

A black and white portrait of Dai Li, a Chinese military leader, wearing a dark, high-collared jacket. The portrait is partially enclosed by a dashed orange border.

spymaster

Dai Li and the Chinese
Secret Service

Frederic Wakeman Jr.



Spymaster

A

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Philip E. Lilienthal". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Philip" being more prominent. Below the signature, there are three small black squares arranged horizontally, acting as a decorative separator.

B O O K

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Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service

Frederic Wakeman Jr.

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He was a white-faced man, rather flat nose, lots of gold teeth in the front of his mouth. I found out later he had his teeth knocked down his throat by the Communists in South China and he had them put back in, in gold. He had dark black hair and wide-set eyes, and when I used a pair of binoculars, I'd have to open them up to give them to him so he could use them. He was about five feet eight and a very pleasant man generally, but with delicate hands and I thought he was well, a pansy, the way I first sized him up there, but I found out that he was a ruthless man, but personally, with him and me living in the same room much of the time with an interpreter, because he didn't understand I or I didn't understand his brand of Chinese, I found out that he was a very kind person and I liked him. He might have been a skunk and all those things I he might have been a witch or all of the things that they accused him of being, and an assassin, a poisoner, a saboteur of the first water, but I found out he was a great man in the Generalissimo's field of vision and he liked him. He was the only man that was allowed in the Generalissimo's bedroom armed at any time of day or night, and that showed a great deal of trust in China, if you know what that means. Anyone else that came even in Generalissimo's Headquarters parked his gun at the entrance when he went in, but not Dai Li.

ADIRAL IL ON ILES *Talk Before the Conference
of the New York State Association of Police Chiefs,
Schenectady, New York, July 24, 1957*

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Dai Li was a student who, after all, never actually graduated from the Sixth Cavalry Class of the Whampoa Academy.¹ Even though he did not know how to ride a horse very well, he was still extremely fond of horses. His own face looked like a horse's face, especially because he had a nose infection and was constantly dripping mucous, so that his sniffing strongly resembled the way in which a horse is constantly snorting. Each day he had to use a tremendous number of handkerchiefs just to keep his nose wiped clean. He strongly believed in the saying: "If a person's face resembles an animal, then it is the face of a very important and noble [person]." If other people spoke in front of him, comparing him to a horse, he did not take this amiss. In fact, to the contrary, he was extremely pleased. Later, the alias that he used was Ma Xingjian [Horse Constant-and-Regular]. Consequently, he regarded himself as a horse. He often said that he was willing for the rest of his life to offer his labor like a hound or horse *quan ma zhi lao* to Chiang Kai-shek. He was cheerfully willing to act as a hound or horse for one of the most evil tyrants in Chinese history, and took great pride in this. S E N I *The Dai Li Knew* ²

This is a book about an extraordinary secret policeman, a sinister specter of the shadows whose life embodied the tension in twentieth-century China between mercurial feudal personalism and steadfast revolutionary discipline. At once both a self-conscious knight errant and a modern organizational genius, Dai Li sought to create a new subjectivity within himself by fashioning a heroic personality fit to dominate the Byzantine world of Republican political intrigue. His subjectivity was not merely instrumental. Rather, it was one among a number of novel professional identities—banker, journalist, lawyer, housewife, officer, actress, doctor—adopted by China's new elites after the monarchy fell in 1911. These fresh identities reflected many of the continuities and discontinuities in the making of

modern China: the attempt of the state to substitute itself for the family, the spread of vocational education after the old examination system broke down, and the rise of new social actors to replace the scholar-officials whose fortunes fell with the demise of imperial Confucianism.

Dai Li came from one such *couche*: the backwater “middle county” elites who as young men left the sparse shade of their ancestral villages to set out for the lush cities of the coast in search of wealth and power.³ This new stratum of adolescent Soldiers of Orange, social orphans so to speak, had no road map at hand. But they were fueled by personal ambition and driven by a sense of national mission that somehow had a place for their own fretting desires. Yet where many lacked the energy to carry out that mission, Dai Li was able to overcome the disjuncture between a village realm of face-to-face relationships and a more universal arena of professional imperatives and impersonal expertise.

Behind the former was the buttress of hierarchy, a state of mind that suffused Dai Li’s paternalism toward his secret service minions.⁴ Paradoxically augmenting the impersonality of the latter were Dai’s extended personal networks: from his hometown in Jiangshan county downriver to the provincial capital and on to Shanghai, Canton, and ultimately Nanjing; from river junks to steamships and eventually aircraft; from spying as the cottage industry of the heroes of “rivers and lakes” to espionage as an advanced industry of highly trained agents and electronic eavesdroppers; and from Chinese gangsters and mercenary allies to British special operatives and American OSS case officers.

This extension reflected in part a new division between rural and urban China, especially in the warfare of the period. Dai Li found his initial footing as a secret service chief in China’s urban settings, which were perfect environments for the kidnappings, tortures, and assassinations his men inflicted during the White Terror of the 1920s and early 1930s. At that time, warlord conflict focused on railroads, rivers, and cities. But with the War of Resistance, the battlefield, “dispersed in terms of space and time,” shifted from the cities to the countryside.⁵ Dai Li’s urban opponents left the back alleys of Shanghai to concentrate on new means of strife in the hinterland: popular mobilization, economic warfare, infiltration, subversion, and propaganda.

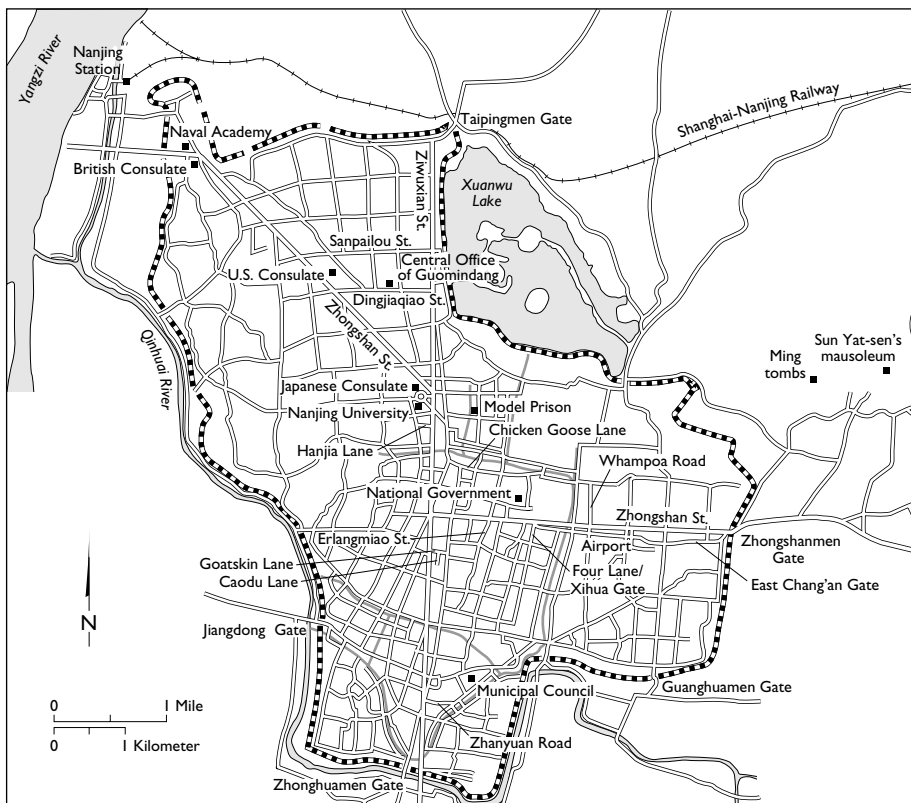
Dai Lai welcomed the change, though it took all of his will and cunning to hold the line against the rural strategy’s Communist practitioners. As a brilliant leader, moreover, he had the capacity to contain contradictions; and once again, he overcame the disjuncture both by force of personality in wresting control of the Nationalists’ rural brigades from his military rivals and by making logistical plans to contest the civil war about to come at the time of his death in 1946.

Dai Li's reliance upon his personalistic leadership style had several shortcomings. For one, it frequently drew him into internecine squabbles with Nationalist rivals that dissipated his energy. Second, it focused his disciplinary attention on an exaggerated military style that suited Chiang Kai-shek and that helped alleviate his own sense of inferiority around seasoned military commanders who had the battlefield experience he lacked. Third, it prevented him from delegating responsibility to his deputies and entrusting information to paper—the “files” common to all truly modern intelligence organizations—rather than to his phenomenal memory. And, fourth, it kept him from appreciating the more theatrical, if slovenly, political manner of his master's arch enemy, Mao Zedong.

Yet, in the end, it was Dai Li's indomitable will and habile acumen that counted more than political contingency or bureaucratic necessity in buoying him to the crest of China's political currents during those revolutionary times. Social processes and economic developments will always be the source of important secular change, but politics are not merely epiphenomenal. Pious populism notwithstanding, the personalities of dramatically powerful men and women remain the vital substance of history as we know it.

A RE I A I O N S

AGFRTS	Air and Ground Forces Resources and Technical Staff
CBI	China-Burma-India
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCSS	Chinese Culture Study Society
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CIC	Commander-in-Chief
CID	Criminal Investigation Department
CSB	Central Statistics Bureau
CYSS	Chinese Youth Strength Society
FAIG	Foreign Affairs Investigation Group
GMD	Guomindang
GPU	Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie
JCS	Joint Chiefs of Staff
LPA	Loyal and Patriotic Army
MAC	Military Affairs Commission
NEP	New Economic Program
OGPU	Ob'edinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie
ONI	Office of Naval Intelligence
OSTR	Office of Special Technological Research
PID	Political Indoctrination Department
PIO	Political Indoctrination Officer
PRC	People's Republic of China
RACA	Revolutionary Army Comrades Association
RYCA	Revolution Youth Comrades Association
SACSEA	South Asia, China, Southeast Asia
SCRC	Society of Chinese Revolutionary Comrades
SIS	Secret Intelligence Service
SMP	Shanghai Municipal Police
SSD	Special Services Department

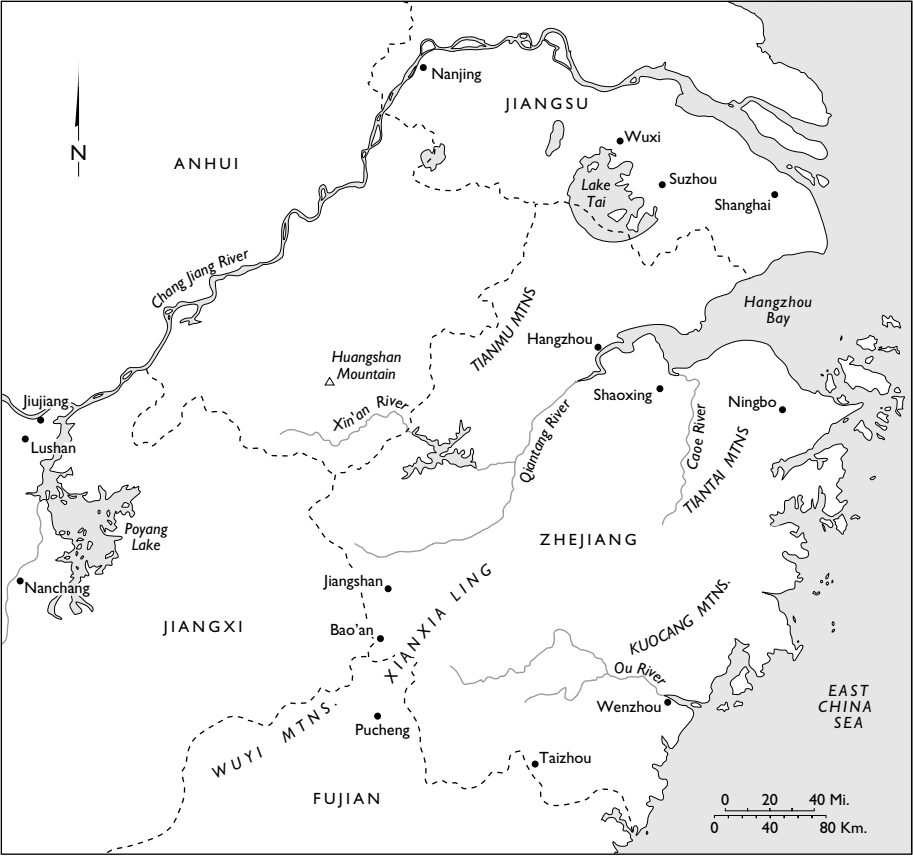


Map 1. Nanjing, 1943



Map 2. Shanghai, 1944





Map 3. Southern China

Chapter 1

Images of Dai Li

rose, and the Hatchet Man bowed, while Ling performed the customary elaborate introduction. He was dressed in the blue-black high-collared uniform of the Party, perhaps forty, gimlet-eyed, and of medium stature; he wore his unruly hair cut foreign style and parted at the side. He carried himself with the air of one who has power and uses it intelligently and ruthlessly. That he was the most feared man in China could well believe.

ER ER YARDLEY, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, 33

THE HIMMLER OF CHINA

One foreign journalist later recalled Dai Li as a faceless fellow, always shrouded in the shadows of the room while others were openly holding forth. Yet Dai Li made a strong if motley impression upon the few Westerners who met him during his apogee during the Pacific War.¹ It was said of him that “no figure in World War II is more black, seen from one side; more white viewed from the other.”² Virtually all were struck by the acuity of his gaze. “Dai Li is of medium height and well built, rugged looking and strong, with a crisp military manner. He has well-defined features, sharp eyes with a direct glance, and a firm, determined mouth,” said an OSS agent working behind enemy lines under Dai Li’s guidance.³ “He was a handsome, slender man with tiny beautiful hands,” wrote an American military officer born of parents who were missionaries in China. “He walked as if he had a ramrod for a spine. He had a strong, long stride like the exaggerated stride of the hero in a Chinese theater. He had a sharp, appraising eye which seemed to take in a man’s features and his character for future reference.”⁴

To most foreigners in China during the 1940s, Dai Li was a legendary figure, widely thought to be “not the Admiral Canaris of China, but the Heinrich Himmler.”⁵ Oliver Caldwell writes that “Dai Li impressed [one] as brilliant, imaginative, ruthless, and unscrupulous. He was the Himmler of Nationalist China. He was the enemy of almost every ideal of American democracy. He tried to unify China under Chiang by enforcing iron control. He was cold, crafty, and brutal.”⁶ The Nazi S.S. chief’s label was not easy to shed, and Westerners who otherwise called him “T. L.” for short often referred to Dai Li as “China’s Himmler.”⁷ Within U.S. government intelligence circles at that time, most officers believed “that General Dai Li was

well known as an assassin; that he was the head of a Gestapo-like organization which was known, in Shanghai at least, as the Blue Shirts'; that he ran his own concentration camp for political enemies; that he didn't like foreigners, and that few of them had ever met him."⁸

Dai Li himself knew of this sobriquet, and on more than one occasion he sought to persuade his American friends that he stood for democracy. On April 3, 1945, Chiang Kai-shek reviewed the "crack troops" of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization's (SACO) Unit Nine, which was located in "Happy Valley" (Geleshan), outside Chongqing. That evening a splendid banquet was served, washed down with two hundred catties of rare rice wine that Dai Li had brought from his home in Zhejiang. The Happy Valley band had learned "Yankee Doodle Dandy" and "Dixie," and after the Americans in the crowd had clapped and cheered for these songs, the entertainers were preparing to perform a Chinese opera. Dai Li suddenly interrupted the gathering and insisted upon trying to persuade his American friends not to believe bad things about him. He asserted in a rambling speech translated by his official interpreter, Eddie Liu, that "he was not a Himmler," but rather just "the Generalissimo's Dai Li and nothing more."⁹

THE GENERALISSIMO'S DAI LI

Of all Dai Li's qualities, perhaps the single most salient trait was his willingness to serve his leader.¹⁰ The very name he chose for himself, which literally means "to wear a rain hat" and which figuratively signifies "to be a servant," underscores his notion of servitude—he was almost animal-like in his dogged devotedness to his master, Chiang Kai-shek—and yet the name also suggests feudal notions of reciprocal honor.¹¹ Dai Li explained the name to others saying, "There is an old poem that goes: The lord rides in a cart and we wear rain hats *jun cheng che, wo dai li*. One day when we meet he gets down from his cart and bows. The lord carries an umbrella and we are astride horses. One day when we meet we get down before our lord."¹²

Shen Zui, who was both Shanghai station chief and general affairs director for Dai Li, stressed his own master's caninelike fidelity to Chiang Kai-shek, whose "claws and teeth" he was happy to be.¹³ The phrase used for this by Dai Li himself—*quan ma zhi lao* (the labor of a hound or horse)—seemingly betrayed a willingness to receive the most subhuman treatment from his lord and leader.¹⁴ Yet, as a feudal notion based upon the ideal of mutual respect between ruler and minister, the expression also evinced a paradoxical nobility of purpose. The very term itself, "hound or horse," was taken from the archetypal meeting between Liu Bei and Zhuge Liang ("the sleeping dragon") described for generations of Chinese in the historical novel *Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo yanyi*).

During 207–208 E Liu Bei (Xuande), descendant of the falling Han

rulers, paid three calls upon Zhuge Liang (Kongming) in his country house after the latter, a twenty-seven-year-old nobleman, had been recommended to Liu Bei by his master strategist, the Daoist Shan Fu, as “the one man in the empire who can plot the interactions of the heavens and the earth.”¹⁵ When Liu Bei finally met Zhuge Liang on his third visit, he told him:

The house of Han teeters on ruin. Unscrupulous subjects have stolen the mandate of rule. Failing to recognize my limitations, I have tried to promote the great principle of true allegiance throughout the empire; but my superficial knowledge and inadequate methods have so far kept me from achieving anything. If you, master, would relieve my ignorance and keep our cause alive, the blessing would be truly ten-thousandfold.¹⁶

Zhugé Liang politely disclaimed his talents, but, pressed by Liu Bei, he proposed a brilliant strategy of establishing a base in the Riverlands (Ba and Shu, modern Sichuan) westward behind the gorges, from whence he could eventually emerge to conquer the northern heartland and revive the house of Han. Liu Bei again implored Zhuge Liang to serve, and when the strategist humbly refused to accept, the Han dynast began to weep. “If you remain here,” he cried, “what of the living souls of this land?” Zhuge Liang was moved by Liu Bei’s sincerity and said, “If you will have me, then, General, I shall serve you like a hound or horse.”¹⁷

To Zhuge Liang, Liu Bei’s own entreaty verified his own choice of liege. And to Dai Li, steeped in the lore of the Three Kingdoms and an ardent admirer of “the sleeping dragon,” Chiang Kai-shek’s request to serve as his secret service chief must have confirmed a similar sense of fealty. But to Shen Zui, being the Generalissimo’s “hound and horse” implied a form of self-abasement on Dai Li’s part that was in turn inflicted upon his own subordinates, inverting that which was noble in human nature and suggesting a willingness to carry out tasks of bestial cruelty against his master’s enemies.¹⁸

Dai Li prided himself on “receiving and holding up the will of the Leader, embodying and empathizing with the devoted thoughts of the Leader” (*bīngchéng língxīu yìzhì, tínian língxīu kùxìn*); and that conceit, in his opponents’ eyes, meant fanatically heeding Chiang Kai-shek’s belief that “If there are Communists there can be no me, if there is me there can be no Communists” (*You gong wu wo, you wo wu gong*).¹⁹ Like all servants of despotism, Dai Li was paradoxically weak and strong.²⁰ Dai Li was powerful because he was a member of Chiang’s inner circle. Yet his abasement to Chiang—his subservience to the Leader—was ultimately a sign of personal weakness.²¹

Dai Li is the completely trusted subordinate—and guardian—of the Generalissimo, subject only to his orders.²² He does the inside investigation jobs for the Generalissimo; is in charge of the Generalissimo’s bodyguard. Dai, with his far-flung organization, is said to be the medium through which much

unofficial “business” is done, both in China and abroad; and he is efficient. (Chou En-lai, the Communist liaison officer in Chungking, has stated that Dai Li controls military communications, financial affairs, and foreign affairs through his secret police organization.) . . . His secret police organization is at times used to counter-balance the party police under the “CC” clique, an illustration of one of the fundamental tenets of the Generalissimo’s policy in controlling the KMT, that is, the equilibrium of forces by means of checks and balances.²³ He is the personification of the latter-day repressive tendencies of the KMT.²⁴

As the personification of Chiang’s dictatorship, Dai Li also embodied one of the most powerful organizations in the Nationalist government, the Military Investigation and Statistics Bureau (Juntong).²⁵

JUNTONG

The American military attaché described the Juntong (or MSB) in 1943:

This organization does not appear on any official list of Chinese government offices, but it is nevertheless one of the most powerful and important organs in China. It is highly placed in the organization of the high command of the Chinese army. Its director, Mr. (General) Dai Li, probably wields more power and authority than any other member of the National Military Council. This bureau is, in effect, the Chinese Secret Service and according to reliable reports, employs the services of more than 20,000 men and women. One of its principal functions is the combatting of communist activities. But all kinds of espionage and intelligence work are carried out under its direction. Many of its activities overlap those of the intelligence section of the Board of Military Operations and the deputy director of this section is directly connected with the bureau. The bureau also controls the activities of the Chinese agents in Shanghai and elsewhere outside of free China. Dai Li is one of Chiang Kai-shek’s old Whampoa Military Academy cadets and is usually addressed as “General,” but as far as is known, he has no official military rank. Well informed quarters state that he exercises more power than any other man in China today with the exception of the Generalissimo himself. He is said to be the only person that Chiang Kai-shek will receive at any time, any place.²⁶

It was almost impossible, therefore, to separate Dai Li’s personal influence as head of one of the most powerful secret police forces in China from his propinquity to Chiang Kai-shek.²⁷ In popular imagery, at least, he represented the dictator’s nether side; he was, as Shen Zui once said, the Generalissimo’s dagger, and in the public’s eye Chiang’s “butcher” (*guizishou*).²⁸ Indeed, the only independence that Dai Li could perhaps enjoy stemmed in the end from the terror that his own person could arouse, but that fear in turn almost always depended upon his closeness to Chiang—plus popular conviction in the ubiquitousness of his eyes, ears, teeth, and claws.²⁹

The power of Dai Li, like that of all secret police chiefs, to coerce counted on the people believing that his agents were everywhere.³⁰ Claims were made in China and abroad that “the BIS [or MSB] is well known as China’s secret police and is generally believed to be larger in terms of operatives and more far flung in terms of geography than any other spy net in the world.”³¹ In 1946, U.S. Army Intelligence sources estimated that Dai Li had 180,000 plainclothes agents—of whom 40,000 worked full-time for him.³² His uniformed or military operatives included: a guerrilla army of 70,000; Chinese commando columns of 20,000; the Loyal and Patriotic Army, thought by the American navy to consist of 15,291 soldiers; and organized China Coast pirates numbering 40,000. These added up to a total of more than 325,000 actual or potential agents working for the secret police chief.³³

According to an article that referred to Dai Li as “China’s Master Spy,” his agents operated wherever Chinese were to be found: Indochina, Bali, Borneo, Formosa, Siam, Malaya, the South Pacific islands, Ceylon, Burma, and India.

Dai Li’s agents were not only geographically but also strategically just about everywhere during the late war.³⁴ They were inside the walled city part of Manila sending out weather reports right up to MacArthur’s landing. They made up all the police forces of Nanking, Hankow, and all the other conquered cities of China. The Japanese, finding them cooperative, let them run things, ignorant that the police in all the cities of China are Dai Li men. They had a separate puppet air corps within the Japanese air force under secret orders to turn their bombers over to the Dai Li organization in the city of Sian on September 15. And in Japan itself during the whole war there were Dai Li agents in the imperial palace in Tokyo.³⁵

American readers—both public and secret—were regaled with examples of Dai Li’s omnipresent network of agents.³⁶ An OSS captain was reported to have returned to his quarters west of Fuzhou to find his Chinese interpreter talking with two dark-gowned strangers who left the moment he returned to his room. The interpreter, quaking with fright, explained that the two men were just about to kill him because he had returned to the captain’s room to find them going through his things. He begged the captain to protect him, and when the captain protested at this nonsense, the man began to shake again and said, “No, not nonsense. Those men of Boss.” “And so I sat up,” the OSS man recalled, “with a damn tommy-gun across my knee all night because those two callers were of Boss.”³⁷

Another American intelligence officer on a secret mission behind Japanese lines came to a tiny hamlet and put up at the local village inn. He and the innkeeper became friendly over local wine, and the American brashly suggested that they go and search all the guests’ bags. After all, wasn’t that what the owner’s “Boss” expected him to do? Later, after they had drunkenly

gone through the inn's rooms, the American said that he had initially thought that the hamlet was too small to have a resident secret police agent. "How small no matter," supposedly said the innkeeper. "Every place in China have agent of Boss."³⁸

Of course, having agents in every hamlet and village was not alone enough to earn Dai Li the fear he enjoyed spreading. Part of his image in foreign and Chinese eyes was related to his reputation for cruelty.³⁹ An American observed that "many Chinese whisper that he punishes traitors by the locomotive firebox treatment and that he operates concentration camps for political and other prisoners."⁴⁰ Some Chinese, like Chiang Kai-shek's rival Li Zongren, were impressed by Dai Li "as an intelligent and reserved man," but they were also struck by the "cruelty . . . ever present in his smiling face."⁴¹ Though occasionally a shambling figure in his own organization, he was said to be ruthless if his own code was crossed.⁴² Critics of Dai Li thus described him to foreigners as being responsible for the death or imprisonment of scores of liberal college professors and other progressives and as personifying "the Fascist element in China."⁴³

"MYSTERY MAN OF ASIA"

Yet cruelty alone was not the key to Dai Li's aura of fear and dread. Although he eventually came to enjoy the act of torture, he was not clinically sadistic. Nor did he enjoy taking life himself, though he was quite capable of doing so. Usually he was at a slight remove from the assassinations he casually ordered his henchmen to execute. He no doubt derived a twisted pleasure from the power to inflict death upon those whom he touched at a distance, but this was the ineluctable satisfaction of an enigmatic nemesis: a figure of death at once remote and yet so nearby. Thus, Dai Li's ability to remain aloof and enigmatic helped make him unpredictable and therefore all the more dangerous in people's eyes.

This aura is perfectly evoked by the characterization of Xu Pengfei in the novel *Red Crag*, which is about the MSB (or its successor the Baomiju [Bureau to Preserve Secrets]) during the Civil War. Xu, the leader of the Chongqing secret service, is described walking through his ominous headquarters:

His progress through the building was marked by a sudden silence. With expressions varying from respect to obsequiousness, his subordinates watched him pass. His vanity was flattered, and he allowed himself a momentary thin-lipped smile. He must never let anyone guess what was going on in his mind. He deliberately slowed down and walked past the uneasy glances of his underlings with an expressionless face.⁴⁴

Much of his inscrutable quality had to do with his amazing ability to pass unnoticed, to remain anonymous, in part because of his reluctance to be pho-

tographed.⁴⁵ As “one of the most secretive figures in modern Chinese history” (*Zhongguo jindai lishi zhong zui shenmi renwu zhiyi*), Dai Li was especially fancied by American journalists because he fit so well their image of him as a latter-day Fu Manchu.⁴⁶

Dai Li has been called the most mysterious personality to come out of the war. The number of Chinese who know what he looks like is usually stated in reverse. Close to 450 million, it is said, have never seen him nor any likeness of him. He makes no public appearances, never grants press interviews, and almost never allows himself to be photographed.⁴⁷

And there was no question that he constantly sought to conceal his whereabouts.⁴⁸ During the Second World War in Chongqing, when he was living alone—except for his guards⁴⁹ and his white-haired servant, Jia Jinan, who bought, cooked, and tasted his food, even when Dai Li dined out⁵⁰—the secret police chief moved back and forth randomly between three separate residences: a mansion at No. 151 Zengjia yuan, a small Western house at No. 3 Shangqingsi kangzhuang, and another mansion at Shenxian dong. Just outside Chongqing he maintained a mansion at Yangjia-shan, a house at Songlinpo, and a temporary guesthouse behind the main auditorium at SACO headquarters in Happy Valley. He also had secret residences in Xi'an, Lanzhou, Chengdu, Guiyang, and Hengyang; and after the war was over he acquired yet more clandestine safe houses (where he always kept one or two cars on hand) in Shanghai, Nanjing, Hankou, Tianjin, Qingdao, Beijing, Zhengzhou, Fuzhou, Xiamen, and Suzhou.⁵¹

Dai Li's exact whereabouts are almost never known. He has houses and hideouts all over China and his routes and destinations are always concealed.⁵² “He never let anyone know from minute to minute where he was going,” an American who had traveled with him once told me, “and before he started out anywhere, he would always issue rumors. The rumors said he was going to X, then he always went to Y.” In cities, his men always telephone someone that he is on the way, knowing the wires will be tapped; meanwhile, Dai Li is headed somewhere else. Because of wiretapping, he forbids his office to make appointments for him over the telephone. Americans in Chungking have found that appointments must be requested in a sealed envelope and that the answer is given in similar form.⁵³

He even somehow managed to conceal himself in one's very presence. The journalist Israel Epstein recalled a meeting held for Epstein by the GMD before he went off to Yan'an to visit the Communists. The meeting was hosted by He Yingqin, thought by Americans to be Chiang's most trusted general, and also present were Wang Pengsheng, the Guomindang's expert on Japanese intelligence, and Hollington Tong (Dong Xianguang). Only after the meeting was over did Epstein remember that there had been present in the back of the room a fourth man who had nearly escaped notice.

Swarthy and in need of a shave, that person—who seemed to Epstein a bit toadlike, though not particularly sinister—was, of course, Dai Li.⁵⁴

The impression of swarthinness struck others as well, including his future deputy, “Mary” Miles.⁵⁵

In appearance Dai Li seems to many Americans less Chinese than Latin. He is short, heavy built, and swarthy. “He looks a little like Batista,” some say. He always dressed simply during the war: usually in black riding boots, plain blue uniform, and incongruous European felt hat. The most striking item of his appearance is his hands. “They are weird and lovely,” an American once told me. “They are no bigger than my three fingers. You see Dai Li sitting at his desk, in his long, silk Chinese gown, with that sly smile on his face, and then suddenly come these tiny Dresden China doll hands. If you thought him a sadist before, he seems now even more sinister.”⁵⁶

One senses both that there was something awkward and misshapen about his appearance, and that Dai Li took a certain pride in that distinctness. His drab and monotonous clothing style—what the Chinese call *dan-diao*—would have reinforced this, as well as contributed to his deliberate anonymity.⁵⁷

Though he entertained on a lavish scale—especially in Chongqing, where his banquets in the Horse House and Tiger House mansions were famed among Americans for the fine silver, excellent coffee, and exquisite Napoleon cognac—he lived quite simply.⁵⁸ During his years in Nanjing, for example, he was known to pay no special attention to his personal living conditions. His house at No. 53 Ji’e xiang had rush mats instead of carpets, and the two-story house he rented near Fenglin qiao in the French Concession in Shanghai was plain and unassuming, just as was the small Studebaker sedan he owned in those days.⁵⁹ Consequently, even though he was thought by some observers, especially during wartime, to have amassed a considerable private fortune, others thought him fundamentally disinterested in money except as tender in his transactions with others, including his own agents.

Dai Li’s wealth is quite generally believed to be great, but again no one knows. He claims to work for the government of Chiang Kai-shek for no salary, which makes the source of his private income a deeper mystery. Some say it was derived from clandestine trading with the enemy. American Air Force pilots used to say it came from opium. They claimed they flew mercury from Chengtu in the west to the northern provinces, exchanged it for opium, and returned [it] to Dai Li. But, as others point out, Chiang Kai-shek is death on anything or anyone connected with opium, and Dai Li’s loyalty to Chiang and all his principles has never been questioned.⁶⁰

Bishop Megan noted that as head of the Smuggling Prevention Service (which was then only nominally under the Ministry of Finance), Dai Li

would have been in an excellent position to know about (and profit from) illegal trading and smuggling. Yet Megan, whose information about contemporary Chinese events was particularly reliable, did not think that Dai himself engaged in any of these activities.⁶¹

THE MONKEY-KING

Another aspect of Dai Li's power, which was also related to his passion for secrecy and anonymity, was his supposed impregnability. The *Collier's* magazine article that seeded his legend in the United States spoke time and again of Dai's miraculous escapes from captivity, from assassins' bombs, and from capture by the Japanese: "the idea of invulnerability is fast attaching itself to his personal legend."⁶² Another American writer described how, "in his usual vanishing act fashion," Dai Li escaped being captured by 150 enemy plainclothes agents, and how—despite reports of his death in an airplane accident—he was probably still cheating death unscathed.⁶³

For all of his solitude and secrecy, Dai Li had a wide circle of acquaintances, and even friends, from many different sectors of society. Mostly these were people who could be of use to him, ranging from old-guard party members to important army officers, bankers, overseas merchants, Shanghai gangsters, and Sichuanese secret society chiefs.⁶⁴ The prominent former editor of *Su bao* and *Jiayin zhouban* (Tiger Weekly), Zhang Shizhao (who was also a friend of the gangster Du Yuesheng, as well as of Mao Zedong, to whom he lent money when the two were students), was a good friend, who even wrote one of the encomiums at Dai Li's funeral in 1946.⁶⁵

Several associates, interestingly enough, were clerics, both Buddhist and Catholic.⁶⁶ Among the latter, Dai Li included as his friends the Chinese cardinal Tian Gengxin, the French bishop of Chongqing, and the Chinese Catholic priest Yu Bin.⁶⁷ The last of these may have represented a point of professional contact, for it was through Yu Bin that Dai Li was able to set up an intelligence-gathering operation in a local Catholic service unit in Henan in the Shaan-Gan Border Zone, under the control of the Northwestern Station of the Military Affairs Commission.⁶⁸ But the larger circle of friends, especially after Dai Li achieved a certain fame, came to include national figures. Dai eventually formed connections with the football star Li Huitang, with the matinee queen Chen Yunshang, with the head of the Nanjing *Jiuguo ribao* (National Salvation Daily) Gong Debo, and with the Beijing opera performer Yan Huizhu.⁶⁹

Among all of these members of Shanghai cafe society, the most notorious friend of Dai Li was the playboy Tang Shengming, who often accompanied the secret police chief on trips to bordellos and casinos.⁷⁰ Of Dai Li's romantic life in Shanghai—and this was part of his image as well—Tang once said: "Dai Li is a strange fellow who simply cannot keep away from

women's charms."⁷¹ Perhaps that was why Tang Shengming made sure that his wife, Xu Lai, introduced Dai Li to the movie star Hu Die (Butterfly Wu), who became the secret service chief's mistress during the Pacific War.⁷²

From some of these friends, and particularly from those who wrote hagiographies published on Taiwan after the appearance of Admiral Miles's memoirs about SACO, a different set of images emerged. A spate of books glorifying Dai Li appeared, including biographies by Qiao Jiakai, Mao Zhongxin, Liu Peichu, and Zheng Xiuyuan.⁷³ For Zhang Jungu, who has made a career on Taiwan writing about *Water Margin* sorts of heroes during the modern period and who compiled a biography of Dai Li based upon secondary sources and interviews with former MSB officers, the secret service chief was an ardent patriot, fervently loyal to his supreme leader and with a temperament like "a blazing fire." Thorough and meticulous, Dai Li ruthlessly discerned subversive details as fine as a hair; yet he treated friends and subordinates with generosity, kindness, and leniency.⁷⁴

One of Dai Li's close associates during the late 1930s described the secret police chief to Zhang Jungu in this way:

Dai Li was both cool-headed and passionate. His unhappy childhood and extensive travel experience put him in contact with a broad spectrum of society. He studied diligently and was well read in the Chinese classics. He combined the spirit of a Confucian scholar and a knight-errant *ru xia jingshen*. His subordinates approached him in awe and reverence. Those whom he had punished never harbored any resentment against him. There have been no complaints even to this day, twenty-two years after his death.⁷⁵

All of Dai Li's former aides stressed their chief's powerful memory ("he had the content of all the files that he needed to consult deeply imprinted on his mind") and his high level of energy.⁷⁶ He was able, people said, to go for several days and nights without sleep while appearing not to tire at all. And even when exhausted, Dai Li could read a situation or person instantly, and then devise ways to manipulate the moment to his best advantage. His subordinates therefore believed that it was pointless to try to hoodwink the secret police chief under any circumstances because Dai would invariably see through the deception at once.⁷⁷ Moreover, his curt and staccato leadership style, coupled with an attentive largesse, repeatedly confirmed his decisiveness, his centrality, his mastery.⁷⁸

Nationalist general Hu Zongnan summed up Dai Li's character in these words: "This fellow Yunong [which was Dai Li's *yizi*] thought of himself as a Monkey-King, and felt that he could snatch the moon from the sky, that there was no point of difficulty that he could not pass through. His greatest strength was his knowledge of human feelings and worldly affairs. His greatest weakness was his waywardness, his impatience, and his inability to keep a secret."⁷⁹

But even so cautiously flexed a depiction failed to bridge the fissure between Dai Li's heroic image in the eyes of his Nationalist supporters (many of whom believed that had he not died in a plane crash on March 17, 1946, there would have been no CCP victory in the Civil War), and his reputation among his bitter enemies, the Communists.⁸⁰ We have already glimpsed in *Red Crag* some of the later PRC portraits of Dai Li and his MSB/BPS lieutenants as pitiless and relentless sadists. At the time of Dai's death, left-wing journalists already were quick to accuse Dai of assassinating outstanding political liberals such as the leaders of the Human Rights League, of raping or torturing numerous hapless women, and of slaughtering the best and brightest of the nation's youth opposed to Chiang Kai-shek's brutal dictatorship.⁸¹

The purposeful opposition between these portrayals of Dai Li was fundamental, though it decidedly wavers when we remind ourselves that "the secret world is a morbid one, seductive to men and women unsure of their own identities and reassured by the shelter of secrecy . . . [which] puts them apart from the practical world of rational cause and result. It may also encourage them to think themselves empowered to act outside the limits to which others are held, since they know what others do not know."⁸²

That exceptionality may well explain Dai Li's nebulous complexion, but such clandestine ambiguity should not relieve us of the obligation to understand Dai as representing at least a partial aspect of the mind of modern China. This effort is not meant to be a pretentious task, especially if we take General Dai's political thinking and practice to be but one refraction of the mentality of that era, when one Chinese revolution had felled the empire and another was about to spawn. These political spasms gave birth to a culture of violence engendered by the cruel practices of the underworld and fostered by the revolutionary imaginations of convulsions yet to come. In all these warped regards, Dai Li was only one of the harsher reflections of his distorted times.

Chapter 2

Living off the Land

f a young person wants to make something of himself, then he wants to be like Chen Yingshi or Xu Xilin and do something amboyant and impetuous. have received a secondary school education, served both as a militiaman and as a soldier, and now 've come to Shanghai to live off the land [daliu].

