

The KMT's Shifting Approach to the Outside World during the 1920s: A Reinvention of Chinese Confucianism

Li Yang

Ghent University, Ghent, BELGIUM

Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Department of Oriental Cultures and Languages

Received: 26 January 2024 ▪ Revised: 24 April 2024 ▪ Accepted: 11 May 2024

Abstract

Through a Confucian lens, this research explores the transformation of the Kuomintang's (國民黨; KMT) foreign policy during the 1920s. It examines the shift in the KMT's foreign policy from Sun Yat-sen's 孫逸仙 (1866-1925) "Allying with Soviet Russia" (lian'e 聯俄) stance to Chiang Kai-shek's 蔣介石 (1887-1975) prioritization of Western relations around 1927. The study highlights the reintroduction of Confucianism in the KMT's foreign policy during this period, considering the conventional Confucian education of KMT leaders. Unlike previous studies analyzing this shift from political or historical perspectives, this study provides a chronological analysis that centers around the change to Confucianism. It addresses a significant research vacuum in the existing literature and uses archival analysis to examine the evolution of the KMT's foreign policy. The study examines primary sources such as Sun's speeches, Chiang's diary, and contemporaneous memoirs. The study comprises three chronological sections. The first section (1920–1924) explores the influence of Confucianism on Sun's alignment with Soviet Russia due to commonalities between Confucianism and Communism. The second section (1924–1927) examines how Confucianism shaped the KMT's Western-oriented shift. The third section (1928–1930) delves into the philosophical basis of the Treaty Revision Movement (Gaiding xinyue yundong 改訂新約運動) and the adoption of 'keeping good faith and pursuing harmony' (Jiangxin xiumu 講信修睦) as the foreign policy principle. This research concludes that Sun, inspired by Confucian-Communist parallels, initially aligned with Soviet Russia but that later, under Chiang's leadership, the KMT used "The Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles" (Sanminzhuyi 三民主義) in its consolidation of a power shift towards the West and adopted Confucian principles to further legitimize its rule by promoting the New Treaty Movement.

Keywords: KMT, Confucianisation, foreign policy, Chiang Kai-shek, Sun Yat-sen.

1. Introduction

"When our [nationalist] party aligns with the spirit of Soviet Russia, it is in our joint struggle for oppressed nations."

本黨與蘇俄精神合一處，乃在同為壓迫民族奮鬥¹

¹ Sun Yat-sen, *Dayuanshuai yu benbao jizhe zhongyao tanhua* 大元帥與本報記者重要談話 (Grand Marshal's important talk with our correspondent), Shanghai, Republic of China Daily, 29 February 1924, P. 12.

In 1911, Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙 (1866-1925), the founder of the Kuomintang (國民黨; KMT), established the first presidential country in Asia, the Republic of China (中華民國; ROC), in 1911.² Despite this, Sun did not solicit cooperation with European governments and the United States when facing a series of failures against the Beiyang warlords (北洋軍閥). The Beiyang Warlords, one of the most significant warlord factions during the early years of the ROC, was composed of the primary generals from the Beiyang New Army (*Beiyang xinjun* 北洋新軍), a force established initially by Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916).³ The Beiyang Warlords emerged from the power vacuum following the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1912, and they were military leaders who gained control over key regions, particularly in northern China.⁴

However, following Yuan’s death in 1916, no one could effectively lead the entire Beiyang army and regime, which ultimately led to the fragmentation of leadership amongst the regional leaders and plunged these local warlords into warlordism as they fought for territory.⁵ Sun confronted the Beiyang Warlords after Yuan’s death, launching military campaigns to unify China under the KMT’s rule, but it ended in failure.⁶ This confrontation was part of broader efforts to establish a centralised government and overcome the political fragmentation that followed the end of imperial rule. After confronting the Beiyang Warlords, Sun chose to work collaboratively, from 1918, with the Soviet regime, which was under the leadership of Lenin (1870-1924) at the time (after the 1917 October Revolution in Tsarist Russia).⁷ By 1927, though, Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石 (1887-1975), in contrast to Sun, reversed policy to embrace the Western world.⁸ Undeniably, the leaders of the KMT were educated in Confucianism; however, few scholars have researched the paradoxical ways in which ancient Chinese Confucianism was used to transform the KMT’s approach to the outside world during the 1920s.

This research divides the decade 1920 to 1930 into three periods. The first section concerns the period 1920 to 1924 and explores the influence of Confucianism on Sun’s proposal to unite with Soviet Russia. The second section focuses on 1924 to 1927, explaining how the KMT’s move towards the West has its roots in Confucianism. During this period, Chiang completed the Northern Expedition (*Beifa* 北伐) and established the KMT government in Nanjing 南京. Specifically, this section attempts to analyse Dai Jitao’s 戴季陶 (1891-1949) aims by promoting the Confucianisation of “The Three People’s Principles.” At the same time, this section explores why Chiang supported this version of Confucianisation. This section further analyses how Daijitaotism (*Dai jitaotao zhuyi* 戴季陶主義) enabled the KMT Rightists (*Youpai* 右派) and Chiang to gradually remove the Chinese Communist Party (中國共產黨; CCP) from the KMT’s party organisation, laying the theoretical foundation for Chiang’s 1927 policy of Purging the Party (*Qingdang yundong* 清黨運動). Finally, this section recounts how the Confucianisation of The Three People’s Principles eventually led Chiang to ally himself with the financial oligarchs in Jiangsu 江蘇 and

² Bergère, Marie-Claire, and Janet Lloyd. *Sun Yat-sen*. Stanford University Press, 1998.

³ Jin, Chongji. *The Rule of the Beiyang Warlords*. Survey of Chinese History in the Twentieth Century. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023. P. 39-59.

⁴ Fung, Edmund SK. *The military dimension of the Chinese revolution: The New Army and its role in the Revolution of 1911*. Australian National University Press, 1980.

⁵ Shan, Patrick Fuliang. *Yuan Shikai: a reappraisal*. UBC Press, 2018.

⁶ Yang, Guangbin. *The Beiyang Government in the World Political System: The Second Failure of the State. The Historical Dynamics of Chinese Politics*. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2022. P. 89.

⁷ Carr, E. H. & Davies, R. W. *The Russian Revolution: From Lenin to Stalin (1917-1929)*. London: Macmillan, 1979.

⁸ Tsui, B. K. H. *China’s Forgotten Revolution: Radical Conservatism in Action, 1927-1949*. Columbia University, 2013.

Zhejiang 浙江, leading him to depose the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic's (蘇聯; USSR) advisers and the CCP and turn towards the West. The last section examines the Confucian philosophical arguments behind the KMT's 'Treaty Revision Movement' (*Gaiding xinyue yundong* 改訂新約運動) from 1928 to 1930. During this period, Chiang had nominally unified China. This section seeks to analyse the KMT's abandonment of Sun's anti-imperialist diplomatic line in favour of seeking reconciliation with the West. Specifically, the section analyses why and how the Confucianised Three People's Principles became the unified national ideology of the ROC during this period and discusses the link with the sentiment of nationalism in Qing China. At the same time, this section sheds light on the change in the KMT's role at the domestic level: the KMT needed to counter the spread of Communism and enhance the legitimacy of the ROC government to promote the Treaty Revision Movement. This section also investigates the reasons for adopting a different approach to the "anti-imperialist ideology" of the Northern Expedition as the KMT sought to avoid violence or mass movements as it began to revise its treaties with the countries that had previously signed agreements with the Qing Dynasty. Finally, this section analyses how Chiang's regime promoted the "Treaty Revision Movement" by using the Confucian concept of 'keeping good faith and pursuing harmony' (*Jiangxin xiumu* 講信修睦) as the guiding principle in foreign relations.

2. The influence of Confucianism on Sun's 'uniting with Soviet Russia' policy from 1920 to 1924

In his testament, Sun declared, "I have dedicated myself to the National Revolution for forty years. The goal is to seek freedom and equality for China" (余致力國民革命，凡四十年。其目的在求中國之自由平等)。⁹ Sun's guiding principle was the Three People's Principles (*Sanminzhuyi* 三民主義), Nationalism (*Minzu* 民族), civil rights (*Minquan* 民權), and the People's Livelihood (*Minsheng* 民生), which was to become the KMT's basic party outline, proposed in 1905.¹⁰ Sun had initially proposed the Three People's Principles to overthrow the autocracy of the Qing China government. Sun said in the revolution of 1911 that "the revolutionary objective is not solely aimed at the Manchus; its ultimate goal is especially the abolition of despotism and the creation of a republic" (革命宗旨，不專在對滿，其最終目的，尤在廢除專製，創造共和)。¹¹ Before founding the ROC in 1911, Sun led a series of popular movements and military actions to overthrow the Qing government.¹²

After the establishment of the Republic of China (中華民國; ROC) in 1912, Sun Yat-sen's (1866-1925) worldview experienced a shift away from Europe and America and towards the new-born Soviet Russia. This transformation could be ascribed to the difficulties Sun faced when attempting to solicit the cooperation of the warlords in China. The defending-state Movement (*Huguo yundong* 護國運動) led by Sun was a military movement aimed at overthrowing Yuan's establishment of the imperial system because, on 12 December 1915, Yuan formally announced

⁹ General Headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army of the KMT, 1926, p. 46. *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyao xuanyan ji xunling Sun zhongshan yizhu* 中國國民黨重要宣言及訓令《孫中山遺囑》(Important Manifesto and Dictum of the Chinese KMT the Testament of Sun). Series 28. P. 129.

¹⁰ Unification of China Under the Three People's Principles (April 1981): Adopted at the Twelfth National Congress of the Kuomintang of China." *Chinese law and government*. 35, no. 3 (2002): P. 45-50.

¹¹ Zou Lu, *The Draft History of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Zhongguo guomindang shigao* 中國國民黨史稿), Book I, The Commercial Press of Taiwan, 1970. P. 47.

¹² Bergère, Marie-Claire, and Janet Lloyd. *Sun Yat-sen*. Stanford University Press, 1998.

the restoration of the imperial system.¹³ After Yuan died in 1916, no one could lead the entire Beiyang army, so the leaders divided each warlord’s area of control according to where their army was stationed; this resulted in splits, with the warlords establishing spheres of influence in their respective regions.¹⁴ In 1918 and 1922, in the Constitution Protection Movement (*Hufa yundong* 護法運動).¹⁵ The Constitution Protection Movement, led by Sun in opposition to the Beiyang government dominated by Duan Qirui 段祺瑞 (1865-1936), aimed to defend the Provisional Covenant Law (*Linshi yuefa* 臨時約法) of the ROC, and establish the Military Government for the Protection of the Law (*Hufa junzhengfu* 護法軍政府) in Guangzhou. When Sun failed to promote the Constitution Protection Movement to oppose the Beiyang government and establish a separate military government of the ROC in Guangzhou 廣州 in 1918, he concluded, “The great peril of our country lies nowhere greater than in the strife for supremacy among warriors; the rivalry between the Southern and the Northern warlords is like that between raccoons on the same hill” (吾國之大患，莫大於武人之爭雄，南與北如一丘之貉).¹⁶ As a result of his failures in the Constitution Protection Movement, which he saw as the result of a lack of consideration of the unique perspective of the indigenous background of the Chinese philosophy, Sun began to theorise Confucian ideals in his Three People’s Principles.

When Sun talked to Communist representative Henk Sneevliet 馬林 (1883-1942) in 1921, Sneevliet took the initiative to establish direct communication with Sun on behalf of the Comintern (*Gongchan guoji* 共產國際).¹⁷ Sun claimed, “In China, there is a tradition passed down successively through Yao, Shun, Yu, Tang, King Wen of Zhou, King Wu of Zhou, Duke of Zhou, and Confucius. The foundation of my thoughts is to inherit this tradition and to carry it forward and promote its greatness” (中國有一道統，堯、舜、禹、湯、文武、周公、孔子相繼不絕。我的思想基礎，就是繼承這一道統，而要把它發揚光大耳).¹⁸ The consensus in academia is that Sun’s Three People’s Principles derived originally from the modern European Enlightenment.¹⁹ However, Sun sought to integrate traditional Confucianism into the Three People’s Principles so that they might align more closely with what he saw as China’s unique and specific situation. Ergo, Sun’s preconceived worldview appears to have been shaped by the conventional values of Confucianism.

When military resistance to the warlords initially failed, Sun became acutely aware that achieving victory in China necessitated coupling The Three People’s Principles with traditional practices in China. He attributed one of the ideological roots of the Three Principles of the People to traditional Chinese culture. In 1923, Sun claimed, “In my plan for the revolution in China, the principles I uphold include those inherited from our country’s existing thoughts, those influenced by the doctrines and achievements of European governance, and those conceived

¹³ Qidong, Zheng, Qian Suqin, Zheng Qidong, and Qian Suqin. The Beiyang Government, Local Warlords and Inflation. In *Brief History of Inflation in China*. Routledge, 2013. P. 123.

¹⁴ Zarrow, Peter. From the Military Dictator to the Warlords. In *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*, Routledge, 2006. P. 98.

¹⁵ Kayloe, Tjio. The unfinished revolution: Sun Yat-Sen and the struggle for modern China. Marshall Cavendish International Asia Pte Ltd, 2017.

¹⁶ Shang Mingxuan, Sun-Zhongshan zhuan 孫中山傳 (*A Biography of Sun*), edited by Beijing Publishing House, 1982, P. 211.

¹⁷ Saich, Tony, and Fritjof Tichelman. Henk Sneevliet: A Dutch revolutionary on the world stage. *Journal of Communist Studies* 1.2 (1985): P. 170-193.

¹⁸ *The Origin of Chinese Orthodoxy, Controversies and Transformations in Confucianism*. Soochow Journal of Political Science. No. 199501 (4 issues) Published by Institute of Political Science, Soochow University in China. 1995, P. 241-266.

