Bookstore 宣文书店", selling books and magazines that disseminated revolutionary ideas, and organising reading clubs and seminars among Chinese youths and students.¹⁹³ Gong Taoyi 龚陶怡, a young Chinese man who was an ordinary shop assistant in Cebu at the time, and according to his recollections: it was through Zhang Jisheng and his Bookstore that Gong first learned about the Communist Party and the Red Army, such as the Red Army's 25,000-li Long March and the Red Army's great pioneering undertaking to establish a revolutionary base in northwest China after reaching Yan'an; moreover, in the reading club held by Zhang, Gong also read Marx and Engels' *The Communist Manifesto*, Stalin's *Problems of Leninism*, Gorky's *Mother*, and a series of works by Lu Xun; under Zhang's influence, he "gained a certain understanding of communism, which laid the ideological foundation for his future participation in the revolution and joining the Communist Party".¹⁹⁴ These efforts of Zhang in Cebu not only enabled the PDP to attract young Chinese who had already entered the workforce, but also had a strong influence on ordinary students who were still studying in diaspora schools. Huang Zaicheng 黄再成, who settled in Manila with his family at the age of seven and then attended the Chinese School in Cebu City, recalls:

I went to school at the Chinese School in Cebu City, Philippines, where I was in the same class as Zhang Jisheng's younger brother. Zhang Jisheng ran a bookstore in Cebu City and I often went there to read or chat, because the bookstore had a lot of progressive books and magazines that you wouldn't see in other bookstores. Zhang often told us revolutionary stories and revolutionary principles, the difference between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang, how the Kuomintang attacked the Red Army's revolutionary bases and killed the toiling people there, and how the revolutionary masses joined the Red Army to fight the Kuomintang army, which made everyone deeply educated. He also taught us to sing *The Internationale*. He also gave us the *Jiuguo Times* and many pamphlets mailed from France to read, and asked us to distributed them to our classmates and young Chinese to read to publicize the revolutionary principles. At that time I was still young and did not know much about revolutionary principles, but I had already developed a good feeling for the Communist Party and knew that it was for the toiling masses.¹⁹⁵

From the memories of the person involved, Huang Zaicheng himself, we can clearly see that the *Jiuguo Times* disseminated by the Diaspora Party in Thailand, Vietnam and Singapore-Malaya was also brought to the Philippine overseas Chinese community; through opening a bookstore, teaching *The Internationale* and other mobilization activities carried out by Overseas Chinese Party member Zhang Jisheng, who was led by Xu Li, the core cadre-leader of the PDP, and also because "(the Communist Party) was for the toiling masses"—in line with the needs of the people—Huang Zaicheng, an overseas Chinese student who had been living on the islands of the South Seas for many years, "developed a good feeling for the Communist Party" far away on the highlands of northern Shaanxi. These details show us, once again, the impressive consistency of the overseas Chinese parties in the major cities of the South Seas in terms of their work in the Overseas Chinese Movement.

III. CONCLUSION

The "Diaspora Party"—the Southeast Asian branch of the Chinese Communist Party(CCP)—is a part of the "overseas CCP" that has not yet been addressed. The origin of the Southeast Asian diaspora parties has its own particular era and regional background, and because of the existence of the Communist International, the parties present the characteristics of mutual integration with local communist parties throughout Southeast Asia.

The core cadres—leaders played a key role in the development of the diaspora parties across Southeast Asia. These cadres were Huang Yaohuan, Liu Shushi and Li Hua in Thailand, Wang Xuanhua and others in Singapore-Malaya, and Xu Li and Li

¹⁹⁰ Yang Jian, 'Mianhuai wo de fuqin Yang Jingtong'[In memory of my father Yang Jingtong], in *Feilubin huaqiao kangri aiguo yinghun lu*, pp. 186-192.

¹⁹¹ Shi Yunqin, Zhang Zhenmin and Bing Ling, 'Gaoju kangri jiuguo qizhi de hongguang xuexiao'[The Hong Guang School, Holding High the Banner of Anti-Japanese and National Salvation], in *Feilubin huaqiao kangri douzheng jishi*, pp. 76-77.

¹⁹² Zhang Shangchu, 'Daonian Zhang Jisheng lieshi'[In memory of martyr Zhang Jisheng], *Nanan dangshi ziliao* 1(1995), pp. 39-41; Mo Zhanlan, 'Zhang Jisheng'[Zhang Jisheng], in *Nanan huaqiao yu xinsijun*, ed. Huang Zhenliang (Nanan shi xinsijun yanjiuhui, 2010), pp. 41-44.

¹⁹³ Huang Wei and Gong Taoyi, *Fengyu rensheng: Huang Wei Gong Taoyi huiyi lu*[A Stormy Life: The Memoirs of Huang Wei and Gong Taoyi](Beijing: Zhongguo wenshi, 2000), p. 118.

¹⁹⁴ Huang Wei and Gong Taoyi, *Fengyu rensheng: Huang Wei Gong Taoyi huiyi lu*, pp. 118-119; Gong Taoyi, 'Gong Taoyi zishu', pp. 176-177.

¹⁹⁵ Huang Zaicheng, 'Wo yongyuan huainian ta—Zhang Jisheng tongzhi'[I will always miss him - Comrade Zhang Jisheng], *Nanan dangshi ziliao* 1(1995), pp. 37-38; Huang Wangqi, ed., *Tiexue qiaohun: Kangmei yuanchao shiqi de junzhong 'huaqiao bing'*[Iron-blooded Overseas Chinese Soul: The "Overseas Chinese Soldiers" in the Army during the War to Resist U.S. Aggression and Aid Korea](Liaoning sheng guiguo huaqiao lianhehui, Huludao shi guiguo huaqiao lianhehui chubanshan, 2009), p. 205.

Bingxiang in the Philippines. Under the leadership of these core cadres, the activities of the Southeast Asian branch of the CCP in mobilising the Chinese communities across Southeast Asia were consistent: on the premise that the Diaspora Party was responsive to the demands of the anti-imperialist and anti-Japanese situation and that the CCP's own leftist attributes were attractive to the general public, Party members used tools such as Chinese schools, Chinese newspapers and reading clubs to attract Chinese students and youths to the Diaspora Party, and then used these leftist political activists as a basis to establish a unified mass organization that unites overseas Chinese from all walks of life—such as the "Anti-Imperialist Grand League" and so on. In other words, with the backbone of the Diaspora Party as the core, and with the help of mobilisation tools such as Chinese schools, Chinese newspapers and reading clubs, the scope of the CCP's mobilisation extended from Party members to young political activists, and then to the general diasporas.

Before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, the Overseas Chinese Movement Work of the Southeast Asian branch of the CCP is more noteworthy in that it mobilised a group of Chinese political activists—especially students and youths. These students and youths included Ma Song, Huang Zhong and Su Qing in Thailand, Guo Geqi, Liao Bing and Xie Baiqiu in Singapore-Malaya, and Huang Zaicheng and others in the Philippines; after the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, most of them left the overseas Chinese settlements in Southeast Asia and returned to China under the mobilisation of the Diaspora Party, and joined the party, administrative and military systems of the CCP, forming, as part of them, the famous "San Ba Cadres 三八干部 - Anti-Japanese Cadres" within the CCP, preparing cadres for the Communist Party to meet the upcoming War of Resistance against Japan. Ma Song and other young leftist Chinese political activists are typical cases of how the "overseas CCP" has had a tangible impact on the Chinese Communist Party.

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