DAI LI, *speaking to Dai Jitao in Shanghai, probably in 1921*¹

THE DAIS OF JIANGSHAN

The Dai family of Jiangshan district, which straddles the headwaters of the Xin'an River on the southwestern periphery of Zhejiang at the convergence of the Jiangxi and Fujian borders, was supposedly descended from Dai Sheng of the Western Han (206 B.C. – 24 B.C.).² According to contemporary local historians of Jiangshan, however, the lineage's earliest known ancestor was Dai Andao of the Jin (265–419 A.D.). His numerous progeny were scattered across Jiangsu, Anhui, and Zhejiang provinces. During the calamitous Yuan-Ming transition of the fourteenth century, the Xiuning branch of the family, originally headed by Secretary-Compiler (*mishu xiu-zhuan*) Dai Ande, moved to Longyou county in Zhejiang. The patriarch of this affiliate was Dai Tianxiong, and it was his ninth-generation grandson (*jiushisun*), Dai Jinghong, who eventually led the family to Longjing in the Xianxia Peak area of Jiangshan.³

In the historical record, southwestern Zhejiang's Xianxia Pass was commonly known as the "strategic gateway to the Southeast" (*dongnan suo yue*).⁴ The mountains there have traditionally been regarded by military specialists as a natural barrier, piling one upon the other in high peaks, rolling back upon themselves like dragons and tigers.⁵ Longjing village, just below the pass and the dark green mountains to the south, then and now was characterized by fertile fields and wonderfully variegated landscapes enclosed north and east by lesser mountain ranges and individual peaks.⁶

Dai Li's paternal great-grandfather, Dai Qiming (1776–1865; *zi* [style name], Riming), helped elevate the poor peasant family to higher status during the local struggles against Taiping rebels when he earned the brevet rank of *wude zuo qishe*.⁷ Like many lineages that rode to rural wealth and power on the back of the Qing counterinsurgency, the Dais became local



Figure 1. Dai Li's hometown Baoan. Photograph by Frederic Wakeman.

landlords and usurers, a “comfortable family” (*xiao kang zhi jia*) moving to Baoan *cun* (village) about twenty kilometers from the peak of the Xianxia mountain range after a fortune-teller assured Dai Qiming that “whoever obtains this land will be prosperous.”⁸

It was there, in Baoan, that Dai Qiming settled with his wife and three sons, Zhenkui, Shunwang, and Dayou. Dai Shunwang (1813–73; *zi*, Juncai), the number two son, was to become Dai Li's grandfather. Like his father, Dai Shunwang was granted a brevet of the fifth rank for Qing service. He turned the position to good advantage as he established various enterprises in Baoan while making enough money on the side as a moneylender to accumulate more than 200 *mu* (20 acres) of good valley farmland, along with rights to grow tea, gather firewood, and mine for lead on top of the hillsides nearby. At the time of Dai Shunwang's death, most of this valuable estate was left to his son Dai Shifu, a wastrel who was then serving as a police runner in the prefectural offices at Quzhou, where the tributaries of the Xin'an River came together to flow on downstream to Hangzhou Bay, two hundred kilometers to the northeast.⁹

An inveterate gambler and whoremonger, Dai Shifu had squandered most of the family's resources by the time his own two sons—Chunfeng and Chunbang—were born, and when he died in 1920 only twenty of the original two hundred *mu* of land were left. Throughout the last years of his

life the other seven members of the family had to depend upon the labors of Madame Dai, originally from the notable Lan lineage of Jiangshan district, who took in sewing to support her children.¹⁰ Madame Dai, who was literate, unflinchingly assumed the responsibility of educating her two sons, and especially the eldest, who was born on May 28, 1897, and whose name in the clan genealogy was given as “Chunfeng” or “Spring Wind.”¹¹ Dai Chunfeng’s (*zi*, Zipei) original *hao* (assumed name) was Fangzhou, and he adopted the *xueming* (school name) of Zhilan and Zhenglan when he entered higher elementary school at the age of fourteen *sui*. He later changed his name when, as a thirty-year-old, he entered the sixth cavalry class of the Whampoa Academy.¹² It is by this name Dai Li, then, that we will identify him hereafter.¹³

MADAME DAI

Dai Li’s mother originally enrolled her son in the local village school at the age of seven *sui*.¹⁴ His teacher, Mao Fengyi, saw him through the “Four Books” by the age of nine, and the following year Dai began to learn composition.¹⁵ By the time he was eleven, his mother’s encouragement and tutelage had both gotten him into the local primary school and earned her his faithful obedience and filial devotion.¹⁶

The pattern was a familiar one, of course: the virtually fatherless boy urged on by a strong-willed mother. Madame Dai, coming from an accomplished mountain lineage in the high hill country of Zhejiang, which had certainly produced its share of bandits, must have had a tough core of her own underneath the genteel surface she tried hard to preserve in this down-at-the-heels family. She certainly worked unstintingly to put her son through school, and she must have constantly reminded him of the need to be different from his father, a weak figure dominated by the superiors he had to deal with as a yamen runner. Later, when Dai Li was a fearful figure in his own right, many people remarked on his devotion to his mother, who lived to be more than eighty years old.¹⁷

The frequently mentioned symbol of that filial devotion was the villa he built for her just below Xianxia Pass. Madame Dai’s townhouse had already been turned into an elaborate mansion by the War of Resistance. Today it is Baoan’s “cultural” palace and still contains some of the rococo furniture, elaborate stairwells, and fancy mirrors once used for decoration. Her new country villa, ambiguously called the Shuai xing zhai (either the Studio for Following One’s Nature or the Studio for One of a Rash Temperament), was built on a hilltop guarded by a special squad of Dai Li’s men who were in touch with MSB headquarters by means of a private radio transmitter. Madame Dai’s own retainers (*zhuangding*) were immune from arrest, and Communist sources later claimed that she had used them as vigilantes to further



Figure 2. Baoan street scene. Photograph by Frederic Wakeman.

her activities as a pettifogger and tax farmer (*baolan*). The villa meanwhile looked out over a beautiful pond onto an additional lodge called the Pavilion of Heavenly Rain (Tian yu ting).¹⁸

Dai frequently told his own assistants that they should model themselves after his mother, who was capable in so many different ways of taking care of her affairs while holding her son to heel. Later, whenever Dai Li's vicious temper got out of control and he began abusing his batman or other military personnel from the MSB acting as his servants, his mother had merely to speak up quietly but firmly, and he would instantly quiet himself and curb his anger. Only she, it seemed, could leash him altogether, and he in turn was the apple of her eye. After his airplane crashed in 1946, no one dared inform her that he was dead. Instead, they told Madame Dai that her son had left the country for America to negotiate on behalf of Chiang Kai-shek.¹⁹ If she guessed otherwise she never let on, even when Dai Li's former assistants, led by Mao Renfeng, organized a celebration for her eightieth birthday in 1948. She passed away the following year.²⁰

SEX AND GAMBLING

Perhaps Dai Li could do no harm in his mother's eyes, but from a very early age he turned out to be a "tough and impetuous" (*biaohan*) lad who was re-

spected but not always well liked by his peers.²¹ Although he was good at putting on disguises and feigning charm, he was also seen, even while a teenage student in primary school, as a troublemaker who was addicted to sex and gambling.²² But he was also a natural leader.²³ After leaving home in 1909 to move into the county-run Wenxi Higher Elementary School, Dai Li became, at the age of sixteen *sui*, leader and organizer of the school's Youth's Association (*Qingnian hui*), which advocated personal hygiene and "progressiveness" (*jinbu*) and opposed opium smoking and foot binding.²⁴ Dai also turned out to have a prodigious memory, and when he graduated from Wenxi Elementary in 1913, he was first in his class.²⁵

The following year, Dai Li got married. His bride was a young woman named Mao Xiucong, whose father, Mao Yingsheng, was a rural landowner in Fenglin *zhen* (town) two or three kilometers down the road toward the county seat. The marriage was evidently half-hearted; at least, it failed to tether Dai Li's unbridled temperament.²⁶ By all accounts he continued to consort with baser elements, drinking and gambling until he came to the attention of the local police.²⁷

In the fall of 1914 Dai Li passed the entrance examinations for Zhejiang Provincial Number One Middle School, where he spent three months.²⁸ As bright as ever, he earned the respect of his teachers and the loyalty of his classmates, but he was caught pilfering and expelled in 1916, one year after his son, Zangyi, was born.²⁹ After a stint working in a bean curd shop in Hangzhou, he returned to his home in the mountains at the age of twenty and rejoined his family.³⁰

However, Jiangshan was no more hospitable to him than Hangzhou. Dai Li's fondness for gambling got him into even greater trouble. Skillful at cards, he had over the years learned the secrets of palming and marking decks, and he apparently resorted to cheating quite often. At that time the police in the district were cracking down on gambling by arresting offenders caught in broad daylight. To avoid having to pay a fine, most of the county's inveterate gamblers would meet at night in a deserted clearing across the river from Xiakou.³¹ Dai Li himself would often cross the river using an overhead rice pulley to keep dry. One night he was caught cheating once too often and he ended up being badly beaten about the face (this was probably the cause of the missing teeth that Miles later attributed to Communists' fists).³² Fearing for his life, Dai Li managed to get together travel money after selling some stolen fans, and he made his way back to Hangzhou, where he enlisted as a volunteer in the First Division of the Zhejiang Army under the command of Pan Guogang, with headquarters based in Ningbo.³³

Dai Li continued to gamble after his enlistment in what turned out to be an utterly inadequate military training program.³⁴ At night, after lights out, he would climb over the fence and play cards with *liumang* (loafers, gang-



Figure 3. Dai Li, his brother Dai Yunlin, and his son Dai Cangyi. Record Group 038, Naval Group China. National Archives Trust, Washington, D.C. Figure 4. Lan Yuexi, Dai Li's mother. Record Group 038, Naval Group China. National Archives Trust, Washington, D.C.

sters) and *guanggun* (thugs, hoodlums) outside the camp. Whether by cheating or not, Dai managed to make quite a bit of money at cards, and he used these profits to entertain his soldier friends (he was always the one to have a bit of liquor on hand, melon seeds in his pocket, a snack within reach) and to form connections with ruffians who eventually introduced him to members of the Green Gang (*Qingbang*).³⁵

When his nocturnal activities earned him punishment from his military commanders, Dai Li deserted from the army. During 1918 he lived from hand to mouth in Ningbo until his mother arrived, determined to take him back to Jiangshan and enroll him in a respectable civilian school.³⁶ It must have been at her urging, then, that he—the *liaogui*, or son of a family fallen in status—sat for the entrance examinations to Quzhou Normal School and passed second on the list in 1919.³⁷ But even with an expense-paid education assured, Dai Li had no wish to be an elementary school teacher and he found himself drifting up and down the Qiantang River, ranging from Quzhou and Jinhua upriver to Hangzhou and Ningbo downstream.³⁸

Eventually, in 1921, Dai used his Green Gang connections to leave Hangzhou for Shanghai, where his Hangzhou secret society “teacher” (*shifu*) gave him an introduction to the Qingbang patriarch Huang Jinrong, then the



Figure 5. Dai Li as a young man. Record Group 038, Naval Group China. National Archives Trust, Washington, D.C.

most powerful gangster in the city.³⁹ Through these ties, Dai Li became a close friend of such infamous Shanghai *liumang* and “hatchet men” (*dashou*) of the era as Liu Zhilu, Zhang Xiaolin, Wang Xiaolai, Xiang Haiqian, Zhang Zilian, Tian Desheng, Feng Shizhu, Tang Shaowu, Shi Xiaoxian, and Fan Shaozeng.⁴⁰

To these assorted gangsters Dai Li was merely another hanger-on, working as a private bodyguard or casino attendant, often simply out of a job, looking for some cash on the side or a “patron” (*kaoshan*) to back his career.⁴¹ Always, however, he managed to keep up appearances, even if of a raffish sort. “Living off the land” (*daliu*) in Hangzhou, for instance, meant keeping his single set of summer clothes clean by finding a deserted spot along West Lake where he could slip off his jacket and trousers to wash and then dry them on a sunny rock while he powdered his canvas shoes till they looked white as new.⁴²

SHANGHAI SOJOURN

In Shanghai Dai Li tried to maintain a comparable facade. Laundering the same suit of clothing every night so that it dried while he slept, Dai managed to pass himself off as being much better situated than he really was. In actuality, he was freeloading off his cousin (*biaodi*), Zhang Guanfu, who was then, in 1920, working as a clerk at the Commercial Press and who had rented a small garret in a house at Xiaobeimen for himself and his wife.⁴³

Dai Li slept on the floor beside the couple's bed, and this aroused great tension between his cousin's wife, Wang Qiulian, and Dai.⁴⁴ In fact, Mrs. Zhang thwarted Dai Li's efforts to get a job at the Commercial Press through his cousin, and once she actually barred the door against him.⁴⁵

Her opposition notwithstanding, Zhang Guanfu followed Dai Li into intelligence work, becoming a member of his Liaison Group (Lianluozu) in 1931, and then in 1937 accepting an appointment as a lieutenant general in charge of the management section of the Su-Zhe xingdong weiyuanhui (Action Committee of Jiangsu and Zhejiang) as well as assistant director of the Accounting Office of MSB.⁴⁶ Though this brought its own rewards, Mrs. Zhang still despised Dai Li.⁴⁷ She had known the secret police chief as a *biesan* (tramp), and in her eyes he would always remain a monkey dressed up as a king. In these later banquet years, when the shoe was on the other foot, Dai contemptuously referred to Madame Zhang as a "yellow-faced old woman" (*huanglianpo*) who had lost her youthful luster. At the same time, he tried to bedevil her life by prodding his cousin Zhang Guanfu to take up a concubine, which would have forced his wife to share the same roof with a pretty young *xiaolaopo* (second wife).⁴⁸

According to one account, Dai Li lived with his cousin and his wife on and off through 1923. While his cousin went off to work at the Commercial Press, Dai Li would frequent the Shiliupu section of Shanghai, near the Xiaodongmen, where he acquired a minor reputation among the *liumang* of the area. Shiliupu was a tough marketing neighborhood that had spawned the racketeer Du Yuesheng, and one version of the famous gangster's life has Du recognizing in the much younger Dai Li a genuine "talent" (*rencai*). The most authoritative source for the relationship between the Green Gang chief and the future head of Chiang's secret service was Wan Molin, who originally served Du Yuesheng as a confidential secretary and then later joined Dai Li's Juntong. Wan reported that in 1928, when Dai Li was thirty-one years old and already working as an intelligence agent for Hu Jing'an, he decided that his future success depended upon cultivating allies within Shanghai's underworld.⁴⁹

Dai Li consequently called upon Yang Hu, then chief of the police section of the Shanghai Garrison Command, who told him directly, "If you want to do intelligence work in Shanghai, then there is one friend with whom you must certainly be in touch." The friend was, of course, Du Yuesheng.⁵⁰

The day that Commander Yang brought Dai Li for a visit [to Du Yuesheng], Mr. Dai wore a neat and tidy western suit. . . . His hair was combed flat and slick. His eyes were wide and brilliant, and he spoke as befitted the occasion. Even though it had only been a short time since he left the military academy, and he was only about thirty years old, he was able to speak with fervor and assurance in front of Mr. Du and Commander Yang. Moreover, after a few words

of succinct amenities, he put forward his request to Mr. Du and Mr. Du was able without any hesitation whatsoever to answer, "All right. If there is a situation later, then you can give me a phone call. If I'm not here, you can convey it through Wan Molin."⁵¹

All three men subsequently swore brotherhood, and Dai Li (who was eight or nine years junior both to Yang and to Du) thereafter addressed the gangster as "third older brother."⁵² However, as soon as Dai Li's blood cousin, Zhang Guanfu, got wind of the relationship he was so frightened that he ordered Dai Li out of his house lest he jeopardize the family's safety through his connections with the underworld.⁵³

During these years of "living off the land," Dai Li frequently returned to the mountains of Jiangshan.⁵⁴ In 1922, he managed to wangle an appointment as the Xianxia district Commissioner of Educational Affairs, presumably because he had attended the provincial normal school. And two years later, when he was twenty-eight, he organized and led a militia unit (*tuan-bingdui*) in the village of Baoan. Although the self-defense forces participated in the Zhejiang-Jiangsu war, protecting Baoan against Sun Chuanfang's ally Meng Zhaoyue, they were mainly engaged in "clearing the countryside" (*qing xiang*), with Dai Li serving as one of the major enforcers (*dashou*).⁵⁵ Dai Li's small militia force was ruthlessly efficient when it came to fighting local bandits; Dai often volunteered to ferret out enemies of the militia—which was organized by the landlords—in the heavy undergrowth of the hillsides, personally clambering over the brambles and brush, even on the darkest and stormiest of nights. There was no question about his courage and stamina, not to speak of ferocity and savagery. But in the end the Baoan militia failed to defeat any of General Meng's forces, and Dai Li decided to leave Jiangshan again to seek his fortune in the outside world.⁵⁶

HU ZONGNAN

On one of his visits to Hangzhou Dai Li had the good fortune to get to know Hu Zongnan, who would later turn out to be a crucial ally for him among the Nationalist generals who had graduated from the Whampoa Military Academy (see fig. 6).⁵⁷ According to Dai Li—who cast the story in a narrative mode reminiscent of the meetings of sworn brothers described in the *San guo yanyi* or *Shui hu zhuan*—one day Dai Li was doing his wash on the banks of West Lake by the side of the entrance to the Linyin Buddhist temple.⁵⁸ He had left his one suit, made out of gray army fabric, out on the rocks in the sun while he stayed in the water to conceal his nakedness. A group of schoolchildren came by, accompanied by their teacher, a young male. Some of the students saw the clothes and shoes and went over to pick them up. Dai Li spotted them from the water and shouted at them to leave his clothes



Figure 6. Nationalist general Hu Zongnan. *Remembrances to General Hu Tsung-nan on his Centennial Birthday*. Taipei: Military History and Translation Bureau, Ministry of National Defense, 1996, p. 13.

alone. The schoolteacher realized that Dai had no swimsuit on and ordered his pupils to lay the clothes back on the shore to dry. Although no words were exchanged by the two men, they smiled at each other over the bather's predicament.⁵⁹

Later, after the schoolboys and their teacher had gone on, Dai Li recovered his suit. At the first chance, he paid a call on the local primary school to thank the teacher, who then went by the name of Shounan, for his thoughtfulness. The teacher was Hu Zongnan, who would soon go on to enter the Whampoa Academy and become one of the "disciples of the son of heaven" (*tianzi mensheng*) as Chiang Kai-shek's favorite. Now, long before Hu had become the "King of the Northwest" and Dai the chief of Chiang's secret police, the two men found that they shared many similarities, not the least of which was their overweening ambition. Was this not a characteristic of many other young Chinese of the period, trained in normal schools where Chinese language, literature, and history were emphasized instead of the English and mathematics required for elite westernized universities like Beida or Qinghua?⁶⁰

Educated to be elementary school teachers, Hu and Dai both felt, with that peculiarly unselfconscious conceit of the lumpen-intellectual, that they were born to enjoy a great and important destiny. Full of the traditional literatus's sense of cultural self-importance, each man believed, at one level or another, in the doctrine enunciated by Gu Yanwu that *pifu you ze* (every man has a share of responsibility for the fate of his country). Consumed

with a sense of their own importance and driven by an ambition that seemed to know no bounds, they were like another rural schoolteacher, Mao Zedong, in that they presumptuously “took the under-heaven as their own governing task” (*yi tianxia wei jiren*).

Not yet sophisticated enough to recognize ordinary, normal constraints on their ambitions—the kinds of limits that many of the more westernized youths quickly let hamper and restrain their political desires in big-city universities—Hu Zongnan and Dai Li saw the same limitless dreams for power and prestige in each other that they recognized in themselves. This combination in them of the conceit of the petty intellectual together with the blocked ambition of their relatively low status must have fired powerful dreams of accomplishment.⁶¹ And being less firmly attached to the role of the pen-wielding and study-bound intellectual, they were far readier to turn to other modes of personal expression such as revolutionary organization or military training than higher-status intellectuals such as college professors might have been. It was little wonder that they soon became such fast friends, finding so much they shared in common.⁶²

Dai Li's second great opportunity—heaven-sent according to his own account—was the chance to meet Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai. The exact time of the meeting is not altogether clear, but it was probably in 1921, when Chiang and a group of his friends that included Dai Jitao and Chen Guofu were running the Shanghai Stock and Commodity Exchange to raise funds for Sun Yat-sen.⁶³

Dai Li somehow came to know all of them then, and was thought by the revolutionaries to be a *xiao biesan*, or “little tramp.” When they needed errands run, Dai was sent on his way; when they wanted hot water poured for tea, Dai was called into the room. Dai Jitao soon learned that he and this eager-to-please hanger-on bore the same surname, and he began to ask the young man about his plans in life. For his part, Dai Li realized that these were not ordinary journalists or businessmen. Since there was a constant coming and going of *guanggun* who appeared to be couriers from the Revolutionary Party, he assumed that they were agents of Sun Yat-sen down in Guangdong. But he dared not speak of this, and at first he simply answered Dai Jitao's questions by saying that “as long as I have food to eat, everything will be all right.” Eventually he did tell Dai Jitao how his desire to “do something flamboyant and impetuous” had brought him to Shanghai “to live off the land,” and the older man's attitude toward the “little tramp” began to change. When Chiang Kai-shek noticed how well Dai Jitao was treating Dai Li, and how the younger man had begun calling the older Dai “uncle” (*shu-shu*), he too began to entrust him with greater responsibilities. It would be some time before Dai Li became a trusted agent of the Generalissimo, but the beginnings of that relationship can be traced back to the days when the secret service chief “lived off the land” on the streets of Shanghai.⁶⁴

Not only that; although Dai Li did not like to hear others talk about his experiences during that time of his life (and whoever did so was likely to suffer grave consequences), he enjoyed telling tales of his own about the days he lived entirely by his wits. Laughing and joking loudly about the things that he had to do to get by, Dai Li would refer to that period as a time of “molding” (*taoye*), just the way a piece of porcelain is shaped or metal cast. His only regret was that during that time he had not realized sooner how quickly Chiang Kai-shek would rise, and therefore tarried a little bit too long before throwing his lot in with the future Nationalist leader.⁶⁵

Chapter 3

Touben

During the year the xiaozhang chancellor was in Guangdong beginning his rise to power, the Shanghai newspapers used to have big red banner headlines that said: s Chiang Kai-shek Going To Be Like A Dragon nfortunately, was in Shanghai, living off the land, and had no chance to witness this in person. So, after looking at the newspaper, even though there was some doubt in my mind, there was also a little bit of belief. And once thought that my connections with higher-ups were insufficient, and the chances were that this wouldn't be a very strong point for me. But even though mulled things over this way, never had the courage to go and touben seek help or refuge from him as though he were a relative. always thought should watch the way the wind was blowing and then think about it again. n this fashion kept waiting and waiting, all the way until the spring of 1926 when nally went south and threw my lot in. f it had been a half-year earlier that had gone to touben, wouldn't also have been one of the elder brothers [laodage] of the earlier classes of the Military Academy Just recently, when our department [chu] was being expanded and reorganized into the MSB and they began looking at the seniority and qualifications of those eligible for bureau chief and deputy bureau chief, the fact that had only been in the sixth class at Whampoa not only disqualified me for bureau chief; it also wasn't enough to qualify me for deputy bureau chief. Don't you think that was bad luck On the other hand, though, if hadn't touben and entered Whampoa, there wouldn't be anything to talk about at all.

DAI LI, *speaking to Wen Qiang in April 1938*¹

WHAMPOA

According to one version of the story, Dai Li's entry into the ranks of the Guomindang revolutionaries came about quite by happenstance thanks to Dai's acquaintance with Mao Renfeng, who later became one of his top agents (see fig. 7).² Mao was virtually a fellow townsman, hailing from Wucun *xiang* in Jiangshan county. He was also a *tongnian* of Dai Li, being only seven months younger; and the two of them had been classmates at both Wenxi Higher Elementary School and Zhejiang Provincial First Normal. Mao, however, after teaching at Jiahu Higher Elementary School, attended Fudan University, and from there went on in 1925 to enroll in the fourth class at Whampoa Military Academy, from which he graduated to serve as a secretary in the Whampoa Cadets' Army. In the spring of 1926, Mao's father



Figure 7. Mao Renfeng, deputy director of Juntong and later director of the Bureau to Preserve Secrets. *Chung-Mei he tsuo suo chih* [Annals of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization]. N.p. [Taipei]: Kuo-fang pu ch'ing pao chü, 1970.

passed away and he returned to Jiangshan to attend the funeral. At that time Dai Li was also in Jiangshan, and according to this version of the matter, the two of them met by chance at the hostel in the county seat where both were staying. After exchanging pleasantries, the two men began filling each other in on their recent activities, and it was in this way that Dai Li learned about the opportunities afforded by attendance at the Whampoa Military Academy. Mao Renfeng supposedly encouraged Dai to apply, and subsequently helped him gain admission.³

A second account of Dai's entry into Whampoa has the man, now thirty years old, getting a letter of introduction from the former boss of the Shanghai rackets, Huang Jinrong, to Chiang Kai-shek.⁴ According to this version, Dai Li took the letter with him to Guangzhou, where he used it to gain admission to the entrance examination for the military academy. After passing the entrance test he was admitted to boot camp for three months of training (*ru wu xunlian*), and then he was assigned to the cavalry section of the sixth class at the Whampoa Academy.⁵

The third explanation for Dai Li's entering Whampoa is by far the most interesting and compelling. Supposedly, when Dai came to Guangzhou in 1926 to see Chiang Kai-shek—perhaps armed with Huang Jinrong's letter—he first went to Guangdong University (later Zhongshan University) to see its president, Dai Jitao.⁶ Dai remembered his “little tramp” (*xiao biesan*)—it is said—and reintroduced him to Chiang Kai-shek, who was quite happy to hear that Dai Li wanted to serve him as “the kind of follower who can crow

like a chicken and steal like a dog" (*ji ming gou dao zhi tu*).⁷ And even though Dai Li had already managed to get admitted to the fifth class at Whampoa, now that he had been received by Chiang Kai-shek, he announced his attention to give up going to the academy in order to remain as a servant at his new master's side.⁸

According to later accounts by Dai Li to Hu Zongnan, Chiang Kai-shek initially intended to use Dai as a batman (*qinwubing*). Dai Li, however, wanted to become indispensable to his leader in another way.⁹ As the general's hound and horse, he therefore became a kind of human sponge, soaking up any information he came across that he thought might be of interest to Chiang. Every few days he wrote up the intelligence in a kind of digest or list that he left on Chiang Kai-shek's desk.¹⁰

At first, the chancellor (*xiaozhang*) simply threw the reports into the wastebasket without reading them. Dai Li would patiently retrieve the digests, iron them out, and put them back on Chiang's desk. Gradually, certain items of information came to attract the leader's attention, and Chiang—it is said—eventually realized that accepting Dai's proffered services was in his own best interest.¹¹ He thereupon "took [Dai] by the ear and told him exactly what he wanted him to do" (*er ti mian ming*), which was to become one of his confidential agents planted secretly as a sixth class cavalry cadet in the Whampoa Military Academy's student ranks.¹²

One of Chiang Kai-shek's major concerns about the Whampoa Military Academy was the ideological purity of its cadets.¹³ The curriculum, to begin with, was meant to provide a moral and political sense of direction to youths, often of rural middle-income backgrounds, who were disillusioned and discontented; it was designed to form "a foundation for an indoctrinated, disciplined officer cadre."¹⁴ In his own lectures there in 1925, Chiang had told the cadets that the chief Chinese weakness was the absence of dedicated loyalty to a group, and that decentralization and disorganization had been a characteristic of the Chinese people since the Song period.¹⁵

But the chancellor did not have a very coherent or complex ideological cure for this illness. Political instruction at the academy, partly owing to the assignment of propaganda cadres to other positions in the various expeditionary forces of the GMD, was lacking; and because of the separation between military command and ideological indoctrination, training unit commanders did not develop a sophisticated understanding of party ideology. Chiang himself had told the graduates of the first class in 1924 that party representatives in army units should restrict themselves to problems of management; they were not supposed to judge commanders according to ideology. For Chiang, what was most important was being "a man": understanding discipline, obeying barracks and camp-life rules, maintaining a sense of purpose, and putting one's daily routines "in good order."¹⁶

Stressing field command rather than intendency (logistics and admin-

istration), Chiang Kai-shek sought to win loyalty to himself, and for the most part he certainly managed to do so. His negligence of intendency—in which he was never trained—was a fatal weakness for him and his armies later on.¹⁷ “The resulting deficiency apparently blinded him to the realization of the importance of a well-organized, expertly staffed intendency system to the overall functioning of a modern army. As with most other Chinese commanders of his day, his forte lay in the command of combat troops.”¹⁸ For, as the “old man” (*lao touzi*)—which is what members of the Whampoa group called him—Chiang held a unique position in the academy, being both a popular lecturer and a battlefield commander who managed to create strong intellectual and emotional ties with the majority of the young cadets there.¹⁹

Chiang’s strongest group ties were to the *tianzi mensheng* (disciples of the son of heaven) of the first class of Whampoa, and especially to those among them like Hu Zongnan who were natives of Zhejiang.²⁰ Hu himself had had great difficulty entering Whampoa because of his short stature (he had to get a special exemption from Liao Zhongkai to take the entrance examinations), but once in, he did very well: by the eve of the Northern Expedition he had been raised to battalion commander (*yingzhang*).²¹

His friend Dai Li, meanwhile, was ostensibly studying hard to become a cavalry officer. Once he entered Whampoa, Dai’s personal behavior seemed to undergo an abrupt about-face. Gone was the bon vivant comrade constantly leading his classmates into one distraction after another. Instead, Dai Li had become much quieter and more observant, a listener rather than a speaker, an ambitious gatherer of information more intent upon maintaining connections with his superiors than upon feting his peers.²² In fact, according to the reminiscences of his equestrian instructor, Xu Zhenya, Dai was spending an inordinate amount of time away from the academy hobnobbing with important political leaders upriver in Canton.

That student was harder to curb than a spirited horse. When he was studying to be a cavalryman, he would fish for three days and dry his net for two. Whenever he felt like it, he asked for leave to go on up [the river to Canton]. When it was time for him to study, he would write letters. Everybody was very suspicious of him. Why was he writing so many letters? Only afterwards did they know that he was going up to the very top, reaching up to heaven as far as the *xiaozhang*. Those letters were written to be sent to the *xiaozhang*. He was a man well on his way *laitouda*. Who would dare to provoke him?²³

The letters that he supposedly prepared for Chiang Kai-shek were responses to two commands that the general was said to have given him: first, to report upon the state of thinking of his fellow students, and especially on the thoughts of those carrying out Communist and left-wing activities among the Union of Revolutionary Military Youth (*Geming junren qingnian lian-*

hehui); and, second, to maintain surveillance over the officials and commanders of the school so as to be able to report circumstances of their personal lives, including whether or not they were being corrupted.²⁴ The reports at that time were sent or delivered to Hu Jing'an, who in addition to being Chiang's secretary was also in charge of political work for the freshman class at Whampoa, as well as being a *gugan* (backbone cadre) for the Society to Study Sun Wen's Ideology (Sun Wen zhuyi xuehui).²⁵

APPRENTICE AGENT

Although Dai Li effectively served as one of Hu Jing'an's agents, he later claimed that it was not long before he was reporting directly to the commander in chief himself.²⁶ On March 18–19, 1926, suspicious movements of the gunboat *Zhongshan*, which had been anchored off army headquarters at Whampoa and then was moved to Guangzhou by its Communist commander, led Chiang Kai-shek to think that a left-wing coup was being planned and that he was going to be seized and taken aboard the vessel. His suspicions were amplified by intelligence reports from Hu Zongnan, Hu Jing'an, and Dai Li about the activities of Communist members of the GMD, including Zhou Enlai.²⁷ On the basis of these reports, as well as conversations with Guangzhou's police chief Wu Tiecheng and other key advisers, Chiang moved swiftly on the morning of March 20 to have the gunboat seized, its commander (who was also chief of the Naval Bureau) arrested, and the guards protecting the Russian advisers and the headquarters of the Communist-dominated Hong Kong–Canton strike committee disarmed, while declaring martial law and rounding up more than fifty political workers of the Second Division.²⁸

Once Chiang's main rival, Wang Jingwei, had left Canton for Europe, the commander in chief apologized to the Soviet advisers, said that the gunboat incident did not involve the central Communist organization, and tendered his resignation—which of course was not accepted. However, although he did say in one speech to the Communist political workers withdrawn from the army that he was not completely convinced there had been a plot to kidnap him, he steadfastly maintained after April 1927 that the *Zhongshan* affair had been a Communist conspiracy. His insistence upon this may have been based upon some of the reports that Dai Li had given him, and this would have enhanced Dai's position even more in his eyes.²⁹

THE PURGE AT WHAMPOA

By April of 1927 Dai Li found himself assigned to the First Platoon of the National Revolutionary Army's Cavalry Battalion, under the command of Shen Zhenya. The platoon was bivouacked at Whampoa, where the white

terror begun three days earlier in Shanghai by Chiang Kai-shek's agents and officers reached the cadets on April 15. That morning the students got up as usual, washed their faces, and proceeded to the athletic field for their morning exercises. When they reached the exercise area they realized that the hills and roads all around them were filled with armed troops. The students had no weapons of their own, their guns having been collected earlier, and a tremor of alarm spread through their ranks. The cadets' *tuan-zhang* (regimental commander), Li Yafen, broke the silence by announcing that henceforth Guomindang and Communist students were to be separated and taught distinctly different curricula. All Communist students, he said, were to stand up at once. Then he pointed to the machine guns on the nearby hills. With the exception of one Hubei student who had been suffering from mental problems, no one stood up to identify himself, and all that one could hear was the sound of the cadets' breathing. Finally the cadet commander said that the students had already been together in the same units for several months, and therefore everybody knew what the other fellows' political views were. Members of individual units were therefore supposed to point out the Communists in their midst right away. This caused a tremendous uproar, but the orders were repeated, and gradually the Communist students were isolated while the rest of the students were taken back to their dormitories. Once the other students were gone the Communists were placed under arrest and taken off to Nanshitou concentration camp (*jizhong ying*).³⁰

Other student brigades had roughly the same experience that morning. A member of the Third Brigade remembered that their commander had warned the cadets when they refused to stir after the Communists had been told to stand, that "if you don't stand up, then we will call out your name and you will have to stand up anyway. It would be far better if you did this voluntarily. You have nothing to worry about."³¹ The number of cadets who were then identified and arrested as Communists varied from brigade to brigade. In the Third Student Brigade, only eight people stood up to be identified as Communists, and the other students supposedly admired their bravery as they were handed over to military police and thrown in the jail at Hudiegang. More than 150 were arrested in the Second Brigade, however, and at least 200 were seized in the First Brigade.³² That same night most of the suspected Communists were taken out to Fish-Pearl Fort (Yuzhu paotai) at the Bogue and executed.³³

According to the lore that Dai Li later cultivated, some of these slain cadets were among the seventy-five Communist students that he turned over to his commander in chief, an act that supposedly won him Chiang Kai-shek's everlasting favor.³⁴ Yet even though there was talk in later years that he had joined a Special Investigation Group (Michazu) that Chiang set up in April 1927 under Hu Jing'an to hunt down leftists during the purge,

Dai Li was equally prized for his intelligence work during the Northern Expedition.³⁵

MILITARY INTELLIGENCE WORK

The Northern Expedition began on July 1, 1926, and by his own account Dai Li, like many other Whampoa cadets, left the academy after the April 15, 1927, purge, and on Chiang Kai-shek's orders joined the National Revolutionary Army during its march up the eastern route through Fujian and Zhejiang.³⁶ Because there were not enough horses to outfit the entire cavalry unit, part of Dai Li's group went north by chartered ship to Shanghai where it split into two wings, one garrisoned in Xuzhou and the other in Suzhou.³⁷ Dai Li accompanied the latter. However, Dai's job, unlike that of most of the others assigned to the cavalry, was not to fight on horseback but rather to spy on and subvert the enemy.³⁸ He was notably successful once he reached the Jiang-Zhe area where he had "lived off the land" in earlier days, and a steady stream of reports written in invisible ink was sent back to be read by Chiang himself.³⁹

However, these familiar haunts also reminded Dai Li of his former life as a grifter, and he soon succumbed to his chronic vices. When he and several fellow officers were sent into Shanghai to buy gifts for Chiang Kai-shek, who had just returned from the front during the summer of 1927, Dai Li absconded with the funds and went on a spree in the city's casinos and brothels. Forced to scrounge off of his cousin, who gave him money for his return train ticket, Dai Li reported back to his commanders in Suzhou after two weeks AWOL and was thrown in the stockade. Once released, he again stole money from his comrades and only managed to escape a beating by fleeing to Nanjing. There he presented himself to Hu Jing'an, who was—at the end of July 1927—in the process of setting up Chiang's Michazu (Special Investigation Group). Offering to serve as a babysitter for the new intelligence chief's children, Dai Li managed to convince Hu Jing'an that he had been forced to desert his unit because his fellow officers blamed him for helping Hu conduct his purge of Whampoa cadets. Hu Jing'an subsequently recommended Dai Li for a regular position in the short-lived Special Investigation Group.⁴⁰

As the Michazu began to fall apart in the late summer of 1927, Dai Li found himself once again "living off the land" in Shanghai, sleeping at his cousin Zhang's house while looking for whatever opportunities he could find.⁴¹ Unexpectedly, these included the chance to do "hound and horse labor" for his former chief, Chiang Kai-shek.⁴²

That August 13, Chiang Kai-shek had resigned his position as commander in chief after the Northern Expedition had faltered in the Huai River area and the government had begun to have difficulty raising funds in

Shanghai.⁴³ After spending some time in his hometown of Xikou, Chiang passed through Shanghai in September 1927, preparing to leave for strategic exile in Japan. When Dai Li learned that his former chief was staying in the French Concession, he presented himself at the gate to Chiang's residence, volunteering to act as his bodyguard.⁴⁴ Shortly after that, on September 28, Chiang left for Japan where he both persuaded Madame Soong to allow him to marry her daughter and conferred with Prime Minister Tanaka Giichi, who agreed to help him fight the Communists but who urged him to consolidate his position south of the Yangzi and leave the north to others, including Zhang Zuolin and his edgy Japanese advisers.⁴⁵

In the meantime, Chiang's major military rival, Tang Shengzhi, was being forced by other army generals into exile in Japan, and Wang Jingwei—after trying unsuccessfully to convene the Fourth Plenum of the Central Executive Committee in Canton—had agreed to meet Chiang Kai-shek in Shanghai to discuss the possibility of a reconciliation. Wang Jingwei's position had been strengthened in Canton by the coup to “protect the party and save the nation” (*hu dang jiu guo*) on November 17, when Li Jishen was driven out of the city and Zhang Fakui set up a government with Chen Gongbo and other Wang supporters.⁴⁶ But his position was weakened nationally because of the scorn with which Wang was regarded by party elders like Hu Hanmin and Wu Zhihui for his treachery. Naturally, Chiang Kai-shek's position was correspondingly strengthened, and it was in his house in the French Concession that talks were held among Guomindang leaders in late November. Though the conference did not come to much of a conclusion by the time it adjourned on December 10, 1927, Wang Jingwei was obliged to invite Chiang Kai-shek to resume his post as commander in chief. Just as soon as the conference was adjourned, the Canton Commune erupted on December 11. Wang Jingwei subsequently lost his base in Guangdong and Chiang Kai-shek began to rebuild his own military coalition, returning to Nanjing on January 4, 1928, and accepting his former position as supreme commander of the National government five days later.⁴⁷

After Chiang Kai-shek became commander in chief once again, with T. V. Soong as minister of finance, it was obvious that he intended to use this new opportunity to purge the Guomindang of his enemies whenever possible and to reorganize some of the provincial committees. On February 2, 1928, with the Communists and Wang Jingwei's supporters excluded, the Fourth Plenum of the Second Central Executive Committee of the GMD was convened in Nanjing to receive Chiang Kai-shek's proposals to replace the ideology of class struggle with a spirit of national reconciliation and mutual cooperation, to base all propaganda on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Plan for National Reconstruction* (which was composed before Sun had been influenced by the Communists), to reregister all party members after their local committees were dissolved, and to abolish the various departments (peasants, women,

workers, youth, merchants, and so on) that had been in charge of mobilizing a mass movement for the United Front during the Northern Expedition. Only three departments were to be formed in the new GMD: organization, propaganda, and party training. A Military Affairs Commission (Jun wei) was to be placed directly under Chiang Kai-shek's chairmanship, and within the army there was to be a reorganization of the Political Training Department, which was now headed by Dai Li's old sponsor and friend, Dai Jitao.⁴⁸

"SEEKING SHELTER"

That same winter Dai Li—who never actually finished his coursework at Whampoa and hence was not formally an academy graduate—moved to Nanjing, where he was barely able to come up with enough money for his digs near the Taiping Bridge quarter in the capital. It was around this time that he got the job that most emphasize as the key to his rise from obscurity. Although no one seems to be sure how he acquired the post, he began working with Hu Zongnan, who was now commander of the Second Brigade of the First Division after the Northern Expedition forces were reorganized early in 1928.⁴⁹

"Seeking shelter" (*touben*) under his old friend from Hangzhou days, Dai Li began serving as a petty officer (*weihuguan*) under Hu, who recommended him for a job in the Nanjing office of the Whampoa Alumni Association Investigation Department (Huangpu tongxuehui biye xuesheng diaocha chu). The Whampoa Alumni Association was heir to the Sun Yat-sen Study Society, which had enrolled three hundred members within the Whampoa Academy on the eve of the Northern Expedition in June 1926. Formed when the Study Society dissolved during the military activities of 1926–27, the Alumni Association was under the titular leadership of Chiang Kai-shek. After Chiang broke with the left wing of the United Front, only anti-Communist elements remained within its ranks.⁵⁰

The Whampoa Alumni Association Investigation Department formed the nucleus of what later became the Central Military Schools Alumni Investigation Department (Zhongyang ge junshi xuexiao biyesheng diaocha chu), after the former was dissolved in 1930.⁵¹ This organization was the security unit for Chiang Kai-shek's military training system, which eventually included the Central Military Academy (Zhongyang lujun junguan xuexiao), the Airforce Academy (Kongjun xuexiao), the Artillery Academy (Paobing xuexiao), the Cavalry Academy (Qibing xuexiao), the Army Engineers Academy (Gongbing xuexiao), the Light and Heavy Infantry Academy (Qingzhong bing xuexiao), the Naval Academy (Haijun xuexiao), and the Central Police Academy (Zhongyang jingguan xuexiao), along with ad hoc "training classes" (*xunlianban*) to form officers and create cadres.⁵² By 1935 there would be more than one hundred of the latter units, and it was

obviously necessary from the beginning for Chiang's own peace of mind to keep track of the graduates of these units under the pretext of registering and investigating their credentials.⁵³