¹⁹ Bhattacharya, Bijoy. The Tragedy of Sun: San Min Chu I (The Three Principles of the People) by Sun, Da Capo Press, 1975. *China Report* (New Delhi) 14, no. 4 (1978): P. 91.

uniquely by myself” (余之謀中國革命，其所持主義，有因襲吾國固有之思想者，有規撫歐洲之學說事跡者，有吾所獨見而創獲者).²⁰ Sun attempted to find theoretical justifications for the Three People’s Principles within traditional Confucianism during this process. Sun’s ideas about civil rights may have influenced Confucianism’s people-oriented philosophy (*Minben* 民本). He claimed that “Confucius and Mencius, from two thousand years ago, advocated for people’s rights” (兩千年前的孔子、孟子便主張民權).²¹ At the political-institutional level, Sun localised the Western concept of the separation of powers – executive, legislative, and judicial – through his theory of the Five-Power Constitution (*Wuquan xianfa* 五權憲法). The theoretical underpinnings of the Five-Power Constitution can be traced back to traditional Confucianism; Sun claimed, “Since the Tang and Song dynasties in China, there have been two powers that can break away from royal authority and stand independently: namely, impeachment and examinations” (中國自唐、宋以來，便有脫出君權而獨立之兩權：即彈劾、考試是也).²² It can be argued that Sun’s democratic ideas initially had European origins but were later amalgamated with Chinese ideas rooted in people-oriented Confucianism. Within Confucianism, the people-oriented philosophy emphasises that “the people are the foundation of the state; when the foundation is solid, the state is at peace” (民惟邦本，本固邦寧).²³ Consequently, Sun realised that the Three People’s Principles needed to be grounded in Confucianism for successful application in China.

From 1920 to 1924, Sun sought to blend the distinction between “Kingly and Tyrannical Rules” (*Wangba zhibian* 王霸之辨) with The Three People’s Principles, hoping to build a new international order of equality and mutual assistance. The “Kingly and Tyrannical Rules” arose in the Spring and Autumn Period (770BC-403BC), as well as the Warring States Period (404 BC-221 BC), a time of great turmoil when the feudal system collapsed, when rites and music deteriorated (*Libeng yuehuai* 禮崩樂壞), constituting a reflection of Confucianism on the two ways of governance, the kingly and the tyrannical way.²⁴ Typically, Confucianism defined the Kingly Rules (*Wangdao* 王道) as the political idea of governing the world with benevolence and justice and persuading people with virtue.²⁵ In the scope of ancient China’s relations, Mencius 孟子 (372BC-289BC) elevated Kingly Rules to a political concept, proposing that the king should govern with benevolence and justice and convince others with virtue in handling relations between states

²⁰ Sun Yat-sen, *Zhongguo geming shi* 中國革命史 (*History of the Chinese Revolution*), January 29, 1923”, *The Complete Works of Sun*, vol. 7, China Bookstore, 1985, P. 60. vol. 9, P 262,

²¹ Sun Yat-sen. *The Complete Works of Sun* [Sun Zhongshan quanji 孫中山全集], China Book Bureau, 1986.

²² Sun Yat-sen. *Xiugai dangzhang de shuoming — zai shanghai zhongguo guomindang benbu huiyi de yanshuo* 修改黨章的說明——在上海中國國民黨本部會議的演說 (*Notes on the Revision of the Party Constitution – Speech at the Meeting of the Chinese Nationalist Party Headquarters in Shanghai*). *Selected Works of Sun Wen*, November 4, 1922 (in Chinese), Guangzhou: Canton People’s Publishing House, 2006. P. 11.

²³ Zhou Shuhuai. Sun zhongshan de geming sixiang yu zhongguo chuantong wenhua 孫中山的革命思想與中國傳統文化 (Sun’s revolutionary thought and traditional Chinese culture). *Journal of Guizhou Normal University: Social Science Edition*, 2002 (1): P. 55.

²⁴ Wang Xiaolei. *Lun Sun zhongshan dui ruxue sixiang de jicheng yu gaizao* 論孫中山對儒學思想的繼承與改造 (*On Sun’s Inheritance and Transformation of Confucianism*). Northwestern University Publishing House, 2022. P. 16.

²⁵ Lu Hua, *Yi e weishi”: shijie zhi xu chongtu xia de guomindang lian’e* 以俄為師：世界秩序衝突下的國民黨連俄 (1917-1925) (*Taking Russia as a teacher”: the KMT’s alliance with Russia under the conflict of world orders*). Publication house at East China Normal University, 2019. P. 62.

to win the support of the people and unify the country.²⁶ Opposing Kingly Rules, Tyrannical Rules (*Badao* 霸道) refer to the rule of a state through force and power.²⁷ The distinction between kingly and tyrannical rules was thus defined as an ancient Chinese debate about two distinct methods of governance. Traditional Confucianism countenanced Kingly Rules and rejected Tyrannical Rules, and Sun sought to analyse the difference between Kingly and Tyrannical Rules to put China's foreign policy towards the West into perspective. Sun advocated in 1924 that:

“Oriental culture follows the Kingly Rules, while Western culture follows the Tyrannical Rules. Advocating the path of kings emphasises benevolence, righteousness, and morality, and it seeks to influence people through justice and fairness. Advocating the path of dominance emphasises utility and power and seeks to oppress people with guns and cannons.”

東方的文化是王道，西方的文化是霸道；講王道是主張仁義道德，講霸道是主張功利強權。講仁義道德，是由正義公理來感化人；講功利強權，是用洋槍大炮來壓迫人。²⁸

Sun argued that it was necessary to promote Great Asianism (*Dayazhou zhuyi* 大亞洲主義) to address the common challenge of European industrial civilisation. In early 20th century China, Great Asianism emerged as a response to the geopolitical challenges posed by imperial powers and sought to foster a sense of solidarity among Asian nations²⁹. Greater Asianism is integral to Sun's nationalist thought system and political philosophy. It stems from his assessment of the political landscape in China, Asia, and the world during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.³⁰ Greater Asianism refers to the international political idea of uniting and leading the colonially oppressed nations and peoples of Asia to free themselves from the Great Powers's bullying and to establish a new global order of equality and mutual assistance.³¹ Sun's Great Asianism, to some extent, represented the nationalism of The Three Peoples' Principles, aiming to inspire the other Confucianist countries in East Asia to achieve national independence.³² Sun spoke to the Japanese in 1924:

²⁶ Kim, Sungmoon. Politics And Interest in Early Confucianism. *Philosophy East & West*, 64, no. 2 (2014): p. 425.

²⁷ Zou Yonghou. *Sun zhongshan daode lixiangguo de goujian yu kunjing* 孫中山道德理想國的構建與困境 (*The Construction and Dilemma of Sun's Moral Ideal State*). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2016.

²⁸ Sun Yat-sen. *Dui shenhu shangye huiyi suodeng tuanti de yanshuo* 對神戶商業會議所等團體的演說 (*A Speech to the Kobe Commercial Conference House and Other Groups*), Sun, *The Complete Works of Sun*, vol. 11, China Bookstore, 1986, P. 407.

²⁹ Saaler, Sven. The construction of regionalism in modern Japan: Kodera Kenkichi and his “Treatise on Greater Asianism” (1916). *Modern Asian Studies*, 41.6 (2007): P.1261.

³⁰ Weber, Torsten. & Torsten, Weber. & Beck, Embracing Asia' in China and Japan. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

³¹ Fossgard, Ole Peder Frantzen. *The Creation of a Modern Chinese National Identity: Sun's Discourse on Race and Nation*, 2002. P. 86.

³² Smith, Craig A. Chinese Asianism in the Early Republic: Guomindang intellectuals and the brief internationalist turn. *Modern Asian Studies*, 53.2 (2019): P. 582.

“As a Japanese nation, you have inherited the dominating culture of Europe and America while possessing the essence of Asian Kingly Rules. Henceforth, regarding the future of world culture, it is up to you, the Japanese people, to carefully examine and choose whether you will serve as the lapdogs of Tyrannical Rules or stand as the bastions of Eastern kingly Rules.”

你們日本民族既得到了歐美的霸道的文化，又有亞洲王道文化的本質，從今以後對於世界文化的前途，究竟是做西方霸道的鷹犬，或是做東方王道的幹城，就在你們日本國民去詳審慎擇。³³

Sun categorised Kingly Rules in Confucianism as those in East Asian countries, while he saw Tyrannical Rules as manifest in European countries: he introduced “the distinction between Kingly and Tyrannical Rules” to construct the idea of Asianism in China’s foreign policy.³⁴ It is apparent from the content of Sun’s speech that he was proposing a “distinction between Kingly and Tyrannical Rules” and integrated it into The Three People’s Principles, regarding it as a way of fomenting Asian countries’ nationalism in other Confucianist countries oppressed by European countries.

In addition, the idea of Universal Harmony (*Datong* 大同) was also incorporated into Sun's international view. Universal Harmony refers to the period of peace and prosperity envisioned by Confucian scholars in which all people on earth are treated as one family, equal, friendly, and helpful to one another.³⁵ The Confucian *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記) specifically explains Universal Harmony as:

“The way of the great virtue follows the principle of making the world as one’s public. Select the talented and capable, promote trust, and foster harmony. Hence, people do not merely favour their own family, nor do they only raise their own children. The elderly have a means of support, the strong have a role to play, the young have an opportunity to grow, and the disabled and lonely are taken care of. All have their needs met [...] This is what the Universal Harmony means.”

大道之行也，天下為公。選賢與能，講信修睦。故人不獨親其親，不獨子其子，使老有所終，壯有所用，幼有所長，矜寡孤獨廢疾者，皆有所養 [...] 是謂大同。³⁶

Sun explained civil rights in the Three People’s Principles as the world belonging to all the people.³⁷ The New Culture Movement (*Xinwenhua yundong* 新文化運動) is a cultural movement that began in 1915 to promote democracy and science.³⁸ The May Fourth Movement (*Wusi yundong* 五四運動) was a Chinese youth student movement that saw students in Beijing 北京 marching and demonstrating on May Fourth 1919, to protest the Paris Peace Conference (*Bali hehui* 巴黎和會) resolution on Shandong 山東, as Shandong was ceded to Japan, where they urged the then Beiyang government not to sign the contract and demanded that the officials involved

³³ Sun Yat-sen. *Dui shenhu shangye huiyi suo deng tuanti de yanshuo* 對神戶商業會議所等團體的演說 (A Speech to the Kobe Commercial Conference House and Other Groups), Sun, *The Complete Works of Sun*, vol. 11, China Bookstore, 1986. P. 407.

³⁴ Li, Benyi. *Lun Sun zhongshan de dayazhou zhuyisi sixiang* 論孫中山的大亞洲主義思想 (*On Sun Yat-sen's Ideology of Greater Asianism*). *Jiangnan Forum* 11 (2005): P. 83.

³⁵ Chen, A, H, Y. *The concept of “Datong” in Chinese philosophy expresses the idea of the common good: Chinese and American perspectives*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013: P. 8.

³⁶ Dai Sheng. *Li ji. liyun pian* 禮記，禮運篇 (*The Book of Rites*), Beijing, China Book Bureau, 2014, P. 961.

³⁷ Zhang Chunguang. *Sun Zhongshan kexue sixiang yanjiu* 孫中山科學思想研究 (*A Study of Sun Yat-sen's Scientific Thought*). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2012.

³⁸ Forster, Elisabeth. *1919 – the Year That Changed China: A New History of the New Culture Movement*. Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018.

should be punished.³⁹ The outbreak of the May Fourth Movement led the Chinese intellectuals of the time to seek a way to save the country, and Marxism began to spread into China.⁴⁰ The eruption of the October Revolution in 1917 enabled Sun to reach out to Marxism in Europe. The October Revolution was an armed uprising led by a Bolshevik school under the leadership of Lenin (1870-1924), and it established the Soviet regime.⁴¹ The May Fourth Movement and the New Culture Movement articulated the Chinese as keeping abreast of Marxism and Socialism.⁴² In conclusion, Sun also adapted the idea of Universal Harmony into his Three People’s Principles and then gradually gained credibility in disseminating Marxist ideas in China.

Influenced by the victory of the Russian October Revolution in 1917, Sun conceived that Marxism had an affinity with Confucianism. Sun claimed that “the People’s Livelihood is Socialism, also known as the Communism, which is the idea of Universal Harmony” (民生主義就是社會主義，又名共產主義，即是大同主義).⁴³ Sun drew a direct line connecting the Three People’s Principles with Communism; meanwhile, the idea of Universal Harmony in Confucianism is, to some extent, how Sun understood Communism. Based on the similarities between Communism and the People’s Livelihood, Sun regarded Soviet Russia as China’s constructive partner. Sun said in 1922, “It was only recently that I learned that Soviet Russia was a country China could trust. If the ROC and Soviet Russia were to form an offensive and defensive alliance, there would be no country in the world that [China] can fear” (到最近，才了解到蘇俄是中國可以信賴的國家。中俄兩國若結成攻守同盟，則世界上沒有任何國家足以畏懼).⁴⁴ Sun drew on the work of Stalin’s (1879-1953) Two Camp theory, which states that the world is divided into two camps: the camp of the civilised few, who own the financial capital and exploit the vast majority of the global population, and the camp of the oppressed and exploited people of the colonised and dependent countries, who make up the majority.⁴⁵ Sun argued that Lenin’s theory could make China strong so that China could achieve independence at least.⁴⁶ A Greater Asianism based on national liberation would require China first to unite itself and then unite the weaker peoples of Asia and the world “to break the power politics with justice” (共同用公理去打破強權).⁴⁷ Moreover, Sun’s ideas sought to construct a more egalitarian international order, and Sun’s Three People’s Principles were not confined to China or Asia but were figured as a form of progress and liberation for all humankind based on the Universal Harmony. Sun’s philosophy was to promote

³⁹ Zhou, Cezong. *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.

⁴⁰ Ling, Samuel, D. *The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese “Christian Renaissance”, 1919-1937*. Temple University, 1981.

⁴¹ Graziosi, Andrea. “A Century of 1917s: Ideas, Representations, and Interpretations of the October Revolution, 1917–2017.” *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 36, no. 1/2 (2019): P. 44.

⁴² Chow, Tse-tsung. *The May fourth movement: Intellectual revolution in modern China*. Harvard University Press, 1960.

⁴³ Sun Yat-sen. *Sun Zhongshan quanji 孫中山全集 (The Complete Works of Sun)*. Beijing: China Book Bureau, Volume 9, 1986. P. 355.

⁴⁴ Sun Yat-sen. *Yu riben guanggao bao jizhe de tanhua 與《日本廣告報》記者的談話 (A Conversation with a Reporter from the Japanese Advertiser (November 26, 1922))*. *The Complete Works of Sun*. China Book Bureau, 2017, P. 128.

⁴⁵ Stalin, J. V. *Foundations of Leninism*, Lulu. Com, 2019.

⁴⁶ Riegel, Klaus-Georg. *Transplanting the Political Religion of Marxism-Leninism to China: The Case of the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow (1925–1930)*. *Chinese Thought in a Global Context*. Brill, 1999. P. 327.

⁴⁷ Sun Yat-sen. *Minzu zhuyi disan jiang 民族主義第三講 (The Third Lecture on Nationalism)*, *The Complete Works of Sun*, Volume 9, P. 220.

the “unity and liberation of the oppressed nations” (被壓迫民族的聯合與解放).⁴⁸ Accordingly, Sun may have seen similarities between Confucianism and Marxism, leading him to gradually see Soviet Russia as a reliable partner in achieving China’s independence and reunification.

With similar views, Sun began to learn from and seek cooperation with Soviet Russia. He undertook to reasonably comprehend the development of Soviet Russia as the logic of Confucianism, saying, “As for Soviet Russia, it has even more progressive goals, aiming to ensure that everyone enjoys economic equality and happiness without any inequality. When discussing its ultimate achievement, it is comparable to what is called Confucianism” (至若俄國則更進步，其目的在使人人享受經濟上平等之幸福，而無不均之患。語其大成，則與所謂孔子相類).⁴⁹

Simultaneously, Sun’s Three People’s Principles became gradually characterised as “anti-imperialist” after its coupling with Confucianism in the first place. As Sun said in 1923:

“We are among the weak nations, and we should collectively strive to resist the plunder and oppression of imperialist countries. Imperialist nations form an imperialist united front, not only to suppress the freedom and national movements of China but also to suppress the freedom and national movements of weaker nations in Asia and even to oppress the freedom and national movements of weaker nations worldwide.”

我等同在弱小民族之中，我等當共同奮鬥，反抗帝國主義國家之掠奪與壓迫。帝國主義國家形成帝國主義聯合戰線，不但為壓製中國自由運動及國民運動而奮鬥，亦不但為壓製亞洲弱小民族自由運動及國民運動而奮鬥，且亦為壓迫世界弱小民族自由運動及國民運動而奮鬥。⁵⁰

In 1923, The Canton Customs Crisis (*Guanyu Shijian* 關餘事件) erupted, enabling Sun to accelerate cooperation with Soviet Russia. The Canton Crisis refers to the conflict between the Canton Revolutionary government, led by Sun, and Western countries on using the Canton tariff balance.⁵¹ The Beiyang government and foreign missions in Beijing protested Sun’s actions, foreign missions in Beijing protested Sun’s actions, and the United States sent two warships into Guangzhou.⁵² The outcome of the Canton Crisis forced Sun to move entirely away from hope in the European Powers and the US, which gradually solidified the line of alliance with Soviet Russia. In his speech in late 1923, Sun said, “I no longer sought the support of the Western powers, and my face turned to Russia” (我不再尋求西方列強的支持，我的臉轉向了俄國).⁵³ On January 16, 1923, Sun and Joffe 越飛 (1883-1927), Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, met in Shanghai上海 to discuss the cooperation between the two parties of China and the USSR and

⁴⁸ Dai Jitao. *Sunwen zhuyi zhi zhixue de jichu* 孫文主義之哲學的基礎 (*The Philosophical Foundations of Sun’s Three People’s Principles*). Edited and printed by the History of Modern Chinese Political Thought, Department of Party History, Renmin University of China. Selected Materials on Sun Wenism, 1982 edition, P. 45.

⁴⁹ Sun Yat-sen. *Sun Zhongshan quanji* 孫中山全集 (*The Complete Works of Sun*), Volume 8, Canton Academy of Social Sciences, Historical Research Office, and others (co-editors), Beijing: China Book Bureau, 2011 edition, P. 349.

⁵⁰ Sun Yat-sen. *Sun Zhongshan quanji* 孫中山全集 (*The Complete Works of Sun*), published by the China Book Bureau, 1985 edition, vol. 9, P. 23.

⁵¹ George, Brian T. The State Department and Sun Yat-sen: American Policy and the Revolutionary Disintegration of China, 1920-1924. *Pacific Historical Review* 46.3 (1977), P. 408.

⁵² Braisted, William Reynolds, “The Canton Customs Crisis”, *Diplomats in Blue: U.S. Naval Officers in China, 1922-1933* (Gainesville, FL, 2009; online ed., *Florida Scholarship Online*, 14 Sept. 2011).

⁵³ Sun Yat-sen. *Sun Zhongshan nianpu changbian* 孫中山年譜長編 (*The Long Chronicle of Sun*), edited by Chen Xiqi, (Beijing) China Book Bureau, August 1991. P. 1781.

jointly issued the declaration, which emphasised efforts to promote the unification of the ROC.⁵⁴ With the help of the USSR’s advisers, Sun and the other KMT leaders drafted the 1924 Declaration of the First National Congress of the KMT and the new KMT party platform. This manifesto stated that the KMT’s doctrine was the Three People’s Principles advocated by Sun, wherein the nationalism in the Three People’s Principles aimed to help the KMT eliminate the Northern Warlords’ rule over China.⁵⁵ Sun summarised why the KMT had previously failed to launch waves of uprisings, saying it was because the KMT lacked guiding principles while Soviet Russia had managed to win the domestic revolution and expel foreign intervention forces. He said:

“The [KMT] Party’s restructuring this time is modelled after the Soviet Union, attempting a fundamental revolution for success, switching to party members collaborating with the military to strive. Using this method, Russia resisted the invasion of major powers precisely during the initial success of the Russian Revolution, and Russian party members were able to overcome it. The reason lies in the members’ commitment to the ideology.”

吾[國民]黨此次改組，乃以蘇俄為模範，企圖根本的革命成功，改用黨員協同軍隊來奮鬥。俄國以此能抵抗列強之侵迫，其時正當俄國革命初成功，而俄黨人竟能戰勝之，其原因則由黨員能為主義的奮鬥。⁵⁶

At the suggestion of the CCP, Sun decided to reorganise the KMT with the help of the USSR’s advisers and to reunite most of China from its southern Canton base through the Northern Expedition.⁵⁷ Sun attributed the hurdle of China’s unification to the warlords’ secession. At the time, China was dominated by the fractious Beiyang warlords, each of whom had a different Western country behind them.⁵⁸ He claimed that “the fundamental cause of China’s turmoil at present [1924] lies in the warlords and the imperialists who support them. Our mission in addressing China’s issues at the National Assembly is, first and foremost, to eliminate the warlords and, second, to break the support of the imperialists for the warlords. Only by eliminating these two factors can China achieve peace and unity” (中國現在[1924年]禍亂的根本，就是在軍閥和那援助軍閥的帝國主義者。我們這次來解決中國問題，在國民會議席上，第一點就要打破軍閥，第二點就要打破援助軍閥的帝國主義者。打破了這兩個東西，中國才可以和平統一)。⁵⁹ With the CCP and Soviet Union’s help, Sun and the KMT established the Whampoa Military Academy (*Huangpu junxiao* 黃埔軍校) and paved the way for the Northern Expedition.⁶⁰ Therefore, Sun grew closer

⁵⁴ Chan, F. Gilbert. An Alternative to KMT-Communist Collaboration: Sun and Hong Kong, January-June 1923. *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, no. 1 (1979): 127–139. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/312357>. [Accessed 8 Jul. 2023]

⁵⁵ Li Songlin. *Zhongguo guomindang shida cidian* 中國國民黨史大辭典 (*Dictionary of the History of the Chinese Kuomintang*). Anhui People’s Publishing House. 1993. P. 279.

⁵⁶ Sun Yat-sen. *Dangyi zhansheng yu dangyuan fendou* 黨義戰勝與黨員奮鬥 (The Triumph of Party Righteousness and the Struggle of Party Members), in *The Collected Recent Speeches of Dr. Sun*, edited by the Propaganda Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Guangzhou, July 1924).

⁵⁷ Zhang Daokui. *Minguo shiqi guojia yishi xingtai de bianqian* 民國時期國家意識形態的變遷 (*The change of state ideology during the Republican period*). Shandong University Publication House, China. 2018.

⁵⁸ Jin, Chongji. *The Rule of the Beiyang Warlords. Survey of Chinese History in the Twentieth Century*. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023. P. 59.

⁵⁹ Sun, Yat-sen. *Beishang xuanyan* 北上宣言. *The Complete Works of Sun* (Vol. 11) (Declaration of the Northward Movement). Beijing: China Book Bureau, 1986: P. 294.

⁶⁰ Li Hui. *Sun zhongshan de xin sanmin zhuyi zai diyici guogong hezuo* Zhong de zuoyong 孫中山的新三民主義在第一次國共合作中的作用 (The Role of Sun’s New Three People’s Principles in the First Nationalist-

to Soviet Russia based on their consensus of anti-imperialism and the correlation between Confucianism and Communism.⁶¹ This idea was embodied in the Three People's Principles, which then became the KMT's guiding ideology.⁶² Sun cooperated with the CCP and the USSR, establishing the military academy to commence the Northern Expedition and the unification.

This section examines the process of Sun's Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles and how it influenced his international outlook. Sun found that Chinese Confucianism shared much in common with the Three People's Principles regarding the People's Livelihood and nationalism. At the level of foreign relations, Sun attempted to fuse the distinction between Kingly and Tyrannical Rules with the Three People's Principles to establish a new international order of equality and mutual assistance. He also incorporated the idea of Universal Harmony into his global outlook.

Sun interpreted civil rights in the principles of the Three People's Principles as the Confucian idea that the world is public, meaning that the people should own the state.⁶³ His international perspective extended from Greater Asianism to all oppressed peoples and nations, and the October Revolution of 1917 enabled him to access European Marxism. Sun advocated that Communism was somewhat in line with Confucianism and sought to enlist the help of Soviet Russia to complete China's national unification. On the advice of the CCP, Sun decided to reorganise the KMT with the help of Soviet advisers and attempted to unify much of China through the Northern Expedition. Sun's understanding of Soviet Russia was based on the anti-imperialist consensus of Confucianism and Communism, in which Sun's Three People's Principles gradually became the guiding ideology of the KMT.

3. The role of Confucianism in the KMT's move towards the West from 1924 to 1927

"After the passing of the Premier [Sun], Mr Dai [Jitao], realising that the CCP intended to undermine our party, obstruct the national revolution, and harm our nation and people, at that time, the misguided propaganda of the CCP misled many young people. They had a vague understanding of the Premier's ideology and, as a result, were adrift without guidance and even went down the wrong path, causing a perilous situation."

在[孫]總理逝世以後，戴[季陶]先生鑒於共產黨蓄意破壞本黨，阻礙國民革命，危害我們的國家民族，當時一般青年為共產黨乖謬的宣傳所迷惑，對於總理的主義認識不清，因而徬徨無主，甚至誤入歧途，造成非常危險的現象。⁶⁴

These words were spoken by Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) in 1927 when he aimed to illuminate Dai Jitao's 戴季陶 (1891-1949) interpretation of the Three People's Principles and contain the spread of Communism among young Chinese. Dai was a KMT veteran and theory propagandist; Dai was Sun's secretary and Director of the Political Department of the Whampoa

Communist Cooperation). *Journal of Yunnan Normal University: Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 2002, 34(3): P. 62.

⁶¹ Zhao, Xuduo. Between Communism and Nationalism (1923-1928). *Heretics in Revolutionary China*. Brill, 2023. P. 221.

⁶² Wu, Ellsworth Tien-wei. *The Chinese nationalist and communist alliance, 1923-1927*. University of Maryland, College Park, 1965.

⁶³ Wang, Enbao, and Regina F. Titunik. Democracy in China: The theory and practice of minben. *China and Democracy*. Routledge, 2014. P. 88.

⁶⁴ Chiang Kai-shek. *Jiang jieshi quanji 蔣介石全集 (The Complete Works of Chiang Kai-shek)*, volume 2. Zhengzhou, Henan People's Publishing House, 1996, P. 137.

Military Academy.⁶⁵ Chiang ruptured the cooperation with the CCP in 1927 and launched the campaign of Party purge (*Qingdang* 清黨) on the CCP on April 12, halting Sun's policy of uniting with the CCP to complete China's National Revolution and banning the USSR's advisers.⁶⁶ Under Chiang's leadership, KMT ultimately achieved China's unification by defeating the Beiyang warlords and completing the Northern Expedition at the end of 1928.⁶⁷ At this stage, the influence of Confucianism still pushed the KMT's foreign policy towards the West.

Dai promoted the Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles. Historical circles in China commonly described Dai's Confucianisation of the Three Peoples' Principles as Daijitao-ism (*Dai Jitao zhuyi* 戴季陶主義). Mainland China's scholars concretely defined Daijitao-ism as the term that constructed the theory of opposing Marxism, class struggle, and cooperation between the KMT and the CCP.⁶⁸ Foremost, Dai tried to utilise the benevolence of Confucianism to replace the influence of Communism in China. Dai claimed that "it is not necessary to fight for the interests of the workers and peasants in the form of class struggle, because human beings are benevolent and we can move the capitalists to respect the interests of the workers and peasants by being benevolent" (擁護工農群眾的利益，不需要取階級鬥爭的形式，因為人類是具有仁愛性能的，可以仁愛之心感動資本家，使之尊重工農群眾的利益).⁶⁹ Moreover, Dai further linked the Sun's Three People's Principles to Confucianism, trying to justify the Sun's Three People's Principles. Dai advocated that "Mr. [Sun] Yat-sen's fundamental ideas are entirely rooted in the Confucian Doctrine of the Mean, representing mainstream Chinese orthodox thought. Mr. [Sun] is a great sage in Chinese moral and cultural heritage, carrying a legacy beyond Confucius" ([孫]中山先生的基本思想，完全淵源於中國正統思想的中庸之道。[孫]先生實在是孔子以後中國道德文化上繼往開來的大聖).⁷⁰ Crucially and in direct contradiction to Sun, Dai's Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles sought to exclude Communism and Marxism from the KMT and decouple the CCP from the KMT for the sake of the KMT's survival.⁷¹ Dai proposed to establish the pure Three People's Principles as the supreme principle of the KMT, to promote the Three People's Principles vigorously, and to oppose the tearing apart of social strata caused by class struggle; Dai Jitao advocated the establishment of a pure KMT, and the purging of the party's ill-willed atmosphere.⁷²

⁶⁵ Scott, Gregory Adam. The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai jitao. *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 39, no. 1 (2011): P. 55.

⁶⁶ Wu, Tien-Wei. A Review of the Wuhan Debacle: The KMT-Communist Split of 1927. *The Journal of Asian Studies* 29, no. 1 (1969): P. 143.