Working in the Whampoa Alumni Association Investigation Department (which later became a front for the Society of Chinese Revolutionary Comrades—a key element of the Blue Shirts), Dai Li naturally came into contact with a number of unemployed Whampoa graduates who were perfectly ready to join him in forming the nucleus of a special intelligence-gathering apparatus whenever moneys could be found to fund its activities. It was also while working in the Investigation Department that Dai Li managed to get Hu Jing'an, now the deputy head (*fuguan*) of the Commander-in-Chief's Retinue (Suicong), to introduce him to Chiang Kai-shek as a candidate for the position of senior captain (*shiwei*) in the bodyguards—a post he eagerly accepted.⁵⁴ Using his network of unemployed Whampoa graduates, Dai Li began to gather information about people suspected of illicit political activities. Often he did this in a deliberately provocative way, circulating slanders about Chiang and encouraging his respondents to criticize the way the commander in chief was handling the government. At first he had no formal way to forward these reports to his chief; in a fashion that echoes Dai Li's reported efforts to get an intelligence digest onto Chiang's desk or into Chiang's car, he simply used his position as guard at the gates of Chiang Kai-shek's headquarters (*silingbu*) to hand over slips of paper with these confidences every time the leader drove through. According to one account, Chiang became more and more reliant on his new captain for such information, and soon the automobile came to stop at the gate every time the commander in chief saw Dai Li standing there, faithfully awaiting him.⁵⁵

Another version of the events, which is slightly more demeaning to Dai, has the future secret service chief serving in the Retinue as a kind of errand boy "doing legwork" (*paotui*) for General Chiang. Mao Qingxiang, who was then Chiang's confidential secretary (*jiyao mishu*), later remembered that Dai Li would deliver reports once every three days to the doorway at the back of the Security Section's (Jingwei) mess hall, where they were handed over either to the chef or to the duty officer. Dai Li did not dare ask what the reaction to these reports was, and Mao Qingxiang initially did not even deliver them to the commander in chief.⁵⁶ After a while, however, Mao noticed that there were some especially interesting items that deserved attention, and he began to forward the reports to Chiang Kai-shek for a look. Chiang in turn appreciated the richness of the information and while ordering that Dai Li be made a member of Hu Jing'an's Intelligence Group (Qingbao xiaozu) within the Retinue, Chiang also began paying Dai a separate monthly stipend of three thousand yuan to cover his "activities expenses" (*huodong fei*). With this additional money Dai Li was able to hire even more agents, and gradually he began to gather around him what was

to become known as the League of Ten (Shiren tuan): a special services (*tewu*) unit consisting of himself and nine other young officers and former military cadets.⁵⁷

It has been suggested that Chiang Kai-shek turned to Dai Li primarily because he was losing confidence in Hu Jing'an, who had a cruel and vicious temperament that was difficult to restrain.⁵⁸ Years later, when Dai had become Chiang's most powerful spymaster, the Military Statistics Bureau held a banquet for higher level cadres to which Hu Jing'an did not receive an invitation. Hu crashed the party anyway, noisomely driving away most of the guests when he cursed and shouted:

Dai Li, that son of a bitch! He turns his face away without any feelings whatsoever [for the relationships he has cultivated]. If it had not been for the help extended pulling him up that year in Guangdong, introducing him to the big chiefs of the Sun Wen zhuyi weiyuanhui like Yang Yinzhi, He Zhonghan, and Pan Youqiang, getting them together to meet and talk, then who would have known who the hell he was? I gave him the name list completely unselfishly. Otherwise, how would he have known how to find the materials that allowed him to praise his own merits and seek reward?⁵⁹

Hu Jing'an's vile temper may well have been one reason he lost favor in the Generalissimo's eyes, but Chiang was also simultaneously developing a strong confidence in Dai's abilities to counter his domestic rivals.⁶⁰

In 1930, for example, Chiang Kai-shek found himself facing a united front formed by the Reorganizationists in the south and the warlords in the north, where Yan Xishan had "come off the fence and was astride the tiger."⁶¹ On February 10 of that year, Yan sent a cable to Chiang, urging him to retire, followed by other wires accusing him of corruption and incompetence. During the succeeding month all of Nanjing's organs in the provinces that Yan controlled were seized by his men, and in early April—after his Shanxi army occupied Beiping—Yan Xishan declared himself commander in chief of the anti-Chiang forces with Feng Yuxiang acting as vice-commander.⁶²

While Feng and Chiang Kai-shek's main armies fought a war of attrition in Henan, Yan sent an army of fast cavalry under Sun Lianzhong to outflank Chiang's headquarters at the Yejigang railway station.⁶³ Sun would probably have enveloped Chiang Kai-shek and his staff officers had it not been for military intelligence from Dai Li, who got his chief to move his men to a safer place at the last minute.⁶⁴

Useful as he was to Chiang on the battlefield during the War of the Great Plains, Dai Li would never have acquired the secret power he finally wielded had it not been for the personal proximity Chiang allowed him.⁶⁵ He was competent and capable, to be sure, but it was Dai's trustworthiness and reliability that Chiang valued above all else.⁶⁶ Referring to him by his pet name

of “rain hat” (*yunong*), Chiang once said of Dai Li, “Just let rain hat take a hand and I can relax” (*wo jiu fangxinle*).⁶⁷

By this Chiang may have meant more than he intended to say, for Dai Li seemed to unwind his master in a different way, bringing on a kind of loosening in Chiang Kai-shek. It is interesting to note that other officials who met with Chiang Kai-shek had to be terribly careful about their attire. Even a speck of dust on the white gloves of a general could lead to his dismissal, or at least to a reprimand from his commander in chief. Yet Dai Li was somehow exempted from this kind of finickiness. To be sure, he was able to respond instantly to his chief’s somewhat obsessive expectations whenever he needed to do so, reflecting Chiang Kai-shek’s moods perfectly. If, for example, Chiang Kai-shek were to praise Confucius and Mencius in his presence, then Dai Li would immediately start speaking of Confucian morality (*renyi daode*) as though in mimicry. But in personal manner he was often rumpled, badly dressed, poorly shaven, even slightly slovenly, and one gets the impression that Dai’s careless and neglected quality somehow worked into another side of Chiang Kai-shek—perhaps an inner and relaxed realm—that other attendants like Cao Shengfen were never permitted to see.⁶⁸

Given this closeness to the leader, Dai Li was able to overcome the deficiencies in his record that worried him when he complained to Wen Qiang about his poor luck for having joined Chiang Kai-shek so late. The decision to *touben*, after all, compensated for his weak public position vis- -vis party elders and the Whampoa elite. In 1939, when Dai Li was named by Chiang Kai-shek head of the Security Group (Jingweizu) of the GMD Central Training Regiment (Guomindang zhongyang xunlian tuan), the Generalissimo discovered that his protégé had not only failed to graduate from Whampoa; he was also not even an official member of the Nationalist Party. Little matter: with a few strokes of the commander in chief’s brush the order was drawn up making Dai Li a formal graduate of the sixth class of the Whampoa Military Academy, and at the same time “rain hat” was also recommended for Guomindang membership by the leader of the party himself, who became Dai Li’s personal guarantor. By then, of course, Dai Li was master and commander of his own secret domain.⁶⁹

Chapter 4

The League of Ten

It was certainly no accident that Dai Li, starting out as a member of the entourage of bodyguards, ended up becoming China's Himmler under Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship. This was the end result of historical conditions determined by a semi-feudal and semicolonial society. Having already inherited the mantle of the eunuchs' tyrannical eastern and western depots and bodyguard of the Chinese feudal system, he also copied the ferocious practices of the Brown Shirts party, the instrument of Hitler's fascist dictatorship.

ANG E I AN, *Dai Li yu Juntong ju*, 131

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S PRIVATE ESPIONAGE APPARATUS

According to Wen Qiang's account of his life, Dai Li's rise in the intelligence services of the National Revolutionary Army reflected his overall competence as a conventional military agent.¹ Nominally serving under the command of Hu Zongnan (Second Brigade, First Army Division), Dai Li actually became head of a special communications and intelligence unit that was set up on January 4, 1928, at the instruction of Chiang Kai-shek. This unit, which was simply called the Liaison Group (Lianluozu), was later described in the official biography of Dai Li compiled by Taipei's Intelligence Bureau as being the "embryo" of all subsequent party and state military intelligence organizations. The Liaison Group was "established" (*sheli*) by Chiang's own Command Headquarters (Zongsilingbu), and it was the commander in chief himself who directly appointed Dai Li Staff Liaison Officer (Lianluo canmou) and who put him in charge of the ten officers who were later to become core members of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (BIS) after it was founded within the Military Affairs Commission.²

Dai's most important mission during his assignment as a liaison officer was the order early in 1930 by Chiang Kai-shek to try to assassinate (*ci*) Tang Shengzhi. The Hunanese militarist had driven Feng Yuxiang from Henan for the National government in November 1929 but had then gone on the following month to accept an appointment from Wang Jingwei as commander in chief of the Fourth Route of the Party Protection and National Salvation Army, pledging to oppose the military dictatorship of Chiang and his followers.³ Chiang consequently dispatched his top secret agent to both

gather intelligence on Tang Shengzhi's military plans and lay plans for his elimination. Dai Li reportedly moved down into Henan via the Tong Pass, stopping off in Luoyang and then gathering information along the Beijing-Hankou Railroad on his way to Zhengzhou, where General Tang was garrisoned.⁴

Hearing of Dai's presence in the area, Tang Shengzhi offered a cash reward for his capture. When Dai Li reached the Zhengzhou railway station, he was spotted by Tang's military policemen, who seized him. The commander of the military police, however, was Zhou Weilong, a member of the fourth class at Whampoa, who probably knew Dai Li at the academy, and who was very impressed by the spy's coolness and courage.⁵ After Dai Li pleaded with Zhou Weilong to "support the chancellor [Chiang Kai-shek] to occupy the Under-Heaven" (*yonghu xiaozhang zuo tianxia*), Zhou swore brotherhood with Dai Li and hid him away in the military police compound for several days until the furor over him died down and he was able to head south on the Beijing-Hankou highway dressed in one of Tang Shengzhi's military police uniforms.⁶

Between 1928 and 1931 the only formal secret police apparatus that Chiang Kai-shek officially authorized was the new Special Investigation Group (Michazu) of the Central Headquarters of the reorganized Guomindang.⁷ Chiang's informal agents were many, for his method of controlling the various kinds of secret organizations that grew up under his aegis after 1927 was simply to let the special services fight among themselves for funds and authority, acting as a check the one upon the other.⁸ In this case, however, a semiformal group was established to deal with Communists and to control anti-Chiang elements within the Guomindang by using funds secretly provided under the "special expenses" (*tebie fei*) allocation in the budget of the Central Party Office (Zhongyang dangbu).⁹ The head of the Michazu—or what was also known as the "joint organ"—was Chen Lifu, who also directed the Confidential Section of the National Military Council and served as secretary general of the National Reconstruction Commission. According to Boorman the Investigation Group, which was assigned the responsibility of purging Communists or persons suspected of Communist sympathies, was divided into three sections, and Dai Li was given charge of Section Two, which was assigned the task of maintaining surveillance over military personnel.¹⁰

Just as at the time of the party purge in April 1927, Dai Li's official duties within the private espionage apparatus of the commander in chief did not entirely encompass his private responsibilities. By 1930, it seems, he had already begun to formalize his personal *apparat* in Section Two through the famous League of Ten who continued to constitute the nucleus of his secret service. Like the "tent friends" (*muyou*) of Ming and Qing officials, these

Whampoa graduates were initially on Dai Li's private payroll. In fact, they would not be formally enrolled as government officers until the 1932 reorganization of Chiang's secret agents.¹¹

The formal title of the League of Ten was the Investigation and Communications Small Group (Diaocha tongxun xiaozu), and from the accounts of its spartan working style—which was intense and severe—there was little time for the kinds of venal indulgences that characterized the MSB in later years when the organization had grown several hundredfold. Working in the heat of summer in Nanjing, one of the muggiest cities in China during that season, Dai Li would often go for three days and nights at a time in the League of Ten's headquarters at 53 Chicken Goose Lane (Ji'e xiang) without stopping to sleep or eat a regular meal, washing down *youtiao* (deep-fried dough sticks) and other snack food with cups of hot water.¹²

Although nominally united under Chen Lifu's direction, the various departments of the Michazu were in competition with one other. While Dai Li and his League of Ten operated out of their offices in Chicken Goose Lane, a rival group—thought to represent the interests of Chen Lifu's "CC" clique—conducted anti-Communist investigations among civilian members of the party from quarters on Zhanyuan Road.¹³ This group, loosely styled Section One of the Michazu, was commanded by Xu Enzeng, and it too was funded by the Central Party Office's secret budget.¹⁴

Meanwhile, yet another secret police apparatus was being formed in the three provinces under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters for the Extermination of Bandits (Jiaofei zongbu) at Nanchang, Jiangxi. Chiang Kai-shek had initially authorized the creation of the Espionage Section (Diebao ke) in 1931. The following year, Deng Wenyi, one of Chiang's secretaries in the Military Affairs Commission, submitted a plan to the commander in chief that called for the establishment of investigation sections (Diaocha ke) in the mobile garrisons to preserve the peace (Baoan xingying) in all three provinces in the anti-Communist suppression areas, with a central headquarters attached to the Nanchang Mobile Garrison command.¹⁵

DENG WENYI

Deng Wenyi, then twenty-nine years old, was the grandson of a cloth peddler and the son of the owner of a sundries and candy store in Liling, Hunan. In elementary school, Deng had fallen deeply under the influence of his principal, a graduate of the Baoding Military Academy named Wang Yingzhao, who plunged his students into the knight-errant tradition of swordsmen novels and bandit epics. Two evenings a week Mr. Wang lectured to his students on the stories of *Water Margin*, describing and analyzing the personalities, characteristics, martial skills, social backgrounds, and righteous deeds of the "men of the green wood." Thus, Deng and his classmates

gradually adopted as their paragons the heroes of *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Seven Knight-Errants and Five Righteous Men*, *Seven Swordsmen and Thirteen Knight-Errants*, *Xue Rengui Conquers the East*, *Xue Dingshan Pacifies the West*, *The Biography of Yue Fei*, and *Ban Chao Pacifies Central Asia*.¹⁶

Deng, the shopkeeper's son, thus grew up filled with the romantic resolve of so many Chinese adolescents steeped in martial fiction—a resolve he shared with other modern *youxia* (knights-errant) like Mao Zedong to help the weak through sage and courageous deeds, to save the people and the nation by being an anonymous hero, and to remain an honest and true *junzi* (gentleman) by rejecting money and women without regret and by enduring hardship and travail without complaint. His resolve was strengthened by the financial strain of secondary school when, in his third and fourth years, his family had trouble paying his room and board. Twice Deng had to make the long sixty-*li* trek back home on foot to beg his parents for money to cover his fees. But, for all his tears and weeping, Deng's mother was in the end only able to come up with one yuan, and Deng had to learn how to make enough money by gambling to keep himself in school. This only increased his admiration for the “men of the green woods” and strengthened his respect for those fictional sworn brothers who righteously “robbed the rich to relieve the poor.”¹⁷ Inspired by their example, Deng refused to get married, and on the eve of finishing secondary school he “joined the revolution” by enrolling in Cheng Qian's military academy in Guangzhou. Once at the school, he learned of the Whampoa program and sat for its entrance examination successfully.¹⁸

Deng belonged to a group of Whampoa students—which included Xiao Qianyu and Zhang Zhen (later head of Chiang's military police)—who were sent to study in the Soviet Union.¹⁹ They formed part of a contingent of three hundred Chinese recruited to attend classes in Moscow at the aviation and army academies or at Sun Yat-sen University, which had been set up in 1925 under the Eastern Department of the Comintern for the purpose of training Chinese agents. About 150 of them had been recruited in Guangzhou by the Guomindang, with the Whampoa Academy and other specified military units selecting candidates by competitive examination.²⁰

Deng Wenyi himself had been a leading student member—“one of the big chiefs” along with He Zhonghan, Yang Yinzhi, Feng Ti, and Zeng Kuqing—of the Sun Yat-sen Study Society, founded in the Whampoa Academy in 1924–25 to combat the pro-Communist Federation of Young Soldiers.²¹ After his application to go to Moscow was accepted by the central GMD headquarters in Guangzhou, Deng was sent to Sun Yat-sen University. As a student leader, he became the target of Communist efforts to convert him to their cause, and apparently his superiors grew convinced of his loyalty to the Comintern in spite of the fact that he was a member of the Nationalist Party branch committee and continued to meet in secret with other

Whampoa cadets under He Zhonghan's fiercely anti-Communist guidance to keep the spirit of the Sun Yat-sen Study Society alive.²² After less than three months at the Communist university Deng Wenyi had been elected a member of the student commune committee (*gongshe weiyuanhui*), was made chairman of the hygiene soviet (*weisheng suowei*), and held responsibility for coaching the women's rifle team (*shejidui*). He was also eventually appointed class monitor (*banzhang*) as well as chief of his own student cell (*xiaozuzhang*). When the Comintern began putting together a special contingent in the spring of 1927 to return to China under M. N. Roy's leadership, Deng Wenyi—by then a fanatic anti-Communist fiercely devoted to Chiang Kai-shek—was one of the forty students from Sun Yat-sen University selected to go.²³ But once the steamship from Vladivostok reached Guangzhou and Deng walked ashore, he severed his relations with the group and reaffirmed his commitment to Chiang Kai-shek's wing of the Nationalist Party.²⁴

Later that year, moving north to join the revolutionary armies already battling among themselves, Deng had begun to organize counterespionage operations on his own by mobilizing his circle of Whampoa cadets to gather anti-Communist intelligence and to study the practices of the Cheka (Chrezvychainaya Komissiya, or Extraordinary Commission) and of the GPU (Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, or State Political Administration) as detailed in books and manuals acquired in the USSR.²⁵ During 1927–28 Deng Wenyi proposed that special Intelligence Divisions (Jiandie gu) be set up in the Peace Preservation Departments (Baoan chu) of each provincial headquarters in order to carry out anti-Communist military activities, gather intelligence, investigate possible Communist Party activities within military units and garrisons, maintain surveillance over each brigade commander, and conduct special services activities among the civilian population.²⁶ Chiang Kai-shek eventually approved the plan, and by the late spring of 1932 an action group had been established under Deng Wenyi's control at Jintang Lane in Nanchang proper.²⁷ Shortly after that, early in 1933, Deng Wenyi recommended to Chiang that they appoint a Planning Committee (Sheji weiyuanhui) in the Nanchang garrison, composed of a number of people who had gotten master's and doctoral degrees in Germany, Japan, and the United States, to help draw up plans for campaigns to carry out "the political extermination of Communism" (*zhengzhi jiaogong*) and "the cultural extermination of Communism" (*wenhua jiaogong*). A number of these intellectuals were connected with the Renaissance Society, which was an offshoot of Chiang's Blue Shirts.²⁸

Deng Wenyi's Investigation Section was quite apart from the Michazu: it was a provincial network as opposed to the two sections operating independently of each other in the national capital at Nanjing. It also had official status, being attached to the mobile garrison headquarters in each of the

three provinces. The Michazu remained an informal, unofficially funded operation until the “January 28th Incident” in 1932, when Japanese marines battled with the Chinese Nineteenth Route Army over Shanghai’s northern district for three months running, devastating Zhabei in the process.²⁹ Forced by public opinion to send reinforcements to the Nineteenth Route Army, whose commander Cai Tingkai was suddenly a national hero and international celebrity, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the Eighty-Seventh and Eighty-Eighth armies (*shi*) under Wang Jingjiu and Yu Jishi to form a New Fifth Army (*jun*) under the dean of the Central Military Academy, Zhang Zhizhong.³⁰

THE SPECIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

However, when the Eighty-Eighth Army reached Kunshan and engaged the Japanese along the front lines at Nanxiang, the Chinese force was utterly routed. It was, in fact, Dai Li himself who brought the news to Chiang Kai-shek that when the Eighty-Eighth regrouped after the battle at Changshu, the entire army and officers came to less than four thousand men. The commander in chief was dismayed. Not only was his intelligence about the Japanese forces faulty; his sense of and control over the Whampoa officers who had staffed these armies was deficient. In order to get a better grip on the situation, then, Chiang Kai-shek commanded Dai Li to strengthen his informal secret service organization by establishing a Special Services Department (Tewuchu) in the quarters at Chicken Goose Lane.³¹

The new department, however, was not yet an official government organ; rather, it was an “iron and blood brigade” (*tiexie dui*) associated with the Blue Shirts and administratively located within the Renaissance Society, which provided its funds.³² Its mission was to infiltrate garrison, police, and military police forces while developing an expertise in espionage and sabotage.³³ Yet none of these duties was legitimately assigned. Although Chiang Kai-shek ruled that all personnel matters should come under his own direct supervision, Chiang himself had just stepped down as chairman of the National government, which was put in the hands of the well-respected figure-head, Lin Sen, so that Dai Li’s secret service did not even have putative executive authority. Nevertheless, Dai Li now enjoyed the use of a formal secretariat, a regular source of funds, and the expansion of the original League of Ten to a group of more than a hundred agents.³⁴

And the new Special Services Department (SSD) did indeed expand, especially since Dai Li now seemed to enjoy Chiang Kai-shek’s full confidence. This was the time, for example, when Shen Zui joined the organization, becoming head of the Shanghai communications branch and learning how to instruct the recruits who came after him in “operations craft” (*xingdong shu*), including kidnapping and assassination techniques.³⁵ Yet even though the

number of agents multiplied, extending Dai Li's network into military garrisons and police forces in a preliminary but portentous way, the SSD remained hampered, fettered by the fact that it possessed no legal powers of its own to arrest and detain suspects.³⁶

On March 18, 1932, the Second Plenum of the Fourth Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang met in Luoyang and appointed Chiang Kai-shek chairman of the Military Affairs Commission (Junshi weiyuanhui weiyuanzhang). Both to give Dai Li the official authority he needed and to prevent the growing rivalry between the "CC" clique and the Wham-poa group from dissipating the strength of his own intelligence apparatus, Chiang Kai-shek decided to use his new authority to create a regular bureaucratic unit under the MAC that would pull all of these informal and secret investigative sections together. In late March, shortly after Puyi was installed as the puppet regent of the Manchukuo puppet government, Chiang convened a meeting of his high-level military affairs advisers who with him resolved to organize an "intelligence net" (*qingbao wang*) "in order to resist foreign aggression and to pacify the country."³⁷ The result was the formation on April 1, 1932—a day thereafter celebrated by the Nationalist military intelligence services as the anniversary of the Juntong apparatus—of "an intelligence organ for military affairs" (*junshi qingbao jigou*).³⁸

According to the hagiography published by the Taiwan Ministry of Defense in 1966, before Chiang Kai-shek publicly announced the founding of this "organ," he met privately with Dai Li at Sun Yat-sen's tomb outside Nanjing.³⁹ After the Chairman told Dai of his new assignment in this apparatus, Dai Li demurred, protesting that his seniority was too low for such a position, not to speak of his lack of proper sincerity. Chiang assured him that "as long as you have the resolution *juexin*, you don't have to worry about the rest of it." Dai Li—the official *nianpu* (chronological biography) tells us—thereupon agreed to shoulder the enormous burden his leader was thrusting upon him, saying, "From this day on, your student must dedicate his life to sacrifice and struggle for the revolution. If I am defeated, then I will plead for the leader to discipline me. If I succeed or even in the end get killed by our enemies, I will have no regrets." The *nianpu* concludes, "Lord Chiang held him in high esteem for his courage" (*Jiang gong zhuang zhi*).⁴⁰

THE BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION AND STATISTICS

In fact, Dai Li's expanded League of Ten—the original Lianluozu—was now brought under a regular bureaucratic unit when, in the spring and summer of 1932, Chiang ordered the institution of a Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (Diaocha tongji ju, or BIS) within the MAC and under the direction of Chen Lifu and his deputy, Chen Zhuo, chief of the Nanjing police.⁴¹ Three *chu* (departments) were established. The first was what had

originally been the Investigation Section of the Central Party Office (Zhongyang dangbu), namely, Section One of the former Michazu, run by Xu Enzeng out of the Zhanyuan Road secret service section.⁴² This by then had become the Party Affairs Investigation Department (Dangwu diaocha chu), and it would later turn into the Central Statistics Bureau (Zhongtong ju, or CSB), which was Chen Lifu's counterpart to Dai Li's Military Statistics Bureau (Juntong ju, or MSB).⁴³ The second department was Dai Li's SSD, located at Chicken Goose Lane and now given responsibility for surveillance and investigation of the military. Dai, who was promoted to the rank of major general (*shaojiang*),⁴⁴ acted as the paterfamilias (*jiazhang*) of the second department, as though it were his own household, while his SSD agents addressed him as the "old man" or "boss" (*laoban*) of the organization.⁴⁵ The third, which was first headed by Ding Mocun and then later by Jin Bin, supervised the Bureau of Postal and Telegraphic Inspection (Youdian jiancha ju), and was later amalgamated with this department as the Special Inspection Department (Tejianchu). Its offices were located on Jiangxi Road.⁴⁶

The BIS supposedly coordinated the work of these three departments. Actually only Xu Enzeng and Dai Li sent contingents of their own men to work at BIS headquarters, which was located at the Feiyuan (Non-Garden) off Lane 4, by Nanjing's Xihua Gate.⁴⁷ The real work of the bureau was carried out in the departments themselves, which barely cooperated with one another. Chiang Kai-shek was consequently obliged to maintain his private control over the organization by naming his own personal agents Zheng Jiemin and Xu Renji as deputy department chief and controller of the BIS.⁴⁸ Zheng Jiemin, a Cantonese adventurer who had owned a coffee shop in Singapore before joining the second class at Whampoa, was also leader of the BIS's Investigation Section (Shencha kezhang).⁴⁹ And while Tang Zong was made secretary (*shuji*), Qiu Kaiji—a member of the Yunnanese gentry who loathed warlords—served as head of the field agents in the BIS's Enforcement Section (Zhixing ke).⁵⁰

Those members of the original League of Ten who were able to accept Dai's increasingly paternalistic and authoritarian leadership simply stayed on in Department Two of the BIS, while those members of the original brotherhood who were restive with these new arrangements moved on to other positions in the secret state that Chiang was in the process of building: Huang Yong become deputy leader of the Investigation Section (Diaocha ke); Liang Ganqiao was put in charge of training for the Renaissance Society; and Yu Sadu became a member of the party's North China Propaganda Brigade (Huabei xuanchuan dui).⁵¹

The SSD now had a specified investigative mission, and it could use the authority of the Military Affairs Commission to expand its activities on the principle that "the secret exerts leadership over the public, while the pub-

lic is used as a cover to protect the secret" (*mimi lingdao gongkai, gongkai yanhu mimi*).⁵² But it required an institutional channel for expansion, a pre-existing unit that already had established bona fide connections with law enforcement organizations under either military or civilian authorities. This was to be found in the Cheka-inspired Investigation Section originally set up in Nanchang by Deng Wenyi, who came under attack in 1933 and 1934 for his mishandling of the Xu Peigen affair.⁵³

Xu Peigen was the air force commander in charge of the central government's airfields at Nanchang. A venal man, Xu had been embezzling military funds for years when the time came in 1932 to make up his deficits for government auditors. Unable to balance his books, Xu resorted to destroying them, setting a fire in the Nanchang airport that took with it both ledgers and military airplanes. After Xu was dismissed, Chiang Kai-shek called for Deng Wenyi's Investigation Section to conduct a proper inquiry into the matter. Deng dillydallied, infuriating Chiang, who turned the assignment over to Dai Li and Xu Weibin in October 1932. Their investigation placed the blame for the fire and the subsequent cover-up directly on Deng Wenyi himself, who was dismissed in 1933 from his post as section leader (*kezhang*) and who completely lost control over the Investigation Section in all three *jiaofei* zones. Dai Li picked up the pieces.⁵⁴ Thereafter, and until the beginning of the War of Resistance with Japan, Dai Li would be addressed as Section Leader Dai (Dai *kezhang*) by the commander in chief, using the title relinquished by Deng Wenyi.⁵⁵

This was a decisive opportunity as far as Dai Li was concerned. First of all, the number of agents at his disposal increased impressively, from 145 to 1,722 in a number of new provincial intelligence units.⁵⁶ At the same time, Dai acquired most or all of Deng Wenyi's "backbone cadres": Zhang Yifu (Zhang Yanfo), Li Guochen, Yuan Jibin, Zhou Shengfu, Wang Xinheng, and Xie Ligong (Xie Shaoshan).⁵⁷ Second, the new units under his administration included standing intelligence offices that extended into all of the provinces under the Nanchang garrison's control. The Xuzhou Investigation Section for the traveling garrison there, the same office for Wuhan, and the Investigative Divisions (*Diaocha gu*) of the Peace Preservation Departments (*Baoan chu*) of every locale in China's central provinces were now at least nominally under his control.⁵⁸ Third, under the aegis of the Investigation Section, the SSD began to use its new authority as an arm of the Military Affairs Commission by sending agents out to infiltrate the Investigation and Apprehension Departments (*Zhenji chu*) of various garrison command headquarters and to try to take over the detective squads of public security bureaus in cities under the control of the Nationalist government.⁵⁹ "From then on, Dai Li's special services organization penetrated directly into the Guomindang's military organs and local public security organs, acquiring a public cover."⁶⁰

Finally, as part of his appointment as head of the intelligence or espionage divisions within each public security organ or police station, Dai Li was also given special authority to train backbone cadres (*gugan*) for special services work. For Chiang Kai-shek in 1934 also named Dai Li his special deputy (*tepaiyuan*) to the Zhejiang Provincial Police Academy where, as we shall see, he was quickly able to seize control over that organization's personnel and training classes.⁶¹

This was the first public transmogrification of Chiang Kai-shek's intelligence apparatus into a fairly widespread legal network of control. Hereafter his private security agency was endowed with official authority. Yet its inner workings remained, to a certain extent, the personal domain of the leader himself. This was not only because of the intimacy necessarily created by the secret mission of the enterprise, which demanded a close and confidential relationship between Chiang and his secret policemen. It was also the outgrowth of a kind of freemasonry growing up within the official structures of government—a freemasonry that defined itself in the fascist and Falangist terminology of the period as a militant order devoted to the glorification of the person of the Leader—to use the authoritarian religious capitalization of the 1930s.⁶² Thus, if we are to understand the inner workings of the Chinese republican regime, then we must not only direct our attention to the public transformations of Chiang's bureaucratic control system. We must also attend to the hidden history of his ideological freemasonry by exploring the Blue Shirts themselves.⁶³

Chapter 5

“Vigorous Practice”

The Chiang Freemasonry

The Master said: To be fond of learning is to be near to knowledge. To practice with vigor [lixing] is to be near to magnanimity [ren]. To possess the feeling of shame is to be near to energy [yong].

The Doctrine of the Mean¹

THE LIXINGSHE

The Society for Vigorous Practice, or Lixingshe, was so secret that hardly any outsider knew of its existence between 1932 and 1937. It was perpetually confused with its front groups, whose members were thought by the public to be Blue Shirts (Lanyi), and its activities were often inextricably connected with covert propaganda and intelligence work conducted by Chiang Kai-shek's special services.² Yet the Society for Vigorous Practice was the single most important political formation within what the public called the Whampoa clique, and its members constituted a military freemasonry that admired fascism and that pledged itself to carry out Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles under the guidance of its supreme leader, Chiang Kai-shek.³

Although the society's presence was concealed for more than forty years, during its heyday the Lixingshe controlled an elaborate organizational structure of more than 500,000 members, and it clandestinely orchestrated public mobilizations involving millions more, ranging from the New Life Movement and the Chinese Boy Scouts to university military training programs and high school summer camps. Now, thanks mainly to memoirs published on Taiwan during the last two decades, the importance of the Lixingshe can be recognized and its political role in the years of conflict between the Manchurian and Marco Polo Bridge incidents fully acknowledged.

The Society for Vigorous Practice was created as a direct result of the political crisis that erupted during the summer and fall of 1931 and that eventually forced Chiang Kai-shek to surrender his government posts and go into temporary retirement in Zhejiang.⁴ After the collapse of Feng Yuxiang,

Wang Jingwei, and Yan Xishan's "enlarged conference movement" in 1930, the National Government decided to meet some of the defeated rebels' demands by convoking a national assembly to adopt a provisional constitution. Hu Hanmin—adhering stubbornly to Sun Yat-sen's notion that a single-party dictatorship was an essential part of the process of political tutelage—refused, as president of the Legislative Yuan, to support this proposal, which had the support of the newly elected *zongtong* (president of the National Government), Chiang Kai-shek. Announcing his opposition, Hu resigned his presidency on February 28, 1931. Chiang promptly ordered him placed under house arrest, and shortly after this shocking *d marche* had him taken to Tangshan near Nanjing.⁵

The elders of the Guomindang were outraged by Chiang's illegal action.⁶ On April 30, four senior members of the Central Supervisory Committee of the Guomindang—Lin Sen, Gu Yingfen, Xiao Focheng, and Deng Zeru—impeached the new president of the National Government. Four weeks later, these and other opponents of Chiang's arbitrary authoritarianism—eminences such as Wang Jingwei, Sun Fo, Tang Shaoyi, Eugene Chen, and Li Zongren—met in Canton under the protection of the "king of the South," Chen Jitang. There, on May 28, 1931, they announced the formation of a national government of their own.⁷ During the next three months, when the Yangzi valley was devastated by severe floods, the country was politically cut in two and civil war between north and south seemed imminent.⁸ Chiang Kai-shek himself believed that he and his cause were in grave jeopardy.⁹ His closest followers—men such as Teng Jie and He Zhonghan—could only agree.¹⁰

Teng Jie, who was eventually to become the first secretary-general of the Lixingshe, was an experienced student agitator. Son of a landlord from Funing in Jiangsu, Teng Jie had been the student body president at an American Protestant vocational school in Nantong when the May Thirtieth Movement broke out in 1925.¹¹ Like many students at missionary schools, Teng's classmates were among the most strongly opposed to Western cultural imperialism, and when a delegation of students from other schools arrived to *chuanlian* (establish ties), Teng Jie found his own leadership being challenged by radicals wanting to attack the school's administration. Eventually he decided that the American institution had to be dissolved and he chaired the meeting that summer that led to the students' unanimous withdrawal from the school. After making sure that his fellow students could get admitted to other schools, Teng Jie left Nantong at the age of eighteen and joined the sociology department at Shanghai University.¹²

In the fall of 1925 Shanghai University was the main recruiting center in the lower Yangzi region for the Whampoa Military Academy. The Communists were quite influential at the university, with Liu Shaoqi acting as a student leader and Shi Cuntong serving as the chairman of the sociology de-

partment. Teng Jie was already a keen admirer of Sun Yat-sen, whose Three People's Principles he had studied in Nantong, and he joined the Nationalist Party shortly after his arrival in Shanghai, even though department chairman Shi Cuntong in class compared Marxism and the *Sanminzhuyi* (Three People's Principles) to the detriment of the latter. Disgusted by what he took to be the cowardice and insincerity of the Communist students, who appeared to him to only pretend to be cooperative members of the United Front, Teng Jie was convinced that the less clandestine Nationalists were at a disadvantage when it came to organizing students, and he carried that conviction along with him when he was secretly recruited for the Whampoa Academy and left Shanghai for military training in the south.¹³

After his studies in Guangdong at the Whampoa Academy and a military stint in central China during the Northern Expedition, Teng Jie went to Japan to study. This was part of a plan developed by Chiang Kai-shek in 1928, after his first retirement from office, to send Whampoa graduates systematically to Japan for further training. Five students were handpicked by Chiang himself from each of the first six Whampoa classes. Another thirty were selected a year later so that during the summer of 1931 there were more than sixty of the *xiaozhang's* former Whampoa pupils enrolled in Japan's Imperial Army College and a variety of other schools including the Shikan Gakko (Japan's West Point, where Chiang had studied), Waseda, the Artillery School, and the Cavalry School.¹⁴ Teng Jie was sent to Meiji University, where the school authorities had set up a Department of Political Economy exclusively for Chinese students.¹⁵ After two years of frugal study, mainly spent reading in the Ueno Library, Teng Jie returned to China in late July 1931, just when tensions along the Sino-Korean border over the Wanbaoshan incident made an outright war between Japan and China seem likely.¹⁶

Before returning to China Teng Jie had hoped that the prospect of war with Japan would unite the country. Instead, he found the nation fragmented, and politics just as corrupt and self-interested as when he had left.¹⁷ If the people were to be mobilized, then some new form of organization would have to be devised to create a genuinely strong political party capable of attracting mass support. Remembering the success of the Communists in clandestinely dominating student groups during the May Thirtieth Movement, Teng Jie drafted a plan to use Whampoa graduates as backbone cadres to build up a top-secret organization. This new association would unite elite military and civilian youth according to the principle of "democratic centralism *minzhu jiquan* to build up a strong organization with a united will, with iron discipline, with a clear division of responsibility, and with the ability to act with alacrity."¹⁸

Plan in hand, Teng Jie went to see his friend Zeng Kuoqing, who was assigned to the military division of Party Center in Nanjing.¹⁹ Zeng was en-

thusiastic about the idea, and as a first step toward its implementation invited nine friends to dinner.²⁰ All of the guests were graduates of Whampoa, and the two Hunanese who came—Feng Ti and Deng Wenyi—were members of the first class.²¹ Their identity as Hunanese was by no means insignificant.²² Strongly conscious of the military tradition of their fellow provincials, including the great nineteenth-century regional viceroys Zeng Guofan and Zuo Zongtang, Whampoa cadets from Hunan felt that they had special cause to take a leading role in the salvation of the nation.²³ Feng Ti and Deng Wenyi thus helped secure unanimous approval for the proposal and they all agreed to have a second dinner, each guest bringing another person. By the third time they met there were more than forty people present, including He Zhonghan, the officer in charge of propaganda for the anti-Communist extermination campaign in Nanchang.²⁴

HE ZHONGHAN

He Zhonghan, the leader of the Hunanese clique within the inner Whampoa circle, was born in 1898 in Yueyang, near Changsha.²⁵ His family lived in “comfortable” (*xiaokang*) circumstances, and He was educated in his rural home by a private tutor who took him through the Four Books and the Five Classics by the time he was twelve *sui*.²⁶ During the next two years he began reading the philosophers and historians, reciting the *Zuo Commentary* with his mentor during the day, and teaching himself *The Comprehensive Mirror in the Aid of Government* at night. During his fourteenth year his tutor had him read all of Liang Qichao’s collected works and discovered that his pupil was able to raise questions that he could not answer. Consequently, in 1913 He Zhonghan was enrolled in one of the new-style elementary schools in the district and began to study “modern learning” imported from the West.²⁷ In 1915 He Zhonghan transferred to a special secondary school for Hunan provincials in Wuchang, where he was noted for his skill at composition; his essays on the iniquities of the old society were often displayed on the school bulletin board.²⁸ From 1917 to 1919 he worked as a student reporter for a news agency at Wuchang, and during the May Fourth Movement he was elected a student leader. In the winter of 1920 Dong Biwu and Chen Tanqiu organized a Marxist study group in Wuhan, and He Zhonghan became a student member.²⁹ The following spring he went to Shanghai with fellow Hunanese Marxists to study Russian at the special school Chen Duxiu had established, and in September 1921 he was elected a delegate to the Congress of the Toilers of the East. Later that year he traveled to Moscow with Zhang Guotao to attend the congress.³⁰ On that occasion He remained in Russia for seven months, but he did not join the Chinese Communist Party. He returned to China the following year impressed by the “progressive” (*jinbu*) quality of the Soviet political system but dismayed by the “harshness”

(*ku*) of life in Russia on the eve of Lenin's New Economic Program; and he concluded that the Communist strategy of revolution was not suitable for his own country.³¹

Shortly after his return He Zhonghan accepted a post in a Wuchang secondary school, and, like a fellow teacher from the same area—Mao Zedong—threw himself into the turmoil of Hunanese politics, becoming a reporter for the People's News Agency (*Renmin tongxun she*) in Wuhan. In 1923 the agency was closed down and He Zhonghan went to Changsha to establish the Commoner's News Agency (*Pingmin tongxun she*).³² This enterprise coincided with the ouster of the military governor Zhao Hengti from Changsha by Tan Yankai, and He Zhonghan consequently was able to publish revolutionary propaganda in his bulletins. One of his tracts was about the murdered labor leaders Huang Ai and Pang Renquan, and it was highly critical of Zhao Hengti.³³

After Zhao Hengti recovered control of Changsha, the warlord ordered his arrest, and He nearly died in prison before two members of the provincial assembly mediated his release and he went back to Yueyang. His father asked him to stay at home and teach, but He Zhonghan felt that political obligations came first and left for Nanjing, planning to enroll at Southeastern University. Instead, in the spring of 1924, he learned that the revolutionaries in Guangzhou were recruiting students for the Whampoa Military Academy and he left for Shanghai to sit for the preliminary entrance examinations there. Eventually, after nearly being disqualified for the final examination, He Zhonghan entered Whampoa in May 1924 as a member of its first class.³⁴

At Whampoa it was He Zhonghan who first objected to comments directed against Sun Yat-sen that appeared in a publication of the Young Soldiers' Association, founded by Soviet adviser Borodin and the Communists; and who together with Miao Bin founded the Sun Yat-sen Study Society on December 29, 1925.³⁵ Early in 1926, He Zhonghan paid a second visit to the Soviet Union, where he went through the regular training course at the Frunze Military Academy in Moscow. His experiences in the Soviet Union, coming on the heels of his active leadership of the Sun Yat-sen Study Society, further confirmed his anti-Communist belief that socialism lacked "humaneness" (*rendao*). When he and Xiao Zanyu returned from Russia in January 1928, Chiang Kai-shek assigned him to command the cadets' unit at the military training center at Hangzhou.³⁶ After an additional stint in the GMD headquarters for Nanjing municipality, He and Xiao received permission from Chiang Kai-shek to go to Japan, where He became Teng Jie's roommate, living with him for more than a year in 1929 and 1930. During that period He published two books criticizing Wang Jingwei and the Reorganizationists. In February 1931 He Zhonghan was ordered back to China

to take over the office in charge of political propaganda in military headquarters at Nanchang.³⁷