⁶⁷ Zhu Youqing, Zhao Bojun. *Guomindang "guanfang ruxue" de yuanyuan, xingcheng yu fazhan xilun — yi Sun Zhongshan, Dai jitao he Jiang jieshi de sanminzhuyi s xiang jiangou weili* 國民黨“官方儒學”的淵源，形成與發展析論——以孫中山，戴季陶和蔣介石的三民主義思想建構為例 (An analysis of the origin, formation, and development of the "official Confucianism" of the KMT: the construction of the Three People's Principles by Sun, Dai, and Chiang Kai-shek). *Taiwan Studies*, 2020.

⁶⁸ Lu Hua, *Yi'e weishi": shijie zhixu chongtu xia de guomindang lian'e* 以俄為師：世界秩序沖突下的國民黨連俄 (1917-1925) (*Taking Russia as a teacher": the KMT's alliance with Russia under the conflict of world orders*). Publication house at the East China Normal University, 2019.

⁶⁹ Dai Jitao. *KMT Guomin geming yu zhongguo guomindang* 國民革命與中國國民黨 (*The National Revolution and the Chinese*). Shanghai Publishing House China Cultural Service. 1946.11, P. 121.

⁷⁰ Dai Jitao. Sunwen zhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu 孫文主義之哲學的基礎 (The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Ye- Sanism), *Minzhi Shuppan*, 1927, P. 65.

⁷¹ Yu, Weijun. Lun rujiahua sanmin zhuyi de shengcheng 論儒家化三民主義的生成 (On the Generation of Confucianised the Three People's Principles). *Journal of Shandong Youth Politics College*, 29.2 (2013). P. 15.

⁷² Zhang, Xingjiu. *Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang shi* 中國政治思想史 (*History of Chinese Political Thought*). Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, 2011. P. 226.

Dai thus tried to look for a justification for the leadership of a national revolution led by the KMT to purify the KMT. This justification was based on Sun's Three People's Principles rather than on the ideals of Communism. He claimed in 1924 that "China's politics should be firmly held in the hands of the Chinese youth who believe in the Three Principles of the People. Only in this way can we establish a solid foundation for the Republic based on the Three Principles of the People (中國的政治，應該要完全握在信奉三民主義的中國青年手裏，才可以建設起鞏固三民主義的民國基礎)".⁷³ Dai's Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles appealed to historical Confucian orthodoxy as a reason to defy the CCP's influence within the KMT and in China in general.

Chiang shored up and was privy to Dai's Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles. On the one hand, Chiang was motivated by the need to maintain his political status, and he saw Sun's alliance with Soviet Russia as a tool-based strategy to augment China's revolutionary forces. Chiang claimed in 1925, "Here we must make it clear that the Father of Nations [Sun Yat-sen]'s policy of aligning with Russia is based on a nationalist stance, not on the belief that communism is feasible in China. Furthermore, one should not succumb to the Communist Party's threats for the sake of aligning with Russia, nor should there be any appeasement towards the Communist Party" (在此我們必須明白指出，就是國父[孫中山]的聯俄政策，是基於民族主義的立場，而不是認為共產主義可行於中國，更不應該為了聯俄而受共黨的要挾，或對共黨有所姑息).⁷⁴ Chiang advocated that uniting with CCP and Soviet Russia was merely a strategy of Sun's to pool the support from different classes and groups in Chinese society. He said, "We understand that the policy of the Father of Nations [Sun Yat-sen] at that time, aligning with Russia and accommodating communism, was for the concentration of the revolutionary forces in China and the unity of their will" (我們了解，國父[孫中山]當時聯俄容共的政策，乃是為中國革命力量的集中和意誌的統一).⁷⁵ Chiang served as the principal of Whampoa Military Academy from 1924 to 1927, when he established the Nanjing-based government of ROC.⁷⁶ Chiang needed to strengthen his authority because he was the only military leader within the KMT who represented the interests of the right wing of the KMT. When Chiang occupied Nanjing, the left wing of KMT established the Wuhan KMT Government (*Wuhan guomin zhengfu* 武漢國民政府).⁷⁷ Chiang wanted to assert his ideological authority to counter the Wuhan government's influence.⁷⁸ At that time, Chiang did not have a set of mature theories, so he chose the approach that best suited his

⁷³ Dai Jitao. *Guomin geming yu zhongguo guomindang* 國民革命與中國國民黨 (*The National Revolution and the Chinese KMT*). Shanghai Publishing House China Cultural Service. 1946.11, P. 130.

⁷⁴ Chiang Kai-shek. *Su e zai zhong guo* 蘇俄在中國 (*Soviet Russia in China*), Taipei: Central Heritage Supply House 1956, P. 35.

⁷⁵ Chiang Kai-shek. *Su e zai zhong guo* 蘇俄在中國 (*Soviet Russia in China*), Taipei: Central Heritage Supply House 1956, P. 25.

⁷⁶ Zhang Naikeng. *Xin shenghuo yundong yu ruxue sixiang yanjiu* 新生活運動與儒學思想研究 (*Research on the New Life Movement and Confucianism*). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2018.

⁷⁷ Yao Xichang. *Xin sanmin zhuyi de cha sheng yu xinminzhu zhuyi jiben sixiang de chubu xingcheng* 新三民主義的產生與新民主主義基本思想的初步形成 (*The Emergence of New Sanminism and the Initial Formation of the Basic Ideology of New Democracy*). *Journal of Xinxiang Normal Higher College*, 2007, 21(4): P. 7.

⁷⁸ Loh, Pichon, P. Y. The politics of Chiang Kai-shek: A reappraisal. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25.3 (1966): P. 451.

political standpoint.⁷⁹ Chiang thus tried to use Daijitaism to consolidate his authority as he moved from a military leader to a political leader.⁸⁰

Chiang tried to use the Confucianisation of the Three People’s Principles as an instrument to fight against Communism. Chiang’s speech at E’mei Military Training Corps (*e’mei junxun tuan* 峨嵋軍訓團) deemed the Three People’s Principles to be a counterweight when confronting the rapid development of the CCP, saying, “Promote the ideology of the Premier [Sun] to ensure that the general youth have a clear understanding of the Three Principles of the People, strengthen their faith in the Premier’s ideology, resist the seduction of Communist Party fallacies, and remain loyal to the revolutionary cause of the Three Principles of the People, in order to achieve the goal of saving the country and the people” (闡揚總理主義，藉使一般青年對於三民主義有明確的認識，堅定其對於總理主義的信仰，不受共產黨邪說的蠱惑，而忠於三民主義的革命事業，以達救國救民的目的).⁸¹ Chiang and Dai shared an understanding of the need to stem the power of the CCP. Chiang conceived of eliminating Communism in the ROC as a way of signalling the solidification of the KMT government. Chiang claimed in 1929 that “waiting until, within a certain period, all theories, and methods of the [Chinese] Communist Party are completely eliminated, Chinese society stabilises, our party’s foundation becomes solid, and then we can proceed to realise the final steps of the Three Principles of the People. This is to achieve the complete success of the national revolution” (等到在一定時期內，把[中國]共產黨的一切理論和方法全數刪除了，中國社會穩定了，本黨基礎穩固了，然後我們便來實現三民主義最終的步驟，以求國民革命的全部完成).⁸² Meanwhile, Daijitaism saw the People’s Livelihood as the core concept of the Three People’s Principles; in contrast, the other two elements, Nationalism and Civil rights, were only seen as the working method. Furthermore, Dai interpreted the People’s Livelihood in the Three People’s Principles as a guiding principle to improve people’s livelihood, saying, “It is necessary to build all cultures on the moral foundation of China’s inherent benevolence and love” (必須要以中國固有的仁愛思想為道德基礎).⁸³ Dai forcefully opposed the theory of class struggle in Marxism. Marx had claimed that the whole of society was increasingly divided into two hostile camps, into two classes in direct opposition to each other: the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.⁸⁴ Dai advocated that the Three People’s Principles suited China’s national conditions because Chinese Confucianism was one of the origins of Sun’s Three Principles of the People. He said:

“The class conflict is a pathological condition of society, not its normal state. This condition is not the same in every country, so the treatment methods cannot be the same for all. In China’s society, if there is no clear-cut class conflict nationwide, we cannot adopt a revolutionary approach based solely on class conflict, nor should we wait until there is a clear class conflict to initiate a revolution. The confrontation in

⁷⁹ Fu Jing. *Yishi xingtai yu jindai zhongguo shehui biange* 意識形態與近代中國社會變革 (*Ideology and Social Change in Modern China*). Shandong University Publication House, 2005.

⁸⁰ Liu Jiuyong. Dai jitaizhuyi sixiang pingxi 戴季陶主義思想評析 (A Commentary on Dai Jitaism Thought). *Peking University Graduate Journal*, 4 (2011): P. 69.

⁸¹ Chiang Kai-shek. *Jiang jieshi quanji* 蔣介石全集 (*The Complete Works of Chiang Kai-shek*), vol. 2. Zhengzhou, Henan People’s Publishing House, 1996, P. 137.

⁸² Chiang Kai-shek. Qin Xiaoyi, ed. *Xian zongtong jiangong sixiang yanlun zongji* 先總統蔣公思想言論總集 (*The General Collection of Thoughts and Speeches of the late President Chiang Kai-shek*), vol. 10, P. 367.

⁸³ Wang Xin. *Xuejie dui Sun Zhongshan “xin saimin zhuyi sixiang yuan yuan” de yan jiu zongshu* 學界對孫中山“新三民主義思想淵源”的研究綜述 (*An overview of academic research on the origin of Sun’s New Three People’s Principles*). [Modern Women (late), 2014, P. 5.

⁸⁴ Marx, Karl, Friedrich Engels, and Jodi Dean. *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Pluto Press, 2017.

China's revolution between the forces of revolution and counter-revolution is a confrontation between the awakened and the unawakened, not a class conflict. Therefore, our goal is to awaken the entire nation's consciousness, not the consciousness of a single class.”

階級的對立，是社會的病態，並不是社會的常態，這一種病態，即不是各國都一樣，所以治病的方法，各國也不能同。中國的社會，就全國來說，即不是很清楚的兩階級對立，就不能完全取兩階級對立的革命方式，更不能等到有了很清楚的兩階級對立才來革命。中國的革命與反革命勢力的對立，是覺悟者與不覺悟者的對立，不是階級的對立，所以我們是要促起國民全體的覺悟，不是促起一個階級的覺悟。⁸⁵

Based on this antithetical standpoint on class struggle, Chiang drew on Daijiao-ism to counter the spread of Marxist ideas after the Northern Expedition in 1926. Simultaneously, Dai's further explanation of the Three People's Principles provided a theoretical basis for KMT's policies of the KMT "party purge" of the CCP in 1927. Dai's incorporation of the Three People's Principles as a tenet of KMT policy highlighted its ideological exclusiveness. In Dai's discourse, "The Three Principles of the People are the principles of national salvation. What is a principle? A principle is a kind of thought, a kind of belief, and a kind of power" (三民主義就是救國主義。什麼是主義呢？主義就是一種思想、一種信仰和一種力量).⁸⁶ Moreover, Dai distorted Sun's cooperation policy with the CCP as a CCP conspiracy, "The collective joining of the Chinese Communist Party into the Chinese KMT is a form of parasitic policy" (中國共產黨集體加入中國國民黨，是一種寄生政策).⁸⁷ The KMT's rightists countenanced Daijiao-ism and briefly proposed that "[KMT members] genuinely regard the Three Principles of the People as the sole theory and the KMT as the only party for saving the country" ([國民黨員]要真把三民主義認為唯一理論，把國民黨認為唯一救國的政黨).⁸⁸ Under the influence of Daijiao-ism, the KMT set strict limits on CCP members who joined the KMT in the name of individuality.⁸⁹ In May 1926, during the KMT's authoritarian rule in Guangzhou, the Second Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the KMT adopted the "Organising of Party Affairs" policy (*Zhengli dangwu jueyi an* 整理黨務決議案), which rigorously constrained the quantity and authority of CCP members.⁹⁰ After the "Organising of Party Affairs", KMT rightists gradually began to control the KMT's party machine. Chiang became the highest military leader when the KMT's National Revolutionary Army (*Guomin gemingjun* 國民革命軍) occupied Shanghai in 1927. As the workers' movement and strikes organised by the CCP affected the interests of the local triads in Shanghai, Chiang bribed

⁸⁵ Dai Jitao. *Sunwen zhuyi zhi zhaxue de jichu* 孫文主義之哲學的基礎 (*The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Moonism*). Edited and printed by the History of Modern Chinese Political Thought, Department of Party History, Renmin University of China. Selected Materials on Sun Wenism, 1982 edition, P. 65.

⁸⁶ Sun Yat-sen. 1924 Lecture on Nationalism, in the collection of the Memorial Hall of Sun's Former Residence, Shanghai. Huang Yan, ed. *Selected Works of Sun Wen (first volume)*, Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2006. P. 11.

⁸⁷ Zhang Daokui. *Minguo shiqi guojia yishi xingtai de bianqian* 民國時期國家意識形態的變遷 (*The change of state ideology during the Republican period*). Shandong University Publication House, 2018.

⁸⁸ Xiao Chunv. *Guomin geming yu zhongguo gongchandang* 國民革命與中國共產黨 (*Introduction to The National Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party in 1925*). Selected Materials for the Study of Daijiao-ism. China Book Bureau, Beijing.

⁸⁹ Peng, Lü. Chapter Two 1912–1927: Disarrangements of Power and New Intellectual Trends. In *A History of China in the 20th Century*. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023. P. 293.

⁹⁰ Yang Tianshi. Beifa shiqi zuopai liliang tong Jiang jieshi douzheng de jige zhongyao huihe 北伐時期左派力量同蔣介石鬥爭的幾個重要回合 (Several important rounds in the struggle between the leftist forces and Chiang Kai-shek during the Northern Expedition). *Studies in Chinese Communist Party History*, 1990 (1): P. 43.

armed members of the local triads to pose as workers managed by the CCP and to launch attacks on the CCP members stationed at various locations.⁹¹ Under the KMT rightists' control, Chiang launched the coup d'état of April 12, 1927, leading the right wing of the KMT, with the help of the Shanghai local gangs, to arrest en masse and execute members of the CCP and some of the leftists (*Zuopai* 左派) in the KMT, and to ban the USSR's advisers.⁹² Dai's illustration of the Three People's Principles in Confucianism enabled KMT rightists and Chiang to marginalise the CCP and lay the theoretical foundation for Chiang's policy of party purging progressively.

Chiang allied with financial oligarchs from Jiangsu and Zhejiang and deposed other USSR advisers and the CCP. When the KMT's armies controlled Shanghai in 1927, the Northern Expeditionary Army (*Beifajun* 北伐軍) occupied half of China south of the Yangtze River.⁹³ At this time, the CCP launched three armed workers' riots in Shanghai, mainly inhabiting the non-concession areas of Shanghai.⁹⁴ Financial oligarchs from Jiangsu and Zhejiang (*Jianghe caifa* 江浙財閥) were thought to be connected to the groups of Jiangsu and Zhejiang businessmen and bankers who dominated Shanghai's business community, most of the Jiangsu and Zhejiang consortia developed from the compradors cultivated by European countries and Japan, USA.⁹⁵ One of the financial oligarchs was Chiang's Friend, Yu Qiaqing 虞洽卿 (1867-1945), who visited Chiang to represent these businessmen in Shanghai.⁹⁶ In the meantime, Chiang hoped to acquire economic funding from these financial oligarchs to confront the Wuhan KMT government. Under the premise of demilitarising the armed workers led by the CCP, these financial oligarchs, like Yu, promised to subsidise Chiang.⁹⁷ Given that the Wuhan KMT government, led by KMT leftists, was funded by the USSR, Chiang established the Nanjing KMT government and united with the European and American countries in his bid for power.⁹⁸ The Nanjing Government, controlled by Chiang, issued the bulletin that the Nanjing National Government would join the European and American forces in imposing an economic blockade on the Wuhan Government.⁹⁹ At this stage, Dai Jitao-ism became the guiding ideology of the KMT Nanjing government, and Chiang's regime used it to consolidate the orthodoxy of his regime, purging the CCP in China and uniting with the European and American powers to take over the power from the Wuhan KMT government supported by the USSR in 1927; Chiang used the Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles to counter the ideology of communism.

Daijitaotao-ism aimed to seek the orthodoxy of the Three People's Principles in Confucianism and Chinese history, as it was more compatible with China's indigenous Confucian

⁹¹ Stranahan, Patricia. *Underground: the Shanghai Communist Party and the politics of survival, 1927-1937*. Rowman & Littlefield, 1998.

⁹² Wu, T. W. Chiang Kai-shek's March Twentieth coup d'état of 1926. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1968, 27(3): P. 602.

⁹³ Geisert, B. K. From Conflict to Quiescence: The KMT, Party Factionalism and Local Elites in Jiangsu, 1927–31. *The China Quarterly*, 1986, 108: P. 703.

⁹⁴ Yi S. Between Arrogance and Despondency: The Shanghai Workers, the Communists, and the Strikes at the Japanese Cotton Mills of 1926. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 2022: P. 25.

⁹⁵ Fang, X. C. Between Left and Right: cooperation and the split between Yu Qiaqing and the CCP during the era of the Northern Expedition. *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 2010, 4(2): P. 193.

⁹⁶ Pan, X. A Study of the Jiangsu–Zhejiang Consortium, by Tao Shuimu et al. 2013. P. 76.

⁹⁷ Köll E. A Fine Balance: Chinese Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Historical Perspective. In *The People's Republic of China at 60*. Harvard University Asia Center, 2011: P. 193.

⁹⁸ Wu, Tien-wei. A Review of the Wuhan Debacle: The Kuomintang-Communist Split of 1927. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 29.1 (1969): P. 143.

⁹⁹ Niu, D. Y. yingguo dui hua zhengce yu guomin geming de weiji 英國對華政策與國民革命的危機 (British Policy Towards China and the Crisis of the National Revolution). *Historical Studies*, 1991, P. 4.

culture than Communism, to counteract the spread and influence of the CCP in the KMT and China. Chiang supported the Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles to maintain his political status and rule. Specifically, Chiang saw Sun's alliance with Soviet Russia as a strategic means to strengthen the revolutionary forces in China. Chiang also tried to use Daijitaism to consolidate his authority from military to political leader. On the other hand, Chiang attempted to see the Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles as an anti-communist tool. At the same time, Dai's further interpretation of the Three People's Principles provided the theoretical basis for the KMT's policy of "purging the Party" and the massacre of the CCP in 1927. Under the influence of Daijitaism, the KMT imposed strict restrictions on CCP members who joined the KMT as individuals and established the Nanjing Government, which was controlled by the right wing of the KMT. Chiang received vast amounts of aid from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang financial oligarchs. The Daijitaism influenced the Nanjing KMT government, and Chiang purged the CCP in southern China and joined forces with the European and American powers to seize power from the Soviet-backed Wuhan KMT government in 1927; the Nanjing KMT gradually moved closer to the West during this period.

4. The Confucian argument behind the KMT's "Treaty Revision Movement" from 1928 to 1930

"With all haste, abolish the unequal treaties to grant Chinese citizens freedom and equality."

從速撤廢不平等條約，俾中國國民，獲得自由平等。¹⁰⁰

This statement was excerpted from Huang Fu's 黃郛 (1880-1936) speech in his inauguration ceremony when Huang was nominated as the ROC's foreign minister in 1928. It shows that the KMT government aimed to cancel or amend the unequal treaties they had previously signed with European powers. This slightly conciliatory statement was distinguished from Sun's statement of anti-imperialism, reflecting a clear shift away from revolutionary diplomacy to diplomacy abiding by peace in the 1920s.¹⁰¹ In the historical context, the KMT, led by Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975), ultimately achieved a series of significant triumphs in the Chinese Civil War, culminating in Chiang's successful unification of the ROC.¹⁰² The KMT Army continued its northward march, joining warlord Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥 (1882-1948) in north-western China and warlord Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883-1960) in Shanxi 山西 before capturing Beijing in June 1928.¹⁰³

On 29 December 1928, Zhang Xueliang 張學良 (1901-2001) announced by telegram that he accepted the rule of the KMT government in Nanjing and announced that the northeastern army had joined the KMT en masse and believed in the Three People's Principles.¹⁰⁴ At that time, Zhang, a general of the "Fengtian Clique" (*Fengxi junfa* 奉繫軍閥) faction who ruled northern east China, replaced the five-coloured flag of the Beiyang government with the blue sky, white sun and

¹⁰⁰ Huang Fu. Huangfu jiuzhi xiangbao 黃郛就職詳報 (Huang Fu's Detailed Report on Taking Office), *Ta Kung Pao* (Tianjin), 23 February 1928.

¹⁰¹ Sun, Youli. China's International Approach to the Manchurian Crisis, 1931-1933. *Journal of Asian History*, 26.1 (1992): P. 42-77.

¹⁰² Zarrow, Peter Gue. *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2005.

¹⁰³ Underhill, William. China's Northern Expedition. (Brief Article). *Newsweek*, 155, no. 12 (2010): P. 6.

¹⁰⁴ Itoh, Mayumi, and Mayumi Itoh. First KMT-CPC United Front and Assassination of Zhang Zuolin. In *The Making of China's War with Japan: Zhou Enlai and Zhang Xueliang*, (2016): P. 55-84.

red ground flag of the KMT government.¹⁰⁵ Henceforth, after the Northern Expedition, the Chiang's KMT Government completed the formal reunification of China and became the only regime representing China internationally.¹⁰⁶ Thus, Chiang became the ROC's nominal national leader even though other warlords were still entrenched in North-East China and South China.

The Three People's Principles progressively became the state ideology, further combining with domestic nationalism in China. The current body of literature generally concurs that modern China's humiliating experiences are related to Chinese nationalism and that the rise of nationalism is connected to humiliating experiences.¹⁰⁷ A series of coercive treaties that Qing China was compelled to sign in response to advanced scientific technologies and weapons caused the East Asian tributary system to disintegrate in imperial China.¹⁰⁸ When KMT nominally unified the ROC in 1928, it sought to solicit theoretical weight from the Three People's Principles aimed at national salvation. The Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles promoted by Dai was intended to save the Chinese nation and revitalise China. Because Dai's Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles became the ROC's national ideology after the KMT's Northern Expedition in 1926, Daijiao-ism needed to be coupled with China's nationalism to underpin the KMT's rule. Chiang sought to use Confucianism as a bridge between China's ancient traditions and China's national strength. Chiang claimed 1928 that “the fundamental spirit of the historical and cultural tradition is the nation's soul. The strength or weakness of this soul directly impacts a nation's prosperity or decline” (歷史文化之傳統的根本精神，就是國家的靈魂。這個靈魂的強弱興替，就直接影響一個國家的盛衰).¹⁰⁹ The Three People's Principles are derived from the quintessential part of China's traditional culture. As Chiang said:

“What is China's inherent national character? What has traditionally been the spirit of founding a nation? What is needed now? The Premier [Sun] has clarified that it is the “Three Principles of the People.” What is the “Three Principles of the People”? Ethically and politically, it is based on “loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faith, and peace.” Pragmatically, it is a revolutionary philosophy of “knowing the difficulties and executing the easy.” Now, as we restore our national spirit for the revival of the Chinese nation, we must first revive China's inherent national morality of loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faith, and peace.”

中國固有的民族性是什麼？從來立國的精神是什麼？現在需要的又是什麼？[孫]總理已經寫的明白，就是“三民主義”。“三民主義”是什麼呢？在倫理和政治方面講：就是“忠孝仁愛信義和平”來做基礎；在方法實行上講：就是『知難行易』的革命哲學。現在我們恢復民族精神，要中國的國家民族復興，就先要恢復中國固有的忠孝仁愛信義和平的民族道德。¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Kwong, Chi Man. *War and Geopolitics in Interwar Manchuria: Zhang Zuolin and the Fengtian Clique During the Northern Expedition*. Leiden, [Netherlands]; Brill Nijhoff, 2017.

¹⁰⁶ Jordan, Donald A. *The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926-1928*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.

¹⁰⁷ Zhang Daokui. *Minguo shiqi guojia yishi xingtai de bianqian* 民國時期國家意識形態的變遷 (*The change of state ideology during the Republican period*). Shandong University, China. 2018.

¹⁰⁸ Ren, Z. *Tributary System, Global Capitalism and the Meaning of Asia in Late Qing China*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. 2012.

¹⁰⁹ Chiang Kai-shek. *Xiandai guojia de shengmingli* 現代國家的生命力 (*The vitality of the modern state*). Chiang Kai-shek. *The Complete Works of the late President Chiang Kai-shek*. Taipei: Chinese Culture University Publishing Department, 1984, P. 126.

¹¹⁰ Chiang Kai-shek. *Geming zhexue de zhongyao* 革命哲學的重要 (*The importance of revolutionary philosophy*). Song Zhongfu, Zhao Jihui, Pei Dayang. *Confucianism in Modern China*. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Publishing House, 1991.

It can be said that the KMT authorities attempted to merge the concept of the Chinese nation with nationalism. More precisely, they aligned the Three Principles of the People with the moral and political tenets of traditional Chinese Confucianism while attributing the revival of Chinese history to the philosophical traditions of ancient China. At this stage in the KMT's discourse, Sun's Three People's Principles appeared to inherit a series of positive Chinese traditional virtues, the Three Peoples' Principles empowering the Chinese people's traditional Confucianism values regarding ethical and political values and, in practice. Achieving China's rejuvenation seemed to involve regaining the traditional Confucianism of ancient Chinese culture. According to the ideological propaganda in ROC, the Three People's Principles inherited the essence of archaic Chinese Confucianism.¹¹¹ Hence, after the establishment of the Nanjing KMT government in 1927, Chiang devoted himself to generalising the ethical construction in Confucianism. As Chiang claimed, "Confucianism ethics is the building of national morality, the most important foundation of all our construction" (倫理建設就是國民道德建設, 是我們一切建設最緊要的基礎).¹¹² Thus, at this stage, The KMT government, in response to the growing influence of communism, employed the Confucianised Three Principles of the People as a nationalist ideology to garner broader public support for the KMT regime. The ROC government carried out the morphological inculcation of the Three People's Principles by promoting the construction of Confucian ethics and combining nationalism with the Three People's Principles.

At the domestic level, this explained how the KMT's political role changed from that of a revolutionary party to the ruling party after the nominal unification of China in 1928; from an in-country perspective, the KMT needed to improve its legitimacy. Initially, the KMT was required to continue to fight against the CCP: after the KMT's party purge in 1927, the CCP used military insurrection to establish the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army in eight provinces in southern China.¹¹³ Chiang stated in his opening address to the Fourth Plenary Session of the KMT, which took place from 2 to 7 February 1928, that "We must oppose not only the doctrine of the Communist Party but also its theories and methods" (我們不僅要反對他的主義, 而且要反對他的理論與方法).¹¹⁴ Chiang and the KMT also sought to publicise the Three People's Principles as an instrument for thought control, using its ideological propaganda to confront the spread of Communism.¹¹⁵ KMT even asked Chinese people, "All our citizens should sincerely believe in the Three Principles of the People and support the KMT. They should not unwisely believe in heretical doctrines, be incited by the Communist Party, nor should they covet small gains and be tempted by Communist bandits." (凡我民眾均應切實信仰三民主義, 擁護國民黨。不宜妄信邪說, 為共產黨所煽動, 更不宜貪圖小利, 為共產匪徒所誘惑).¹¹⁶ Accordingly, when the KMT became the governing party after 1928, promoting the Three People's Principles as an ideological indoctrination against the red armies led by the CCP further strengthened its legitimacy.

¹¹¹ Wang, Linzhu. "The Nation of China." *Self-determination and Minority Rights in China*. Brill Nijhoff, 2018. P. 13-44.

¹¹² Chiang Kai-shek. *Xian zongtong jiangong quanji* 先總統蔣公全集 (*The Complete Works of the First President Chiang Kung*). Edited by Chih-Yun Chang. The Chinese Culture University, Taiwan, October 1984 edition, P. 1283.

¹¹³ O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Red Army of China: A Short History*. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.

¹¹⁴ Chiang Kai-shek. Wei chufa jiaofei gao xiang'e, gan minzhong shu 為出發剿匪告湘、鄂、贛民眾書 (Letter to the people of Xiang, E and Gan for setting out to suppress the bandits). 1928. *Rong Mengyuan: Materials from the Chinese KMT Congresses and the Central Committee Plenum*, Guangming Daily Press, October 1985, P. 507.