His attendance at Teng Jie's third dinner meeting was fortuitous: He Zhonghan just happened to have come from Nanchang to the capital at that time, which was shortly after the Manchurian Railway Incident in the north-east on September 18, 1931. Boycotts and demonstrations were erupting throughout the country as thousands of students descended upon Nanjing to demand that the National Government and the separatists in Guangdong unite together to resist the aggressors. On October 14 Chiang Kai-shek released Hu Hanmin and agreed to hold peace talks in Shanghai to bring the two sides together. However, the student protests continued. By early December, Beijing's university classrooms would be empty, Nanjing would be under martial law, and fifteen thousand students would be demonstrating in the streets of Shanghai.³⁸

Against this backdrop Teng Jie's appeal to He Zhonghan to support their effort to establish a "preparations department" (*choubeichu*) fell on ready ears. As a senior figure in the Whampoa Nationalist student movement and now an officer with major responsibilities in the campaign against the Communists, He Zhonghan realized that his support would be vital to their success at establishing a clandestine network of "men of will" among the cadets. Yet even in the midst of this national crisis, He Zhonghan was chary. He knew full well that Chiang Kai-shek had often voiced his disapproval of the Whampoa cadets' forming political cliques, saying that "these Whampoa cadets lack political experience and cannot effectively engage in political activities."³⁹

He Zhonghan also was afraid that the *xiaozhang* might misinterpret activities taking place behind his back, but Teng Jie assured him that he intended to report the entire matter to Chiang Kai-shek once the "preparatory work" was complete. Consequently, He gave his own approval to the scheme and suggested that Teng Jie be appointed secretary and his wife, Chen Qikun, assistant secretary. Deng Wenyi contributed three hundred yuan from his bookstore for expenses, and three rooms on the second floor of a wooden building on Erlangmiao Street near the Kangji Hospital in Nanjing were rented. Kang Ze, who was a twenty-eight-year-old bachelor from a Sichuanese peasant family so poor that his fiancée's family canceled their engagement, moved into a downstairs room to provide a cover, and the *choubeichu* set to work.⁴⁰

Teng Jie's *choubeichu* was launched, then, as part of a broadly shared quest for an organizational solution to the nation's peril.⁴¹ In a certain sense, the situation was similar to the May Thirtieth Movement six years earlier. As the crisis with Japan deepened, the nation's students and intellectuals were gripped with patriotic fervor.⁴² Just as they rushed to organize groups and

alliances to mobilize public opinion, echoing the revival of *she* (clubs) and *hui* (societies) after the First Sino-Japanese War or the creation of student federations after the Japanese diplomatic victory at Versailles in 1919, so did Chiang Kai-shek's disciples seek to meet the crisis by sponsoring the formation of tutelary associations.⁴³

RIGHT-WING MOBILIZATION

The parallel between Chiang in 1931–33 and Kang Youwei or Liang Qichao in 1895–98 was not exact, of course, because the disciples of the former were graduates of the government's military academy and not degree-holding literati. Also, the mobilization of youthful fervor was undeniably influenced by the contemporary rise of fascist movements in Italy and Germany.⁴⁴ Liu Jianqun, who later took credit for recommending the formation of the Blue Shirts Society in a pamphlet distributed to a plenary session of the Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang in October 1931, wrote that "the Guomindang should follow the example of the organization of Mussolini's Black Shirts in Italy, completely obeying the orders of the Leader and creating members who will use blue shirts as the symbol of their will."⁴⁵

Even though outsiders, and especially the Japanese, were quick to cast these mobilizing efforts in a foreign fascist light, there were strong nativist tones to such convocations.⁴⁶ In the eyes of Teng Jie and He Zhonghan their mobilization effort was probably most akin to the reformers' movement at the turn of the century insofar as it manifested the notion that patriotic leaders could arouse popular support by organizing leagues of youthful *zhishi* (scholars or knights of resolve, "men of will") to succor the nation, whether they be the civilian students targeted by the "CC" clique or the military cadres led by former Whampoa Academy cadets.⁴⁷

The latter already had an organizational focal point in the Whampoa Alumni Association (Huangpu tongxue hui), which carried on the anti-Communist tradition of the by-now disbanded Sun Yat-sen Study Society.⁴⁸ In addition to assigning jobs (*fenpei*) to its members, the alumni association encouraged the formation of clubs like the Society to Establish the Will (Lizhishe), with its headquarters in a building constructed in the Qing palace style on Whampoa Road in Nanjing. Clubs like this, which had a name that instantly recalled the action-oriented teaching of the sixteenth-century philosopher Wang Yangming, were both modern and traditionalistic. They smacked vaguely of Western or Japanese ultranationalist youth groups while also drawing upon the late imperial tradition of scholar-gentry academies and associations.⁴⁹

The traditionalistic tone of the *choubeichu* was manifested in the group's name, Society for Vigorous Practice. The term *lixing*—literally "strength

act”—was taken from the *Doctrine of the Mean*. Following He Zhongan’s suggestion, the full title of the organization was the Society for the Vigorous Practice of the Three People’s Principles (Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe). The “preparatory work” that its proposers carried on during the next five months consisted mainly of meeting in the second-story offices of the *chou-beichu* to write drafts of the rules and principles of this secret group, all of the members of which were Whampoa cadets of classes one through six in their twenties and thirties, born during the last years of the Qing and mainly educated in classical learning before attending modern schools during the early years of the new Republic.⁵⁰ According to Deng Wenyi’s son, they came from all over China, but the majority were from the Yangzi region, and especially “from provincial grass roots and small towns,” which “very much retained the qualities—the strengths and the weaknesses—of traditional Chinese society. These youths personally experienced that society, so they possessed the intention to conserve *baocun* its strength, but they also knew the weakness of the society as well and so were eager to reform *gaige* it.”⁵¹

As Whampoa graduates, these cadets had been trained to be highly conscious of sustained efficiency in common action and of daily volition in personal life; they accepted the necessity of obedience and hierarchical discipline.⁵² They were also young men who had experienced education abroad. Among the founders of the Society for Vigorous Practice, all but Gui Yongqing, who was trained in Germany, were educated in Japan or the Soviet Union.⁵³ In fact, as a result of Japanese police persecution there was a major influx of former Whampoa students from Japan after the Manchurian Incident, which they publicly protested at the time.⁵⁴ Many of them joined the Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association of Returned Students from Japan (Liu-Ri xuesheng kang-Ri jiuguo hui), formed by Gong Debo and others under the leadership of He Zhonghan’s friend and classmate, Xiao Zanyu.⁵⁵ Gong Debo’s newspaper, *Jiuguo ribao* (National Salvation Daily), printed editorial after editorial calling for the Chinese to “resist the Japanese and root out traitors” (*Kang Ri chu jian*), and although Gong himself took no part in the activities of the Lixingshe, many members of the “preparations department” used the newspaper as a cover for their own work, pretending to be its editors or reporters. Obviously, a major impulse of these youthful disciples of Chiang Kai-shek was to pursue actively a militant defense against Japan—a policy that was at that very moment coming to be disavowed by Chiang, who was growing increasingly convinced of the importance of appeasing Japan in order to buy time to exterminate the Communists.⁵⁶

This policy ran directly counter to the mood of the country, and especially of the nation’s students, who continued to agitate for resistance against the Japanese. In Shanghai, students from Fudan University called for a major demonstration on December 8, 1931. On that day the students held a

general assembly, bringing together representatives from all of the universities of Shanghai and two delegates from Nanjing and Beiping. At the end of the meeting the two outside delegates were attacked by a gang of about a dozen local Guomindang members, while plainclothesmen from the Public Safety Bureau looked on passively. The Beijing delegate was abducted and taken off in a car. Recognizing some of the party toughs, the students reassembled in front of the city hall on December 9 to demand that their Beijing comrade be liberated and that the GMD thugs be punished. The municipal government tried to defend itself by declaring a curfew, but in the end it failed to mollify the protesters, who gutted GMD headquarters, forcing Mayor Zhang Qun—a known Chiang Kai-shek partisan—to resign.⁵⁷ Eight days later, and partly as a result of this student pressure, Chiang Kai-shek resigned as well as chairman of the national government and returned to his home in Fenghua.⁵⁸

Although Chiang may have spoken to his closest followers about the importance of devising a solution to the national crisis, he was still being kept in the dark about the plans to form the Lixingshe.⁵⁹ The members of the *choubeichu* wanted to wait until they had completed their preparation work before seeking his permission to found the organization.⁶⁰ However, when Teng Jie learned that there was a danger of the news being leaked to their former Whampoa chancellor (*xiaozhang*), he decided to send a personal message to Chiang's secretary, Deng Wenyi, who was with him at Fenghua, asking that Deng report the project to Chiang immediately. The Generalissimo's response—conditioned by the conviction that he had to mobilize support for his policy of internal pacification—was quite positive. There were a number of proposals before him now to form societies or associations to "save the country," and he evidently believed that the Lixingshe plan was the most promising one at hand "to cope with the domestic and international crisis."⁶¹

Meanwhile, a peculiarly strong bond was being formed between Chiang and the young Whampoa graduate-to-be, Dai Li, who came to pay his respects to the future Generalissimo and walked away stunned by his leader's charisma. At that time Chiang and the military leadership of the Nationalist Party were offering all dropped-out Whampoa students the chance to go back to complete their studies. Dai Li was an "ungraduated" officer of the academy's sixth class in cavalry. Given the opportunity to return for a regular officer's commission, Dai Li hesitated. He felt that his future was with Chiang, come what may, and therefore decided to accept the titular role of *meiyou biye de Huangpu liuqisheng*, that is, a Whampoa nongraduate of the sixth class, in order to stay at Chiang's side and provide him with the intelligence he needed to defeat his enemies. This was an extremely important decision for Dai Li. It signaled his utter commitment to Chiang along with his willingness to subordinate himself to the leader.⁶²

Chapter 6

The Founding of the Lixingshe

Before we resist foreign enemies, we must pacify domestically, which means first of all that we must unite domestically. Then we can mobilize the entire country in material production and education, so as to acquire the capability to resist the Japanese in a protected way. Only after that can we engage in comprehensive resistance. Only at that point will we be confident that we can secure a national victory. We cannot afford to lose this war. Only after we have won the war will we have an opportunity to begin to construct our ideal nation based upon the Three People's Principles.

CHIANG KAI-SHEK, to the Lixingshe founders¹

PREPARATIONS

During his brief exile, Chiang Kai-shek prepared to recover his official posts while he worked out a compromise with Wang Jingwei. On January 17, 1932, Chiang announced that he was going to resume command of the government, and four days later he returned to Nanjing. On February 29 the Military Affairs Commission (Junshi weiyuanhui) was reestablished, and a week later, on March 6, Chiang was appointed its chairman. During these critical two months the Lixingshe was transformed from a plan on paper into a top-secret organization of three hundred devoted Chiang loyalists who would eventually constitute the nucleus of a new national political force of more than half a million followers, identified by the public as members of front groups like the Renaissance Society (Fuxingshe).²

The transformation of the Lixingshe into a major political force began when Chiang Kai-shek summoned the three principal leaders of the “preparations department for protecting the party and saving the nation” (*hudang jiuguo choubeichu*) to attend a meeting in his office on January 22, 1932, the day after he returned to Nanjing.³ Before going in to see their *xiaozhang* the three men—Kang Ze, Teng Jie, and He Zhonghan—met with Secretary Deng Wenyi in the anteroom. The four of them decided that when they walked into Chiang’s presence they would for the first time greet him not as “chancellor” but by an entirely new title: “Leader.” As planned, when they finally were ushered in and the door closed behind them, the men hailed Chiang Kai-shek as *lingxiu*.⁴ Then they formally presented a detailed report of their plan for the Lixingshe. Deng Wenyi took notes.⁵



Figure 8. Chiang Kai-shek's villa outside Nanjing. Photograph by Frederic Wakeman.

Chiang Kai-shek made no comment at first about the new form of address. Instead, he listened to the report intently. But after they were through, he said, “Why don’t you continue addressing me as the *xiaozhang*. You understand what the current situation requires. This plan is very appropriate. However, you are all very young and inexperienced and I am afraid that you may fail. Let me lead *lingdao* you.” His subsequent suggestion, which they of course heeded, was that he summon all of the members of the *choubeichu* to his suburban residence, the Lingyuan Villa (Lingyuan bieshu; see fig. 8), on the grounds of the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum in the hills outside the city, for a “discussion meeting” (*tanhuahui*).⁶ The meeting was scheduled for an evening in the last week of February.⁷ As for the title of “Leader,” or *lingxiu*, Chiang was thus addressed by his closest followers ever after.⁸

In the meantime, if Dai Li’s self-serving recollection fourteen years later is to be trusted, Chiang Kai-shek proceeded—before his first Lingyuan Villa

meeting with the preparations department cadres—to make covert provisions for the establishment of a Special Services Department (Tewuchu) within the nascent Lixingshe.⁹ According to Dai Li's own account, the secret meeting between him and the Generalissimo to establish the Tewuchu was held in the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum Park at 8 on February 26, 1932. At that time, in Dai Li's words, "I received and accepted the Leader's order to set up the Special Services Department."¹⁰ Dai Li went on to say that a certain comrade whom he refused to identify had come to him the next day to say that he, and not Dai Li, had been given control of the personnel and finances of this new department by Chiang Kai-shek. But when Dai Li protested by tendering his resignation to the Generalissimo, Chiang Kai-shek assured him that total administrative control was his.¹¹ Dai Li was subsequently named head of the Special Services Department when it was formally established within the Renaissance Society in late March, and Zheng Jiemin was appointed his deputy.¹²

THE LINGYUAN VILLA MEETINGS

The first of the February *choubeichu* meetings took place at seven o'clock in the evening. A total of twenty-five men showed up at Chiang's detached bungalow in the pine woods just below and to the right of the mausoleum and about one *li* from the Hongwu Emperor's tomb.¹³ In addition to Teng Jie, they were: He Zhonghan, Pan Youqiang, Feng Ti, Sun Changjun, Du Xinru, Gui Yongqing, Deng Wenyi, and Xiao Zanyu of the first class of Whampoa; Ge Wuqi and Cai Jinjun of the second class; Zhou Fu, Kang Ze, Han Wenhuan, Li Yimin, Huang Zhongxiang, Qiu Kaiji, and Luo Derong of the third class; Lou Shaokai of the fourth class; Gan Guoxun, Peng Mengji, and Yi Deming of the fifth class; and Dai Li, Liu Chengzhi, and Chen Qi of the sixth class. Three other members of the preparations department—Hu Zongnan and Zeng Guoqing of the first class and Ye Wei of the fourth class—were absent because of engagements elsewhere.¹⁴

The men gathered in a large rectangular room scattered with couches and wooden chairs. Chiang Kai-shek sat in a round rattan chair against the wall at the west end of the room behind a medium-size desk. Deng Wenyi was seated on a small couch to the Leader's right at a coffee table, prepared to take minutes. After Teng Jie presented a roster, including the names of the three unable to attend, Chiang Kai-shek lifted his eyes and fixed his gaze on every individual in turn. After a pause he said, "Our party and our nation are now in a situation of extraordinary disaster *weinan*, so I have especially invited you to come and chat, in order to get your individual views. Therefore I deliberately will not adopt formal meeting procedures. My emphasis is on hearing each one of you express your own ideas. I put no limitations on the time you may take."¹⁵

Although Chiang did not stipulate the agenda or the order of speakers, the usual practice of Whampoa alumni gatherings was to have those of the earliest class and highest seniority speak first. Consequently, He Zhonghan, the eldest of the first class, led off, followed by Sun Changjun, Pan Youqiang, Gui Yongqing, Du Xinru, Feng Ti, and Xiao Zanyu.¹⁶ Each spoke for twenty to thirty minutes. During the discussion there were no guards posted outside, which was extremely unusual. Dai Li, who was armed, would get up now and then to check outside the room and move around the building. He appeared alert, diligent, and composed. According to Gan Guoxun's recollection, Chiang Kai-shek listened attentively, from time to time using a blue pencil to take notes. Occasionally, he would not hear clearly and quietly ask a question or two, as if he were trying to avoid interrupting the speakers. He seemed calm and patient, which was totally different from his usual stern and commanding attitude toward them, and he appeared to invite comments, letting each presentation run its course.¹⁷

The speeches lasted from 7 to 11. Gui Yongqing took the longest; he had just returned from Germany by way of the USSR, through Kalgan (Zhangjiakou) and Beiping to Nanjing. He reported on the reactions in Europe and north China to the Manchurian and January 28th incidents. At 11 Chiang stood up and said that those who had not had a chance to speak would have an opportunity the next evening at the same time and place. Then he left with Deng Wenyi. The others rode back to Nanjing in the vehicles that brought them. On the trip home very few people spoke, but everyone had an "inspired" (*xingfen*) look.¹⁸

At 6 the next day, the group assembled outside the *choubeichu* on Erlangmiao Street and set off in automobiles for Chiang's villa. Dai Li and Teng Jie were in the first car, and when they reached the bungalow they carefully inspected around the building and inside the meeting room. After Chiang Kai-shek arrived with Deng Wenyi the meeting was called to order and the speeches recommenced. Deng Wenyi was the first person to talk that evening, followed by Wan Wuqi, Cai Jingjun, Zhou Fu, Kang Ze, Li Yimin, and Tang Wenguan. There was a brief interruption by Gui Yongqing, who wished to recommend one of He Yingqin's protégés to the group. Then Qiu Kaiji took his turn and the speeches resumed until 11 when they adjourned for a second time.¹⁹

On the third night, Lou Shaokai was the first to speak, followed by Gan Guoxun, Peng Mengxi, Yi Demin, and Dai Li. According to Gan Guoxun's recollection:

Dai Li worked very hard during those three nights. Everyone else, except when the time came to talk, could sit quietly and rest. He was the only person responsible for security. He did not get a single moment's break. He sat down for two minutes before it was his turn to talk. That was the only break that

he took. He was already past the age of thirty, with heavy eyebrows, big eyes, square mouth. He was wearing a gray-and-white dotted Sun Yat-sen suit. He stood in the middle of the room to express his opinion. He was succinct and forceful. After he finished, he modestly asked the Leader and all his elder brothers (*laodage*) to give him guidance (*zhijiao*).

After Dai Li, Liu Chengzhi and Chen Qi spoke, and then it was finally the turn of the secretary of the *choubeichu*, Teng Jie. Teng should have spoken after Lou Shaokai, but as “the initiator and responsible party from beginning to end,” he waited until the others had finished in order to conclude Chiang’s disciples’ remarks.²⁰

By then it was near midnight. Teng Jie, who was neatly dressed and wearing eyeglasses, stood in the center of the room and spoke with a ringing voice. He announced that, in his view, they must strengthen their organization, recover their revolutionary spirit under the guidance of the Leader, eliminate internal dissidents, and resist the Japanese, “striving for victory with all their strength” (*sili qiusheng*). He firmly believed that “if we manage to get a handle on the situation, we will survive.” According to Teng Jie, history had already proved them invincible. In Guangdong with only a few thousand men they had been able to enlist allies and eliminate enemies more than ten times their size. They had felt no fear of the British imperialists in Hong Kong who supplied their enemies with enormous amounts of ammunition and money, nor of the Communists in their midst who were puppets of the Russians. Regardless, they had unified Guangdong and completed the Northern Expedition. Now, with a military mass of 300,000 men occupying the core zone of several provinces, how could they not form alliances or activate friendly forces to exterminate the Communists and to resist the Japanese imperialists? Expressing the strongest confidence in their cause, Teng Jie declared that they would certainly be able to carry out the unfinished tasks of the Chairman (*Zongli*), Sun Yat-sen, by completing the revolution and building the nation, so that even the spirits of the mountains and rivers were aroused. This was the only way to comfort the souls of Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionary martyrs and meet the hopes of the people of the entire nation.²¹

Behind Teng Jie’s bold and sweeping rhetoric, which invoked the spirits of the land and the souls of the revolutionary dead, lay a simple message: the Chinese, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, could simultaneously crush their internal enemies, the Communists, and repel the external aggressors, the Japanese. But this was not a message that Chiang Kai-shek was prepared to heed. Already the domestic political situation was changing in his favor, and he was about to become chairman of the Military Affairs Commission while Wang Jingwei was named head of the Executive Yuan. From that dominant position, Chiang thought that he would be able to turn

all of his resources upon exterminating the Communists, though this meant momentarily conceding to the Japanese. The slogan *Rangwai bi xian annei*, "If you want to repel foreign aggression, then you must first pacify the interior," was fast becoming a policy. And in Chiang's eyes, the success of counterinsurgency depended entirely upon securing the total consent of his closest followers to implement *annei* (pacification of the interior).²²

Responding to Teng Jie's ebullient address, Chiang Kai-shek chose first to stress the overwhelming danger that the Japanese posed to their nation. He spoke simply, without bombast or flourish:

The Japanese militarists have spent fifty years preparing for the invasion of China. Their army, air force, and navy are all modernized. Once conflict broke out on the battlefield our officers and soldiers in the front lines were almost unable to raise their head to take aim and shoot. All they could do was to strike back and sacrifice themselves. After they had suffered enormous casualties, they retreated and pulled back. Once our back is against the wall and we can find no more soldiers for the battlefield, then all that we will be able to do is to sign an unconditional surrender. And once the surrender is signed, then the country is lost and the race is exterminated.²³

Chiang Kai-shek went on to say that during their 268 years of rule the Manchus had carried out multiple massacres of Yangzhou and Jiading, conducted numerous literary inquisitions, and enacted all kinds of harsh laws to mistreat the Han people. But Japan's rule of Korea and Taiwan over the past fifty years had been even crueler than the Manchu reign. Unfortunately, since Sun Yat-sen's death, "The responsibility of revolution has fallen upon my shoulders. Given my knowledge of ourselves and of our enemies, I must not act irresponsibly to disappoint our Chairman and our martyrs, our country and our people."²⁴

Chiang insisted that the Japanese, with their modernized armies, could do practically anything they wanted, while the Chinese were utterly defenseless. Consequently, the millions of Chinese who opposed his policy of withdrawal and praised the heroes of the Nineteenth Route Army for their suicidal defense of Shanghai were indulging themselves in individualistic heroic posturing. Although what China needed now were "anonymous heroes" (*wuming yingxiong*) to carry out "solid work, tough work, quick work, hard work" (*shigan, yinggan, kuaigan, kugan*), not a single one of these millions was volunteering to go to the front lines.²⁵

Chiang Kai-shek told his disciples that he did, indeed, have a 300,000-man army. If his only goal were to be a popular "national hero" (*minzu yingxiong*), without regard for the greater historical consequences of the crisis, then that ambition was surely not beyond his reach. But his individual honor was nothing compared to the success of the revolution and the safety of the people. To sacrifice the nation to his personal reputation would be-

tray the souls of the Chairman and the revolutionary martyrs, and pass disaster on to posterity. "All I can do is to sustain humiliation and carry the heavy burden [of public opprobrium]," Chiang declared.

I will not lightly speak of laying down our lives before we have come to the last critical moment *guantou*. We will never give up peace until we totally despair of continuing. We must gain time for preparation. And what I mean by the last critical moment, or a time when all hope for peace is completely gone, is the time when the enemy attacks without any consideration of consequences, intending to force us to sign an unconditional surrender and extinguish our country.²⁶

With these words Chiang Kai-shek appeared to have completely won over his audience. Deeply touched by his sincerity, the Whampoa men all rose to their feet to show they accepted their lesson respectfully. By then it was 1 A and Chiang told them to meet him again the following morning at eight at the offices of the Lizhishe on Whampoa Road in Nanjing.²⁷

KEJU—EXAMINATION SELECTION

At eight o'clock on the morning of February 28 the men assembled outside the entrance to the Lizhishe.²⁸ Kang Ze, Hu Zongnan, and about ten others had to be absent.²⁹ Once again, there were no guards and Dai Li alone was in charge of security. After meeting the men at the gate, Dai Li escorted them into a rectangular classroom at the eastern end of the building. On the wall that faced them hung a portrait of Sun Yat-sen bracketed by a couplet: "Revolution has yet to succeed. Comrades must still exert themselves" (*Geming shang wei chenggong, tongzhi reng xu nuli*). Underneath, in front of a blackboard, sat a rattan chair behind a writing desk. Around the desk, arranged in a U shape, were rows of smaller desks with double drawers and wooden benches. Like pupils in class, the Whampoa alumni lined up and sat down in order of seniority. Then Chiang Kai-shek, wearing a blue scholar's gown and accompanied by Deng Wenyi, came in to greet them.³⁰

On this occasion Teng Jie was very much the class monitor, shouting "arise" when Chiang came in, and then reporting who was present before Chiang Kai-shek ordered them to sit down. Glancing through the name list, Chiang wrote in white chalk on the board: "Knowing is hard and doing is easy; the philosophy of principle and nature" (*zhi nan xing yi, li xing zhexue*). Then, he commenced to lecture, referring at times to the *Theories of Sun Yat-sen* (*Sun Wen xueshuo*) and other volumes on the desk. The lecture, which was on Sun Yat-sen's variant of Wang Yangming's "the unity of knowledge and action" (*zhi xing he yi*), went on for more than an hour.³¹

After the lecture was over, Teng Jie passed around paper and each of the former cadets wrote down his choices for the leadership of the new or-

ganization. The ballots were collected and sealed into an envelope by Teng, who passed them on to Chiang. The *lingxiu* then assigned two examination themes: “A discussion of Bismarck’s policy of iron and blood” (*Lun Bisemai de tiexie zhengce*) and “An essay on the significance of a cooperative society” (*Shishu hezuo she de yiyi*).³² He instructed each person to choose one of the two and compose an essay in classical or vernacular Chinese of whatever length he wished. The paper was due the next morning at eight.³³

The following morning, February 29, they returned to the classroom and turned in their essays to Teng Jie.³⁴ On the hour Chiang Kai-shek came in, wearing the same blue gown, accompanied by Deng Wenyi. Teng Jie presented the twenty-odd essays to Chiang, who sat down at the desk, put on his spectacles, and commenced reading, writing comments, and assigning grades. One paper, Yi Deming’s, he found wanting.³⁵ The rest Chiang gave to Teng Jie to hand back while he—Chiang—told his former students to think about his comments and the scores they had received. On the basis of these, their verbal presentation in the evening meetings, their appearance, their Whampoa class, their past experience, and the number of votes they had received in the election Chiang Kai-shek would assign each man a position in the new organization.³⁶

The *lingxiu* and his disciples then walked over to the Lizhishe auditorium, which was dominated by another large photograph of Sun Yat-sen. Holding hands, they formed a circle with the *lingxiu*. Chiang said, “This organization is going to be named the Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe.” Then each man pulled out a written oath that they had been told to prepare earlier and stood at attention, facing the Chairman’s portrait.³⁷ Raising their right hands, they pledged:

I swear in all my sincerity to practice the Three People’s Principles with vigor, to recover revolutionary spirit, to revive the Chinese race, to sacrifice all personal interest, to obey orders, to adhere strictly to secrecy, and to complete the task of revolution and of building the country.³⁸ If I breach my oath, I am willing to accept the most severe punishment. I pledge this sincerely.³⁹

Each stamped his right thumbprint on the oath, which was chopped with Chiang Kai-shek’s seal. The paper texts were then collected by Teng Jie and solemnly burned, just as one would burn paper money to the spirits. Holding hands again, they were addressed one last time by Chiang Kai-shek. “I will do my best to lead you,” he said. “From now on all of you must exert yourselves even harder than before to unite in society, to strive, and to struggle. We will not stop until we achieve our goal. I wish you success.” The Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe was thereby—in a ceremony that eclectically drew upon the cultural trappings of the sworn brigand brotherhood and the literati’s Confucian examination system—formally established.⁴⁰

CORE AND PERIPHERY

This small freemasonry of Chiang Kai-shek loyalists within the right-wing movements and secret service organizations of the Nationalists was from the start hopelessly confused with its front groups or “satellite” (*waiwei*) organizations: the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association (Geming junren tongzhi hui), the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association (Geming qingnian tongzhi hui), the Renaissance Society (Fuxingshe), and the notorious Blue Shirts Society (Lanyishe). The last of these never really existed as a formal Lixingshe instrument as such but was identified with it in official documents, taking on an existence of its own.⁴¹

This confusion was caused in part by the effort to keep the existence of the Lixingshe a secret.⁴²

The secretiveness of the Lixingshe can be viewed from three angles: in terms of personnel, in terms of organization, and in terms of activities. The secrecy in these three areas was closely interconnected. In terms of personnel, no one should disclose their identity in the organization to anyone else, not even to one's own family members, or else one would be disciplined. Comrades who are not involved in the same area of functional assignments should avoid contact, so as to avoid the chance of revealing one's identity. The names of high-level cadres within the organization may not be known to all comrades.⁴³

Concealed by its front groups, the Lixingshe appeared to the public as the Blue Shirts (Lanyi), fascist-seeming fanatics and terrorist thugs whose formal organization was the Renaissance Society.⁴⁴ In truth, the Lixingshe retained a separate identity, acting through the more widely known Fuxingshe, just as it tried to operate secretly within the propaganda, police, and special services to further the cause of Chiang Kai-shek and the Three People's Principles.⁴⁵

The confusion of the Lixingshe with its front groups was also due to the proliferation of other “core organizations” (*hexin zuzhi*) and “satellite organizations” (*waiwei zuzhi*) during this period of national crisis. In 1933, for instance, the “CC” clique founded, with Chiang Kai-shek's encouragement, a Blue and White Squad (Qing bai tuan), which six months later merged with its own front group, the Society of Faithful Comrades of the Guomindang (Guomindang zhongshi tongzhi hui).⁴⁶ And by 1937, after all, there were three different organizations that claimed the name “Renaissance” (*Fuxing*): the Whampoa group's Fuxingshe, the “CC” clique's Minzu fuxing da tongmeng (National Renaissance Confederation), and the Wang Jingwei group's Minzu fuxing hui (National Renaissance Association).⁴⁷ Even within the so-called Whampoa clique's ranks, among Renaissance Society members, there was a welter of individuals who wished to be given credit for being closest to

Chiang Kai-shek by claiming that their own particular organization was the genuine vanguard of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary heirs.⁴⁸

Actual members of the Lixingshe exaggerated their own claims in this regard, especially when it came to explaining the relationship between their organization and Dai Li's secret service. If the Lixingshe can be seen as nesting within its front groups, then the Special Services Department constituted a special embryo of its own, much to the displeasure of some of the founders of the Society for Vigorous Practice. From the very beginning of the Lixingshe, which existed as an organization for six years until it was dissolved in the summer of 1938, the SSD stood apart.⁴⁹ As early as the late summer of 1932 Dai Li had already earned his autonomy by providing more efficient and manageable espionage and surveillance services than his fellow Lixingshe members could offer to the *lingxiu*.⁵⁰

SHOCK TROOPS

Dai Li's independence angered Lixingshe activists, who later praised the secret police chief, but who also insisted upon their own critical importance as the shock troops of the Nationalist Party.

Although the loyalty and dedication of Dai Yunong, and also his contribution to the nation, are admired by everybody and known by everyone, he was but one of a cohort of crack troops *qibing* that facilitated the four major movements of the Lixingshe.⁵¹ He was one of the effective forces contributing to all aspects of construction under the guidance of the Three People's Principles, via the overall organization of the Lixingshe—a force that was utterly loyal to the Leader. That is, he contributed to the Nationalist Party's ability to enforce its policies from the center all the way down to local organizations. However, one thing needs to be clearly distinguished here: scouting and ambush forces *qi* versus main shock troops *zheng*. We must discriminate between the principal *zhu* and the secondary *ke*, so that we can show how the Lixingshe guided the national revolutionary movement into its third high tide *sandu jinru gaochao*, and so that there is no confusion about identifying this as a secret service organization *tewu zuzhi*.⁵²

And the fact remained that the Lixingshe, after all, played an extremely important role in organizing propaganda activities for Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist Party.

One might even characterize the appearance of the Lixingshe in terms of the redirection of an entire generation of Whampoa-trained propagandists who had momentarily lost their importance after the Northern Expedition was over and the anti-Communist extermination campaigns had not yet gotten into full swing. Displaced by former "Beiyang bureaucrats" who had migrated south like carpetbaggers to take over the Nationalist civil service, Chiang's former pupils had to stake out a new claim on the nation's po-

litical resources by creating a movement of their own to mobilize popular opinion behind Chiang and his civil war effort.

In that respect the accomplishment of the Lixingshe's founders was remarkable, even when we discount the fulsome praise of its defenders:

Within this short period of six years, the Lixingshe managed to gain control over the entire society of China, and the influence of its members reached overseas Chinese communities in Asia, Europe, and America. At the time of its founding, there were about two dozen people that attended the ceremony. Toward the end of this six-year period, its membership reached 100,000, including members of the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association for the military, the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association for students, and the Renaissance Society for society at large.⁵³

Nevertheless, the Society for Vigorous Practice remained hidden from public view, eventually mistaken for the Blue Shirts and gradually displaced by the Special Services Department that brought Dai Li much greater historical fame.

Chapter 7

The Lixingshe and the Blue Shirts

The foundation of this association has now been laid. People call us Blue Shirts or terrorists. That is nothing. The important problem to be solved is how to create a new revolutionary atmosphere so as to lead the revolutionary masses. . . . In China today definite action must be taken for temporary relief as well as for a fundamental cure. However, what we need now is a fundamental cure. Our present problem is not the Japanese. Our problem is not the invasion of our northeastern provinces and Rehe. If we can maintain the status quo, it will be enough for the present time. As a revolutionary government, the loss of a little territory does not mean much. The important problem is that of national existence. To save China from destruction we must revive our national spirit. . . . Zhong loyalty, xiaoshun filial piety, dexting virtue, ai love, he harmony, and ping peace should be our central guiding principles for the achievement of li propriety, yi righteousness, lian purity, and chi sense of shame, which comprise the national spirit of China. The success of the Japanese fascists and the Italian fascists is due to this. If we want our revolution to be a success, we must create a party dictatorship.

SE RE S EE A RI ED O IANG AI-S E, spring 1932¹

FRONT GROUPS

On March 1, 1932, the day after they swore to form the Lixingshe, the founders of the Society for Vigorous Practice (SVP) held a “cadres meeting” (*ganbu huiyi*) in the offices on Whampoa Road.² The purpose of the gathering was to organize a directorate and form front groups. He Zhonghan occupied the chair, and Deng Wenyi read out Chiang Kai-shek’s list of the society’s staff officers (*ganshi*). Their commission or executive committee (*ganshihui*) would constitute the executive directorate of the organization.³ The society’s director and secretary general (*changwu ganshi jian shuji*) during the first year of its existence was Teng Jie.⁴ He was to be succeeded in the second year by He Zhonghan, and in the third by Liu Jianqun.⁵ Alongside the secretariat were four departments: general affairs, headed by Li Yimin;⁶ organization, under Xiao Zanyu;⁷ propaganda, directed by Kang Ze;⁸ and special services, commanded first by Gui Yongqing, and then by Dai Li.⁹

In January 1933, when the delegates to the Lixingshe from its various front groups grew too numerous, an additional Control Commission (Jian-

chahui) was created. It supervised the branch offices' performance, meted out discipline, scrutinized budgets, and presided over the oath taking of new members. Its inspectors (*jiancha*) answered to the Staff Officers Commission, but they were granted the authority to imprison and execute malefactors within the organization, and their secret reports were forwarded directly to the Lixingshe secretariat.¹⁰

Following the principles of secrecy they had all pledged to uphold, the cadres decided to organize two front groups.¹¹ The first was the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association (Geming junren tongzhi hui), with Pan Youqiang as the standing staff officer and secretary-general.¹² The RACA was an instant success, expanding rapidly. Perhaps because many attributed its popularity to Hu Zongnan's sponsorship, the RACA was viewed as an arm of the Zhejiang clique (which included Dai Li) within the military.¹³ Consequently, the RACA was relatively short-lived. After the Lixingshe established a delegates' congress (*dahui*) in the spring of 1933, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association abolished, on the grounds that it might disrupt the regular chain of command in the army.¹⁴ However, he did authorize the formation of a Military Affairs Department (Junshichu) within the headquarters of the Lixingshe, appointing Du Xinru its chief.¹⁵

The second front group lasted as long as the Lixingshe itself, constituting an "inner layer" (*neiceng*) called the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association (Geming qingnian tongzhi hui).¹⁶ Ge Wuqi was the standing staff officer and secretary-general, with Gan Guoxun in charge of organization, Kang Ze responsible for propaganda, and Liu Chengzhi directing general affairs.¹⁷ The RYCA was the Lixingshe's primary cover group: its name was used to recruit followers, and it was under its aegis that many of the "special services" (*tewu*) activities of the SVP were implemented in other organizations and offices. Most of the members were Whampoa graduates or mid-level cadres from other right-wing organizations. There was in addition a contingent of higher-level intellectuals, including university professors and mid-level bureaucrats such as party secretaries, section chiefs (*kezhang*), department chiefs (*chuzhang*), bureau chiefs (*juzhang*), and provincial department chiefs (*tingzhang*). All of the "backbone cadres" (*gugan*) or secretaries (*shuji*) of this "inner layer" organization were either Lixingshe members or, as the organization expanded through branch offices (*zhihui*), central level cadres (*zhongyangji ganbu*).¹⁸ The headquarters of the RYCA was located in the Investigation Department (Diaochachu) of the Alumni Information Bureau in the Central Military School's Mingwalang compound in Nanjing.¹⁹

The "democratic centralism" of the RYCA—which at one time had about twenty thousand members—was reinforced by its budgetary practices.²⁰ Expenses at each level of the RYCA were paid for by the level above. The cen-

tral budget was supplemented by membership fees, but its main source was a special section of the Military Affairs Commission budget that Chiang Kai-shek himself had to approve. At each of these levels, the local office of the RYCA was ostensibly the Investigation Bureau's Information Department (Tongxunchu) for Central Military Academy Alumni under the Military Affairs Commission (Junshi weiyuanhui zhongyang ge junshi xuexiao biyesheng hui), which was also associated with the Whampoa Alumni Association. All provincial and municipal branches carried the placard of the Tongxunchu on their door and employed its authority to issue identification cards used by people working in the office. Secretaries and group heads, however, were able to use military titles such as *canmou* (staff officer) to facilitate their public activities. Each branch office also had its own special cover name (*daiming*). The alias, once chosen, had to be approved by the provincial office or the central office, and the *daiming* was used thereafter in all communications. Higher-level organizations addressed lower-level branches as "younger brother" (*di*), in return being called "elder brother" (*xiong*).²¹

Together "elder" and "younger" branches, "core" and "inner layer" groups, came together to control several crucial indoctrination programs for officers and officials going through the Nationalist military and civil training system. Members of the Lixingshe and the RYCA took part in the political training of cadres in the infantry, artillery, engineering, and quartermaster corps; and they were deeply involved in seminars for district administration personnel run by the Ministry of the Interior, and in summer training programs held at Lushan for higher-ranking party and political military personnel.²² Lixingshe members also commanded the Chief Brigade for the Higher Education of Army Officers (Junguan gaodeng jiaoyu zongdui), which conducted a six-month training course for six hundred graduates of the first six classes of the Central Military Academy in 1932.²³

Members of the Lixingshe and the RYCA further dominated the leadership of the Training Class for Army Officers Attached to the Military Academy (Junxiao fushe junguan xunlianban). The four brigades of this training unit were put together in August 1932 with more than 1,700 officers between the ranks of lieutenant and colonel who were detached from their regular units for a year. The flavor of their allegiance was partly captured in their class anthem, "Song of the Leader" (*Lingxiu ge*):

China is indeed great!
 Each generation has its worthy and able men.
 Though there have always been disorder and upheaval
 We've always been able to recover *fuxing*.
 Today Chiang Kai-shek is our savior *jiuxing*.
 We march forward together with him.
*Fuxing! Fuxing!*²⁴

The brigades' graduates, who had three German officers as their advisers, mostly returned to their original posts, though a small number were retained in the Military Academy as members of the Chief Brigade for Military Instruction (Jiaodao zongdui).²⁵

THE FUXINGSHE

The most important additional group created by the Lixingshe was the Renaissance Society (Fuxingshe). This "third-tier satellite organization" (*disanji waiwei zuzhi*) was added to the SVP-RYCA structure in July 1932, when Ren Juewu was serving as the secretary-general of the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association. After a particularly hot and humid meeting in the association offices, which were then located in Ren's residence at Number 4 Sanyili, Nanjing, a group of the staff officers clambered up to the roof of the building to cool off. Enjoying the breeze, Ren Juewu casually suggested forming yet another front group, saying "These days quite a few young people have applied to join our Geming qingnian tongzhi hui. We must not ignore them. But if we want to preserve secrecy and also screen the character of the applicants, then how about using the name 'Renaissance Society' *Fuxingshe* as a third-tier group to absorb them into the organization?"²⁶ The staff officers formally put Ren Juewu's suggestion on the agenda for the next Lixingshe meeting, which endorsed the proposal and submitted it to Chiang Kai-shek. He approved the recommendation, and the Fuxingshe promptly sprang into existence.²⁷

The Renaissance Society became well known, according to Gan,

because it had no cadres, no organization, no offices, and no funding from the central level all the way down to branch and local organizations. All of its affairs, in fact, were taken care of by the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association. Also, recruitment on this level was not very strict. So the Renaissance Society flourished. That is why this national revival movement *minzu fuxing yundong* acquired such fame.²⁸

Membership in the satellite organizations was automatic for those who belonged to the Lixingshe. However, the reverse was not true, and membership was tightly controlled the closer one got to the core. As a relatively distant satellite, the Renaissance Society was correspondingly easy to join, once one had been recommended by older or former members of the group. The application form was simple, and initiations usually were conducted in groups of ten before portraits of Chiang Kai-shek. On some occasions in Nanjing, where Chiang Kai-shek accepted the oaths in person, three to six hundred people participated in the swearing-in ceremonies.²⁹

If Renaissance Society members were nominated for the RYCA, on the other hand, they had to be endorsed by a general meeting of that group,

and then be screened by the Lixingshe before their names were passed on to the supreme Leader for his approval.³⁰ The same procedure worked for the next level up: “A member of the RYCA [wanting to join the SVP] had to pass through a Lixingshe general meeting and then be presented to the Leader for approval, and only after getting his approval would he take his oath and become a member of the Lixingshe.”³¹

The Renaissance Society did not have the authority to make official appointments, but its higher-level cadres did use the administrative cover of deputy (*weiyuan*) in the Political Indoctrination Department (Zhengxun chu).³² The Renaissance Society was dominated internally by a Staff Officers Committee (Ganshihui),³³ but power was wielded by its secretary-general (*shujizhang*), who was appointed directly by the chairman (*huizhang*), Chiang Kai-shek.³⁴ Under the secretary-general, who was Teng Jie initially, there were groups (*zu*) or departments (*chu*) for organization, propaganda, and training led respectively by Zhou Fu, Kang Ze, and Gui Yongqing.³⁵ The Special Services Department, of course, was put in Dai Li’s hands. This same structure was replicated at the provincial and municipal levels, with the fundamental grassroots unit being the small group, or cell (*xiaozu*), which usually held weekly meetings.³⁶

General meetings were hardly ever convoked, except for those rare occasions when district (*qu*) and branch (*fen*) associations assembled. All decisions came from the top down, and there was nothing resembling a congress or representative caucus.³⁷ The content of the weekly cell meeting was dictated by the higher-level organization’s written instructions. Usually, the meetings were about internal and international political events, important propaganda points, activities of the local group, and investigation activities toward suspected Communist elements and “CC” clique members. After each meeting, the head of the cell was supposed to write a report that was sent up to the next level. Intelligence reports went directly to the central organization, bypassing the branch committees.³⁸

Each level of the Renaissance Society, from central headquarters to branch offices, was supposedly attached to parallel organs at an identical level in the RYCA. The one nestled within the other, and the “responsible person” (*fuzeren*) in the RYCA was also the “responsible person” in the Renaissance Society.³⁹ However, there were efforts to draw a visible distinction between membership in each group. RYCA members addressed each other as “best friends” (*zhiyou*), while Renaissance Society members were only supposed to exchange greetings as “good friends” (*haoyou*). Both Fuxingshe and RYCA members who received more than two hundred yuan a month were supposed to tithe to the organization (a duty that almost never was carried out), but while the former could only be dismissed for a Renaissance Society infraction, RYCA members could be placed under house arrest and even

in some cases executed for infringing the association's rules.⁴⁰ In practice, membership often overlapped, and the distinction between cells in the *Geming qingnian tongzhi hui* and cells in the *Fuxingshe* often became confused.⁴¹ "The Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association and the Renaissance Society, except for the distinction between inner and outer layers, actually was one single thing," explained one former provincial secretary of both groups. "Thus it is quite possible to use the term *Fuxingshe* to represent these two organizations together."⁴²

Taken as a whole then, the freemasonry consisted of three tiers, with the *Lixingshe* at the "core" (*hexin*) encircled by two front groups.⁴³ All three constituted parallel hierarchies, extending downward like columns from the capital to the provinces via bureaucratic offices and occupational associations.⁴⁴ At the peak of its activities, this entire three-ringed structure consisted of more than 500,000 members, with those in the outer circles supposedly not knowing about the existence of the inner ones until they were tapped for membership.⁴⁵ The innermost core always remained the *Lixingshe*, whose name was sometimes shortened to the *Lishe* or Power Society, and its eighty or ninety activists continued to be predominantly Whampoa graduates.⁴⁶ A few civilians were also invited to join—such as Counselor Liu Wendao, who had been the Chinese diplomatic minister to Italy and had good contacts with the Fascists there.⁴⁷

If it was possible for members of the RYCA and the Renaissance Society to refer to their own separate "inner layer" and "satellite organization" together as the *Fuxingshe*, then it is little wonder that the public at large identified the entire structure collectively as the Renaissance Society. In addition, however, the Renaissance Society was lumped together indiscriminately with the ubiquitous and amorphous Blue Shirts (*Lanyi*). This confusion arose when one of the "outsiders" recommended to Chiang Kai-shek for membership in the original *Lixingshe* freemasonry tried to claim personal credit for the foundation of a separate *Lanyishe*, or Blue Shirts Society.

During the second "preparations department" meeting held in late February 1932 at Chiang Kai-shek's bungalow, the regular sequence of speeches according to seniority had been interrupted by Gui Yongqing after Han Wenhuan spoke. Qiu Kaiji was next in line, but before he started, Gui Yongqing, who had spoken at such length the night before about his trip across Europe and Asia, surprised everyone by raising his hand. He said he wanted to recommend a "talent" (*rencai*) to the *lingxiu* in the presence of them all. His nominee was He Yingqin's secretary-general Liu Jianqun, who—like General He, former minister of war, member of the Special Affairs Committee of the Central Political Council, and Chiang Kai-shek's closest military supporter—hailed from Guizhou.⁴⁸

LIU JIANQUN

To these former Whampoa cadets Liu Jianqun was an outsider.⁴⁹ Although many among them knew and respected him, he had never attended the academy, and as a civilian he only held a rank equivalent to major general. Nevertheless, Gui said, "He is a party loyalist and a patriot, and he has concrete proposals about protecting the party and saving the country *hudang jiuguo*. We must get him and make use of him." At this Chiang Kai-shek nodded and responded, "Please ask him to come to the military academy tomorrow morning at eight for a chat."⁵⁰

The introduction of Liu Jianqun into their proceedings completely entangled the founders of the Lixingshe with what became known to the public as the notorious Blue Shirts Society. This confusion has persisted to the present, largely due to the Japanese press, which for years referred indiscriminately to all of the activities of the Lixingshe and its front organizations as the doings of the Blue Shirts, regardless of whether they were actual Special Services Department operations or spontaneous acts of patriotic resistance.⁵¹ To be sure, the confusion was initially perpetrated by Liu Jianqun himself, who was eager to take credit for the formation of this paramilitary force in order to press his own claims for recognition within the ranks of Chiang Kai-shek's right-wing supporters.⁵²

Liu Jianqun put forward these contentions to reporters in a press conference that he convened in January 1933, eleven months after the Lixingshe founding, when he was serving as commander of the North China Propaganda Brigade (*Huabei xuanchuan dui*) in Beiping. At that meeting he distributed three treatises of his creation, including one entitled "The Organization of the Blue Shirts Society of the Chinese Guomindang." This was the proposal that he had circulated to the Guomindang Central Executive Committee meeting in Nanjing in October 1931, calling for the formation of a Blue Shirts Society "in an endeavor to strengthen the internal organization of the party" at a time when so many members of the GMD were said by him to be avaricious militarists, corrupt officials, local bullies, and rotten gentry.⁵³

Liu's tract went on to say that there had been disputes about the name of this proposed society, with some people favoring the term "Youth Corps" while others wanted to call it the "Cotton Cloth Corps."⁵⁴ Liu felt that both of these titles were unsuitable, "as the former might be misunderstood for the youth group of the Communist Party, while the second name is not complete as there are other native products such as silk." Because the Guomindang regarded blue-green (*qing*) and white as party colors, and because blue shirts were both stipulated formal attire for the Nationalists and the standard dress of the common people since ancient times, Liu proposed taking the name "Blue Shirts Society of the Chinese Guomindang" for his

new group. There was both a nativist and a populist tone to these suggestions, which took homespun as a symbol of patriotism and western clothing as a sign of cultural betrayal. "Members of the society must use native goods everywhere, and those who attend a formal conference of the society must wear the Sun Yat-sen uniform."⁵⁵

The briefing may have been held because Liu wanted to elevate his position among Chiang Kai-shek loyalists alongside as well as within the Lixingshe power structure. After he was recommended by Gui Yongqing to Chiang Kai-shek, Liu was introduced by He Zhonghan and Teng Jie to the inner circle of the Lixingshe. Through their formal *tuijian* (recommendation) Liu was invited to join the second tier of the organization as a full-fledged member of the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association. Now, by claiming to have urged Chiang Kai-shek to set up a Blue Shirts Society eighteen months earlier, Liu Jianqun was both seeking to create a power base of his own and establish a right to higher office within the core and satellite organizations of the Lixingshe.⁵⁶

His effort proved to be successful. More than a year later, in April 1934, Liu Jianqun was transferred from the Beiping branch of the Department of Political Indoctrination (*Zhengxun chu*) to become secretary of the headquarters of the Renaissance Society in Nanjing. At the same time he was made standing staff officer of the Society for Vigorous Practice—an office he was reappointed to after Feng Ti's disgrace over the Wang Jingwei assassination attempt in November 1935. Although his Lixingshe post was kept secret, Liu Jianqun's position as secretary-general of the Renaissance Society must have strengthened the link in the public's mind between the Fuxingshe and the Lanyishe. This infuriated Lixingshe insiders, who were dismayed by the connection Liu's position suggested between their movement and a fascist Blue Shirts movement.⁵⁷

Gan Guoxun, who was the standing staff officer (*changwu ganshi*) of the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association and a founding member of the Lixingshe, accused such latecomers as Liu Jianqun of belonging to satellite organizations that were deliberately excluded from the highest tier or innermost circle of the structure and prohibited from making horizontal links of their own.⁵⁸ Such outsiders, Gan argued, ignorantly or malevolently identified the Fuxingshe with the Blue Shirts.

They linked together the third-tier satellite organization, the Renaissance Society, which was a false front *xu she*, to the Blue Shirts Society, which never existed at all *jue wu* What they wrote catered to the curiosity of some of those people who did not understand the true situation. However, they erred in alluding to fascism and to special services organizations.⁵⁹

Gan Guoxun's argument falters insofar as Liu Jianqun was his superior leader within the core organization of the Lixingshe, though not one of

the founding members. The high office Liu held as secretary-general of Chiang's top-secret freemasonry may have even reinforced other Lixingshe members' sense of connectedness to the Blue Shirts. Certainly, the public continued to make that connection, thanks precisely to Liu Jianqun's evident importance among Guomindang propagandists.⁶⁰

NEW SATELLITES

The connection between the mysterious Lixingshe, the Fuxingshe, and the Lanyishe was reinforced by other satellite members, many of them younger Whampoa alumni, who knew that at least some of these organizations were formed around March 1, 1932, by the cohort of Chiang loyalists who were prominent in propaganda, military indoctrination, and intelligence work. They knew of the existence of a Society for Vigorous Practice, which they believed was based on three principles: Chiang Kai-shek would be the supreme and permanent Leader; Whampoa alumni would form the base of the group; and its members would follow the precepts of the Three People's Principles, practice Communist organizational techniques, and cultivate the spirit of Japanese samurai.⁶¹ They thought that responsibility for actually forming and organizing the Lixingshe was delegated to five members of the founding group: He Zhonghan, Feng Ti, Teng Jie, Zhou Fu, and Kang Ze.⁶² They understood that the organization was completely centralized around this "core nucleus" (*hexin zu*) of five men plus fifty-odd others, including Gui Yongqing, Yuan Shouqian, Deng Wenyi, Xiao Zanyu, Huang Yong, Gu Xiping, Jiang Jianren, Du Xinru, Chen Shaoping, Yi Deming, Li Yimin, Zheng Jiemin, and Dai Li. And they were told that a number of cells within the Lixingshe held weekly meetings in Chiang Kai-shek's official residence inside the Mingwalang compound, where they were given lectures by their "principal" on the "philosophy of practicing with vigor," and where they also studied German and Italian fascist organizations.⁶³

The association between this group and the Blue Shirts was reinforced even more when the Japanese became convinced of the group's existence.⁶⁴ This came about partly through Liu Jianqun's press conference and partly through the writings of Fu Shenglan, who published a book called *The inside Story of the Blue Shirts (Lanyishe de neimu)* in which he described the Blue Shirts as a secret service organization.⁶⁵ Fu was a member of the Communist Party who was persuaded by Kang Ze to join one of the satellite organs of the Lixingshe in 1933. Later he transferred his allegiance to the Wang Jingwei puppet government, and during the War of Resistance he served as the collaborationist mayor of Hangzhou. His book on the Blue Shirts was adopted by the Japanese military police in Shanghai as teaching material to train Chinese who worked for the Japanese secret service.⁶⁶

Meanwhile, all that the public knew, according to Liu Jianqun, was that membership in the Blue Shirts Society had to be kept a strict secret.

With a view to attaining the object of immediately overthrowing the feudal influences, exterminating the Red Bandits, and dealing with foreign insult[s], members of the Blue Shirts Society should conduct in secret their activities in various provinces, *xian*, and cities, except for the central Guomindang headquarters and other political organs whose work must be executed in an official manner.⁶⁷

Even though Blue Shirts were supposed to “launch people’s movements,” they were also told to be prepared to assume “secret service” duties and never to reveal to others that they were from the Guomindang.⁶⁸

Indeed, the reason the Shanghai Municipal Police Special Branch had so few details about the Blue Shirts during their seven years’ existence was precisely because those who had sworn oaths to join the society “were forbidden to admit to outsiders that they were members of the Blue Shirts Society or to disclose its secrets under the penalty of death, which was the only punishment.”⁶⁹ Needless to say, the existence of the Blue Shirts was never publicly recognized by Chiang Kai-shek.⁷⁰

Liu Jianqun himself, while claiming credit for suggesting the establishment of the society in the first place, had to go on record before the press as not having created the organization. Questioned by a *Beiping chenbao* reporter as to whether or not the Blue Shirts had actually been formed, Liu replied:

In the winter of 1931, I suggested the reorganization of the Guomindang with the sole object of promoting universal respect towards the Three Principles of the People. The foundation of the Blue Shirts Society is interlocked with that of the Guomindang. The Blue Shirts Society will have no new doctrines beyond those of the Guomindang. We can at once know the object of the organization by understanding the original title, the Blue Shirts Society and not the Blue Shirts Party. This scheme of mine was only a suggestion to the Guomindang. I have not as a matter of fact participated in any movement of this nature. I am not in a position to give any reply to all kinds of questions relating to the activities of this organization.⁷¹

The reporter concluded at the end of the January 1933 press conference that “From Mr. Liu’s statement, it was still impossible for us to speak with any certainty of the existence or non-existence of this society.”⁷² What was certain, however, was that the press, as well as foreign intelligence and police organs, would thereafter equate the activities of the Renaissance Society (and, behind it, the Lixingshe) with right-wing or fascist Blue Shirts in their midst.⁷³

Who, for example, was behind the formation of the new Nationalist version of the Chinese Boy Scouts (*Zhongguo tongzi jun*) in April 1933? There



Figure 9. Chinese Boy Scouts. Imperial War Museum, IB2797c.

had been a Boy Scouts movement in China since 1915, when Jing Hengyi established a national branch that participated in the Boy Scouts world congress after the war.⁷⁴ But the Chinese Boy Scouts of the 1930s embodied a much more militaristic effort, closely associated with the Office for National Military Training (Guomin junshi jiaoyu zu) that was formed in July 1932.⁷⁵ Zhao Fansheng, a military academy graduate who served as the office's director, and Yang Kejing, head of academic affairs for the Guomin junshi jiaoyu zu, had originally been section and unit heads in the national Boy Scouts headquarters.⁷⁶

With the help of Lixingshe founder Gan Guoxun, Zhao and Kang drafted a program, complete with charter and budget, to train Boy Scouts officers from around the country. After Chiang Kai-shek approved the proposal, 160 students were recruited for cadre training. One-third were graduates of the military academy, and the rest were Boy Scouts officers already serv-

ing in schools in the provinces. The purpose of the six-month program was to train officers and instructors "to reform the Chinese Boy Scouts, to strengthen and enlarge their organization, to stimulate their intellectual and physical capacities, to heighten their consciousness, to firm up their patriotic and revolutionary will, and to give these youths some military knowledge."⁷⁷ At the same time, the Lixingshe set up another satellite operation in the form of a Society for Vigorous Advancement (Lijinshe), which was specifically charged with penetrating the Boy Scouts. By April 1933 the Lijinshe had three hundred members, all of whom were provincial and municipal officers of the newly staffed *Zhongguo tongzhi jun*.⁷⁸

Other freshly formed satellite groups of the Society for Vigorous Practice sought to control the activities of non-Han peoples within China, including members of nationalistic movements abroad. These activities were coordinated by the Ethnic Movements Committee (*Minzu yundong weiyuanhui*), which was formed by Lixingshe founders in April 1932 to aid in the "independence movement of minority races."⁷⁹ The Ethnic Movements Committee covertly sponsored a League of Korean Righteous Martyrs (*Chaoxian yilie tuan*, or *Uiyóltan* in Korean), headed by Chin Kuk-pin, who was a Korean graduate of the fourth class at Whampoa.⁸⁰ The latter organization, which was quite separate from the Korean Independence Party (*Chaoxian dolidang*) of Kim Ku, organized top-secret "Korean revolutionary training classes" (*Chaoxian geming xunlianban*) that were held in a temple deep in the Mao Mountains, where Hu Hanmin was under house arrest.⁸¹ Each class had about one hundred students enrolled from six months to a year under brigade officers and instructors who were all of Korean origin.⁸² Later, in 1936, the unit was taken over by Kang Ze, and then moved to Chongqing via Wuchang. Chin Kuk-pin, the class director, hoped for U.S. support of his League of Korean Righteous Martyrs after 1945, but he parted ways with Syngman Rhee, and eventually fell into American disfavor and subsequent obscurity.⁸³

Training operations like these were undoubtedly seen by the Japanese as yet another instance of the nefarious Blue Shirts' involvement in their own colonial affairs. They were, in fact, tantamount to clandestine intelligence activities that fell under the purview of Dai Li's Special Services Department, so that the line between Lixingshe guidance and SSD direction was not always clearly drawn.

DAI LI'S GROWING INDEPENDENCE

As we have seen, Dai Li was given instructions by Chiang Kai-shek to set up a separate *Tewuchu* (Special Services Department) even before the Lixingshe was ceremonially founded in February and March 1932. Formal establishment of the SSD occurred a month later, on April 1, 1932, which

became the official date of the founding of Dai Li's secret service, to be commemorated annually thereafter in ceremonies that grew more and more elaborate through the late 1930s and early 1940s. At the time of the founding, according to an account by one of Dai Li's deputies, Chiang Kai-shek instructed his disciple to turn to *The Water Margin* (*Shui hu zhuan*) for guidance, "because when the bravos of Liangshanbo got together in the Hall of Loyalty and Righteousness, their activities consisted of nothing more than intelligence and operations *qingbao yu xingdong*."

In historical texts there is mention of the Eastern Depot and Western Depot of the Ming dynasty.⁸⁴ In novels there are descriptions of the activities of the *xuedizi* [assassins] of the early Qing. But there are no real records for us to look into about any of these activities. For historically reliable evidence, there is only chapter thirteen of *Sunzi*, the assassination of Song Jiaoren by the Northern Government [of Yuan Shikai], the assassination of Chen Qimei,⁸⁵ and the time when Sun Yat-sen sent an agent carrying huge sums of money from Guangzhou to Shanghai to try to influence the northern warlords. These are cases for which there is evidence.⁸⁶

Along with this advice to look into fiction for the lore of assassins and to peruse the few recorded instances of special operations in modern times, Chiang provided more immediately practical help to Dai Li. He ruled that all personnel matters related to this new department would come under the Leader's direct supervision and not be reported to the Society for Vigorous Practice. The SSD was accordingly housed apart from the Lixingshe in Dai Li's apparatus at 53 Chicken Goose Lane.⁸⁷

The establishment of a Special Services Department within the Lixingshe-Fuxingshe structure marked a crucial change in the evolution of Dai Li's own secret service. While a liaison unit (*lianluo jiguan*) was formed in the Communications Department at the Central Military Academy in Mingwanglang, Dai Li was also given the authority in late March 1932 to organize an Intelligence Personnel Training Class (*Qingbao renyuan xunlianban*) in the Honggong Temple (*Honggong citang*) for military academy graduates and others demonstrating a "special talent for intelligence."⁸⁸

Gan Guoxun later claimed that the training class was intended to provide personnel for the Lixingshe in general and not Dai Li's apparatus in particular.

He addressed himself to the needs of the Lixingshe and syncretically adopted the very best teaching materials from China, Japan, Germany, Russia, Britain, and America. He also picked instructors and staff officers with a wide range of backgrounds. He gave his students rigorous, secret, short-term training in intelligence operations. Upon graduation all of these students took an oath of loyalty to the Three People's Principles, to the Leader, and to the organization. They swore to sacrifice all personal interest, to adhere strictly to secrecy,

and to be faithful to their duties and responsibilities. The size of each class was about one hundred or fewer. They were guided by the wishes of the Leader and the ruling principles of the Society for Vigorous Practice. They were under the command of the Special Services Department. They sought to contribute their efforts to the Lixingshe's four main movements, to supply information, and to be responsible for taking extraordinary measures. However, they had to observe discipline strictly as well as be loyal to the Leader. This was a surprise strike force *qibing* for the implementation of all of the Lixingshe programs.⁸⁹

However, the actual experience of those who went through the first Intelligence Personnel Training Class between May and December 1932 was that Lixingshe members rarely showed up at the Honggong Temple.⁹⁰ Zheng Jiemin, who was in charge of educational affairs, and Li Shizhen, who was in charge of training, seldom came, and except for Dai Li and Chiang Kai-shek himself, no other Lixingshe members visited the class at all during those eight months.⁹¹

According to the charter of the Lixingshe, members without direct responsibility were not allowed to involve themselves in lower-level organizations. That might be one explanation for the lack of contact between Lixingshe members and the Honggong Temple training unit. But the obvious reason was that the SSD was by then already well on its way to attaining semi-autonomous status within the Lixingshe-Fuxingshe conglomerate.⁹²

Chiang Kai-shek was by then discovering that it was easier and less time-consuming to entrust certain tasks to Dai Li than to call upon the other zealous and contentious Whampoa men who had formed the SVP in the first place. By the summer of 1932 there were already signs of rifts within their ranks. Not only were there the fisticuffs between civilian and military members of the "inner layer" associations, but there was also an incipient factionalism developing along regional lines that would eventually prove fatal to both the Lixingshe and the Renaissance Society.⁹³ But it was less latent factionalism than administrative inexperience and sectarian zeal that put Chiang off at this point. Initially he had been determined to train these arrogant and often conceited young men into a staff of ultraloyal assistants.⁹⁴ During the first six months of 1932 he consulted the Lixingshe about a wide variety of national matters, both trivial and important.⁹⁵ However, on June 5 Chiang wrote in his diary, "Every meeting I have had with the Lixingshe has lasted over three hours. The naiveté of these students burns my heart. How can I nurture cadre talents and acquire true assistants?"⁹⁶

Part of the problem was the time and effort that Lixingshe members demanded of him. Normally, when people wrote to Chiang Kai-shek they tried to be as concise as possible. Lengthy articles were always abstracted and memoranda were summarized so that Chiang could get a glimmer of their contents at a glance. But members of the Society for Vigorous Practice

ignored the fact that Chiang's time was precious, and they frequently presented him with documents that were tens of thousands of characters long. From time to time Chiang advised his new cadres to write more pithily, but they ignored this and continued as loquaciously as before, even bragging to friends about the length of their memorials to the Leader.⁹⁷

Another quality of his boastful disciples that infuriated Chiang Kai-shek was their readiness to recommend their friends for high office regardless of their qualifications. On September 13, 1921, Chiang wrote in his diary that he had sent Teng Jie and Kang Ze the following cable:

Many of those people recommended by members of the Lixingshe are not fit for their jobs. Some of them are corrupt. They have the bad habit of boasting and demanding loans. From now on, before the Lixingshe recommends someone, it should do a solid job of scrutinizing the person's qualifications. From this point on, if anyone who has been recommended does something that brings shame to his office, then the person doing the recommending will be punished for the same crime. Please transmit this message to all staff officers *ganshiyuan*.⁹⁸

By then, less than four months after the Honggong Temple intelligence training program had begun, Chiang was already inclined to favor Dai Li over other self-serving Lixingshe stalwarts.

Meanwhile, Dai Li was making certain that none of his SSD lieutenants confused allegiance to the Lixingshe with loyalty to him and the Leader. Qiu Kaiji, one of the Lixingshe founders, was put in charge of the SSD Executive Section (Zhixingke). It was clear that Qiu owed his position to the Staff Officers Commission, to which he directly reported. Dai Li refused to brook such independence, and tension between the two men grew. One day in May 1932 Dai Li and Qiu Kaiji met in the SSD offices, and while they were engaged in conversation a shot was fired through the door, wounding Qiu behind the ear. Dai Li instantly reported the "accident" to Chiang Kai-shek, saying that a guard had been polishing his gun in the next room and the pistol went off by mistake. Qiu Kaiji eventually recovered from the injury, but after he recuperated he was transferred from 53 Chicken Goose Lane to a position in Hankou.⁹⁹

The Staff Officers Commission was well aware of the tension between Dai Li and Qiu Kaiji, and after this incident occurred He Zhonghan came to see the Lixingshe secretary-general, Teng Jie. He Zhonghan said that the SSD was growing dangerously autonomous, and he demanded that the situation be corrected. Teng subsequently arranged a meeting with Dai Li. He Zhonghan confronted the SSD chief directly, but Dai Li had no intention of backing down. As the argument intensified, Dai Li lost his temper, pounded on the table, and was about to storm out of the room, when Teng Jie soothingly urged a compromise. Eventually Dai Li agreed that for matters handed

down by the Leader, the SSD would be directly accountable to the *lingxiu*; for matters decided by the society (*tuanti*), the SSD would be accountable to the Lixingshe.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, the staff officers and secretaries at the Mingwalang headquarters of the Lixingshe were not permitted to inquire about the activities of the SSD, which continued to remain directly under Chiang Kai-shek's supervision. Similarly, at the provincial level—where *tewuzhan* (special services stations) were established and where the station chief (*zhanzhang*) was also a member of the provincial Ganshihui and a staff officer in his own right—the provincial affairs commission and its secretaries were not allowed to delve into the operations of the special services station either. The secret service within the Renaissance Society was thus quite hermetic, a separate *xitong* (system) in its own right.¹⁰¹

It is important to recognize, however, that Dai Li could not do without the Renaissance Society and the so-called Blue Shirts that constituted its membership. The nominal relationship of the SSD to the Fuxingshe not only provided Dai Li with the cover of all the local branches of the Renaissance Society that would be founded in the provinces in months and years to come; it also gave him a public affiliation for his own satellite group, the Loyal and Patriotic Association (*Zhongyi jiuguo hui*), which was attached directly to the Special Services Department.¹⁰² The Loyal and Patriotic Association, which was established in the spring of 1935, was distinguished from other front groups by being regarded as a fourth-tier organization thanks to its membership of merchants and workers, who were ranked lower on the Confucian social hierarchy than soldiers and peasants. Moreover, its branches in the provinces and municipalities were supervised by the staff officer in charge of special services in the local Renaissance Society or RYCA office, and that person reported directly to Dai Li's headquarters in Chicken Goose Lane. The purpose of the *Zhongyi jiuguo hui* was "to organize and train members of labor and commercial circles, and to reform gangs and secret societies *bang hui* and get them to join the national revival movement *minzu fuxing yundong*." The Loyal and Patriotic Association will assist in the reform of the lower level of society, and also in the gathering of intelligence."¹⁰³ The membership of the *Zhongyi jiuguo hui* was the foundation of what later became the Loyal and Patriotic Army (*Zhongyi jiuguo jun*), which was trained by the Sino-American Cooperative Organization in World War II as anti-Japanese guerrillas to support future American military landings in southeastern China.¹⁰⁴

But that was yet to come. For the moment the single most important benefit to Dai Li of the establishment of a semi-independent SSD within the Lixingshe-Fuxingshe organization was the provision of a reasonably stable and regular budget for his secret apparatus's activities.¹⁰⁵ Thereafter, Dai Li was able to prepare his annual budget request and submit it directly to

Chiang Kai-shek, who kept it apart from the Renaissance Society's regular budget that was funded through the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association. The moneys were earmarked for the SSD, however, on a formal basis and no longer came out of the special operating funds that Chiang previously had to supply out of irregular Guomindang resources. Because the sums were not insignificant (according to hearsay at the time, the total budget of the SSD was more than ten times larger than the regular general affairs budget of the RYCA), there had been some criticism of Chiang's diversion of funds that might have been put to more productive use.¹⁰⁶ By placing his secret service operations within the Fuxingshe and providing funds from the Military Affairs Commission and its branch offices, together with contributions from military schools, Chiang allayed such criticism.¹⁰⁷

These new revenues came to 54,000 Chinese dollars per month, which covered about one-quarter of the SSD's 200,000 of expenses every thirty days. By 1934, however, Dai Li's expanded secret service activities reportedly required 1.2 million per month. Chiang Kai-shek therefore had to turn to other sources of income to keep the SSD in operation.¹⁰⁸ Japanese investigators reporting on the Blue Shirts said that one source of their money was the confiscation of opium.¹⁰⁹ According to a Shanghai Municipal Police memorandum, Chiang's men seized a large quantity of morphine in Hankou in 1933, and Chiang Kai-shek had Du Yuesheng, the racketeer, open up a plant in Pudong to refine the drug to be sold for medical purposes—the proceeds of which were supposed to support the Blue Shirts. In actuality, this provided Du with an opportunity to refine drugs for the illegal narcotics market using morphine that he acquired clandestinely from Zhang Xueming (one of Zhang Zuolin's sons), who was director of the Public Safety Bureau in Tianjin. But other funds were made available to Chiang Kai-shek when he learned about Du's illicit enterprise, and they presumably found their way to the coffers of the Special Services Department at 53 Chicken Goose Lane.¹¹⁰

As the next chapters will show, the Lixingshe and the Fuxingshe were extremely active for a brief period in Shanghai and in the provinces of north China. However, in June of 1935 core elements of the Renaissance Society were expelled from the north by the Japanese army.¹¹¹ And when the United Front was signed with the Communists in September of 1937 the Renaissance Society itself was supposed to be dissolved under the terms of the agreement. In March of the following year the Guomindang convened a special national conference at Wuchang, and the Blue Shirts Society was formally disbanded, its local offices and budgets, along with those of the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association, being taken over by the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (Sanminzhuyi qingnian tuan or Sanqing-tuan) in July 1938.¹¹²

Although some of the spirit and many of the cadres would survive in the form of the Youth Corps, the old Renaissance Society was finished, and with it the hopes of some of its members who had wanted to use it as a firm foundation for their own basis of power. He Zhonghan, for instance, had obviously seen his appointment to the secretary-generalship of the Lixingshe in early 1933 as an opportunity to elevate his own fortune as the leader of the Hunanese clique within the Blue Shirts. Teng Jie, even as he handed over the affairs of the society to He Zhonghan at a secret meeting in a Nanjing bathhouse, hoped to head off such self-interest.¹¹³ But He was not to be deterred, and relations with both the “CC” clique at Party Center and comrades within the Lixingshe worsened under his leadership. Chiang Kai-shek eventually wearied of the “constant friction and discord among leading cadres,” and the Society for Vigorous Practice atrophied as a result.¹¹⁴

Much later, in 1941, He Zhonghan told a friend who had gotten drunk at a dog-meat feast and who had criticized Chiang Kai-shek for being of “muddled temper” (*hun bao*):

You know better than that. Mr. Chiang certainly does have a temper *bao*, but he's not at all muddled *hun*. You haven't noticed how extraordinarily brilliant his technique of control is. What he always grasps very tightly are the three lifebloods *ming genzi*: the army *jundui*, the secret police *tewu*, and finances *caizheng*. For each of these three lifebloods, there is one set of most trusted followers to keep watch for him. At the same time, he also lets these three kinds of power *liliang* mutually depend upon and check each other, while only obeying one person's orders, his own. Each side of these three aspects also is supported by the strength of three legs of a tripod, so that one acts as a check upon the others. The army side is Chen Cheng, Tang Enbo, and Hu Zongnan.¹¹⁵ The secret police side is Dai Li, Xu Enzeng, and Mao Qingxiang. The financial side is Kong Yingxiang, Song Ziwen, and the brothers Chen. Among them, no one dares to do anything without having to think twice. All of these people, except for his relatives Kong and Song, are every one of them from Zhejiang. Even Song Ziwen's place of origin is Zhejiang. You can say that they are all his closest followers, but he still takes every sort of precaution and defense. How can you call that being muddled? As for we Hunanese, he especially understands the political facts of life about Hunan people and absolutely doesn't let up in the slightest. Organizations like the Renaissance Society are only used by him for a while, just long enough for him to be boosted up into becoming an absolutely autocratic Leader, and then, of course, he no longer needs the organization. That was because he was afraid that the Fuxingshe would develop one day to the point of becoming hard to control, especially since the higher-level basic cadres of the organization were Hunanese, which was also hard for him not to be worried about.¹¹⁶

He Zhonghan—who had fallen from grace five years earlier at the time of the Xi'an incident—summed up his assessment by telling his drunk young

friend, a former Fuxingshe section chief on his way back to Chongqing for reassignment, that Chiang's plans and ploys were wielded with "the most consummate political cunning," and that he was insulting Chiang by calling him muddled. "It's obvious," He concluded by way of comfort to his comrade, "that you're still quite young and don't understand affairs all that well."¹¹⁷

Chapter 8

The Blue Shirts' "Fascism"

Anytime, anywhere, we must be firm, solid, unadorned, fulfilling. We must have absolutely no fear of difficulty, and resist opting for temporary ease and comfort, superficiality, luxury, skipping ahead without following the proper order, calculatingly taking advantage. Revolution is an extremely difficult and dangerous enterprise. If we wish to be a member of the revolutionary party we must content ourselves to be slow-witted [dai] and dumb [ben]: what the Ancients referred to as preserving awkwardness [zhuo], or what was meant by the phrase, To counter the clever with clumsiness, to attack the empty with solidity [yi zhuo zhi qiao, yi shi ji xu]. Only the slow-witted man [dai ren] and the dumb man [ben ren] will be engaged in this solid endeavor.

JIANG AI-SHENG, *How To Be a Revolutionary Party Member*¹

THE BLUE SHIRTS "PARTY"

In a secret memorandum prepared for its own internal use, the Shanghai Municipal Police's Special Branch explained why the public used the term "Blue Shirts Society," which frequently appeared in newspapers in 1932, especially when any untoward incidents were reported.² On August 25, 1933, members of the Special Branch felt that although it was impossible to name the principal members of the group, there was reliable information that "the section of the Kuomintang closest to Chiang Kai-shek has formed a secret organization that is popularly known as the Blue Shirts Society."³

No title was officially adopted by this group of men for their organization, but in view of its similarity to the "Black Shirts" in Italy in regard to its organization and operation, the title of "Blue Shirts" was automatically adopted by the public for it despite the strong denial of its existence by the Kuomintang or any of its leaders.⁴

Thus, when the *China Forum* printed an article reporting the existence of Blue Shirts death squads in the summer of 1933, the public relations chief of the Guomindang, Fang Zhi, came to Shanghai in person to guarantee that the "so-called Blue Shirts Party" did not exist and to denounce the magazine's publisher, Harold Isaacs, as a radical who was deliberately misleading the public.⁵ And three years later, in May 1936, when *Asia Magazine* published an article by Wilbur Burton entitled "China's Secret Blood Brothers,"

claiming that Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek were members of the “Red Circle” and “Green Circle,” and that these were closely related to the Blue Shirts, the Chinese consul general in New York City, Yu Junji, demanded a retraction, denying that the Blue Shirts had ever existed.⁶

Yet, according to numerous Shanghai police reports from Chinese informants, including several who may only have belonged to satellite organizations of the Lixingshe, there were individual members of the Fuxingshe and the Chinese Revolutionary Comrades Association who frequently identified themselves as belonging to the Blue Shirts.⁷ They claimed to hold to a common political program, which was devoted to strengthening the “dictatorship of General Chiang Kai-shek,” if necessary by force.⁸ According to them:

The “Blue Shirts Society” was established in 1931 with a view to achieving an effective “Party Rule” and was sponsored by Chiang Kai-shek with a number of his most ardent supporters. This society was a secret organization and only operated within the Kuomintang, its main object being to create a “strong Kuomintang feeling among the rank-and-file in the army.” When this was accomplished, the warlords and their abuse of military power would be defeated.⁹

According to the intelligence reports, three movements were to be launched. First, a “movement to make the army sound” (*jianjun yundong*) was supposed to maintain surveillance over generals throughout the country and carry out a “fascistization” of the Chinese armies by conducting military training classes at the Political Training Department. This *jianjun yundong* probably corresponded to the “national military training movement” (*guomin junxun yundong*) referred to in accounts of the Society for Vigorous Practice.¹⁰ Second, a “movement to make the party sound” (*jiandang yundong*) was intended to drive out competing cliques and restore the full powers of Chiang’s presidency, while dispatching Blue Shirts elements to local party branches “in order to safeguard the fascist movement of the association.” And third, a “movement to make finances sound” (*jiancai yundong*) would equalize land rights, raise loans for state-owned enterprises, and “provide the Fascist movement with material supports.”¹¹

This last “movement to make finances sound” was probably what the Lixingshe called a “movement for national economic construction” (*guomin jingji jianshe yundong*), which followed Sun’s desire to create a nation of owner-cultivators. In an explicit spirit of “self-reliance” (*ziligengsheng*), the Lixingshe sought to reclaim land, nurture farm labor, and actively promote agricultural productivity and exports.¹² This program was to be carried out with funds from the membership dues of the Whampoa Alumni Association.¹³ In the summer of 1932, Chiang Kai-shek actually ordered the alumni group to set aside Mex. 350,000 from its endowment, to which was added

650,000 from the treasury of the Nanchang headquarters command. These moneys were used to set up the Peasants Bank (Nongmin yinhang) for the provinces of Henan, Hubei, Anhui, and Jiangxi. The bank was chartered to provide loans for peasants returned to areas recently reclaimed from "bandits."¹⁴ More funds were added by Chiang Kai-shek in the spring of 1933, bringing the total to 4,000,000.¹⁵ With this endowment and the approval of the minister of finance, a national China Peasants Bank was founded to provide credit unions with low-interest loans. Chen Guofu was named chairman of the board.¹⁶

As far as the public knew, however, there was no connection at all between the China Peasants Bank and the Blue Shirts, whose ideological principles were evidently being spelled out in speeches and writings by the group's three major "theoreticians," He Zhonghan, Deng Wenyi, and Liu Jianqun.¹⁷ The message that their tracts repeatedly put forth was that in order to repel foreign invaders the Chinese people had first of all to unify and strengthen the nation by exterminating the Communist Party. After that eradication was accomplished there would be a social and economic revival in the countryside, giving the Chinese the resources needed to build up their armies. They would thus be able to concentrate their "racial spirit" (*minzu jingshen*) upon the single Leader and party destined to command them against their foreign attackers.¹⁸

There was a vague political program outlined in these writings, but a former provincial leader of the movement in later years could only remember its general goals: to support absolutely the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, to carry out the centralization of government, to recover lost territory and protect national sovereignty, to abolish the unequal treaties, to carry out the equalization of land rights, to develop agriculture, to carry out economic controls, to develop national capital, to strengthen national defense, to carry out a system of conscription, to thoroughly train and develop a national people's army, to clean up bureaucratic corruption in the government, to establish universal education, to eradicate the Communist Party completely, and to bring peace and social order to the country. Of all these, the two goals he recalled as being the most emphasized were to fully support Chiang Kai-shek's leadership and to completely exterminate the Communists.¹⁹

ELEMENTS OF FASCISM

It is difficult to know how seriously to take these calls for "fascistization," or even to estimate how representative they were of the Blue Shirts' ideology as a whole.²⁰ Certainly, contemporary newspaper reports depicted the Blue Shirts as "fascist" or "semifascist" elements with national socialist leanings.²¹ Describing a "gang of semifascists known as Blue Shirts' [who] have estab-

lished their headquarters in a luxurious flat in Caine Road" in Hong Kong, the *North China Daily News* claimed that they wanted to establish a dictatorship along the grounds of Mussolini's government.²² "These Chinese Fascists believe that strongmen are needed to hold the reins of government. Hence, swastika's methods will be used in dealing with political opponents."²³ Judging from contemporary police reports, moreover, there does seem to have been at least a relatively vocal segment of the Renaissance Society that took its fascist label to heart. This element among the Whampoa graduates was dominated by former cadets who had studied in Germany, France, Italy, and Belgium, and who looked to Feng Ti, first secretary of the Renaissance Society and later the Chinese military attaché in Berlin, as their leader.²⁴

Feng in turn allied himself with Tang Zong, who also served as military attaché in Berlin, with Gu Xiping, who had studied in France, with Liu Pan, who had undertaken police training in Belgium, and with Tang Wu, who had studied in Italy.²⁵ This group, which urged Chiang Kai-shek to model himself after Hitler and Mussolini, was usually identified with the supposedly ubiquitous Blue Shirts Society.²⁶

Whatever the internal ideological authenticity of the Lanyishe, the SMP Special Branch equated the Blue Shirts Society's membership—which the Japanese Foreign Ministry's Bureau of Investigation estimated to be fourteen thousand by the end of 1935—with the fascist wing of the three-tiered Fuxingshe. However important Dai Li's role was in the super-secret SSD, he was not yet listed on police blotters as a Blue Shirts chief. Rather, He Zhonghan was singled out as the Blue Shirts' primary leader.²⁷

He Zhonghan clearly envisaged himself as becoming the political leader of the so-called "Whampoa clique." The term itself generally referred to graduates of the first three years of the academy, but the closest thing that it had to a genuine factional structure was the Renaissance Society.²⁸ The Blue Shirts were sometimes viewed, therefore, as being purely and simply the Whampoa clique, and, as such, members of the Lixingshe and its front groups thought of themselves as being part of Chiang Kai-shek's *dixi*—that is, his direct line of descent, or family.²⁹

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S "DIXI," OR DIRECT FAMILY

The use of the term *di*, which represented an invidious intrafamilial distinction between the progeny of a wife and the offspring of one's concubine, was very revealing. It signaled the creation of cliques within the Generalissimo's own power structure, below the level of competition between Chiang Kai-shek and rivals Wang Jingwei and Hu Hanmin, to control the legitimate institutions of the regime such as the Central Executive Commit-

tee and the Political Council. These cliques were competing at the level of policy implementation, where the regime's resources were actually allocated; their struggles accompanied the rise of Chiang Kai-shek to paramountcy, if not total hegemony, within the governing structure of China.³⁰

Hence, the distinction between direct and indirect "family" was not even primarily a civil cleavage. It was used by extension to refer to Chiang Kai-shek's "family troops" (*dixi budui*), the half-million men who were commanded by Generals Chen Cheng, Hu Zongnan, and Tang Enbo, and who were considered to be the Generalissimo's praetorian guard.³¹ From the perspective of these self-styled "wife's sons," other cliques within Chiang's power structure were interlopers masquerading as filial progeny. Members of the "CC" clique, for instance, were viewed as being Chiang's "adopted sons" (*minglingzi*), while the Political Study Group leaders Yang Yongtai and Zhang Qun were mere "yamen advisors" (*shiye*) and "household stewards" (*guanjia*).³²

Although the Blue Shirts did not have a particularly hostile attitude toward the Zhengxue xi (Political Study Group), which they regarded as being no more than hired help, they did regard the "adopted sons" of the "CC" clique as being serious enemies; and beginning in 1933 they began to direct a great deal of activity toward supplanting the Chen brothers' influence, especially in newspaper publishing and educational circles.³³

THE "CC" CLIQUE

The Organization clique, which was also commonly known as the "CC" clique, was led by the brothers Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu (see fig. 10), both of whom had enjoyed very close ties with Chiang Kai-shek long before the Guomindang came to power.³⁴ The two men were nephews of Chen Qimei, the leader of the Zhejiang and Jiangsu faction of the Chinese Revolutionary Party (Zhonghua gemingdang), who had been a model for Chiang Kai-shek's own personal development when Chiang first met him in Japan in 1906 while Chen was studying police law.³⁵

In 1907, when Chiang Kai-shek was taking the artillery course at the Shinbu Military Training School in Tokyo, Chen Qimei had recommended him for admission to the Revolutionary League (Tongmenghui); and in 1911–12, during the Xinhai Revolution, Chiang had served as a regimental commander under Chen, then military governor of Shanghai, leading one of Chen's "dare to die brigades" (*gansi dui*) in the attack on the Zhejiang viceroy's yamen at Hangzhou.³⁶ During the Second Revolution of 1913 Chiang continued to be identified as one of Chen Qimei's personal followers, and he remained personally devoted to Chen until the latter was assassinated by Yuan Shikai's secret agents in 1916.³⁷ Thereafter, however, Chiang



Figure 10. Chen Lifu, founder of the Central Statistics Bureau. Fan Hsiao-fang, *Chiang chia tien hsia ch'en chia kuang*. Taipei: Chou chi wen-hua shu yeh kung-ssu, 1994.