¹¹⁵ Wu, Ona. *Winning the hearts and minds of the Chinese people: a study of Japanese, American, Kuomintang and Communist propaganda, 1937-1945*. Diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*

At the external level, Sun and the other KMT leaders upheld the convention of revolutionary diplomacy, regarding the European countries and the US as objects to be overthrown or rebelled against. The idea of revolutionary diplomacy can be traced back to the May Thirtieth Massacre by the British. In 1925, on the eve of the Northern Expedition of KMT’s Armies, the shooting of over 40 protesters by the British military and police in Shanghai became a national tragedy called the “May Thirtieth Massacre” (*Wusa canan* 五卅慘案), and it triggered the biggest protest in China since the May Fourth Movement.¹¹⁷ The KMT unexpectedly found a popular mood within China before the Northern Expedition, so it used this as the backbone for a new concept of “revolutionary diplomacy” (*Geming waijiao* 革命外交), officially becoming the primary diplomatic strategy of the KMT Government. Zhou defined “revolutionary diplomacy” as, firstly, “breaking all traditions and existing rules” (打破一切傳統和既存的規則) and second, “harnessing the power of the people [against imperialism]” (利用民眾勢力).¹¹⁸ Under the influence of this guidance, one of the purposes of the Northern Expedition was dismantling the foreign concessions in China. The Declaration of the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army in 1924 clearly stated that the Northern Expedition was to “eliminate the warlords, expel the powers, regain the concessions and recover all sovereignty” (消滅軍閥、驅逐列強、收復租界、收回一切主權).¹¹⁹ When the KMT’s National Revolutionary Army occupied Wuhan 武漢 in 1927, the Wuhan KMT Government sent troops and workers’ pickets into the British Concession in Hankou 漢口 and Jiujiang 九江, and Britain was forced to sign an agreement with the Wuhan KMT Government to return the British concessions in Hankou and Jiujiang to the KMT government.¹²⁰ One scholar of the time described the KMT’s diplomacy as “[using the method of dealing with] rogues is the most effective diplomatic method of dealing with the governments of the imperialist powers” ([對付]流氓的方法，實在是對待帝國主義列強政府最有效的外交方法).¹²¹ Revolutionary diplomacy also emphasised the use of popular strength when KMT troops occupied areas in southern China as the Wuhan KMT government had followed the Sun’s policy of uniting with the CCP Before July 15, 1927. Although the Nanjing KMT government had initiated the campaign to purge the CCP on April 12, 1927, the Wuhan KMT continued to advocate cooperation with the Communists and the implementation of Sun’s anti-imperialist ideology. This period became known as the “Nanjing-Wuhan split” (*Ninghan fenlie* 寧漢分裂) and marked a division within the KMT.¹²² The split pitted the purging communist forces, led by Chiang in Nanjing, against the more accommodating communist forces, led by Wang in Wuhan, during the KMT’s Northern Expedition in 1927.¹²³ During this period, the CCP was a branch of the Comintern, an international association of

¹¹⁷ Li Enhan. *Beifa qianhou de geming waijiao* 北伐前後的革命外交 (1925-1931) (*Revolutionary Diplomacy before and after the Northern Expedition*). Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1993.

¹¹⁸ Zhou Gesheng. *Geming de waijiao* 革命的外交 (*The Diplomacy of the Revolution*). Shanghai: Pacific Bookstore, 1928. P. 1215.

¹¹⁹ The KMT Government. *Guomin gemingjun beifa xuanyan* 國民革命軍北伐宣言 (Declaration of the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army), issued on 6 July 1926, 15th year of the Republic of China (1926), *Selected Sources of Modern Chinese History (II)*. People’s University of China Press, 1988.

¹²⁰ Cong, W. *Chinese populism in the 1920s, extraterritoriality and International Law*. *Braz. J. Int’l L.*, 2020, 17: P. 139.

¹²¹ Zhou Gensheng, *Geming de waijiao* 革命的外交 (*The Diplomacy of the Revolution*), Shanghai Pacific Bookstore, 1928, P. 11.

¹²² Wu, Tien-wei. A Review of the Wuhan Debacle: The Kuomintang-Communist Split of 1927. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 29.1 (1969): P. 125.

¹²³ Ke-Wen, W. The Left Guomindang in Opposition, 1927-1931. *Chinese Studies in History*, 1986, 20(2): P. 3-43.

Communist parties and organisations under the leadership of the USSR.¹²⁴ The Comintern directed the CCP to mobilise all available forces, cooperating with the KMT's military efforts to unify China.¹²⁵ Specifically, the Comintern urged the CCP to “rely on the masses of peasants, workers, intellectuals, and industrial and commercial sectors in China to combat world imperialism and its vassal states and to strive for China's independence” (依靠國內廣大的農民、工人、知識分子和工商業者各階層，為反對世界帝國主義及其走卒、為爭取中國獨立而鬥爭).¹²⁶ The influence of the CCP may have contributed to the KMT's emphasis on harnessing popular support during the Northern Expedition.¹²⁷ Notably, the KMT government's foreign policy perpetuated Sun's anti-imperialist stance, and this revolutionary diplomacy became the KMT's means of garnering support from various social classes in China. This strategy ultimately allowed the KMT to achieve the unification of China during the successful Northern Expedition.

However, from 1928 to 1930, the KMT started to abandon its revolutionary diplomacy, employing the diplomatic concept of faith and friendship to promote its Treaty Revision Movement after 1927, finally trying to gain legitimacy by amending treaties. This could be attributed to the shift of KMT's role from an opposition party to a ruling party. Given that the KMT had nominally unified China at the end of 1928, Chiang and Dai then conducted the Confucianisation of nationalism in the Three People's Principles to strengthen its legitimacy.¹²⁸ Unlike the previous revolutionary diplomacy, the KMT, the ROC's ruling party, could no longer adopt the Bolshevik style to solve foreign affairs. The KMT government thus used the Confucianist concept of “keeping good faith and pursuing harmony” [*Jiangxin xiumu* 講信修睦] as the guiding principle in foreign relations.¹²⁹ Concretely, when Huang was nominated as the foreign minister of the KMT government by Chiang in 1928, he declared that “following diplomatic procedures, the KMT Government is prepared to maintain and enhance goodwill relations with all friendly countries to rectify unequal treaties to obtain China's rightful equality in the international arena” (按照外交手續，與各國厘正不平等條約，期獲得中國在國際上應有之平等地位，國民政府準備與各友邦維持並增進其親善關係).¹³⁰ Although the KMT government discarded the previous revolutionary diplomacy, it still sought to rectify the unequal treaties signed by the Qing China government since 1840 and acquire an equal status in the international order. In the KMT's discourse, the nationalism in the Three People's Principles emanated from Confucianism and

¹²⁴ Garver, J. W. The origins of the second united front: The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party. *The China Quarterly*, 1988, 113: P. 59.

¹²⁵ Garver, J. W. The origins of the second united front: The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party. *The China Quarterly*, 113 (1988): P. 29.

¹²⁶ Communist International. Gongchan guoji zhixing weiyuanhui zhuxituan guanyu zhongguo minzu jiefang yundong he guomindang wenti de jueyi 共產國際執行委員會主席團關於中國民族解放運動和國民黨問題的決議 (Resolution of the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Chinese National Liberation Movement and the KMT Question) (28 November 1923) *Selected Documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Volume I (1921-1925). contributor, Central Archives; Publisher, Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Press, 1989. P. 231.

¹²⁷ Waldron, Arthur. Government Power and the Chinese Student Movement: The Warlords, the KMT, and the CCP. *Chinese Studies in History*, 25.3 (1992): P. 71.

¹²⁸ Kelkar G S. The KMT: An Inquiry into the Political Unification of China: 1928-1930. *China Report*, 1974, 10(4): P. 59.

¹²⁹ Dai Sheng. *Liji. liyun pian* 禮記，禮運篇 (*The Book of Rites*). Beijing, China Book Bureau, 2014, P. 961.

¹³⁰ Huang Fu. Nanjing guomin zhengfu waijiaobuchang huangfu fabiao de duiwai xuanyan 南京國民政府外交部長黃郭發表的對外宣言 (Foreign Declaration issued by Huang Fu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National Government of Nanjing), on 21 February 1928, *Selected Materials on the Diplomatic History of the Republic of China 1911-1931*. P. 412.

achieving independence and egalitarianism was, indeed, one of the primary purposes of KMT, “The revolutionary aim of the KMT is to seek freedom and equality in China” (中國國民黨之革命目的，為求中國之自由平等).¹³¹ The KMT and its Nanjing Government gained authority from Dai’s Confucianisation of the Three People’s Principles. The Declaration of the KMT government in Nanjing on 20 September 1927 clearly stated the need to “carry out the abolition of unequal treaties to restore the independence and freedom of the national state to its equal status” (貫徹廢除不平等條約主張，以恢復民族國家獨立自由之平等地位).¹³² It was pointed out that:

“In our country’s eighty years, we have experienced the constraints of unequal treaties imposed by imperialists. From the arrogant display of military power, bureaucratic corruption, economic bankruptcy, and the hardships of the people’s livelihood, to the loss of our national rights and the oppression of our compatriots, there is none that is not caused by unequal treaties. Therefore, the Prime Minister [Sun]’s dying wish is to abolish unequal treaties, strive to implement it thoroughly, and restore the equality of [our] international status.”

吾國八十年來，歷受帝國主義者不平等條約之束縛。舉凡軍國囂張，官僚腐敗，經濟破產，民生困窮，與吾國國權之喪失、僑胞被壓之苦痛，蓋無一而非不平等條約所致。故[孫]總理遺囑，對於廢除不平等條約，力求貫徹，以恢復國際地位之平等。¹³³

Based on these declarations, the KMT government blamed unequal treaties for China’s problems. By amending treaties with foreign countries, the KMT government gained legitimacy. After the unification of ROC in 1928, the KMT needed to structure its nation-state legitimacy, seeking theoretical support from nationalism in the Three People’s Principles.

Therefore, the Nationalist government began to promote the Treaty Revision Movement. Considering the KMT government’s pro-Western attitude after 1927, Chiang adopted different ways to amend the treaties with those countries that signed the agreements with the Qing China government. That is, abandoning any violent or mass movement to amend treaties with foreign nations, Chiang stated that “the policy set by the KMT Government is not to use force or any mass uprising to change the status of the concessions” (國民政府所訂之政策，為不用武力或任何群眾暴動，以改變租界之地位).¹³⁴ Furthermore, The KMT Government pursued “only the peaceful method of consultation” (和平方法即協商的方法) to amend the problem of leased territory and foreign treaties in China.¹³⁵ During this period, the KMT government abandoned its earlier diplomatic stance and political standpoint of anti-imperialism while employing a pragmatic attitude in promoting the amendment of treaties with foreign countries. At the level of specific methods, the KMT government resorted to amending foreign treaties based on internationally accepted principles of diplomacy. As Chiang instructed in 1928, “the KMT government resolved the issue of treaty amendment following generally recognised principles of public international law and recent international practice” (依照普通承認的國際公法原則及近代國際慣例解決之).¹³⁶ Regarding the aim of the Treaty Revision movement, the KMT government abandoned its previous radical slogan of “downing with the Foreign Powers” (*Dadao lieqiang* 打倒列強) while seeking

¹³¹ Chiang Kai-shek. *Wen Gongzhi*, ed. *A Complete History of the Revolution in the Republic of China*, Shanghai Yixin Bookstore, 1939, P. 1.

¹³² The KMT Government. Nanjing guomin zhengfu xuanyan 南京國民政府宣言 (The Declaration of the Nanjing National Government). Pang Ming, ed: *Selections from Modern Chinese History*. vol. 3, P. 9.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

¹³⁴ Chiang Kai-shek. *Institute of Modern History, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. History of the Republic of China – Biography*. Beijing: China Book Bureau. 2011. P. 79.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ Chiang Kai-shek. *Zhongguo zhi mingyun* 中國之命運 (*The Fate of China*), Zhengzhong Shuji 1943, P. 63.

equity and mutual respect.¹³⁷ It stated, “At the current moment when the reunification of China is achieved, one should take further steps in accordance with proper procedures, implement the revision of new treaties [...] to fully achieve the goal of equality and mutual respect for sovereignty” (今當中國統一告成之際，應進一步而遵正當之手續，實行重訂新約[...]以副完成平等及相互尊重主權之宗旨).¹³⁸ The KMT government thus advanced its Treaty Revision Movement from 1928. Regarding tariff autonomy, from the second half of 1928, the Nanjing KMT government concluded new treaties on customs duties with 12 countries: the United States, Germany, Italy, Britain, France, Norway, Belgium, Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden, and Spain. This led to an increase in customs duty rates.¹³⁹ Regarding the abolition of consular jurisdiction, the KMT government concluded new treaties with Italy, Belgium, Portugal, Denmark, Spain and other countries whose Qing China’s treaties had expired, and the KMT government repossessed the Belgian concessions in Tianjin 天津 on 31st October, the British concession in Zhenjiang 鎮江 on 31 October, the British military concession in Weihaiwei 威海衛 on 18 April in 1930, and the British concession in Xiamen 廈門 on 17 September in 1930.¹⁴⁰ Before 1931, the KMT government promoted its Treaty Revision Movement, which aimed to abolish consular jurisdiction and strive for tariff autonomy.

In this section, after the Northern Expedition in 1928, Chiang’s Nanjing KMT government completed the formal reunification of China and became the sole regime representing China internationally. The Confucianised Three People’s Principles gradually became the ideology of the ROC state, further combining it with Chinese nationalism. By promoting traditional Confucianism, the ROC government combined nationalism with the Three People’s Principles, which were ideologically inculcated. This seems to be explained by the need to increase the legitimacy of the KMT from a domestic perspective as its political role shifted from a revolutionary party to a ruling party following the nominal reunification of China in 1928. At the domestic level, Chiang’s Nanjing KMT Government needed to continue to fight against the CCP and related military insurgencies in China. At the external level, from 1920 to 1927, Sun and other KMT leaders adhered to the conventions of revolutionary diplomacy as soon as possible, treating European countries as objects to be overthrown or rebelled against. From 1928 to 1930, however, the KMT abandoned its line of revolutionary diplomacy in favour of a diplomatic philosophy of faith and friendship to promote its treaty revision campaign, ultimately attempting to gain legitimacy through treaty changes. This was probably due to the change in the role of the KMT from opposition to the ruling party and the pro-Western attitude of the KMT government after 1927. The KMT government thus advanced its New Treaty campaign from 1928 onwards, and some progress was made regarding tariff autonomy and the abolition of the consular jurisdiction.

¹³⁷ Cheng Dautian. A Re-conception of the Nanjing National Government’s “New Treaty Movement”. *Climbing: Philosophy and Social Science Edition*, 2006, 25(3), P.107.