Kai-shek continued to maintain close relations with his former patron's other followers and relatives, including the two nephews, who came from Wuxing, not far from Chiang's hometown in Zhejiang.³⁸

In 1920, during the period of political retrenchment in Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek became deeply involved with Chen Guofu's financial activities in the Shanghai Stock and Commodity Exchange (Shanghai zheng-quan wupin jiaoyi suo), which Dai Jitao and Zhang Jingjiang had helped set up at Sun Yat-sen's behest to raise money for the Chinese Revolutionary Party.³⁹ Four years later, when Chiang was appointed president of Whampoa, Chen Guofu was briefly an instructor and then served as a party recruiter in the Zhejiang-Jiangsu-Anhui region to attract new cadets to the military academy.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, Chen Guofu's younger brother, Lifu, had returned from two years of study in Pennsylvania, where he had earned a degree in mining engineering at the University of Pittsburgh and worked as a coal miner in Scranton. Turning down a job in the Shandong coalfields, Chen Lifu became Chiang Kai-shek's confidential English-language secretary in 1926, serving as his chief code clerk during the Northern Expedition.⁴¹ The two brothers quickly took the lead in organizing support for Chiang among anti-Communist elements. In November they helped found the Zhejiang Society of Revolutionary Comrades in Canton. And the following month Chen Guofu went to Nanchang to recover the Jiangxi GMD branch from the Communists and to link up with the Anti-Bolshevik (AB) League led by

Duan Xipeng and Cheng Tianfang.⁴² Some of these figures subsequently ended up as core members of the “CC” clique itself, which was formally created in June 1927 by an amalgamation of the Zhejiang Society of Revolutionary Comrades, the Western Hills group, the Sun Yat-sen Study Society, the AB League, and the “Stickers” clique, which was so named because its members favored using clubs to intimidate Communist opponents.⁴³

The secret of the “CC” clique’s strength within the Nationalist Party was the Chen brothers’ ten-year domination of the Guomindang’s Organization Department, which was in charge of establishing and inspecting lower party units up through city and provincial levels, and of assigning middle- and high-level personnel to party branches in government, military, labor, and youth organizations.⁴⁴ Chen Guofu became department director in 1926 and held that post for the following six years while his younger brother, Lifu, headed the department’s Investigation Division, which maintained a central file on the political inclinations of registered party members and supervised the purges of 1928–29.⁴⁵

Then, in 1932, Chen Lifu succeeded his older brother as Organization Department director, where, during the four years that followed, he extended his activities in intelligence, investigation, and security, becoming the scourge of the Communists.⁴⁶ The result was the Chens’ overwhelming preponderance within Party Center.⁴⁷ In 1931, 15 percent of the seventy-two new members of the Central Executive Committee belonged to the “CC” clique. Fifty of the 180 CEC members selected in 1935 were identified with the Chen brothers, and at the peak of its ascendancy, just before the War of Resistance broke out, the “CC” clique could count upon more than 10,000 members, most of them being middle- and low-level party bureaucrats.⁴⁸

For all of its success within the party and government, the “CC” clique aspired to find or create what one historian has termed “the relays in society through which to transmit its projects and have them accepted by the entire population.”⁴⁹ A fascist movement, organized through secret societies, may have appeared to offer the sort of relays that members of the clique sought. In that respect the “CC” clique’s organs were confused by both the British and the Japanese with the fascist Blue Shirts. According to one high-level informant to the SMP Special Branch:

A fascist movement in China is said to have been General Chiang Kai-shek’s ambition ever since his latest return to politics. This ambition was brought to life when General Chen Li-fu, his closest collaborator, organized a secret political society, “Si-si yuen” [Xixi yuan, or West West Garden], with General Chen Kuo-fu, his elder brother, at its head. The society changed its name after the inauguration and became [the] “Blueshirts Group” (Lan-yi tuan) [Lanyi tuan] of [the] Chinese Nationalist Party, but as a result of the reasoning that it is not proper to have any specific group among one party start a sec-

tarian movement, the society changed its name again and was called “Blue-shirts Association.” It was decided at the same time that the association should have groups among its own organization.⁵⁰

The Japanese special services actually identified something that they called the “CC Corps,” which was thought to be an anti-Japanese propaganda arm of Chiang Kai-shek’s government and which functioned as a civilian counterpart to the Blue Shirts proper.⁵¹

The mission of the Corps is to organize the patriotic intelligentsia within China with the aim of awakening the masses and facilitating racial development, meanwhile contributing toward the restoration of the national movement for the betterment of the country. The organization opposes the anti-Chiang military clans and all social or academic organizations tinged with anti-Guomindang color. It also aims at removing the pressure of foreign influence. The ultimate object of the Corps’ activities is the accomplishment of the second revolution in China.⁵²

The Japanese also regarded the CC Corps as adhering consistently to the Three People’s Principles, whereas the Blue Shirts proper were thought to be “despotic, following the principles of fascism.”⁵³

This seems to have been a valid distinction, especially insofar as the “CC” clique sought to extend its influence into academic circles and youth groups around the country.⁵⁴ The instrument of this penetration was to be the Association of Nationalist Party Loyal Comrades (Guomindang zhongshi tongzhi hui), which was nominally headed by Chiang Kai-shek, and which sent “central staff officers” (*zhongyang ganshi*) to most provinces and major cities with the secret mission of establishing branch organizations and front groups for work among the educated youth.⁵⁵ The names of the branch organizations all ended in *she* (club), and in some cases—notably Shanghai, where Wu Xingya was sent—there were several different “clubs” with distinctive titles. In Beiping and throughout Hebei, on the other hand, all the “CC” front groups set up by Zhang Lisheng (who was both a member of the Central Committee’s Organization Department and a special delegate of the CEC Party Affairs Bureau to the Hebei provincial government) went by the name “Sincerity Club” (*Chengshe*).⁵⁶ The “Sincerity Club” held meetings every second Saturday in the auditorium of the Hebei provincial party headquarters—meetings that were attended by twenty or thirty representatives who were themselves heads of the five- to ten-person cells (*zu*) that they, as “backbone cadres” (*guguan*), organized in universities and colleges.⁵⁷

In Beiping proper the key organizer, in addition to Zhang Lisheng, was Hu Menghua, who was instructed to select male university students with the best grades and most exemplary moral behavior to be interviewed for positions as journalists.⁵⁸ In April 1933 Hu was given a subsidy to start up a tri-

monthly journal to promote pro-Chiang Kai-shek slogans; in May he began publishing *Renmin pinglun* (People's Review), which ran pieces opposing the joint army set up at Zhangjiakou by Ji Hongchang and Feng Yuxiang to fight the Japanese, and exposing the connections between Wang Jingwei and the Northeastern government of Zhang Xueliang.⁵⁹ Students who presented themselves for interviews were vetted, and if they seemed promising candidates, they were invited to become "basic elements" (*jiben fenzi*) and urged to recruit their classmates and fellow townsmen as Chengshe members. By the winter of 1933–34 the "CC" group in Beiping had enrolled more than seventy student cadres, with most coming from the law department at Beida and from the Pingda Law School.⁶⁰

This attempt by members of the "CC" clique to enlist regular student followers was simultaneous with, but quite apart from, the Whampoa-dominated efforts to recruit Resistance Society members to support Chiang Kai-shek against Wang Jingwei and other rivals. Journalists, and through them the general public, associated the Whampoa clique's secret effort to enlist paramilitary Blue Shirts with the so-called "thirteen grand guardians" (*shisan taibao*) led by He Zhonghan.⁶¹ For instance, a newspaper account that appeared in the *Beiping chenbao* in 1933 held that "eventually Chiang Kai-shek's party resolved on a plan to deal with Wang Jingwei's threat. Thirteen graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy . . . held several conferences and finally they resolved to form a fascist society for which they later obtained Chiang Kai-shek's sanction."⁶²

"FASCIST" FORMATIONS

Despite the notorious rivalry between the Lixingshe and the "CC" clique, Chen Lifu was also linked in the public's eye with these new "fascist" formations. According to a French intelligence report dated August 12, 1933, Chiang Kai-shek held a summer conference that year at Lushan, which was attended by Chen Lifu, Zeng Kuoqing, Wu Xingya (chief of the Shanghai Social Affairs Bureau), and Pan Gongzhan (chief of the Shanghai Educational Bureau of the GMD), among others.

During the course of the conference, development of the fascist movement in China was discussed. It was decided to establish in the first place fascist cells in the Guomindang headquarters in "loyal military units" and in schools and universities. . . . We are informed among other things that the influence of the fascist elements begins to be more and more noticeable in the following universities: Sun Yat-sen (Canton), Central (Nanjing), Henan (Kaifeng), and Jing'an (Shanghai).⁶³

Despite this conflation of the "CC" clique and Lixingshe "fascist movement," the president of Sun Yat-sen University, Zou Lu, had earlier that summer ac-

cused the Blue Shirts alone of being a major annoyance at his school. Blaming the Blue Shirts for recent movements of the undergraduates to impeach him before the Ministry of Education, Zou alleged that “the Blue Shirts were trying to undermine the Guomindang at the behest of certain militarists who wish to gain absolute powers in government like Benito Mussolini or Adolph Hitler.”⁶⁴

The press, meanwhile, maintained that this new body of Chiang loyalists, whose appearance coincided with the advent of the Nazis, had been considering adopting various names, including the Chinese Fascist Society and the Black Shirts Party.⁶⁵ However, they had finally taken the name of Blue Shirts “because they thought that the [other] names . . . might cause [the] Guomindang to think that the new organization would be in violation of the rule of the Guomindang that there can be no other political party besides the Guomindang and that there must be no parties in the Guomindang.”⁶⁶

The Lushan conference to which the earlier French intelligence report referred may have been the summer session of the Army Officers Training Brigade (Junguan xunlian tuan), which Chiang Kai-shek addressed on July 23, 1933, during the weekly memorial ceremony for Sun Yat-sen (*zongli jinian zhoujiang*). In that speech, which was entitled “What a Modern Soldier Must Know,” Chiang described the three “newly developing nations” (*xin-xing guojia*) of Italy, Germany, and Turkey as having a “collective slogan”: “Labor (*Laodong*)! Create (*Chuangzao*)! Military force (*Wuli*)!” “Labor,” he explained, meant that the people of the entire country, from rulers to masses (*laobaixing*) and from generals to privates, work together unstintingly and incessantly. “Create” signified the construction of a new nation, the creation of a fresh society out of the old. “Military force” was the “substantive strength” (*shizhi de lilian*) required to bring forth revolution, sweeping aside all obstacles in order to foster the growth of the nation.⁶⁷ All three of these, Chiang insisted, were intertwined and indispensable; they explained why the “newly developing nations” were rising so rapidly.⁶⁸

Fascism as a form of modern nationalism was the subject of a speech that Chiang delivered two months later, on September 20, 1933, in Xingzi county, Jiangxi, entitled “How to Be a Member of the Revolutionary Party.” Claiming that “dependability” (*shizai*) was the primary essence of being a “revolutionary party member” (*geming dangyuan*), Chiang called for a stoical and even stupid stolidity to counter merely “clever” superficiality of the city slicker sort. Denouncing modern society for its frivolity and emptiness, Chiang claimed to find this bedrock solidity in the “fundamental essence” (*jiben jingshen*) of a common or “shared” (*gongtong de*) fascism. The essence of that fascist spirit was national self-confidence (*zixin*). A fascist necessarily believes that his own nation is “best of all” (*zui youxiu*), with the most glorious history and superior culture of any country. For Chinese this meant rec-

ognizing the fundamental precepts of *The Great Learning* as the “highest culture of our people.”⁶⁹

Loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, charity, righteousness, peace, and harmony are one and the same as our nation’s traditional virtues of propriety, righteousness, integrity, and frugality. Our traditional national essence *jingshen* is the spirit of wisdom, benevolence, and courage. Our nation’s one and only revolutionary principle is the Three People’s Principles. And all of these spirits and principles come back to the single principle of sincerity *cheng*. Therefore, as members of the revolutionary party we must dedicate ourselves sincerely to the preservation of the traditional virtues and the traditional spirits. Only by doing so will we be able to revive the highest culture of our nation, to restore our nation’s very special standing in this world, to create a glorious and radiant world order for mankind, and in achieving this noble and great enterprise thereby save mankind and save the world.⁷⁰

As an international force, Chiang went on to explain, fascism was characterized by extreme militarization.⁷¹ Although members of the revolutionary party might not always be members of an actual military unit, they must consciously adopt a military style of life:

We must all have the soldier’s habit and spirit. We must all have the army’s organization and discipline. In other words, we must all obey, make sacrifices, be somber and serious, neat and orderly, tidy and solid, alert and diligent, secretive, unadorned and simple in habit, all of us unanimous in our firmness and courage, sacrificing everything for the collectivity, for the party, for the nation.⁷²

COLLECTIVE ORDERLINESS

Chiang’s obsession with neatness and orderliness, coupled with his constant frustration at the slovenliness of the peasant troops he commanded, their leggings unlashed and pants unbuttoned, lent a fussy air to this imitative fascism, which confounded manners with morals. This formal heteropraxy lacked substantive content. It was merely ritualistic: “rivers and lakes” (*jiang-hu*) romantic chivalry without genuine righteousness, brute piety without deep moral commitment.⁷³ During the second convention of the Lanyishe in Jiangxi, Chiang declared, in a rambling speech filled with harshly anti-septic tones of cultural self-loathing, that:

The Chinese fear death. As individuals they are intelligent but they seek only their own interests and do not wish to sacrifice themselves. A selfish people has no group spirit. . . . China is romantic. Discipline is done away with, law and order tolerate the barbarians, and all the noble attributes of politeness and honor are lost. . . . The distinction between freedom and the individual’s

self-interests is not clear but this is a great error. Because the Chinese are probably merely self-seekers, human desires overflow, politeness is non-existent and honor is unknown. . . . The vanity of the Chinese is too strong. This vanity is not something produced at present but is something that has been handed down from our ancestors. . . . They wish only for high rank and lots of money. . . . In addition the greatest fault is falsehood or lying. . . . The particular [way] in which the Chinese as moderns lack character is that without politeness they do not know purity. Everywhere dirt and filth run to extremes. . . . All reveal a state of mind which is ruinous to the state. . . . Everything is filthy.⁷⁴

Clearly impressed by the village neatness and scientific precision that the Germans and Japanese evinced, Chiang Kai-shek somehow seemed to equate tooth brushing and public sanitation with the collective engine of power and popular will that fascism represented in the mid-1930s. And, of course, there was no question but that fascism was associated with premier military qualities that the Chinese attributed to the Germans—a people they may have found less threatening precisely because Germany had lost its privileges of extraterritoriality in China during the preceding world war.⁷⁵

Chiang Kai-shek thus grafted his own view of fascist military discipline onto a classic Neo-Confucian view of community hierarchy and lineage solidarity. This given wisdom no doubt suffused his own “comfortable” (*xiaokang*) upbringing as the member of an affluent village family dominated by a self-righteous mother who surely believed that sons should sweep the cottage floor with the same care and respect that they showed in bowing to their elders.⁷⁶ In domestic guise, then, fascist militarization was just another way of teaching Confucian citizenship to the Chinese people.⁷⁷

It was also taken to be yet another way of unifying the nation under central political dominance. The Lixingshe’s National Military Training Movement (*Guomin junxun yundong*) was intended to bring together the “sheet of loose sand” (*yi pan san sha*) that constituted Chinese agrarian society by teaching people how to “unite” (*jihui*) and “congregate” (*jieshe*) in order to defend themselves against the Communists and Japanese. Toward that end a Department of National Military Education (*Guomin junxun jiaoyuchu*) was established under the auspices of the Ministry of Training and Supervision (*Xunlian zongjianbu*). Its mandate was to organize local training committees (*guomin junxunhui*) in all of the provinces and municipalities under the authority of the Executive Yuan.⁷⁸

According to one of its initiators, this civilian military training exercise was a “social reform movement of a revolutionary nature,” designed to move China into “the era of the scientific masses” (*kexue de qunzhong shidai*). Just as the May Fifth Draft Constitution of 1934 established a General Affairs Office the following year to elect delegates to a national congress, and just as preliminary elections were held in 1935 and 1936, the military training

movement (which soon came under Dai Li's influence) was meant to go along with Article 24 of Sun Yat-sen's plan for national reconstruction that called for returning power to the people after 1937. It was, in short, supposed to be part of the overall evolution of the political tutelage system that Sun had visualized for republican China, and that was summarily called to a halt by the Japanese invasion of July 1937.⁷⁹

Chapter 9

Ideological Rivalries

The Blue Shirts and the CC Clique

We cannot positively say whether or not fascism is suitable for China, because we have our own Three People's Principles, which are completely appropriate for the conditions of our country. But we should make a study of fascism so that we can make use of it as a mirror for ourselves.

XIAO OLIN, letter to a reader of *Zhongguo geming*¹

EUROPEAN FASCIST MOVEMENTS

Although Lixingshe insiders may have claimed that the military training activities of the Blue Shirts were actually a form of voter education, the general public thought otherwise. In newspapers and magazines of the period the Blue Shirts were frequently compared to the Gestapo, and the Blue Shirts themselves took considerable interest in European fascism.² This fascination with the Nazis and Fascisti was shared with the general public: in 1933 talk about fascism became a fashion in China, and a large number of publications on the Black and Brown Shirts were advertised in the pages of *Shanghai shenbao*.³

Yet even though a Society for German-Chinese Translation (*Zhong-De bianyi xueshe*) was established within the Lizhishe headquarters in Nanjing, the editors of the Renaissance Society journal *Future (Qiantu)*, which was published with funds from the Political Indoctrination Department provided by He Zhonghan, were at first leery about mentioning fascism for fear of offending some of their readers, including Chiang Kai-shek himself.⁴ Later, their editors were profoundly distressed by Nazi notions of Aryan racial supremacy.⁵ Xiao Zuolin, who was the editor of another Fuxingshe magazine called *The Chinese Revolution (Zhongguo geming)* in 1934, said that although there was great interest in explaining what fascism had to do with the phenomenal rise of Mussolini and Hitler, he and his writers were initially afraid to write about it because Chiang himself did not use the term.⁶

At the same time we knew what the hows of fascism were but not the whys. When we wanted to say what lay behind it, we couldn't come up with anything. Moreover, even though Chiang Kai-shek was actually carrying out fascism as

the Three People's Principles, never was there a moment when the word "fascist" passed through his mouth. Whenever he opened or closed his mouth, it was always *Sanminzhuyi*. Therefore, no one was yet daring enough to openly use the term.⁷

Meanwhile, however, the chief editor of *Future*, Professor Liu Bingli, had decided to devote the sixth issue of the magazine to a special survey of fascism.⁸ The stated purpose of the magazine was vaguely related to doing away with traditional individualism and speedily promoting a new flourishing of corporatism (*jítuānzhuyi*) in China.⁹ But the articles in this issue on fascist Germany and Italy were quite specific, and many different aspects of fascism—including its economic policies—were examined in some detail.¹⁰

And, at least in terms of interests and their articulation of their ideology, the Blue Shirts did bear some resemblance to fascist movements in Germany and Italy in the 1930s. Lloyd Eastman argued that "the Blue Shirts may accurately be described as fascist because the methods they employed and ideas they expressed coincided with those of recognizably fascist movements; because they consciously admired, emulated and propagandized European fascist ideas; and because many of them thought of themselves as fascist."¹¹ Structurally, however, Chiang's party-state was a military dictatorship; the regime was authoritarian rather than fascist; and the ideology of his Renaissance Society was "a form of reactive, developmental nationalism" that has been identified generically by political scientists as an "ideology of delayed industrialization."¹² Regime and party were based upon an organic conception of state and society that sought to avoid both "the amoral individualism of capitalist society and the class war promised by revolutionary socialism."¹³ As Walter Gurlay has pointed out, the relationship of the Nationalist government to the urban working classes was very different from the organizational linkages between European fascist regimes and trade unions.

Fascist unionism was both bureaucratic and dynamic. A conscious effort was made to educate, indoctrinate, and orient labor to play a part in the "new order" of Fascism. Individual workers were constantly encouraged to become the leaders of fascist unions, and a place was made for such leaders in the party hierarchy. Through them the working class was directly linked to the State. The workers, instead of being depolitized, were politicalized in a very carefully controlled manner, and thus the party had the elements of a mass base in the factories. In contrast to this, Chiang's solution was bureaucratic with nothing dynamic about it. "Yellow" unionism was controlled and administered with a minimum of labor participation. The leaders came from outside the ranks of labor, a situation unthinkable in Italy just as it is unthinkable that Mussolini would have permitted himself to share control of the workers with a "Green Gang." In labor control as in so many other things, Chiang was an eclectic, able to borrow tactics and techniques but unable to

borrow their spirit. Chiang was not a fascist; he was incapable of it. He was a military bureaucrat. His solution was not to win over the workers but to sit on them.¹⁴

Moreover, a Blue Shirts training manual written in 1936 repudiated too close an identification with Western fascism. It admitted that “many comrades believe that our organization was founded just at the time that European fascism was rising; that in order to resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism and lay the foundation for order in Chinese society, we opt to move with the world tide and adopt fascism; and that our ideology therefore is fascism.” But the manual argued that this view was misguided, if only because the imitation of foreigners would surely cause the Blue Shirts to ignore China’s unique conditions and fail to realize that the Three People’s Principles was an ideology entirely appropriate to the particular conditions of China at the time.¹⁵ Writing many years later, Gan Guoxun, one of the Lixingshe founders, was infuriated by the allegations that the so-called Blue Shirts were fascists. “How can we allow our enemies to calumniate our activities,” he asked, “and call us a fascist Blue Shirts secret service?”¹⁶

According to Gan, a number of journalists and commentators who were never really part of the inner circle of the Lixingshe, being members of the third-tier Renaissance Society, both misunderstood the purpose of the original Whampoa founders of the movement and bandied about all too easily the term “fascist.” These figures—including men like Chen Dunzheng, the author of *Donghuan de huiyi* (Memories of turmoil)—were misled by the superficial appearance of some of the Renaissance Society leaders, who appeared to be aping the European fascists.¹⁷ Chen, for instance, who served in the Training Department (Xunlian chu) of the Fuxingshe, described his boss, Teng Jie, returning from a tour of Germany and Italy garbed in the latest Schutzstaffel style. “Mr. Teng was dressed in an olive-green uniform. The jacket was of Sun Yat-sen style. He was wearing a tie. The trousers were riding pants with narrow bottoms. He was wearing riding boots. He was very cocky and arrogant. Mr. Teng told me that this was the uniform of Hitler’s Germany.”¹⁸ Actually, Teng Jie was merely one of several Renaissance Society officers (including Du Xinru, Li Guojun, Feng Ti, Pan Youqiang, and Hu Gui) who went to Germany, Italy, England, France, and Belgium. Their purpose was not to study fascism as such, but rather—in line with Chiang Kai-shek’s policy of *annei rangwai* (pacification first, resistance second)—to see how Germany and Italy had managed to escape the trammels of liberalism that constrained England and France from exterminating Communism within their borders.¹⁹

If the example of European fascists’ ruthless attacks on Communists helped strengthen the Lixingshe members’ resolve to set aside whatever liberal scruples they still harbored and observe republican civil rights, the Ger-

man Brown Shirts and Italian Black Shirts also created a new paramilitary code and rally ritual for the Renaissance Society to copy. There quickly emerged in the gatherings of some of the front organizations of the Blue Shirts a “proto-fascist” cultural style.²⁰ This collective quality, which one member later called “the sword and knife culture of the police vanguard” (*jingcha qianwei de daojian wenhua*), did at moments assume a ceremonial manner akin to European fascist ritual.

For example, the Fuxingshe in 1934 founded in Hangzhou a Cultural Vanguard Brigade (*Wenhua qianwei dui*), which consisted of three to four hundred students from Zhejiang University and the National Arts School (*Guoli yizhuan xuexiao*). During the initiation ceremonies, which were held before a sword and dagger to represent the “blood and iron” of the brigade, groups of cadets from the Central Air Force Academy and the Jiangsu Police Training School lined up in military uniform to form an honor guard under the command of the principal of the police academy, Zhao Longwen, a founding member of the Lixingshe. The thousands of spectators who looked on as the new brigade members swore an oath of allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek in front of the naked weapons appeared to be deeply moved by the solemnity of the occasion.²¹

Although Dai Li himself was not personally engaged in such panoply, remaining a hyper-anonymous figure well behind the scenes, the extension of this proto-fascist culture via the activities of the Lixingshe and its front groups served to enhance Dai Li’s personal authority among inner-core members throughout China. “Mr. Dai’s career had the closest connection with the Lixingshe. Had there been no Lixingshe, his career and his achievements would have taken on a different aspect. When we speak of Mr. Dai’s history, we cannot fail to mention the woof and warp of the Lixingshe.”²² Because Lixingshe members regarded the activities of the SSD as part of the umbrella organization’s “special work,” they were more than willing to recognize Dai Li’s clandestine leadership and cooperate with his secret service officers.²³ In that sense, the SSD formed an embryonic *Geheimstaatspolizei* (Gestapo) within the larger *Schutzstaffel* (SS) of Whampoa Academy Blue Shirts.

Nevertheless, there was a considerable distance between a small group of Hangzhou paramilitary students pledging loyalty to the portrait of Chiang Kai-shek and the serried ranks at Nürnberg saluting their Führer or the fisted crowds in Piazza di Roma hailing Il Duce.²⁴ A journalist writing at the time spelled out the difference quite perceptively by coming at the problem from a different direction, that is by searching for parallels to the Blue Shirts in European fascist movements:

Nor is such an organization as the Blue Shirts unknown in the West. Both Mussolini and Hitler have their personal secret police to watch elements both in-

side and outside the party. Some commentators, Western and Chinese, have designated the Blue Shirts as Fascist. Such a convenient label, however, is misleading. In the first place, no Fascist party can be or wants to be secret; its strength lies in its ability openly to propagandize and organize on a broad mass base and thus establish a common front of sections of all classes in support of the movement. In the second place, conditions in China are so different from those of any country of Western Europe that political technique has varied too radically to be classified in Western terminology. The Guomindang itself resembles Western Fascist parties to some extent, but it is far more heterogeneous—and also because it sprang more from Western democratic than from dictatorial traditions, it has not proved very adaptable to the peculiar conditions of modern China.²⁵

But even if the European Black and Brown Shirts and the Chinese Blue Shirts were not precisely analogous, the image of fascism throughout the world was powerful and compelling during those years. As we have seen, no small number of Chinese military officers had been sent to Germany and Italy for training, and they returned to China full of admiration for fascism “and convinced of its value under present conditions in China.”²⁶ Furthermore, fascism’s emotional appeal to Chinese ultranationalists must have gained a certain ideological edge if only because the Blue Shirts were so keen to find fresh political ideas with which to challenge the monopoly of the Chen brothers and their partisans on newspaper and magazine publishing.²⁷

MEDIA COMPETITION

By competing with the “CC” clique for control over the new instruments of print capitalism, which were regarded as belonging to the civil political sector, the Blue Shirts were departing from the brief that they had been given by Chiang Kai-shek to concern themselves mainly with public security and police affairs.²⁸ At first, therefore, there was little formal activity short of the creation of several Fuxingshe-dominated newspapers and journals. The “official” newspaper of the Renaissance Society was the *Zhongguo ribao* (China Daily), which had formerly been called the *Wenhua ribao* (Cultural Daily).²⁹ Its editor in chief was Kang Ze, Chiang Kai-shek’s former aide-de-camp and the leader of the “Southwestern clique” within the Blue Shirts.³⁰ Kang Ze would later be put in charge of organizing a Special Operations Brigade (Biedongdui) to “exterminate Communists” (*jiao gong*) in the “bandit suppression” zones, and his assignment at this point to propaganda work may have been intended in part to keep him from extending the influence of his clique by participating in Blue Shirts training programs.³¹

Whatever the reason for his appointment, Kang Ze turned out to be an excellent newspaper publisher for the Blue Shirts. After the January 28,

1932, Shanghai War, there was a severe shortage of newsprint, but Kang had prepared for this by setting in a large supply of paper. Because of that and because his wartime news came directly from the front lines, *China Daily* enjoyed excellent circulation.³²

There were other Lixingshe-controlled newspapers as well. In addition to *Qiantu* (Future) and *Saodang* (Mopping up), printed in Nanchang and Hankou, respectively, the Renaissance Society could claim direct influence over at least four major publications.³³ A host of additional magazines and newspapers were written or edited by intellectuals who were Fuxingshe members, but who had no common theoretical stance apart from adherence to the two slogans mentioned earlier: “To expel the outsider you must first pacify the interior,” and “absolutely support one party and one Leader.”³⁴

Some of these newspapers could by their very flavor be identified as belonging to the extreme right wing of the Guomindang. Others, like *Shijie ribao* (Beiping), which was edited by Zeng Kuoqing, appeared to the reading public to be unaffiliated and impartial.³⁵ The ideological fuzziness of such Fuxingshe-related publications reflected the political vagueness of the Blue Shirts’ doctrines.³⁶ It was partly to compensate for that blurring, and partly to provide the Blue Shirts with a front organization to expand their activities into cultural circles, that the Chinese Culture Study Society (Zhongguo wenhua xuehui) was founded on December 25, 1933, by a group of Chiang Kai-shek’s followers that included Deng Wenyi, his personal secretary.³⁷

Deng Wenyi had a longtime commercial interest in cultural affairs, having borrowed money from friends to open the Give Us a Lift Bookshop (Tiba shudian), which published collections of Chiang Kai-shek’s speeches and a series of handbooks for the military man. The bookstore and editing house—together an archetype of petty print capitalism—was so successful in attracting customers eager to better themselves by studying the words of the head of state that it provoked a bitter and, for Deng Wenyi, potentially devastating quarrel between him and his Leader.

First, envious politico-commercial competitors had spitefully reported to Chiang Kai-shek that Deng Wenyi was using his Leader’s name and reputation to turn a handsome personal profit. Then, when Chiang’s 1930 New Year’s speech to the Whampoa students appeared in one of these “uplifting” publications with the serious misrepresentation that the Nationalist Army was going to move into the northeast (where it was bound to come into conflict with Zhang Xueliang’s troops), Chiang Kai-shek called his secretary in and severely reproached him, announcing that he was of a mind to shut the bookstore down. Deng Wenyi at first refused to be cowed, arguing heatedly for more than an hour that the bookstore could not be closed without proper legal procedures and that the shareholders would first have to be

consulted. Chiang simply grew angrier and angrier, and Deng ultimately quailed under the attack, returning to his home where he shut himself in and wept, bereft, for an entire day and night.³⁸

For the next few weeks Deng Wenyi remained inconsolable, immured at home and not even sending a formal request to his chief's headquarters for sick leave. Chiang himself affected not to notice the absence. Finally, after a month, Deng Wenyi presented himself at the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum, where Chiang Kai-shek was giving a lecture to the team in charge of propaganda for the Jiangxi Bandit Extermination Campaign. After the lecture Chiang took the initiative and motioned Deng forward, inquiring solicitously about the state of his health and the reasons for his absence. Then the *xiaozhang* said gently, "Your weakness is laziness. Once you get energized, you do a good job. From now on you must reform your behavior and work hard. You will return to headquarters starting tomorrow morning." Deng came back to work the next day.³⁹

NEW LIFE

After this intense emotional crisis, which reflected the complex nature of the relationship that bound together Chiang Kai-shek and his subordinates, Deng Wenyi continued to manage his publishing company. Indeed, as the Lixingshe's Blue Shirts sprang into being, Deng's Give Us a Lift Bookshop expanded into a chain of stores that distributed Chiang loyalists' publications in Nanjing, Hankou, Nanchang, Changsha, Guiyang, and other cities.⁴⁰ The Chinese Culture Study Society was thus grafted onto a simple but extensive propaganda dissemination network that Deng Wenyi had already set in place. Its appearance coincided with the inauguration of the New Life Movement, formally proclaimed in Jiangxi by Governor Xiong Shihui in February 1934; and it sprang from the same moral revivalism that characterized this "ideological hodgepodge of classical Confucian tenets, a Christian code of ethics, and military ideals."⁴¹ The society also demonstrated how Confucian revivalism paradoxically crystallized the fussy shopkeeper's mentality of small-scale print capitalism together with the vaguely bucolic yearnings of petty urbanite military socialism.

Within the Lixingshe, the New Life Movement was regarded one of the Blue Shirts' "four major movements." All society cadres and members were governed by it, especially insofar as their personal assets and earnings were concerned. According to the rules of the Society for Vigorous Practice, all members were supposed to register their personal property. Any increase or decrease in future holdings would have to be accounted for by their regular salaries, and these assets were supposed to be inspected at random either by the bookkeepers of the secretariat or the inspectorate of the Lixingshe. An embezzlement of two hundred yuan was supposed to lead to imprison-

ment; those who stole five hundred yuan would be punished by death. Local Lixingshe organizations coordinating the program would thereby create “a new atmosphere” that would lead to the eradication of such “evil customs” as extravagance, greed, laziness, deception, treachery, gambling, lust, and all that “longing for leisure and abhorrence of labor” (*hao yi wu lao*) characteristic of the “feudal gentry” (*fengjian shidai fu*). Under this new moral order, which would do away with waste and speculation, men and women “would revive *fu xing* our ever self-generating and self-renewing national spirit *minzu jing shen*” to “recover a confidence lost since the Opium War in the nation’s ability to survive.”⁴²

The primary goal of the Chinese Culture Study Society was, correspondingly, to “renew life” (*gengxin sheng huo*) by moving people’s minds to common public purpose. The heart of this effort was a program of “militarization” (*jun shi hua*) initially restricted to members of the Renaissance Society and later extended to the public at large through the mechanism of the New Life Movement Promotion Association. It was this association that implemented many of the most controversial and intrusive measures of the New Life Movement, including restrictions on smoking, dancing, and the wearing of certain kinds of Western clothing.⁴³ The Blue Shirts were consequently blamed by foreigners, and especially the American missionary community, for having subverted the original intent of the New Life experiment by turning it into a fascist-dominated movement.⁴⁴

The Chinese Culture Study Association was nominally chaired by Chiang Kai-shek, but its actual day-to-day leaders were Deng Wenyi, Xiao Zuolin, He Zhonghan, and Wu Shoupeng. Deng was made *lishi zhang*, while Xiao served as secretary-general in the central office in Nanchang. At the same time, it was decided that Xiao Zuolin should go to Shanghai and help set up a branch of the new society there with the help of Liu Bingli (the editor of *Future*), Ni Wenya, and other local Blue Shirts.⁴⁵

The Blue Shirts were already well established in Shanghai. In January 1932 the “preparations department” (*chou bei chu*) of the Lixingshe had sent Ye Wei to Shanghai to build up an organization there to control the student movement.⁴⁶ And, in April, Chiang Kai-shek had already given Dai Li’s SSD responsibility for a range of covert activities within the city. Two years later, according to Japanese reports, the Blue Shirts held an executive committee meeting in Shanghai.⁴⁷ At the meeting the Blue Shirts adopted a set of group principles, drew up a table of organization, and established membership rules and categories. The Japanese claimed that the Blue Shirts’ principles declared that “Fascism shall be adopted as a step toward the materialization of the dictatorship.” Their oath committed them to help bring forth a spirit of national independence, to work toward the simultaneous abolition of all of the unequal treaties, and to bring about the centralization of the entire nation. While martial discipline was to be enforced among

bureaucrats, who “shall be made to accept fascism,” positive steps would be taken to develop commercial, mining, and agricultural enterprises by stimulating rural handicrafts region by region, by suppressing class war between capital and labor, and by establishing agricultural experimental stations on a large scale. And, in order “to materialize the new social order as well as a state based on fascism as soon as possible,” the Blue Shirts were to engage in intelligence, propaganda, and execution activities as the need arose.⁴⁸

According to these same highly alarmist Japanese sources, the Shanghai Blue Shirts’ table of organization showed the local special district branch coming under the direct authority of the general headquarters in Nanking. There were also 1) a general Beiping-Tianjin branch, which included the Tianjin gendarmerie intelligence bureau; 2) a Beiping-Tianjin circuit discipline office; 3) regular branches in Datong, Ji’nan, Qingdao, Shandong, Tangshan, Kalgan (Zhangjiakou), and Suiyuan; 4) a north China special mission with its own branches in Dairen (Dalian), Mukden (Shenyang), Sinkiang (Xinjing), Harbin, Heilungkiang, Situng, Yingkow, Chengte, and Chowyang (Zhouyang); 5) a Wuchang office; and 6) scattered provincial and municipal units throughout the country.⁴⁹

Other foreign intelligence and police services also accumulated information on the Blue Shirts. By no later than August 1933, the French Concession police claimed to have discovered the existence of a Blue Shirts organization in Shanghai under the command of the chief of the Guomindang Social Affairs Bureau (Shehui ju), Wu Xingya, who was thought as well to be the head of General Chiang Kai-shek’s Shanghai intelligence service.⁵⁰ The International Settlement Police also mistakenly identified the Shanghai Blue Shirts branch with the “CC” clique and Chen Guofu, and believed that the organization was formed to “inculcate a new spirit, fascism, into the masses as a measure to save the country from its perilous position.” And they, too, identified the leader as being Wu Xingya.⁵¹

CONTROLLING CULTURE

If Wu Xingya was indeed a “CC” clique member, as a number of intelligence sources so identified him, the Blue Shirts in Shanghai nevertheless stood in opposition to the Chen brothers just as soon as Xiao Zuolin arrived in Shanghai in February 1934 to form a “preparations committee” (*choubi weiyuanhui*) at 76 Huanlong Road to promote the cultural mission of the Renaissance Society.⁵² Before long, special invitations had been sent out by Xiao’s preparatory group to Wu Tiecheng, the mayor of Shanghai; to Weng Zhilong, the president of Tongji University; to Li Zhaohuan, the president of Jiaotong University; and to Pei Fuheng, the head of the National Commercial Institute (*Guoli shang xueyuan*). Each of these important figures agreed to join the new committee, and within a month seven or eight hun-

dred other people—mostly college students and professors—had been recruited as members of the Chinese Culture Study Society, which was headed by three standing councilors (*changwu lishi*): Mayor Wu Tiecheng, Liu Bingli, and Xiao Zuolin.⁵³

According to Xiao Zuolin himself, the organization of the Chinese Culture Study Society coincided with the “high tide” of the Renaissance Society’s “fascist propaganda movement,” when the Blue Shirts were able to attract the most followers and exert the greatest influence on public opinion in Shanghai.⁵⁴ After opening up a bookstore and publishing house at 50 Huanlong Road, the CCSS began issuing a regular bulletin, along with collections of titles on youth (*Qingnian congshu*), military affairs (*Junshi congshu*), and democracy (*Minzhu congshu*). The society also published a number of works in translation through the central headquarters of the society under Wu Shoupeng in Nanchang.⁵⁵

It was the Renaissance Society’s hope to use the Chinese Culture Study Society to launch a “cultural movement” (*wenhua yundong*) that would give Blue Shirts intellectuals an opportunity to lead a national revival movement by exercising control over the reading public’s thought and behavior. The program was vaguely put forth in the form of a special issue of the Fuxingshe’s monthly, *Future*, to which Wu Tiechang, Liu Bingli, He Zhonghan, and others contributed essays with titles like “Cultural Control *Wenhua tongzhi* in Chinese History,” “A Historical View of Our Country’s Cultural Control,” “The Phase of the Control of the Three People’s Principles,” and “Controlling Culture in Order to Lead to a Plan for Salvation from Extermination.”⁵⁶ Common to all of these was the simple notion of *tongzhi*, which represented the vague sense that the Fuxingshe ought somehow to gain control over the intellectual life of the country, as well as the much more particular notion that the Blue Shirts, and not the members of the Chen brothers’ “CC” clique, should take charge of a new thought movement in the major cultural center of China at the time, Shanghai.⁵⁷

The “CC” clique was aware of this challenge and was prepared to respond to it. As soon as the Chinese Culture Study Society was founded by the Renaissance Society, members of the “CC” clique formed the Chinese Cultural Construction Association (*Zhongguo wenhua jianshe xiehui*). When Xiao Zuolin went to Shanghai in 1934 to establish a Chinese Culture Study Society branch there, he was followed almost immediately by Chen Lifu, who set up headquarters at 45 Rue Victor Immanuel III for a Shanghai section of the Chinese Cultural Construction Association, with the intention of competing with Xiao Zuolin’s group to win over “distinguished scholars” (*mingliu xuezhe*) in literary and cultural circles.⁵⁸

The “CC” clique also established a “special body” whose duty it was “to investigate the political inclinations of Chinese literati.”⁵⁹ The “special body” later came to include among its members Wang Xingming, the editor of

Chenbao (Shanghai Morning Post);⁶⁰ He Bingsong, chairman of the editorial committee of the Commercial Press;⁶¹ Wu Yugan, professor of political science at the Central University in Nanjing;⁶² Sun Hanbing, dean of law at Fudan University;⁶³ Huang Wenshan, dean of social sciences at the Central University;⁶⁴ Tao Xisheng, professor of journalism at Beiping University; Zhang Yi, dean of education at Fudan; Chen Gaoyang, professor of law at Ji'nan University; Fan Zhongyun, editor of *Wenhua jianshe yuekan* (Cultural Construction Monthly);⁶⁵ and Sa Mengwu, professor of political science at the Central University.⁶⁶

The formation of a rival cultural society by the "CC" clique created a particularly awkward situation for Mayor Wu Tiecheng and the university presidents who had already joined the preparatory committee for the Renaissance Society's group. The safest course to follow was to join both societies, which they and a number of more prominent professors promptly did. Shanghai university students, however, were not so ambivalent, and the Chinese Culture Study Society turned out to be much more adept than the "CC" clique's cultural organization at arousing their support, especially at the large specialized schools (*dazhuan xuexiao*).⁶⁷ At Ji'nan University, for example, the Blue Shirts were able to capture the allegiance of a majority of student activists, and because the CCSS cadres were mainly former military students themselves, they were able to organize and discipline their supporters more effectively.⁶⁸ When the "CC" clique supporters attempted to fight back, open warfare erupted: the CCSS cadres simply arrested and locked up the Chinese Cultural Construction Association members on the campus, to the dismay of Wu Xingya and Pan Gongzhan, the chiefs of the party's Social Affairs Bureau and Education Bureau.⁶⁹ It was only after Mayor Wu Tiecheng interceded and brought the Fuxingshe members (who deliberately tried to remain out of sight so that they would not be forced to release their rivals) to the negotiating table that the imprisoned students were set free.⁷⁰ The Shanghai Blue Shirts were also better than their "CC" clique rivals at organizing support among police and military elements in nearby cities, including Hangzhou, where they established a branch of the Chinese Culture Study Society shortly after the Shanghai group was formed, and where the Cultural Vanguard Brigade (whose fascistlike ceremonial was described earlier) was also set up with students from Zhejiang University and other local schools.⁷¹

Yet even though the "CC" clique could not compete successfully against the Blue Shirts when it came to organizing student support through these cultural front organizations, the Chen brothers could resort to Chiang Kai-shek's own plan for assigning intellectual work to themselves while restricting the Fuxingshe and its various affiliates to military indoctrination and surveillance. Stymied at the level of mass organization, Chen Lifu therefore went to the very top and persuaded Chiang to issue orders dissolving the

Chinese Culture Study Society around June 1934, just at the time that the New Life Movement was burgeoning in Shanghai under the official auspices of the Shanghai Public Safety Bureau.⁷²

The “CC” clique’s resistance to the Blue Shirts in Shanghai was only partly successful. The Blue Shirts continued to function in the city, especially through student military training programs and through educational associations such as the Chinese Youth Strength Society, headed first by Wu Xingya and later by Pan Gongzhan. Though by no means a Blue Shirts front, the Chinese Youth Strength Society had many connections with the Fuxingshe and was assigned the task of keeping surveillance over Shanghai students’ political activities. When one of Wu Xingya’s agents, Yuan Xueyi, a returned student from Japan, was arrested as a Communist agent in May 1935, the CYSS was eclipsed by the China Vanguard Society (*Zhongfengshe*), a more militantly disciplined organization promoted by Pan Gongzhan and the Bureau of Social Affairs.⁷³ Some observers speculated that the Yuan Xueyi affair was related to the “CC” clique’s struggle with the Blue Shirts, but regular police officers reported otherwise.⁷⁴

Meanwhile, Dai Li’s Special Services Department—quite apart from the Fuxingshe with which it was often publicly identified—continued to operate with relative impunity in both native and foreign sectors of Shanghai.⁷⁵ But the Blue Shirts cadres of the Chinese Culture Study Society—men such as Xiao Zuolin and Liu Bingli—had their hopes for a new thought movement in the metropolis dashed by the “CC” clique’s *démarche*, and they were forced to turn instead to military training programs in the provinces in their effort to bring culture under the “control” of the radical right wing of Chiang Kai-shek’s Nationalist regime.⁷⁶

Chapter 10

The Blue Shirts in the Provinces

Every evening, in the dead of the night, the pitiful cries of the tortured wailed in desperation, sending shivers down one's spine. Wu Gengshu, head of the Kaifeng Special Services Station routinely in the early hours of the morning would take the dead and put them in hempen sacks and throw them into the Yellow River, where their corpses were found along the banks in the morning. No one knew how many progressive and patriotic revolutionary youth were tortured and killed in this way. The very term Eastern Flower Gate which was where the Renaissance Society had its headquarters in Kaifeng was enough to cause one's heart to utter.

XIAO OLIN, *Fuxingshe shulüe*, 54

PROPAGANDA BRIGADES

The earliest deployment of the Blue Shirts in the provinces was the handiwork of Kang Ze, the former assistant head of Chiang Kai-shek's escort office (*shicongshi*, or ADC) who had both a taste and a knack for espionage and security operations. Kang had been named editor of *China Daily* (*Zhongguo ribao*) when it became the chief organ of the newly founded Renaissance Society, and he used that position to consolidate the strength of his own clique of Whampoa students who had served on the propaganda brigades (*xuanchuan dadui*) that Kang had helped command during the Northern Expedition. These were mainly students from Yunnan, Guizhou, and Sichuan, and the clique was correspondingly called the Southwestern Club (*Xi'nanshe*).¹

The propaganda brigades were part of the political department system of the army, the personnel of which had been downgraded from commissars to indoctrination officers during Chiang's March 20, 1926, Canton coup. During the early part of the Northern Expedition the brigades were quite successful, teaching soldiers and officers party principles and standards of acceptable behavior toward the civilian population. As the Northern Expedition advanced, however, the demand for political cadres to retrain prisoners from the surrendered warlord armies quickly exceeded the available supply of indoctrination officers, and their success at re-education faltered. On August 22, 1927, during the suppression of the autumn harvest uprisings, Bai Chongxi disbanded the political department system altogether,

and it remained inactive until the following January, when it was resurrected by Chiang Kai-shek within the National Revolutionary Army in the form of a political training department that dispatched agents to set up special party headquarters (*tebie dangbu*) at the divisional level throughout the Nationalist Army. Though ineffective at indoctrination, the *tebie dangbu* became important elements in the counterespionage system developed by Dai Jitao to ferret out Communists within the Nationalist Army units directly under Chiang Kai-shek's control.²

The launching of the first suppression campaigns against the Communist forces in Jiangxi coincided with a fresh emphasis upon ideological indoctrination work and the recall of Kang Ze from his editorial position to more active duties.³ In 1932, the research institute of the Society for Vigorous Practice in Nanjing had formulated plans for a special counterinsurgency program to be carried out in Jiangxi. Lixingshe members Teng Jie, Xiao Zanyu, and Kang Ze presented the plans to Chiang Kai-shek in person while he was in Linchuan county, supervising the campaign against the Communists. Chiang approved the scheme on the spot and ordered the three men to discuss its implementation with Xiong Shihui, chief of staff of the Nanchang traveling headquarters and provincial governor of Jiangxi. On their way back to Nanchang, Kang Ze told his two companions that running a newspaper was not much of a challenge for him, and that he wanted to be responsible for managing this new program. He threatened to resign and go abroad otherwise. Teng Jie and Xiao Zanyu saw in Kang Ze "a person who could endure hardship, who had great perseverance, who was highly motivated, and who had great ambition."⁴ They agreed to back him for the job, and when they reached Nanchang they persuaded Xiong Shihui to make Kang Ze director of the "special training class" (*tebie xunlianban*) to prepare "special services backbone cadres" (*tewu gudan*) for propaganda, indoctrination, and security work in the "bandit suppression zones."⁵

Xingzi county, bordering Poyang Lake right next to Five Elders Peak (Wulaofeng) at Lushan, was picked as the site of the first class, which consisted of more than six hundred students from the Central Military Academy. In addition to being physically conditioned and taught how to climb mountains and cross rivers, the men were given four months of special training in Communist affairs, intelligence work, disguises, guerrilla ambush tactics, search and destroy techniques, night raids, and "organizing and training the populace" (*zuxun minzhong*). They were then assigned to companies (*zhongdui*), platoons (*fendui*), squads (*xiaodui*), and cells (*xiaozu*) that together formed the Bandit Suppression Special Operations Chief Brigade (Jiaofei biedong zongdui) under the command of Kang Ze and directly responsible to the chairman of the Military Affairs Commission, General Chiang Kai-shek. As such, they became known popularly as the "Generalissimo's GPU."⁶

SPECIAL OPERATIONS BRIGADES

The initial Special Operations Brigade (SOB) numbered one thousand. Eventually the Biedongdui totaled twenty thousand, divided into five main brigades of four thousand men each. The SOB cadres accepted responsibility for “advising and supervising” (*dudao*) local suppression-campaign military officers.⁷ Their rank-and-file, armed with pistols, grenades, and specially manufactured lightweight radios, moved about the countryside in disguise, conducting surprise attacks on “bandits in hiding” (*qianfei*), killing or capturing underground Communists and breaking their party organization.⁸ At the same time SOB cadres assisted local government in building self-defense units so that regular administration could take place and the civilian population could return to the fields and resume normal life.⁹

Though the SOB soon earned a notorious reputation among progressives, who accused its armed cadres of ruthlessly torturing and murdering civilians, it received high marks from Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists for indoctrinating peasants against Communism and for mobilizing rural resistance to the Soviet Red Army in Jiangxi.¹⁰ More *tewu gudan* were trained for work in Henan, Hubei, Anhui, Jiangxi, Fujian, and Zhejiang while Kang Ze and his followers constituted themselves as a special task force that dominated portions of south and southwestern China, and that even defied the provincial leadership of warlords in Guizhou and Sichuan.¹¹

The efforts of Kang Ze’s Special Operations Brigade to conduct counterinsurgency activities in Communist-dominated rural areas were supplemented by the political indoctrination programs adopted by the Guomindang and conducted mainly by that other leading Blue Shirts figure, He Zhonghan.¹² In 1932, at the same time that Kang Ze was beginning to train special services backbone cadres, He Zhonghan—who popularized the term “bandit suppression” or “bandit extermination” (*jiaofei*)—was appointed chief of the Department of Propaganda for Bandit Suppression (*Jiaofei xuanchuan chu*) for the Xiang-E-Gan (Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi) Bandit Suppression Headquarters, as well as chief of the Department of Political Indoctrination (*Zhengxun chu*) in the Nanchang garrison.¹³ By the following winter, just at the time the Fuxingshe was being formed, He Zhonghan’s propaganda office had become the political training office for all bandit-suppression troops, and by the following June He had been placed in charge of the bandit-suppression command for Henan-Hubei-Anhui with headquarters at Hankou.¹⁴

The Hankou headquarters for bandit suppression was supplied with cadres through the Henan-Hubei-Anhui-Jiangxi Regimental Cadres Brigade Training Class (*Yu-E-Wan-Gan tuangandui xunlianban*), which was formed under the leadership of Lixingshe members in January 1933.¹⁵

One-sixth of the 1,700 students were Central Military Academy graduates. The rest were recruited from county peace preservation corps and from district self-defense units throughout the four provinces. They were all given six months' training in intelligence work, military knowledge and battle techniques, politics, and Communist affairs. Then they returned to their original units to coordinate the bandit suppression campaign against the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army with the Nationalist headquarters in Nanchang and Hankou.¹⁶

In the Hankou headquarters it was He Zhonghan who provided the bulk of the Nationalists' anti-Communist propaganda, establishing a motion picture studio and publishing the violently anti-Communist journal *Saodang* (Mopping Up). By then there was a series of other offices in the capital concerned with political indoctrination, and He Zhonghan decided to fashion himself master of this entire *zhengxun xitong* (political indoctrination system), making propaganda work his special stock in trade.¹⁷

POLITICAL INDOCTRINATION

He Zhonghan was not without rivals in this respect.¹⁸ Feng Ti, who was identified as the leader of the clique of Blue Shirts who had studied in Europe, and who had succeeded Teng Jie as secretary-general of the Fuxingshe when Chiang found the latter to be weak and incapable, believed that propaganda work among the young was the key to military victory and personal success. While he was secretary-general, Feng set up a summer military training program for students under the aegis of the Training Oversight Section (Xunlian zongjian bu). "Chief brigades" (*zongdui*) were organized in important provincial cities around the country and were put under the command of high-ranking garrison officers or of special cadres sent out from the Lixingshe in Nanjing.¹⁹ After Feng Ti fell from power and the Japan-trained faction of Blue Shirts united with Deng Wenyi and He Zhonghan to get He named secretary-general of the Renaissance Society, the focal point of propaganda work shifted to the Political Indoctrination Department, which had been put under He Zhonghan's command in 1935 after he was transferred back to Nanjing from Hubei, and which became the Blue Shirts' main stronghold in the army.²⁰

The *zhengxun xitong* (political indoctrination system) of the army held a key position in the secret operations of the Military Affairs Commission. Political Indoctrination Departments (PID) were established at every level of the military forces of the government and in every military school and military unit. Through overlapping membership in the Renaissance Society, He Zhonghan and his comrades linked the indoctrination system to the Department of Party Affairs in the Military (*Jundui dangwu chu*), which was

supposed to direct local propaganda against the Communists. Although the department came under the central party organization of the GMD, it was dominated by backbone cadres from the Fuxingshe.²¹

Lixingshe members also dominated training units for political indoctrination cadres.²² The most important of these was the Training Class for Cadres (Ganbu xunlianban) attached to the Military Affairs Commission and directed by Sun Changjun, who was both a graduate of Whampoa's first class and a member of the Lishe.²³ The Training Class for Cadres was formed in April 1932 with five brigades of more than 1,800 students. One-fifth of these were Central Military Academy graduates, and the rest either had received training in former imperial military schools or were surrendered warlords' staff assigned to "temporary army officer training units brigades" (*linshi junguan xunlianban dui*). After a half-year of training, most graduates of the Training Class for Cadres were sent out to the provinces to become military training instructors (*guomin junxun jiaoguan*) in municipal and county civilian schools. A few were kept behind as cadres and staff officers (*zhiguan*) for other Lixingshe training programs.²⁴

Although all of He Zhonghan's chief lieutenants were backbone cadres in the Renaissance Society, and a majority of "political worker personnel" (*zhenggong renyuan*) at middle levels and above belonged to the Fuxingshe, the political indoctrination system was quite independent of the Renaissance Society as such. He Zhonghan and his comrades received their orders directly from Chiang Kai-shek, and a significant number of PID department chiefs (*chuzhang*) were not members of the Fuxingshe. Their major task, apart from carrying on anti-Communist propaganda work, was to investigate and maintain surveillance over the heads of each brigade (*dui*), so they functioned on the whole as political commissars both for the troops directly under Chiang Kai-shek's control and also for forces that he did not immediately command.

They were also expected to keep watch over the thoughts and activities of military officers and students at all levels of the armed forces. If a military cadet was suspected of Communist activity, the Political Indoctrination Officer (PIO) supposedly had the authority to order his arrest and punishment by the military police, which had a special services section of its own in all major Chinese cities.²⁵ In addition, the PIO was under orders to investigate Communist activities within the area where his military unit was stationed, and his own commands had to be obeyed on the grounds that they were martial law, compelling local law enforcement organs to cooperate fully.²⁶

During and after 1932, Chiang Kai-shek did not in principle permit officers in command of troops, and especially those above the rank of division commander (*shizhang*), to join the Fuxingshe or Blue Shirts, even if they were graduates of the first three Whampoa classes. There were exceptions,

of course, in the cases of Hu Zongnan, Teng Jie, and Gui Yongqing.²⁷ Also, a small number of regimental commanders (*tuanzhang*) participated in the Renaissance Society, but they were either unknown to Chiang or else they were officers who had been sent out to supervise troops that were “not under his direct control.”²⁸ In general, however, Chiang always maintained a clear distinction between surveillance and command, and in that respect his military commissar system was quite different from the Chinese Red Army system in which the commissars acted both as political indoctrination officers and as members of a collective leadership, enjoying high status and authority.²⁹

Authority and status go together, for the most part, and because PIOs lacked the right to command in the conventional sense, they were looked down upon by regular military officers.

[Chiang Kai-shek] did not allow military commanders who had real power to participate in political special services *zhengzhi tewu*. Rather he used political special services to keep watch over military commanders who held real power, as a way of keeping them in check. However, the actual effect was just the opposite. Commanders among the Whampoa students who had real power not only did not participate in the Renaissance Society organization, but they greatly deprecated political work and its personnel. The vast majority of political indoctrination personnel were unwilling to do this work, calling political work “selling quack remedies” *mai gaoyao* and believing that it had no future for them. This was especially so with Whampoa students who really felt that they were out of luck [if they were assigned to be political commissars]. They only wanted to turn political work into a bridge, hoping to use this to establish *guanxi* with each commander so that they could be transferred into commanding troops themselves.³⁰

As a result they not only failed to maintain effective surveillance over the unit commanders, but they curried favor with them in hopes of being given a military command of their own. Commanders—especially of *fei dixi* (“non-family”) units—in turn bought out their commissars with offers of appointments and even of money. In the long run, these two incentives made posting as a PIO to one of the units “not under direct command” much more attractive than assignment to a *dixi* (“family”) unit. PIOs also preferred to be assigned to *fei dixi* units because life in these commands was much gayer and more frivolous than in *dixi* postings, where gambling and consorting with prostitutes were more often discouraged and despised.³¹

The Political Indoctrination Department, and the Renaissance Society cadres who staffed so many positions within it, were to be the key instruments in Chiang Kai-shek’s plan to extend his control over north China after the Japanese army invaded Rehe (Jehol) in January 1933 and tried to break through the defenses at the Great Wall coordinated by the “Young Marshal,” Zhang Xueliang. The Chinese military situation was complicated

by the rivalry between Zhang Xueliang and the other two major warlords of the north, Yan Xishan and Feng Yuxiang, who were trying to capitalize upon fervently patriotic opposition to Chiang Kai-shek's "pacification first, resistance second" policy. Feng was at Zhangjiakou, biding his time after resigning from the Nationalist government as minister of the interior.³² Yan Xishan was in Taiyuan, serving as Pacification Commissioner of Shanxi and Suiyuan.³³ Neither general was willing to attend to Zhang Xueliang's orders. Meanwhile, though General Song Zheyuan was being sent to Changchun, the "Young Marshal's" Manchurian soldiers were already straggling down into the Central Plain, where they easily fell prey to puppets and collaborators.³⁴

COHORT LEADERSHIP

By March 1933, when the Lixingshe was holding its annual meeting in Nanjing, it was clear to Chiang Kai-shek that a stronger hand was needed in the north both in the form of vigorous leadership and of trusted cadres. Consequently, when Zhang Xueliang submitted his resignation, the Generalissimo accepted it and named General He Yingqin head of the Military Affairs Commission in Beiping.³⁵ At the same time, he heeded Lixingshe staff officers' advice to form special teams of their members to be sent to the north as support cadres. Chiang believed that a cohort of devoted followers could assume leadership of propaganda work and covert activities so as to stay the hand of the Japanese and their collaborators in the north. As we shall see, this expectation was dashed, paving the way for Dai Li to assert his personal control.³⁶

The first special team, which included Zheng Jiemin, arrived in Beiping on March 12. Zheng immediately took control of the two standing Lixingshe organs in the city: the branch office (*fenhui*) of the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association and the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association under the command of Jia Yi, the local Lixingshe secretary; and the Special Services Department's Beiping Station. A second team under Deng Wenyi, who was the secretary of the Office of Confidential Communications (*Jiyaoshi*) at the Nanchang headquarters, began arriving in the old imperial capital at staggered intervals after March 15.³⁷

Dai Li himself went to Beiping in early April, taking along a number of confidential secretaries and code clerks. They were put up in a two-story house with courtyard that his agents had rented in an alley in the eastern part of the city.³⁸ Dai Li's activities were not limited to intelligence gathering. They also entailed high-level political manipulation, including liaison with such civilian and military leaders of Manchuria as Li Tiancai, Guan Qiyu, Wang Zhuoran, Wang Lizhe, Fan Chongyi, and Feng Yong.³⁹

The person with the most important team assignment was He Yingqin's former confidential aide, Liu Jianqun, who was given the task of recruiting political cadres in Nanjing for propaganda work in the north.⁴⁰ Since July 1932 Liu had been director of the principal training unit for higher cadres of the Lixingshe, the Class for the Study of Political Indoctrination of the Military Affairs Commission (Junshi weiyuanhui zhengxun yanjiuban), which consisted of about 120 Central Military Academy cadets and 480 college graduates.⁴¹ The class's motto, written in Chiang Kai-shek's calligraphy, was *jian ku duo jue* (extreme hardship and difficulties); and the training guidelines were "illuminate principle and righteousness, know virtue and shame, take responsibility, and maintain discipline." Students enrolled in the six-month political training course had been instructed that *li* (principle), *yi* (righteousness), *lian* (virtue), and *chi* (shame) were the four cardinal pillars of the state; once they were firmly established, the nation would enjoy a renaissance (*fuxing*).⁴² This promise had underlain all of their grounding in the Three People's Principles as they prepared to issue forth and indoctrinate other Blue Shirts throughout China. However, just as soon as these six hundred cadres had concluded their training in February 1933, the Great Wall War had broken out between the Japanese and Chinese. Now, they would serve instead under Director Liu Jianqun to stiffen civilian resistance and combat Japanese spies in the north China war.⁴³

On March 19, 1933, Liu was designated chief commander of the Anti-Japanese Propaganda Brigade (Kang-Ri xuanchuan dui) and given a monthly allowance of 2,800 yuan to set up a preparatory department (*choubuichu*) on Hanjia Lane in Nanjing. Within ten days more than three hundred cadres had been selected from graduates of the elite political training course run by the Lixingshe under the Military Affairs Commission, and a special unit was formed called the North China Chief Propaganda Brigade. Eventually nearly five hundred men—some of who were unemployed Whampoa graduates—joined this unit, which was divided into three smaller brigades that accompanied Liu Jianqun to the north.⁴⁴ Their stated mission was to explain the central government's decision of *annei ranqwai* (pacification first, resistance second), to unite the military and civilians in order to resist the enemy with one heart and mind, to put an end to the activities of Japanese intelligence organs and their underground Han collaborators, and to make sure that northern China and Inner Mongolia would not fall under Japanese domination as newly created "autonomous" zones.⁴⁵

On March 27 several of the *duizhang* (brigade commanders), including Li Bingzhong, left for Beiping.⁴⁶ Two days later, after he had given them a final lecture, Liu Jianqun led the rest of the new brigade members north, and as soon as they arrived in Beiping, Liu took Jia Yi's place as secretary of the local branch of the Society for Vigorous Practice.⁴⁷ Because Liu Jianqun

and a number of his brigade leaders were former subordinates or students of He Yingqin, they also participated in a special team to support He, who had only brought along three or four aides-de-camp. That team, which was informally attached to the Military Affairs Commission Beiping branch office, included Dai Li's deputy Zheng Jiemin. All the other members, with one exception, belonged to the Lixingshe.⁴⁸

For his part, He Yingqin wanted simultaneously to discourage outright collaborators and block aggressive counterattacks against the Japanese, who were rapidly occupying Rehe and only partly willing to entertain negotiations for a truce. He was helped in the former by members of Liu's unit, who were sent out in ten-man teams to urge the "mixed brand" (*zapai*) armies to unite under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's government to fight a joint war of resistance against the enemy. Team members were told to use "thought" (*sixiang*) in the form of the Three People's Principles as a way of gradually "centralizing" (*zhongyanghua*) control over those forces not under Chiang's direct command while also infusing every level of society with the message that the country could only be saved by the Guomindang, by the *Sanminzhuyi*, and by the Leader himself.⁴⁹

POLITICAL ACTION IN THE NORTH

For "action" instead of "thought," He Yingqin looked to Dai Li's man, Zheng Jiemin, who arranged the assassination of Zhang Jingyao, the Hunanese warlord then negotiating with the Japanese.⁵⁰ Zhang's demise probably discouraged other potential collaborators from undermining the negotiations that were then about to take place between Chiang Kai-shek's representatives and the Japanese. That, at least, was the claim put forward by Gan Guoxun, who later said that the assassination had

aroused and excited the heroes *haojie* of Yan and Zhao . . . completely changing the social atmosphere of northern China, which was feudal and self-indulgent. All these *hanjian* traitors, such as Wang Kemin, Wang Jitang, and Gao Wenyue, went into hiding. Squirming like worms, they were afraid to make any move whatsoever. Representative northern warlord figures such as Duan Qirui and Wu Peifu bowed to public opinion and pledged loyalty to the center.⁵¹

Chiang Kai-shek's leading representative in the negotiations was his senior adviser Huang Fu, the former mayor of Shanghai and minister of foreign affairs. Huang Fu had been Chiang Kai-shek's fellow student (together with Yan Xishan) at the Shinbu gakko (Military Preparatory School) in Tokyo in 1908.⁵² Although retired from public life, Huang Fu had re-

turned to political prominence in 1932 when, in response to the national crisis over war with Japan, he went back to Shanghai and founded the New China Reconstruction Society that published *Renaissance Monthly* (*Fuxing yuekan*). Now, he was named chairman of the Beiping Political Affairs Council in May 1933, and instructed by Chiang Kai-shek to enter into unpopular negotiations with the Japanese.⁵³

Meanwhile, once the Japanese consolidated their occupation of Rehe and proceeded to attack Chahar, Feng Yuxiang decided to come out of his own retirement at Zhangjiakou and make a bid for national leadership by mobilizing a resistance movement. On May 26, 1933, Feng announced the formation of the People's Allied Anti-Japanese Army (Minzhong kang-Ri tongmeng jun) and began gathering troops.⁵⁴ Five days later, on May 31, Huang Fu finally succeeded in negotiating a cease-fire with the Japanese. But public opinion seemed to support Feng; the Tanggu Truce was decried as a sellout and Huang Fu denounced as a pro-Japanese "traitor."⁵⁵ Nevertheless, the key to policy at that moment was military power, not public opinion. While He Yingqin massed troops south of the Beiping-Suiyuan Railroad, Huang Fu and Song Zheyuan (whose own army controlled eastern Hebei) "persuaded" Feng Yuxiang to disband his People's Allied Anti-Japanese Army in August 1933. At the same time, in order to get He Yingqin to disperse his forces, Feng Yuxiang turned Chahar military and administrative authority over to Song Zheyuan and retired to his home at Taishan in Shandong. Song thereby emerged as the leading political figure of the Hebei-Chahar region, becoming garrison commander of Beiping-Tianjin at the time of the He-Umezu Agreement in May 1935.⁵⁶

One of the provisions of the Tanggu Truce was the abolition of the Anti-Japanese Propaganda Brigade. This was only nominally observed. The various propaganda brigades were changed into or incorporated with the political indoctrination departments (PID) attached to each army unit. Liu Jianqun himself became chief of propaganda, and thereafter all Renaissance Society activities were conducted under this cover. The head of any particular military unit's PID was almost invariably a Fuxingshe cell staff officer (*xiaozu ganshi*), and every major meeting within the unit was always attended by someone from the PID, the first section (*ke*) of which acted as the Renaissance Society's propaganda organ. The second *ke* was the intelligence unit, and if it had need of special services, it called upon the third regiment (*tuan*) of the local military police, who acted both as guards (*jingwei*) for each army post and as investigators or detectives (*jicha*) charged with the responsibility of investigating the activities of progressives and Communist Party members.⁵⁷ On occasion, the second section also used civilians—often local secret society or bandit elements, sometimes members of the Red or Green gangs, and sometimes members of religious

sects—against peasants, merchants, and workers not under the direct jurisdiction of military or disciplinary authorities.⁵⁸

MILITARY TRAINING IN THE SCHOOLS

During 1933–35 the Blue Shirts also extended their influence into north China via the military training system that was established throughout the country for students in senior middle schools and colleges. A National Military Affairs Educational Department (*Guomin junshi jiaoyu chu*) was created in Nanjing under the auspices of the Training Oversight Section. The department, which was first administered by Pan Youqiang, a Lixingshe member, and then later by Du Xinru, in turn appointed committees for national military training (*guomin junshi xunlian weiyuanhui*) in every major provincial city. These committees were run by “persons in charge of military training” (*junxun zhuren*), who were for the most part Whampoa Academy graduates. Many of them, along with the “military training officers” (*junxun jiaoguan*) sent to the army training offices (*junxun shi*) in senior middle schools and colleges, were also members of the Renaissance Society.⁵⁹

Their orders were to organize ninety-day training courses for high school and college students. At the middle school level, these were nominally directed by the local mayor or county magistrate, but actually run by the military training officer attached to that particular school. At the college and university level, chief brigades and brigades were organized under the president’s office of the institution, but again run by the military training officer. In this way the Fuxingshe reached into each university and middle school, spreading the Blue Shirts’ propaganda, maintaining surveillance over “progressive” youth, and ferreting out Communist Party underground workers. These training officers were intimately linked with Dai Li’s Special Services Department, and some of the worst aspects of the White Terror were attributed to them by Communists.⁶⁰

Most of the actual military training took place in summer programs that were held in the provincial capitals. For example, during the school holidays various student brigades from the provinces of Henan and Shaanxi were convened in Kaifeng to form a training camp. Political indoctrination prevailed over instruction in military affairs, and the political officers—who were mainly Fuxingshe members—gave courses on the Leader’s words and thoughts, on the Three People’s Principles, on international affairs, on the development of German and Italian fascist organizations, and on the notion of “one party, one Leader.”⁶¹

The most important course was “spiritual education” (*jingshen jiaoyu*). Its basic goal was to instill in the youth who attended the Kaifeng summer camps adulation for Chiang Kai-shek: not only was the phrase *jing’ai lingxiu*

(revere and love your Leader) frequently invoked, but any time a student heard the title “chairman” (*weiyuanzhang*), he was supposed to snap to attention and listen respectfully to whatever words followed. In reality, however, the students were bored to distraction by the three- or four-hour lectures in the stifling summer heat, and behind their political instructors’ backs they referred to the sessions as *zhengren jianghua* (talks to steam people alive). The instructors themselves were held in considerable disrespect and contempt, although the students dared not affront them for fear of being given a “red hat” (*hong maozi*) to wear in return.⁶²

In the summer of 1934, for instance, a summer camp was held at the Huangsi in Beiping for more than two thousand middle school students.⁶³ During that “military training” (*junxun*) session a discussion was held in which the participants were told about the importance of “pacification first, resistance second.”⁶⁴ One student insisted upon speaking out against this policy of conducting a civil war against the Communists, boldly asking why defeating the Japanese depended first of all upon exterminating the Communists. The young man was seized on the spot, and the rest of the students were told that he had been sent on a secret mission by the Communist Party to undermine their resolve. Subsequently, the fellow was turned over to the military police of the Twenty-fifth and was never seen again.⁶⁵

During these sessions, and during regular academic-year programs in the universities, Blue Shirts among the instructors were constantly on the lookout for students who seemed strongly opposed to the Communists and their policies. When they spotted adamant anti-Communists, they tried to train them to become “professional anti-Communist elements” (*zhiye fan-gong fenzi*) in order to help destroy CCP student organizations, such as the cells that were particularly successful in attracting followers in the student body at Henan University in Kaifeng.⁶⁶ The “professional anti-Communist elements” were encouraged to become police informers and serve as “leads” (*yinxian ren*) to help public security officers and military policemen track down and arrest Communist students. If these agents of White Terror were successful, they were given special allowances and scholarships; many in turn were recommended for membership in the Fuxingshe.⁶⁷

One of the other major purposes of *junxun* (which was, after all, a form of reserve officers’ military training) was to recruit cadres for later political work in the army. While serving as chief of the Department of Political Indoctrination, Liu Jianqun further organized a Political Training Class (Zhengzhi xunlianban) that brought together in Nanjing about one thousand senior middle school students to be indoctrinated with the principles of “one party, one doctrine, one Leader, one enemy.” After graduating they were supposed to have the same status as a Whampoa student, and they were all taken into the Renaissance Society as regular members before they became political cadres in the army.⁶⁸

BEIPING MANEUVERS

In April 1934 Liu Jianqun was transferred to Nanjing to become secretary-general of the Fuxingshe. His place as chief of the Beiping branch of the PID was taken by Zeng Kuoqing, who thereby also became head of the local Renaissance Society organization.⁶⁹ Zeng found the political situation in the city more than unusually complicated, especially with respect to the capital's various police agencies. The chairman of the Beiping Political Affairs Council of the Executive Yuan was, of course, Huang Fu, who had negotiated the Tanggu Truce.⁷⁰ The mayor was Yuan Liang, a coprovincial of Huang Fu from Zhejiang, who had graduated from Waseda University in Japan. Yuan Liang had served as a police official in Fengtian and in Shanghai, where he was commissioner of the Public Safety Bureau, before taking over Beiping municipality.⁷¹ Each of these two men was a powerful political figure, yet neither was able to exert very much control over the city's police chief, Yu Jinhe, who was also a Zhejiang provincial who had studied in Japan at the same time as Huang Fu but as a student at the Tokyo Gendarmerie Training Institute.

Yu Jinhe was very close to the Japanese, having served first as port commissioner and then as commissioner of public safety in Qingdao, and as a member of the Luda Mining Company, which was a Sino-Japanese joint enterprise.⁷² Moreover, he had a vigorous personality and was able to arrogate for himself and his men a good deal of the police power and authority that by rights belonged to the head of the military police, Jiang Xiaoxian.⁷³ Jiang's superior, Shao Wenkai, who had the ultimate responsibility for commanding the MPs as head of the Military Police Headquarters (Xianbing silingbu), complained about these inroads, but neither he nor Liao Huaping, the man seconded by Dai Li to act as a special secretary in the headquarters section, was able to do much about Yu Jinhe's aggressiveness.⁷⁴ Fortunately for Zeng Kuoqing (who had to run his own special operations from the Fuxingshe), Liao Huaping was a fellow Sichuanese.⁷⁵ When Zeng needed help from the military police to arrest suspects wanted by the Fuxingshe, he was able to turn to Liao, who usually was happy to cooperate.⁷⁶

Operations concerning the "external enemy" were another matter altogether. Throughout his tour of duty in Beiping during 1934–35, Zeng Kuoqing was kept completely in the dark about intelligence work vis-à-vis the Japanese.⁷⁷ That responsibility was left entirely to two men whom Dai Li had sent to north China as his intelligence and security representatives: Lou Zhaoyuan and Lu Qixun. Although these two were seconded to the PID, they came and went as they pleased, reporting to no one within the local Blue Shirts organization about their work against the Japanese, their "external operations" with respect to Chinese citizens, and their surveillance activities over native military personnel in the Beiping area. Since it was as-

sumed that they reported all they learned to Dai Li, Lou and Lu generated a discernible aura of fear about themselves, and “responsible persons” in military units in the area regarded the two agents with fear and mistrust.⁷⁸

The Japanese naturally identified the activities of the PID with espionage, and on June 10, 1935, when He Yingqin met with Lieutenant General Umezu Yoshijiro (commander of the Japanese north China garrison), he had to accede to demands that in addition to transferring Governor Yu Xuezhong’s Manchurian troops (the entire Fifty-first Army) out of Hebei and abolishing Guomindang party organs in north China, the Chinese should also dissolve the Blue Shirts and close down the PID and military police in Beiping.⁷⁹ Dai Li’s men remained behind, but Zeng Kuoqing and the Fuxingshe ceased their operations, and, after reporting back to Chiang Kai-shek at Chengdu, Zeng moved his PID group—including many of the Beiping staff—to Xi’an to set up anti-Communist activities under the Young Marshal there.⁸⁰

Just as Dai Li conducted operations hermetically within the Fuxingshe in Beiping, so did he eventually establish a watertight intelligence compartment of his own inside the extremely active Blue Shirts organization in Henan to the south. The success of the Fuxingshe in Henan rested in considerable part upon the support of Governor Liu Zhi, who had been an instructor at Whampoa and who was one of Chiang Kai-shek’s most highly decorated generals.⁸¹

THE RENAISSANCE SOCIETY IN HENAN

Because of Liu Zhi’s encouragement, the Renaissance Society was able to develop an extraordinarily extensive Henan network, spreading into every school and most government offices in the province. All relatively important functionaries in each government bureau, most military officers in the middle ranks of the army, a significantly large number of teachers and students in the primary schools, middle schools, and universities, and a fair portion of the leaders of martial arts groups and local gangs were co-opted by the Blue Shirts into becoming members of the Fuxingshe or one of its front groups. Indeed, many petty bureaucrats, schoolteachers, and officers thought that they would not be able to get a promotion unless they joined the Renaissance Society, and a certain proportion actually believed that they would lose their jobs with the government if they failed to become members.⁸²

In addition to the governor’s support, the Blue Shirts also gained the approval of Ai Jingwu, counselor (*canyi*) of the Henan provincial government since 1930. Ai was a Chiang Kai-shek loyalist who believed in “one party, one Leader, one country” most fervently. When the Fuxingshe established a branch office in Henan in 1932, its assistant secretary, Chen Qi,

persuaded Ai Jingwu to join on the grounds that it was not a separatist clique but rather a core organization of close followers of Chiang Kai-shek drawn from graduates of the Whampoa Academy. Ai disliked the idea of forming a group that went against the grain of the “one party” doctrine, but he was convinced enough that the Renaissance Society consisted of pure and strictly disciplined elements who might “save” the Guomindang that he abandoned his scruples and swore membership. He was later asked to join the Society of Chinese Revolutionary Comrades, and he accepted that invitation as well.⁸³

The Fuxingshe provincial headquarters was initially located in Kaifeng, where it was housed at the Eastern Flower Gate (Donghuamen) together with the Communications Post (Diaochachu tongxunshe) of the Central Military Academy’s Alumni Investigation Department and with the Intelligence Division (Diebao gu) of the Henan Provincial Peace Preservation Office. Both of the latter used the same cover: *tongxunshe*, which means “press agency” or “communications post.”⁸⁴

The secretary of the Fuxingshe, Feng Jianfei, was also concurrently head of the Peace Preservation Office. Branches (*zhishe*) and cells (*xiaozu*) of the Renaissance Society were formed in each district and county. None of these was allowed to form horizontal connections with other branches or cells, and members were forbidden information about the other persons in their group, having been forced upon joining to write out a curriculum vitae (*jingli biao*) and to swear to preserve the society’s secrets. They were, in fact, told that Chiang Kai-shek himself had written the parallel phrases that sealed their fates once they became members: *rushe ze sheng, chushe ze si*—“enter the society and be born, leave the society and die.”⁸⁵

The Renaissance Society’s penetration of educational institutions was facilitated by the activities of two members—Wang Gongdu and Jian Guan-san—who were section leaders in the provincial Bureau of Education. The many middle school and university students who enrolled in the Fuxingshe along with their teachers mainly investigated dissident elements in their academic units, putting together “black lists” (*hei mingdan*) of names of Communist and “CC” clique elements.⁸⁶

The Blue Shirts’ reach extended deep into district government as well. Nearly all peace preservation constabulary (*baotuan*) chiefs and deputy chiefs were members of the Fuxingshe, and about half of Henan’s district magistrates belonged to the society also.⁸⁷ In 1936, when the provinces were choosing delegates for the National Party Congress, Henan established a special Surveillance Office (Jiancha shiwu suo) under Governor Li Peiji to supervise the selection. Orders came down to the Fuxingshe Communication Post to try to manipulate these elections. The head of the Tongxunshe by then was Counselor Ai Jingwu, who also edited *Henan Evening News* (*Henan wanbao*).