¹³⁸ Huang Fu. *Dui nanjing guomin zhengfu “gaiding xinyue yundong” de zairenshi* 對南京國民政府“改訂新約運動”的再認識 (*Selections from the Diplomatic History of the Republic of China (1919-1931)*). *Zhonghua minguo waijiaoshi ziliao xuanbian* (1919-1931), 中華民國外交史資料選編 (1919-1931), edited by Cheng Daode and Zheng Yueming, Beijing University Press, 1985, P. 414.

¹³⁹ Ch'en, J. *China and the West: society and culture, 1815-1937*. Routledge, 2018.

¹⁴⁰ Chan, C. K. M., Chang. V. An Ignored supporting actor in the drama of imperialism Dutch imperialism and China (1919-1931).

5. Conclusion

This study aims to shed light on how Sun's allying with Soviet Russia policy from 1920 to 1924 was influenced by Confucianism. After that, the study investigates the impact of Confucianism on the KMT's movement toward the West between 1924 and 1927 and then analyses the philosophical justifications for the Treaty Revision Movement of the KMT between 1928 and 1930.

From 1920 to 1924, Sun chose an alliance with Soviet Russia because of the similarity between Confucian views and Communism and embarked on a Northern Expedition with the CCP. Sun's Three People's Principles initially derived from modern European Enlightenment thought. However, when Sun suffered successive defeats in the Chinese Revolution, he began incorporating the Three People's Principles into China's national context, specifically Confucianism. In the process, Sun tried to find the theoretical basis for the Three People's Principles in traditional Confucianism. The idea of civil rights in Sun's Three People's Principles may have originated from Confucianism's people-centred thinking; Sun's idea of Civil rights originated in Europe and was then localised and put into practice in conjunction with the people-centred review of Confucianism in China. At the level of foreign relations, Sun attempted to fuse the "Kingly and Tyrannical Rules" with the Three People's Principles to establish a new international order of equality and mutual assistance. To confirm this international order of equality, Sun saw the need to promote Greater Asianism to meet European industrial civilisation's challenges. At the same time, the idea of Universal harmony was also incorporated into Sun's international outlook. After being influenced by the victory of the October Revolution in Russia, Sun saw significant similarities between Confucianism and Marxism. This led Sun to gradually see Soviet Russia as a reliable partner in achieving China's independence and to try to enlist the help of Soviet Russia to complete China's national unification. The outbreak of the Guangzhou customs crisis in 1923 led Sun to accelerate his cooperation with Soviet Russia. On the advice of the CCP, Sun decided to reorganise the KMT with the help of Soviet advisers and attempted to unify much of China from its base in southern Canton through the Northern Expedition. Sun attributed the obstacles to the unification of China to the divisions amongst the Beiyang warlords. Sun's understanding of Soviet Russia was based on the anti-imperialist consensus of Confucianism and Communism, of which Sun's Three People's Principles gradually became the guiding ideology of the KMT.

Later, Dai Jitao's Three People's Principles Confucianisation allowed Chiang's Nanjing government to provide orthodoxy in its governance from 1925 to 1927. Chiang used Daijitaotao-ism to consolidate his political power, removing CCP forces and uniting with Europe and the United States to seize power from the Soviet-backed Wuhan KMT government in 1927, during a period when the Nanjing KMT government was gradually making ties with the West. Chiang, in 1927, broke off cooperation with the CCP, launched the Party purge campaign, stopped Sun's policy of uniting with the CCP to complete the Chinese domestic National Revolution, and banned the USSR advisers. Under Chiang's leadership, the KMT eventually unified China by defeating the other Northern Warlords and completing the Northern Expedition at the end of 1928. During this phase, the influence of Confucianism propelled the KMT's foreign policy towards the West. The Confucianisation of Dai's Three People's Principles is known as Daijitaotao-ism. Chinese scholars have specifically defined Daijitaotao-ism as constructing a theory of opposition to Marxism, class struggle and cooperation between the KMT and the CCP. Dai's aim in Confucianising the Three People's Principles was to find orthodoxy in Confucianism and Chinese history to counteract the influence of the CCP within the KMT and in China as a whole. At the time, Chiang did not have a well-established theory to consolidate his political power, so he had to retreat to the second-best theory that suited his political stance. As a result, Chiang tried to use Daijitaotao-ism to consolidate his authority from a military leader to a political leader. On the other hand, Chiang attempted to see the Confucianisation of the Three People's Principles as a tool for anti-communism. Dai's further interpretation of the Three People's Principles provided the theoretical basis for KMT's

policy of “purging the Party” of the CCP in 1927. Dai’s explanation of Confucianism’s Three People’s Principles may have led the KMT rightists and Chiang to ostracise the CCP, and it may have provided the theoretical basis for Chiang Kai-shek’s policy of purging the Party and the massacre of the CCP in 1927. Specifically, Chiang saw Sun Yat-sen’s alliance with Soviet Russia as a strategic means of strengthening China’s revolutionary power. Chiang also attempted to use Daijitaism to consolidate his power from military to political leadership. On the other hand, Chiang tried to see the Confucianisation of the Three People’s Principles as an instrument for anti-communism. Under the influence of Daijitaism, the KMT imposed strict restrictions on CCP members who joined the KMT as individuals and established the Nanjing government, which was controlled by the right wing of the KMT. Chiang received substantial assistance from the Jiangsu and Zhejiang financial oligarchs. Daijitaism influenced the KMT Nanjing government, and Chiang purged southern China of the CCP and joined forces with the European and American countries to seize power from the Soviet-backed Wuhan KMT government in 1927, a period in which the Nanjing KMT gradually drifted towards the West.

From 1928 to 1930, during this period, after the Northern Expedition in 1928, Chiang’s Nanjing government completed the formal reunification of China. It became the only regime representing China internationally. The Three People’s Principles gradually became the ROC state’s ideology and was further integrated with Chinese nationalism. The ROC government combined nationalism with the Three People’s Principles by promoting Confucian ethics, which it ideologically inculcated into the Three People’s Principles. At the domestic level, the KMT’s political role shifted from a revolutionary party to a ruling party after the KMT nominally unified China in 1928; from a domestic perspective, the KMT needed to increase its legitimacy as the KMT continued to struggle against the CCP and related military insurgencies within China. At the external level, the KMT government used the Confucian concept of “keeping good faith and pursuing harmony” as a principle for its external relations. It attempted to make the KMT gain legitimacy to govern by amending its treaties with foreign countries. Thus, the KMT government began to promote the New Treaty Movement. Considering the pro-Western attitude of the KMT government after 1927, Chiang took a different approach to revising treaties with those countries that had signed agreements with the Chinese Qing government and made some progress in terms of tariff autonomy and the abolition of consular jurisdiction.

Acknowledgements

This research did not receive any specific grant from funding agencies in the public commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

The author declares no competing interests.

References

Primary Sources

- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *Jiang jieshi quanji 蔣介石全集 (The Complete Works of Chiang Kai-shek)*, vol 2. Zhengzhou, Henan People's Publishing House, 1996.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *History of the Republic of China*. Beijing: China Book Bureau. 2011.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *Wei chufa jiaofei gao xiang ' e, gan minzhong shu 為出發剿匪告湘、鄂、贛民眾書 (Letter to the people of Xiang, E and Gan for setting out to suppress the bandits)*. 1928.

- Rong Mengyuan: Materials from the Chinese KMT Congresses and the Central Committee Plenum, Guangming Daily Press, October 1985.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *Su'e zai zhong guo* 蘇俄在中國 (*Soviet Russia in China*), Taipei: Central Heritage Supply House 1956.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. Qin Xiaoyi, ed. *Xian zongtong jiangong sixiang yanlun zongji* 先總統蔣公思想言論總集 (*The General Collection of Thoughts and Speeches of the late President Chiang Kai-shek*), vol. 10.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *Xian zongtong jiangong quanji* 先總統蔣公全集 (*The Complete Works of the First President Chiang Kung*). Edited by Chih-Yun Chang. The Chinese Culture University, Taiwan, October 1984 edition.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. *Zhongguo zhi mingyun* 中國之命運 (*The Fate of China*), Zhengzhong Shuji, 1943.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. Geming zhexue de zhongyao 革命哲學的重要 (The importance of revolutionary philosophy). Song Zhongfu, Zhao Jihui, Pei Dayang. *Confucianism Confucianism in Modern China*. Zhengzhou: Zhongzhou Guji Publishing House, 1991.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. Xiandai guojia de shengmingli 現代國家的生命力 (The vitality of the modern state). Chiang Kai-shek. *The Complete Works of the late President Chiang Kai-shek*. Taipei: Chinese Culture University Publishing Department, 1984.
- Chiang Kai-shek 蔣介石. Wen Gongzhi, ed. *A Complete History of the Revolution in the Republic of China*, Shanghai Yixin Bookstore, 1939.
- Comintern. Gongchan guoji zhixing weiyuanhui zhuxituan guanyu zhongguo minzu jiefang yundong he guomindang wenti de jueyi 共產國際執行委員會主席團關於中國民族解放運動和國民黨問題的決議 (Resolution of the Bureau of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the Chinese National Liberation Movement and the KMT Question) (28 November 1923) *Selected Documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China*, Volume I (1921-1925). contributor, Central Archives; Publisher, Party School of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Press, 1989.
- Dai Jitao 戴季陶. *Guomin geming yu zhongguo guomindang* 國民革命與中國國民黨 (*The National Revolution and the Chinese KMT*). Shanghai Publishing House China Cultural Service. 1946.
- Dai Jitao 戴季陶. *Sunwen zhuyi zhi zhexue de jichu* 孫文主義之哲學的基礎 (*The Philosophical Foundations of Sun Ye-Sanism*). Minzhi Shuppan, 1927.
- Dai Sheng 戴聖. *Li ji. liyun pian* 禮記, 禮運篇 (*The Book of Rites*). Beijing, China Book Bureau, 2014.
- General Headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army of the KMT, *Zhongguo guomindang zhongyao xuanyan ji xunling Sun zhongshan yizhu* 中國國民黨重要宣言及訓令 孫中山遺囑 (*Important Manifesto and Dictum of the Chinese KMT the Testament of Sun*). Series 28. 1926, p. 46.
- Huang Fu 黃郛. Nanjing guomin zhengfu waijiaobuchang huangfu fabiao de duiwai xuanyan 南京國民政府外交部長黃郛發表的對外宣言 (Foreign Declaration issued by Huang Fu, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the National Government of Nanjing), on 21 February 1928), *Selected Materials on the Diplomatic History of the Republic of China 1911-1931*.
- Huang Fu 黃郛. *Zhonghua minguo waijiaoshi ziliao xuanbian (1919-1931)* 中華民國外交史資料選編 (1919-1931) (*Selections from the Diplomatic History of the Republic of China (1919-1931)*), edited by Cheng Daode and Zheng Yueming, Beijing University Press, 1985.
- Huang Fu 黃郛. Huangfu jiuzhi xiangbao 黃郛就職詳報 (Huang Fu's Detailed Report on Taking Office), *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)*, 23 February 1928.
- Marx, K., & Engels, F., and Jodi, Dean. *The Communist Manifesto*. London: Pluto Press, 2017.

- Shang Mingxuan, *Sun-Zhongshan zhuan* 孫中山傳 (*A Biography of Sun*), edited by Beijing Publishing House, 1982.
- Stalin, J. V. *Foundations of Leninism*, what is this M referring to? Lulu. Com, 2019.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山, The Origin of Chinese Orthodoxy, Controversies and Transformations in Confucianism. *Soochow Journal of Political Science*. No. 199501 (4 issues) Published by Institute of Political Science, Soochow University in China. 1920.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山, Dayuanshuai yu benbao jizhe zhongyao tanhua 大元帥與本報記者重要談話 (Grand Marshal's important talk with our correspondent), Shanghai, *Republic of China Daily*, 29 February 1924.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Zhongguo geming shi 中國革命史 (History of the Chinese Revolution) January 29, 1923", *The Complete Works of Sun*, vol. 7, China Bookstore, 1985.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. 1924 Lecture on Nationalism, in the collection of the Memorial Hall of Sun's Former Residence. Shanghai. Huang Yan, ed. *Selected Works of Sun Wen* (first volume), Guangzhou: Guangdong People's Publishing House, 2006.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Yu riben guanggao bao jizhe de tanhua 與《日本廣告報》記者的談話 (A Conversation with a Reporter from the Japanese Advertiser) (November 26, 1922). *The Complete Works of Sun Continued*. China Book Bureau. 2017.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Dui shenhu shangye huiyi suodeng tuanti de yanshuo 對神戶商業會議所等團體的演說 (A Speech to the Kobe Commercial Conference House and Other Groups), *The Complete Works of Sun*, vol. 11, China Bookstore, 1986.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Xiugai dangzhang de shuoming — zai shanghai zhongguo guomindang benbu huiyi de yanshuo 修改黨章的說明— 在上海中國國民黨本部會議的演說 (Notes on the Revision of the Party Constitution – Speech at the Meeting of the Chinese Nationalist Party Headquarters in Shanghai). *Selected Works of Sun Wen*, November 4, 1922 (in Chinese), Guangzhou: Canton People's Publishing House, 2006.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Sun Zhongshan quanji 孫中山全集 (*The Complete Works of Sun*), vol. 9, China Book Bureau, 1986.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. Sun Zhongshan quanji 孫中山全集 (*The Complete Works of Sun*), Volume 8, Canton Academy of Social Sciences, Historical Research Office, and others (co-editors), Beijing: China Book Bureau, 2011 edition.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. *Sun Zhongshan nianpu changbian* 孫中山年譜長編 (*The Long Chronicle of Sun*), edited by Chen Xiqi, (Beijing) China Book Bureau, August 1991.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. *Minzu zhuyi disan jiang* 民族主義第三講 (*The Third Lecture on Nationalism*), *The Complete Works of Sun*, Volume. 9.
- Sun Yat-sen 孫中山. *Dangyi zhansheng yu dangyuan fendou* 黨義戰勝與黨員奮鬥 (*The Triumph of Party Righteousness and the Struggle of Party Members*), in *The Collected Recent Speeches of Dr. Sun*, edited by the Propaganda Department of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Nationalist Party (Guangzhou, July 1924).
- Sun, Yat-sen 孫中山. *Beishang xuanyan* 北上宣言 (*Declaration of the Northward Movement*). *The Complete Works of Sun* (Vol. 11)]. Beijing: China Book Bureau, 1986.
- The KMT Government. *Guomin gemingjun beifa xuanyan* 國民革命軍北伐宣言 (*Declaration of the Northern Expedition of the National Revolutionary Army*), issued on 6 July 1926, 15th year of the Republic of China (1926) *Selected Sources of Modern Chinese History* (II) People's University of China Press, 1988.

- The KMT Government. Nanjing guomin zhengfu xuanyan 南京國民政府宣言 (*The Declaration of the Nanjing National Government*). Pang Ming, ed: Selections from Modern Chinese History. vol. 3.
- Xiao Chunv 蕭楚女. Guomin geming yu zhongguo gongchandang 國民革命與中國共產黨 (Introduction to The National Revolution and the Chinese Communist Party in 1925). *Selected Materials for the Study of Daijitaο-ism*. China Book Bureau, Beijing.
- Zhou Gensheng 周鯁生. *Geming de waijiao 革命的外交 (The Diplomacy of the Revolution)*, Shanghai Pacific Bookstore, 1928.
- Zou Lu 鄒魯. *Zhongguo guomindang shigao 中國國民黨史稿 (The Draft History of the Chinese Nationalist Party)*, Book I, The Commercial Press of Taiwan, 1970.

Secondary sources

- Bhattacharya, Bijoy. The Tragedy of Sun: San Min Chu I (The Three Principles of the People) by Sun, Da Capo Press, 1975. *China Report (New Delhi)*, 14, no. 4 (1978).
- Braisted, William Reynolds, "The Canton Customs Crisis", *Diplomats in Blue: U.S. Naval Officers in China, 1922-1933* (Gainesville, FL, 2009; Florida Scholarship Online, 14 Sept. 2011).
- Carr, E. H. & Davies, R. W. *The Russian Revolution: From Lenin to Stalin (1917-1929)*. London: Macmillan, 1979.
- Chan, C. K. M., & Chang, V. *An Ignored supporting actor in drama of imperialism Dutch imperialism and China (1919-1931)*.
- Chan, F. Gilbert. An Alternative to KMT-Communist Collaboration: Sun and Hong Kong, January-June 1923. *Modern Asian Studies*, 13, no. 1 (1979): 127–39. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/312357>. [Accessed 8 July 2023]
- Ch'en J. *China and the West: society and culture, 1815-1937*. Routledge, 2018.
- Chen, A, H, Y. *The concept of "Datong" in Chinese philosophy expresses the idea of the common good: Chinese and American perspectives*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2013.
- Cheng Doutian. Dui nanjing guomin zhengfu "gaiding xinyue yundong" de zairenshi 對南京國民政府“改訂新約運動”的再認識 (A Re-conception of the Nanjing National Government's "New Treaty Movement"). *Philosophy and Social Science Edition*, 2006, 25(3).
- Chow, Tse-tsung. *The May fourth movement: Intellectual revolution in modern China*. Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Cong, W. *Chinese populism in the 1920s, extraterritoriality and International Law*. *Braz. J. Int'l L.*, 2020, 17.
- Fang, X. C. Between Left and Right: cooperation and the split between Yu Qiaqing and the CCP during the era of the Northern Expedition. *Journal of Modern Chinese History*, 2010, 4(2).
- Forster, Elisabeth. 1919 – the Year That Changed China: A New History of the New Culture Movement. *Berlin: De Gruyter Oldenbourg*, 2018.
- Fossgård, Ole Peder Frantzen. *The Creation of a Modern Chinese National Identity: Sun Yat-sen's Discourse on Race and Nation*. MS thesis. 2002.
- Fu Jing. *Yishi xingtai yu jindai zhongguo shehui biange 意識形態與近代中國社會變革 (Ideology and Social Change in Modern China)*. Shandong University Publication House, 2005.
- Garver, J. W. The origins of the second united front: The Comintern and the Chinese Communist Party. *The China Quarterly*, 1988.

- Geisert, B. K. From Conflict to Quiescence: The KMT, Party Factionalism and Local Elites in Jiangsu, 1927–31. *The China Quarterly*, 1986.
- Graziosi, Andrea. A Century of 1917s: Ideas, Representations, and Interpretations of the October Revolution, 1917–2017. *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 36, no. 1/2 (2019).
- Itoh, Mayumi, and Mayumi Itoh. First KMT–CPC United Front and Assassination of Zhang Zuolin. *The Making of China's War with Japan: Zhou Enlai and Zhang Xueliang* (2016).
- Jin, Chongji. The Rule of the Beiyang Warlords. Survey of Chinese History in the Twentieth Century. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023.
- Jordan, Donald A. *The Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution of 1926-1928*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.
- Kayloe, Tjio. The unfinished revolution: Sun Yat-Sen and the struggle for modern China. *Marshall Cavendish International Asia Pte Ltd*, 2017.
- Kelkar, G. S. The KMT: An Inquiry into the Political Unification of China: 1928-1930. *China Report*, 1974, 10(4).
- Ke-Wen, W. The Left Guomindang in Opposition, 1927-1931. *Chinese Studies in History*, 1986, 20(2).
- Kim, Sungmoon. Politics And Interest in Early Confucianism. *Philosophy East & West*, 64, no. 2, 2014.
- Köll, E. A. Fine Balance: Chinese Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Historical Perspective/The People's Republic of China at 60. *Harvard University Asia Centre*, 2011.
- Kwong, Chi Man. *War and Geopolitics in Interwar Manchuria: Zhang Zuolin and the Fengtian Clique During the Northern Expedition*. Leiden, [Netherlands]; Brill Nijhoff, 2017.
- Lams L. Forging unity within diversity: a discourse-theoretical approach to nation-building politics in the Chinese context. *Unfinished Revolution: Revisiting the legacy of Dr Sun Yat-sen and his time*, 2011.
- Li Enhan. *Beifa qianhou de geming waijiao 北伐前後的革命外交 (1925-1931) (Revolutionary Diplomacy before and after the Northern Expedition)*. Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1993.
- Li Hui. Sun zhongshan de xin sanmin zhuyi zai diyici guogong hezuo Zhong de zuoyong 孫中山的新三民主義在第一次國共合作中的作用 (The Role of Sun's New Three People's Principles in the First Nationalist-Communist Cooperation). *Journal of Yunnan Normal University: Philosophy and Social Sciences*, 2002, 34(3).
- Li Songlin. *Zhongguo guomindang shida cidian 中國國民黨史大辭典 (Dictionary of the History of the Chinese Kuomintang)*. Anhui People's Publishing House. 1993.
- Li, Benyi. *Lun Sun zhongshan de dayazhou zhuyisi sixiang 論孫中山的大亞洲主義思想 (On Sun Yat-sen's Ideology of Greater Asianism)*. Jiangnan Forum 11 (2005).
- Ling, Samuel, D. *The Other May Fourth Movement: The Chinese Christian Renaissance, 1919-1937*. Temple University, MS thesis, 1981.
- Liu Jiuyong. Dai jiatiao zhuyi sixiang pingxi 戴季陶主義思想評析 (A Commentary on Dai Jitao-ism Thought). *Peking University Graduate Journal*, 4 (2011).
- Loh, Pichon P. Y. The politics of Chiang Kai-shek: A reappraisal. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 25.3 (1966).
- Lu Hua. *Yi' e weishi": shijie zhi xu chongtu xia de guomindang lian'e 以俄為師：世界秩序沖突下的國民黨連俄 (1917-1925) (Taking Russia as a teacher": the KMT's alliance with Russia under the conflict of world orders)*. Publication house at East China Normal University, 2019.
- Niu, D. Y. Yingguo dui hua zhengce yu guomin geming de weiji 英國對華政策與國民革命的危機 (British Policy Towards China and the Crisis of the National Revolution). *Historical Studies*, 1991.

- O'Ballance, Edgar. *The Red Army of China: A Short History*. London: Faber and Faber, 1962.
- Pan, X. *A Study of the Jiangsu–Zhejiang Consortium*, by Tao Shuimu et al. 2013.
- Peng, Lü. Chapter Two 1912–1927: Disarrangements of Power and New Intellectual Trends. In *A History of China in the 20th Century*. Singapore: Springer Nature Singapore, 2023.
- Qidong, Zheng, Qian Suqin, Zheng Qidong, and Qian Suqin. The Beiyang Government, Local Warlords and Inflation. In *Brief History of Inflation in China*. Paths International, Limited, 2013.
- Ren, Z. *Tributary System, global Capitalism, and the Meaning of Asia in Late Qing China*. ProQuest Dissertations and Theses. 2012.
- Riegel, Klaus-Georg. Transplanting the Political Religion of Marxism-Leninism to China: The Case of the Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow (1925–1930). In *Chinese Thought in a Global Context*. Brill, 1999.
- Scott, Gregory Adam. The Buddhist Nationalism of Dai jitaio. *Journal of Chinese Religions*, 39, no. 1 (2011).
- Smith, Craig A. Chinese Asianism in the Early Republic: Guomindang intellectuals and the brief internationalist turn. *Modern Asian Studies*, 53.2 (2019).
- Stranahan, Patricia. *Underground: the Shanghai Communist Party and the politics of survival, 1927-1937*. Rowman & Littlefield Press, 1998.
- Tsui, B. K. H. *China's Forgotten Revolution: Radical Conservatism in Action, 1927-1949*. Columbia University Press, 2013.
- Underhill, William. China's Northern Expedition. (Brief Article). *Newsweek*, 155, no. 12 (2010).
- Unification of China Under the Three People's Principles (April 1981): Adopted at the Twelfth National Congress of the Kuomintang of China. *Chinese Law and Government*, 35, no. 3 (2002).
- Waldron, Arthur. Government Power and the Chinese Student Movement: The Warlords, the KMT, and the CCP. *Chinese Studies in History*, 25.3 (1992).
- Wang Xiaolei. *Lun Sun zhongshan dui ruxue sixiang de jicheng yu gaizao 論孫中山對儒學思想的繼承與改造 (On Sun's Inheritance and Transformation of Confucianism)*. Northwestern University Publishing House, 2022.
- Wang Xin. *Xuejie dui Sun Zhongshan "xin saimin zhuyi sixiang yuan yuan" de yan jiu zongshu 學界對孫中山“新三民主義思想淵源”的研究綜述 (An overview of academic research on the origin of Sun's "New Three People's Principles")*. Modern Women (late), 2014.
- Wang, Linzhu. *The Nation of China. Self-determination and Minority Rights in China*. Brill Nijhoff, 2018.
- Weber, Torsten. & Torsten, Weber. & Beck. *Embracing. Asia in China and Japan*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.
- Wu, Ellsworth Tien-wei. *The Chinese nationalist and communist alliance, 1923-1927*. University of Maryland, College Park, 1965.
- Wu, Ona. *Winning the hearts and minds of the Chinese people: a study of Japanese, American, Kuomintang and Communist propaganda, 1937-1945*. Diss. Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1992.
- Wu, T. W. Chiang Kai-shek's March Twentieth coup d'etat of 1926. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 1968, 27(3).
- Wu, Tien-wei. A Review of the Wuhan Debacle: The Kuomintang-Communist Split of 1927. *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 29. 1 (1969).
- Yang Tianshi. Beifa shiqi zuopai liliang tong Jiang jieshi douzheng de jige zhongyao huihe 北伐時期左派力量同蔣介石鬥爭的幾個重要回合 (Several important rounds in the struggle between the leftist forces and Chiang Kai-shek during the Northern Expedition). *Studies in Chinese Communist Party History*, 1990 (1).

- Yao Xichang. xin sanmin zhuyi de cha sheng yu xinminzhu zhuyi jiben sixiang de chubu xingcheng 新三民主義的產生與新民主主義基本思想的初步形成 (The Emergence of New Sanminism and the Initial Formation of the Basic Ideology of New Democracy). *Journal of Xinxiang Normal Higher College*, 2007, 21(4).
- Yi, S. Between Arrogance and Despondency: The Shanghai Workers, the Communists, and the Strikes at the Japanese Cotton Mills of 1926. *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 2022.
- Yu, Weijun. Lun rujiahua sanmin zhuyi de shengcheng 論儒家化三民主義的生成 (On the Generation of Confucianised the Three People's Principles). *Journal of Shandong Youth Politics College* 29.2 (2013).
- Zarrow, Peter. *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*. London: Routledge Curzon, 2005.
- Zarrow, Peter. From the Military Dictator to the Warlords. In *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*, 95–114. Give precise pages in the footnotes; full page range is only for the bibliography. Routledge, 2006.
- Zhang Chunguang. *Sun Zhongshan kexue sixiang yanjiu* 孫中山科學思想研究 (A Study of Sun Yat-sen's Scientific Thought). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2012.
- Zhang Daokui. *Minguo shiqi guojia yishi xingtai de bianqian* 民國時期國家意識形態的變遷 (The change of state ideology during the Republican period). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2018.
- Zhang Naikeng. *Xin shenghuo yundong yu ruxue sixiang yanjiu* 新生活運動與儒學思想研究 (Research on the New Life Movement and Confucianism). Shandong University, China, 2018.
- Zhang, Xingjiu. *History of Chinese Political Thought* [Zhongguo zhengzhi sixiang shi 中國政治思想史]. Wuhan: Wuhan University Press, 2011.
- Zhao, Xuduo. Between Communism and Nationalism (1923–1928). In *Heretics in Revolutionary China*. Brill, 2023.
- Zhou Shuhuai. Sun zhongshan de geming sixiang yu zhongguo chuantong wenhua 孫中山的革命思想與中國傳統文化 (Sun's revolutionary thought and traditional Chinese culture). *Journal of Guizhou Normal University: Social Science Edition*, 2002 (1).
- Zhou, Cezong. *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- Zhu Youqing, Zhao Bojun. Guomindang “guanfang ruxue” de yuanyuan, xingcheng yu fazhan xilun ——yi Sun Zhongshan, Dai jitaohu he Jiang jieshi de sanminzhuyi sixiang jiangou weili 國民黨“官方儒學”的淵源，形成與發展析論——以孫中山，戴季陶和蔣介石的三民主義思想建構為例 (An analysis of the origin, formation, and development of the “official Confucianism” of the KMT: the construction of the Three People's Principles by Sun, Dai, and Chiang Kai-shek). *Taiwan Studies*, 2020.
- Zou Yonghou. *Sun zhongshan daode lixiangguo de goujian yu kunjing* 孫中山道德理想國的構建與困境 (The Construction and Dilemma of Sun's Moral Ideal State). Shandong University Publication House, China, 2016.