Using the Communication Post's authority, he and other Renaissance Society members ordered local branches and cells to concentrate their efforts on getting like-thinking fellows to serve as representatives. At the same time, Fuxingshe members were instructed to take positions as teachers in the special training classes (*xunliansuo*) that were being created to train students sent up by the rural *lianbao* (mutual security organizations) and *xiang* (villages) to become local administrators in the form of *lianbao* chairmen or school principals.⁸⁸ Once these lowest-level administrative cadres entered training school, they were co-opted by the Fuxingshe and either made Renaissance Society members or invited to join the Loyal and Patriotic Association (*Zhongyi jiuguo hui*), which was the front organization created by Dai Li's SSD in the spring of 1935.⁸⁹

Chiang Kai-shek authorized the Henan Fuxingshe to set up the Loyal and Patriotic Association in the province in order to enroll "society's lower elements," including "leading elements" from "martial arts circles" (*guoshu-jie*) and gangster leaders from the Green and Red gangs. These *tulie* (local bullies and evil gentry) and *liumang* (loafers) were brought under the leadership of one of the harshest of Blue Shirts, Xiao Sa, who by 1935 had assembled a network of military and GMD elements, workers and peasants, local gangsters and bandits, all centered upon the Eastern Flower Gate office, which became a semipublic "den" for paramilitary Loyal and Patriotic Association members.⁹⁰

Xiao Sa, a native Henanese who had graduated with the first class at Whampoa, was assistant head of the provincial Peace Preservation Department (*Baoan chu*). He had been named secretary of the Renaissance Society's provincial headquarters in Kaifeng in 1934, and for the next two years—helped by Chen Qi, his assistant secretary (*zhuli shuji*)—Xiao proceeded to turn the Fuxingshe into an instrument of terror. The headquarters occupied two large inner courtyards of the Communications Post complex, and it incorporated a Special Services Station (*Tewu zhan*) run by the notorious Wu Gengshu, who was a homicidal sociopath capable of the most barbaric and cruelest deeds. While Chen Qi expanded the membership of the *Zhongyi jiuguo hui* and turned it into a guardian corps for the Special Services Station (SSS), Wu Gengshu used the information funneled to him by the Fuxingshe to secretly seize people suspected of revolutionary ("reactionary") activities and imprison them within the compound, where they were night after night tortured to death.⁹¹

The situation became so terrible that teachers and students who were targets for recruitment by the Renaissance Society refused to have anything to do with the Blue Shirts. Instead of being a group of Chiang Kai-shek die-hards recruited mainly from among teachers and functionaries, the Fuxingshe took on the qualities of both the special services group and the *liumang* who joined the *Zhongyi jiuguo hui* in such large numbers, attracted

by the opportunity to use the reputation of the Eastern Flower Gate to throw their weight around. These “loafers” would enter restaurants and stores throughout the city of Kaifeng and consume anything they wanted without paying for it simply by saying “*Wo shi Donghuamen de!*” (“I’m with the Eastern Flower Gate!”). Not only were lower-ranking military units afraid to defy them; the *liumang* even had the effrontery to raise trouble in the public offices of special agents and in the seats of county government. Often, Xiao Sa and Chen Qi provided Loyal and Patriotic Association members with letters of introduction to local Fuxingshe-connected magistrates, who were infuriated by this presumptuousness but who dared not open their mouths for fear of mayhem. By 1936, the Henan Fuxingshe itself had become completely identified with these types of people, and the public was utterly unable to distinguish between its activities and the murderous goings-on of the Special Services Station under Wu Gengshu.⁹²

Members of the “CC” clique were not slow to take advantage of the disorder in Kaifeng to bring news of the situation there directly to Chiang Kai-shek’s attention. Chiang was furious. He instantly ordered the SSD to cashier Wu Gengshu and the Fuxingshe to dismiss Xiao Sa as the Kaifeng secretary. One of Dai Li’s more trusted followers, Liu Yizhou, was then sent into Henan to take over the Special Services Station altogether and move it from Kaifeng, where the Henanese *tulie* and their gang supporters were so powerful, to Zhengzhou, where the SSS could be, in effect, insulated from provincial interests and brought more effectively under the control of the central Special Services Department at 53 Chicken Goose Lane in Nanjing.⁹³

At the same time, the SSS was also insulated from the regular Fuxingshe post still headquartered in Kaifeng. When Xiao Zuolin, Xiao Sa’s successor, arrived at his new post, he found himself snubbed by Station Chief Liu, who did not deign to grant him an interview for three full months. When they did meet, Liu treated Xiao with extreme haughtiness, just as though the latter were one of his subordinates. And though the SSS in Zhengzhou did set up a branch office across the street from the Fuxingshe headquarters in Kaifeng, the two offices had nothing whatsoever to do with each other.⁹⁴ Liu himself, as SSS chief, was also a member of the *ganshihui* (staff officers committee) of the Renaissance Society, but he seldom participated in meetings, and when he did come, he never once spoke of special services activities.⁹⁵ As for the Fuxingshe itself, whenever cells or branch offices sent in political intelligence reports, the information was not handed over to the SSS, but rather was transmitted directly to the central headquarters of the Renaissance Society in Nanjing, to be handed over at that level to the SSD under Dai Li.⁹⁶

Locally, the Renaissance Society was deliberately kept in the dark about

political arrests and seizures. For example, a Zhengzhou middle school teacher disappeared mysteriously in 1936, and because he was a Fuxingshe member, the local Renaissance Society representatives asked the SSS if it had any information about his whereabouts. They were told that the SSS knew nothing about this man, and it was only after the teacher was released from detention that the Renaissance Society learned that he had been arrested by Liu Yizhou's men under suspicion of being a Communist Party member. Not only did students and others recruited or paid by the SSS apparatus simply cease attending Fuxingshe meetings; the SSS even had moles in the Kaifeng offices of the Renaissance Society, with orders to report all the activities of Xiao Zuolin and his deputies to Liu Yizhou and his minions.⁹⁷

SEPARATION OF THE FUXINGSHE AND THE SPECIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

Although relations between the Fuxingshe and the SSD were usually not so acrimonious elsewhere, the separation of the two organizations became increasingly obvious in other places as well. During 1933–35 a majority of the basic-level agents in Dai Li's secret service wanted to participate in the activities of the Fuxingshe. But once they became members, Dai Li's agents tended to form cells that were composed of SSD officers exclusively. At that time, for example, Shen Zui and several other group heads (*zuzhang*), including Huang Jiachi and Yang Huabo, who worked in the police training unit, formed their own cell in the Renaissance Society. Whenever they held meetings, however, they never reported on precise details of their own intelligence work in front of the others; and they simply ignored orders from the central Fuxingshe office to carry out special activities on the club's behalf. It was not long before these secret agents ceased to hold any Renaissance Society cell meetings at all. The same was to be said for their participation in the Society of Revolutionary Comrades, which remained merely nominal.⁹⁸

The separation of activities—or, rather, the sealing off of SSD activities from ordinary Fuxingshe personnel—was typical of Blue Shirt operations in Hubei as well. When Xiao Zuolin was secretary of the Hubei branch of the Renaissance Society in 1935, neither the head of the SSS, Zhou Weilong, nor any of the organs operating under him ever reported anything to Xiao, whose only information about the SSS was the address of Zhou's personal residence.⁹⁹

Partly this was because the SSD wanted to protect itself against the slipshod, argumentative, disputatious, and inefficient organizational quality of the Blue Shirts' larger organization, the Renaissance Society as such.

The SSD's organizational discipline was by comparison much tighter than the ordinary organization of the Fuxingshe. It had absolute authority of control over the people belonging to it, and all of its personnel at every level were professional agents with appointments and salaries. Personnel management was very easy, and disputes were not permitted; and as far as the outside was concerned, if you wanted someone killed, you killed him. Whomever you wanted dealt with got dealt with, and naturally this made people turn pale at the mere mention of [the SSD].¹⁰⁰

The situation in Shanghai illustrated this contrast quite dramatically. During Wang Xinheng's tour of duty as Shanghai SSS chief, he made a special point of never participating in the Fuxingshe's activities, which were typically clouded by contentious and petty quarrels.¹⁰¹

Nevertheless, the SSD had to pay special attention to the Shanghai Fuxingshe because of the rivalry that had developed within the Renaissance Society between its head, Liu Bingli, and his assistant, Niu Peijiang. The strife between them became so intense, in fact, that each man was actually plotting the assassination of the other. These machinations attracted the attention of Chiang Kai-shek, who sent secret orders to the Shanghai SSS to carry out a confidential investigation of the affair. The central headquarters of the Fuxingshe seconded one of its members, Xu Jin, to Dai Li, who appointed him in turn to serve as a secretary to Wu Naixian in the SSS. Wu, then station chief, repeatedly told Xu Jin that he must not leak any information about this secret investigation to other Renaissance Society members, as it would call down upon them an extremely unwelcome reception from certain figures in higher places. Xu Jin complied, and the affair was kept secret until the Fuxingshe succumbed to the "CC" clique's attacks.¹⁰²

In Henan, meanwhile, the SSS continued to try to function without using the sorts of "local bullies and evil gentry" who had given the secret police such a bad name before Dai Li split off his men from the provincial Fuxingshe. Xiao Sa and his ilk, however, had far from disappeared. When the Japanese began to invade the province after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937, the Fuxingshe entertained notions of a *levée en masse*, along familiar populist lines in the *Water Margin* tradition. Orders went out from Kaifeng to local branches to arouse local bravos and magnates, and, as was to be expected, the local bandit chiefs for which Henan was justly famous began to make plans to come together and form a confederation to resist the invaders. A major meeting was held at Zhengzhou, dominated by such well-known bandits as Gao Laomo and Zhao Tianqing; and even though the Guomindang counselor Ai Jingwu withdrew from the meeting on the grounds that the authorities were simply giving these local desperadoes carte blanche to stir things up, the magnates created twenty-eight guerrilla brigades under the leadership of the infamous Xiao Sa.¹⁰³

The guerrillas lived up to Counselor Ai's worst fears by spending the next

several months gambling and whoring in Zhengzhou until Chiang Kai-shek finally had them arrested and sent to Wuhan.¹⁰⁴ But by then it was too late: in both Henan and Hubei, where the Fuxingshe had experienced relatively successful results in their initial recruitment and organization, the Blue Shirts had ended up by being badly compromised in the public's eyes because of their association with these rowdy and unruly elements, as well as because of their identification with the fearsome operations of the SSD—despite the secret efforts made by Dai Li and his men to seal off their own licensed and still relatively rational police activities from the more licentious and unruly terrorism of the provincial *tulie*.¹⁰⁵

Chiang Kai-shek was not in the end unhappy to observe the Fuxingshe's failure to establish an independent Blue Shirts movement in the provinces. For one, he had always been leery of the efforts of men like He Zhonghan to use the Renaissance Society as a political weapon to realize their own political ambitions. He Zhonghan already had his own Hunan group of supporters, but through his domination of the political indoctrination system of the Blue Shirts, He hoped to be able to seek the backing of others to ensure his own ascendancy within the party. Turning first to Chen Cheng and then later to Hu Zongnan as patrons, He Zhonghan thought of himself as having such ecumenical support as to be able to speak for the Whampoa clique as a whole. Chiang Kai-shek, however, did not want to see a single figure emerge who could pretend to represent the Blue Shirts in particular and the Whampoa Academy graduates in general against his own authority. He therefore consistently and characteristically played off other Fuxingshe leaders like Feng Ti, Kang Ze, and Dai Li in order to keep He from monopolizing secondary ideological authority within the "fascist" wing of the party.¹⁰⁶

He Zhonghan utterly fell from favor at the time of the Xi'an incident in December 1936, when Chiang Kai-shek was captured by Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng in the capital of Shaanxi.¹⁰⁷ During Chiang's captivity He Zhonghan strongly supported He Yingqin's authority and became one of the important figures in the movement to *taoni*, or "punish the refractory bandits," by attacking and bombing Xi'an. He believed that if Chiang Kai-shek were eventually released, then he—He Zhonghan—would have earned the reputation of having "succored the king" (*qin wang*), thereby gaining Chiang's favor. If, on the other hand, Chiang died in the assault, then He Zhonghan would be in an equally strong position for having supported He Yingqin as his successor. He Zhonghan could not foresee that when Chiang was escorted back to Nanjing by Zhang Xueliang, then he himself would fall under suspicion of plotting to seize power. Once his ambition was discovered, He Zhonghan had no choice but to tender his resignation as head of the Fuxingshe. Chiang Kai-shek readily accepted his resignation, forcing He Zhonghan to "sit outside the tent of his ruler" until

1942, when He was finally made head of the Labor Bureau of the Ministry of Social Affairs. In his place as director of the Renaissance Society, the Generalissimo appointed Liu Jianqun, who soon gave way to Kang Ze.¹⁰⁸

DISSOLUTION OF THE FUXINGSHE

After the Second United Front was formed, the Fuxingshe had to be dissolved.¹⁰⁹ Chiang Kai-shek ordered the dispersion of the society in April 1938. That August, the first *chu* (department) was secretly renamed the Guomindang zhongyang dangbu diaocha tongjiju (Nationalist Party's Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics), or Zhongtongju (CSB). The second *chu* (that is, the Fuxingshe's SSD) was reformed as the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics for the Military Affairs Commission (Juntong, or the MSB for short) and placed under the nominal command of Chiang's chief aide-de-camp (*shicongshi zhuren*), while actually being directed by Dai Li.¹¹⁰

Publicly, the Restoration Society merged with the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (Sanminzhuyi qingnian tuan). Outside of a small group of Blue Shirts who separated themselves from the new organization altogether, most of the former Fuxingshe cadres became members of the Youth Corps (Sanqingtuan). Local Renaissance Society offices became "branch corps" (*zhituan*), replacing one sign with another, while the *shuji* in office changed his title to that of "branch corps secretary-general" (*zhituan ganshizhang*). Kang Ze became head of the Organization Department (Zuzhi chu) of the Youth Corps, and the PID was attached to the Ministry of Politics (Zhengzhi bu).¹¹¹

Xiao Zuolin argues that these changes were merely nominal because Fuxingshe personnel retained their power under Chiang Kai-shek's personal command.¹¹² Certainly, the Blue Shirts continued in the 1940s to be known by that name as cadres controlled by MSB special operations squads—especially in Shanghai, where they built upon the organizational resources mustered by Dai Li and his men in the early 1930s in the local SSS. But as far as the Fuxingshe itself was concerned, the change in nomenclature was organizationally decisive because it stripped away the Renaissance Society's clandestine powers.¹¹³ In 1941, when Kang Ze and Xiao Zuolin were in Chongqing together running special training programs for youth and army cadres under the auspices of the Sanqingtuan, Kang told Xiao that the Youth Corps was simply not up to the same level of activity as the old Fuxingshe had been. This was because a secret organization—Kang said—had more power than a public one, and could manage many more activities. Had the Fuxingshe continued to exist, he concluded, then the Nationalists' operations against the Communists would have been much more effective than they otherwise were.¹¹⁴ He could easily have added that the

Renaissance Society was but a step on the way to the private and most secret activities of Dai Li's former Second Department, which would thrive and grow as never before.

The larger point was lost because both men failed to realize that the demise of the relatively corporatist Fuxingshe, under the pressure of the Japanese truce agreement and the Second United Front, left the way completely open to a single person's clandestine plans. That is, as Chiang Kai-shek abandoned a collective Whampoa leadership of covert activities, Dai Li was freed to step in and establish his own relatively singular, partially individual, and nearly personal secret service operations under the Generalissimo's aegis. Chiang's successive disappointments with all but one of his Whampoa clique would-be fascist propagandists and police authorities ultimately left dominion over the tenebrous world of repression in the hands of his "hound and horse," Dai Li.

Chapter 11

The Shanghai Station, 1932–35

There were a number of Communists who seemed unable to take any more pain under torture and were willing to sell out their organization. Then our special agents would blithely take the prisoner along to go and arrest the persons that he had angered. It was only then that they would discover that the prisoner had been using them as a way to warn the others, so that the leading Communist organs and personnel could quietly get away.

S E N I, Juntong neimu, 22

EARLY DAYS OF THE SHANGHAI STATION

Shanghai, until the war with Japan, was always Dai Li's primary arena of secret service activity. Even before the Special Services Department was formed within the Fuxingshe, Dai Li had already sent a nucleus of agents—Weng Guanghui, Chen Zhiqiang, and Wang Changyu—to Shanghai to conduct operations in the various sectors of the city. And once the SSD was established in April 1932, Chiang Kai-shek assigned Dai Li two missions that further focused his attention upon Shanghai: to oppose the Communists, and to “do away with dissidents” (*paichu yiji*) who used the international settlements in the city as a haven and refuge.¹

The first chief of the Shanghai Station, which was initially organized as a regional office or zone (*qu*), was Weng Guanghui, a native of Zhejiang who had graduated from the third class of Whampoa to become an intelligence agent in the navy.² Weng's command was at the start quite modest.³ He presided over no more than thirty or forty agents, divided into three sections under Chen Zhiqiang (a fellow classmate from Shanghai who had joined the gangs when he was a *liumang* before entering Whampoa), Wang Changyu (a Cantonese from Qiongzhou who had graduated with the fifth class), and Xu Zhaojun (also a classmate, from Sichuan). Later, a fourth section of newly graduated agents from the Hangzhou training unit was added under Zhang Renyou (Wenzhou, Zhejiang), so that the field units, or *zu*, which were solely engaged in espionage, corresponded to parts of the city: Nanshi, the French Concession, the International Settlement, and Zhabei (which included Jiangwan and Wusongkou).⁴

The station, which was supposed to operate on a shoestring budget of two

hundred yuan per month, rented rooms successively at Lafayette, Lebon, and West Gate roads.⁵ The agents' change of address was deliberate for fear of discovery by the Communists, who—in the SSD's eyes at least—dominated the foreign sectors of Shanghai.

At that time the special agents had very little courage, and for fear that the Communist Party would be able to strike back at them, the regional office—except for communications with a few group heads—did not let its ordinary personnel know where it was located. Every day coming and going they were also afraid that people would follow them. They didn't even have a single automobile. At that time there was only one car for the operations group. But outside of kidnappings and assassinations, it was not permitted to be used for routine duties at all.⁶

Communications between the Shanghai Station and SSD headquarters in Nanjing were initially quite simple. As information was collected it was copied down in a kind of disappearing ink and posted by ordinary mail to central headquarters.⁷

Communications between the station and its agents through 1933 and 1934 were also relatively primitive. Field agents simply used a post office box without any special cover organization, and couriers spent most of the day running from box to box to pick up the letters prepared weekly by their "communications agents." By the time Shen Zui joined the SSD in 1932, the entire station only had 160 or 170 people, of which the headquarters staff (*neiqin*) numbered 30.⁸

Weng Guanghui did not serve as head of the Shanghai regional office for very long. He was dismissed after trying to transmit a piece of valuable intelligence to Chiang Kai-shek without first going through Dai Li himself.⁹ His replacement was a former training unit instructor at the Nanjing and Hangzhou *xunlianban*, Yu Lexing. Yu (*zi* Chunyun, Zengsheng), who operated under the alias of Jin Mingsan, was originally from Liling in Hunan; after spending some time in France on the work-study program, he had gone to the Soviet Union to enroll at Sun Yat-sen University and to learn from the Cheka how to become a secret service bodyguard (*baowei*).¹⁰ When he took over the Shanghai Station in the fall of 1932 it was expanded to become the East China Region (Huadong qu), and a special operations group was added: the East China District Operations Group (Huadong qu xingdong zu). This special action group, which first consisted of nearly twenty thugs and gangsters who were experienced robbers and murderers, was led by Zhao Lijun, whose penchant for torture and murder later led to his own demise.¹¹ The assassination work that Zhao conducted out of his headquarters in a three-story building on Rue Marseilles in the French Concession was directly under the supervision of the Nanjing General Affairs

Office, which also controlled personnel and budget matters of the operations group. Kidnapping and secret arrests in the area, however, were commanded by the East China Region director independently of Nanjing.¹²

In principle, the East China Region Office was in charge of secret service activities in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Fujian. In practice, none of the stations outside Shanghai proper were willing to accept the regional office's authority. It was not long, therefore, before the station was renamed the Shanghai Special Region (Shanghai tequ). The basic-level organizations within the regional office continued to be the various groups (*zu*) engaged in intelligence gathering. By 1934, and before war with Japan broke out, Group One was still under Chen Zhiqiang; Group Two was headed by Shen Zui; Group Three, Wang Changyu; and Group Four, Zhang Renyou. After Wu Naixian became head of the regional office in 1934, each of the *zu* was formally attached to a district: Group One became known as the Nanshi *zu* (Southern City Group); Group Two, the French Concession Group; Group Three, the International Settlement Group (or English Concession Group); and Group Four, the Huxi *zu* (West Hu Group).¹³

INDIVIDUAL GROUP ACTIVITIES

Group One was centrally situated in the Nanshi on Penglai Street, and its main responsibility consisted of looking after affairs in the old Chinese city proper. As a *xiao toumu* (small gang head), Chen Zhiqiang used his racketeering connections to carry out special service activities, and his police and government *guanxi* (relations) to protect fellow gang members who had gotten into trouble because of their involvement in the narcotics traffic. He was obviously making money in the drug trade himself, because he had a private limousine and was enjoying a lifestyle far above the means of his secret service position. Dai Li was aware of this, but he had no special evidence of Chen's malfeasance to warrant punishment. Perhaps even more important, Dai Li was always very pleased with the intelligence that the Southern City Group forwarded on conditions in the Chinese section of Shanghai. For, through the gang linkage, Chen Zhiqiang was especially well connected with the Chinese police force, and his agents included precinct chiefs (*fenjuzhang*) and the head of the detective division (*zhenji zongdui*) of the municipal police.¹⁴

Shen Zui, who became the head of Group Two in 1933, had joined Dai Li's Shanghai Station after leaving school in 1932 at the age of eighteen. He was introduced (and, of course, guaranteed) by his brother-in-law, Yu Lexing; and Shen Zui in turn brought into the organization three brothers and two sisters-in-law.¹⁵ Shen's initial assignment was to the Communications

Group, and one of his duties as head of the runners was to serve as a courier between the secret service headquarters and the “communications agents” (*tongxunyuan*) in the field. Shen was under orders not to communicate with these agents while handing over “activities expenses” (*huodong fei*) in exchange for intelligence inserted into a newspaper or short story manuscript. But when he actually met the field agents in a teahouse or restaurant, the informants—who were usually in their thirties or forties—treated the twenty-year-old messenger as a *didi* (younger brother), offering him a bite to eat along with advice on how to take care of himself in their rough-and-tumble world.¹⁶

For a time Shen Zui continued to oversee the Communications Group after being appointed head of Group Two, where he had more than twenty regular agents under his control, with each of these running another twenty or more subagents (*yanxian*, or “eye-beams”) of their own.¹⁷ Later, more agents were added to the intelligence section and placed under the command of Liu Guoqing (a graduate of the special agents training course at Hangzhou who had come to Shanghai for special field training and ended up developing working connections of his own); still other agents, mainly “loafers” and gang members, constituted a group under Ruan Yacheng. All of these agents were handed over by Shen Zui to Su Yeguang after Shen became a group chief in the garrison command’s detective brigade in 1935. Shen thereby relinquished his leadership of Group Two’s intelligence activities in exchange for direction of “operations” (*xingdong*) under the cover of the military police.¹⁸

Although Group Three was charged with gathering intelligence in the International Settlement, its head, Wang Changyu, continued to live in the French Concession for fear of the more disorderly conditions across the English-patrolled boundary. He did move about in the settlement, however, pretending to former fellow Whampoa students whom he encountered to be an outspoken opponent of Chiang Kai-shek. His standard complaint was that he was unable to find work, and often the Whampoa alumni he importuned in this manner would either try to find work for him or “loan” him a few dollars to get by. Quite a few Whampoa graduates were taken in by this pose, and Wang Changyu managed to cultivate a number of interesting contacts among anti-Chiang circles who in turn generated information useful to Dai Li’s operations personnel. Wang also nurtured an extremely active network of Cantonese agents, most of whom lived in Hongkew (Hongkou), and some of whom had developed close relationships with Cantonese warlords, with the “New Guomindang” (Xin Guomindang), and even with the “democratic party clique” (*minzhudang pai*). Wang Changyu’s “eye-beams,” or informants, also worked as waiters in Shanghai’s three major Cantonese restaurants (Xinya, Xinya, and Dasanyuan), and as clerks in two of the big

Cantonese-run department stores (Xianshi and Yong'an). Dai Li was very impressed by Wang's net of informants and kept him in charge of International Settlement activities all the way down to the Sino-Japanese War.¹⁹

Zhang Renyou's Group Four, which ostensibly had jurisdiction over Zha-bei and Hongkou in the Huxi (Western Hu) sector of the city and which had its headquarters near Ximo and Jing'ansi roads, does not seem to have been nearly as active as Group Three. Zhang himself was a spy thanks to the secret service training course he had taken at the Hangzhou Police Academy, and he did not have very good contacts in Shanghai proper.²⁰

This lack of practical experience and public connections was characteristic of many graduates of the Hangzhou training program, the inception of which otherwise marked a major turning point in Dai Li's own organization building.²¹ Yet, even though the Hangzhou special services training unit gave Dai Li a chance to cultivate cadres of his own, transforming his informal "spy" organization into a real intelligence organ, it did not produce sophisticated spies. Since most of Dai Li's agents were Hangzhou training school students, their activities in Shanghai more resembled a kind of on-the-job training than refined espionage. All that they were good for, in effect, was social investigation and surveillance work.

Zhang Renyou and Group Four eventually did manage to come up with two very good agents with working-class connections. One was Cheng Muiyi, from the Hangzhou student group, who managed to *chiku* (endure difficulties) by living in the working-class districts of Huxi where he picked up considerable information on Communist Party front organizations.²² Another exceptionally good agent was Tao Yishan, a graduate of the Central Military Academy who was an instructor at the Wusong Merchant Marines School (Wusong shangchuan xuexiao). Tao had very good contacts throughout the Wusong area, and his reports on the social situation there, and on conditions within the Merchant Marines School, were highly valued by Dai Li.²³ Later, when Dai dismissed Zhang Renyou for having squandered money he had borrowed from Yang Hu, Cheng Muiyi took over Group Four, which in 1935 managed to liquidate several leading members of the Jiangsu provincial Communist organization.²⁴

As the Shanghai Station's activities expanded, it gradually became impossible to confine each group's activities to the boundaries of that particular district because the targets of its attention readily crossed back and forth from one sector of the city to the next. Eventually, the only distinction that could be maintained was between the nature of the "surveillance and monitoring work" (*jianshi gongzuo*) in each case.²⁵

Shen Zui's Group Two, for example, was given the task of maintaining surveillance over Communist Party suspects, democratic party elements, and anti-Chiang organizations, simply because most of these forces had

sought shelter in the French Concession that comprised Group Two's jurisdiction.²⁶ The suspects themselves, needless to say, hardly confined their activities to the French Concession. Consequently, Group Two often found itself operating in other parts of greater Shanghai, where lines of command and control became quite confused. It was common practice for SSD agents to become agents provocateurs under the cover of being "progressive elements" themselves. In that guise, they easily attracted the attention of other SSD agents operating out of the additional groups in the city. Since both sets of agents were using aliases unknown to the other, and since both were often posing as Communist sympathizers, each side might inaugurate a covert operation against the other group's agents. On numerous occasions Group Two agents would be on the very eve of mounting a kidnapping only to be told by the regional office that the person they were about to seize was working for another *zu*.²⁷

SECRET SERVICE SOCIOLOGY

The agents themselves, especially during the early 1930s in Shanghai, were a mixed lot. They included lawyers, professors, bank clerks, reporters, unemployed "loafers," and even the heads of gangs and associations (*bang* and *hui*). Many of them had joined up initially because of family connections. As we have seen, Shen Zui—fresh from the Zhejiang countryside in 1932—made his connections in the secret service through his older sister's husband, Yu Lexing, who was a member of the Shanghai Station himself. Others, just as callow as Shen Zui, formed a small and irregular army of agents whose tradecraft was often no match for the sophisticated tactics of the Communists, led by cadres like Zhou Enlai, who easily outwitted these gun-toting young men. Indeed, despite the sinister terror they aroused, the secret police were sometimes remarkably inept; and there was occasionally a whiff of the Keystone Cops about their otherwise sinister antics, as they ran through the streets of Shanghai chasing subversives who easily slipped out of their grasp, or as they gunned their old Studebaker coupes in pursuit of the newer and faster touring cars that easily outsped them.²⁸

Dai Li deliberately underpaid his Shanghai agents, who earned on the average between thirty and one hundred yuan per month, plus prizes and bonuses. But even though a group chief (*zuzhang*) received an additional one hundred yuan a month for special expenditures, the pay was not enough to cover regular expenses, and a great deal of thought was devoted to getting bonuses or rewards (*jiangjin*). When Shen Zui complained about the trouble SSD agents had making ends meet, Dai Li would always sententiously answer, "We are doing revolutionary work. We can't talk about enjoyment. We must be more frugal." But once, when Dai Li was particularly

angry and therefore unusually candid, he told Shen Zui that he kept salaries low because his agents then worked harder to earn bonuses, which in turn created an incentive system that increased the efficiency of the apparatus.²⁹

Of course, low salaries also enhanced the likelihood of corruption.³⁰ At first, few agents could make money on the side because most lacked positions of public authority that enabled them to extort fees from the citizenry. Outside the small number of people who were officially members of the Military Affairs Commission or who held rank as staff officers, none of the Shanghai Station agents carried badges that gave them legal authority to arrest or detain suspects. Consequently, one of the most prevalent dreams of the average young field agent was to acquire some sort of public post, either as cover or as a regular position, that would both pay an additional salary and provide an opportunity for illicit fees.³¹ The first day that Shen Zui arrived for work in the detective squad of the garrison command, he discovered a red envelope (*hongbao*) in his desk drawer, with *qing xiao na* ("please smile upon taking") written on the outside. Inside the envelope he found two hundred yuan. Shen Zui thought this very strange and reported the discovery to his brigade commander, Weng Guanghui, who smiled and said that he knew nothing about it. Thereafter no more envelopes appeared in his desk, but Shen Zui noticed that his officemate, Lin Zhijiang, would often reach into his desk and smile as he withdrew something that he put in his pocket.³²

Lacking police authority and cover, Dai Li's men frequently chose to pose as journalists, since this gave them a plausible reason for asking questions and taking photographs. Zhang Renyou, for example, pretended to be in charge of the Shanghai office of *Wenzhou ribao* (*Wenzhou Daily*).³³ Many agents actually held bona fide jobs as reporters or even published journals and magazines. Mao Fangmei, who was a field agent in Group Two, worked as a journalist for one of the big Shanghai newspapers, *Chenbao*, and used his newspaperman's camera to photograph documents purloined from progressives in Democratic Party (Minzhudang) circles by his subagents, who were also formally employed as reporters.³⁴ Another *Chenbao* photographic reporter, Gao Gongbai, who was very active in educational movements and cultural activities, was also a SSD agent, as was the chief editor of *Torch* (*Huoju*), Cui Wanqiu.³⁵

Shen Zui himself used a reporter's cover, working for the Hunan Press Agency (Xiangguang tongxunshe) under the aliases of Chen Lun and Chen Cang. He also opened a feminist bookstore in the French Concession directly across from the Paris Movie Theater where he published a magazine entitled *Women's Monthly* (*Nüzi yuekan*) that circulated mainly in southeastern China and the Nanyang. He continued to use this magazine as a cover, deceiving many of its reporters even after he became a group chief in the

detective brigade of the garrison command and routinely engaged in kidnappings and murders.³⁶

SURVEILLANCE

The most onerous burden shared by Shanghai Station agents was general surveillance. Dai Li attached special importance to this set of duties, which was construed both as a means of social control and as a kind of punishment to be meted out to Chiang Kai-shek's enemies. Angered by a figure's political activities, the Chairman would bark out the order, "Put him under surveillance!" and word would come down via Dai Li that a special watch over that person had to be organized by one of the groups in the Shanghai Station. At that time, however, each *zu* had only about a dozen regular field agents, and even though each agent could enroll his friends and relatives (*qinyou*) as helpers, there were still not enough spies to go around. The result was that most of the surveillance was sporadic and discontinuous. Group heads naturally tried to keep this a secret from Dai Li, who liked to believe that so-and-so was under constant watch. In reality, only periodic observation was being maintained, along with dummy records and reports. Paradoxically, however, this heightened the public's impression of ubiquitous secret service activity, since the agents were stretched thinly but widely across the city, inefficiently maintaining a guard against the regime's many suspected enemies but effectively projecting an aura of secret police watchfulness.³⁷

Major suspects were treated somewhat differently. Shen Zui's men kept constant watch over the offices of Huang Yanpei's China Vocational Educational Society (Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she) at Hualong and Huanlong roads in the French Concession, hoping to spot "reactionaries" contacting the famous educator and journalist.³⁸ Fang Dingying, who had incurred Chiang's disfavor after founding the Revolutionary Alliance to Resist the Japanese (Kang Ri tongmenghui), was put under permanent surveillance.³⁹ And when Xue Dubi resigned in protest against the government's appeasement policies and went to Shanghai to practice law and organize a national unity movement to oppose Japanese aggression, special agents were assigned to keep his house and office in the French Concession under surveillance while others acted as agents provocateurs by pretending to be patriots seeking his support.⁴⁰

Warlords and their emissaries were carefully watched as well. During the early 1930s important militarists maintained the equivalent of diplomatic posts in Nanjing and Shanghai, dispatching agents to represent their interests and conduct negotiations on their behalf.⁴¹ The Sichuanese warlords, for example, were represented by a graduate of the fourth class of Wham-

poa named Zhou Xunyu, who set up headquarters in the Yipinxiang Hotel in Shanghai.⁴² The Yipinxiang—or “First-Class Fragrance”—was more or less the equivalent of a *Landsmannschaft*, or provincial guesthouse for Sichuanese in Shanghai. It was presided over by two old Sichuanese gentlemen, Xie Wuliang and Zeng Tongyi, who had lived in the hotel for years while owners had changed beneath them. So relaxed were they and their coprovincials in this setting that they spoke freely about nearly anything that came to mind, and after he had established himself there Zhou Xunyu realized that this was an excellent place to collect intelligence about conditions throughout Sichuan, which was fragmented into many different warlord satrapies. This became all the more important after Zhou Xunyu was recruited by Dai Li’s men for secret service work. Zhou was such a staunch Sichuan patriot, however, that he functioned as a double agent, funneling information in both directions. For that reason, Dai Li never trusted him entirely, and after discovering that Zhou was withholding information from him, Dai Li had the man thrown into one of Juntong’s secret prisons, where he utterly slipped from sight.⁴³

CULTURAL PENETRATION

Book publishing and cultural activities also received special attention from the SSD, even though this supposedly fell under the purview of the “CC” clique and what eventually became Zhongtong (Central Statistics). One Group Two agent, Jia Jinbo—a Sichuanese who frequently brought “reactionary” books and pamphlets into the Chinese city in order to win the trust of progressives—had especially good contacts in publishing circles, and his reports were read with great interest by Dai Li. The secret service chief also paid special attention to Zou Taofen’s Shenghuo Bookstore (where he managed to place an agent’s son as an apprentice clerk, hoping to develop a long-term hidden asset—hopes cut short by the war with Japan when the plant lost contact with his superiors), and to the Uchiyama Bookstore, whose owners helped protect Lu Xun. However, Juntong was unable to penetrate the Japanese bookstore, a failure for which Dai Li repeatedly reproached Jia Jinbo.⁴⁴

Another Group Two agent, Cui Wanqiu (the editor of *Torch*, mentioned earlier), gathered intelligence from a network of informers in cultural circles and also subsidized journalists who wrote in favor of the government’s policies. One of Cui’s acquaintances was Zhang Chunqiao—later a member of the “Gang of Four” along with Jiang Qing—who wrote several articles attacking Lu Xun under the nom de plume “Dick” (*Dike*).⁴⁵ As a Group Two agent living in the French Concession, Cui received a salary of eighty yuan plus bonuses. Shen Zui delivered the money himself, and he several times saw the actress Lan Ping in Cui’s living room. Cui made a point of always tak-

ing Shen Zui through the house and back to the kitchen, where the money and information changed hands, so the group head never actually was introduced to the actress, who later changed her name to Jiang Qing.⁴⁶

Although the larger organization of the Blue Shirts was quite successful in penetrating schools and colleges in the Shanghai area before the “CC” clique forced them aside, the Shanghai Station as such only controlled a couple of schools of its own. One was the Zhaohe Middle School, founded and supported by Yang Hu. A small number of the teachers in this school worked directly for Dai Li’s secret service. However, they were so compromised by their association with Yang Hu—the “executioner” of the 1927 purge—that they had very little chance of influencing the majority of the students in the school or of coming into contact with progressives in educational circles at large.⁴⁷ The Shanghai Station did establish a special communications school in the French Concession, but Dai Li decreed that the Sanji Wireless Radio Training Institute (Sanji wuxiandian chuanxisuo) was exclusively to train radio operators. It was forbidden to engage in special operations, and secret service agents were not allowed to use it as a cover.⁴⁸

Neither was the Shanghai Station very skillful at recruiting and using college students. In 1934–35 the most troublesome university, in the secret service’s eyes, was Ji’nan daxue. Other than opening up a coffee shop as a cover for SSD agents, the Shanghai Station was only able to enlist the help of a group of Chinese students from Southeast Asia who were ostensibly studying at Ji’nan. A rowdy lot who were more interested in living as playboys than as students, these subagents were given to brandishing their service pistols just to impress young women, and the best of them ended up leaving the university and entering Juntong on a full-time basis as backbone cadres.⁴⁹

Fudan University, also considered a hotbed of “reactionary” activity, was equally difficult to penetrate. Group Two did manage to enlist Professor Yao Mingda of the History Department, and Yao and a few of his students acted as informers during those years; but initially the most effective espionage was conducted by culinary means.⁵⁰ At Dai Li’s order, a former Whampoa cadet named Chen Shaozong opened a restaurant at the back gate of Fudan, where he and his wife were able to run a flourishing business popular with students. Chen had once taught military training classes at the university, so he already had some student contacts. Thanks to the resources afforded him by the Shanghai Station, he was able to enlarge these even more by extending generous terms of credit to student customers, who were allowed to run up considerable chits on their accounts. The restaurant had two small rooms, and while one served for banquets and dining, the other could be loaned to students for discussion meetings and political deliberations. Chen would routinely send his ten-year-old daughter into the meeting room to eavesdrop while refilling the students’ teacups. The intelligence

she gathered Chen then secretly wrote down on meal tickets that were sold by Mrs. Chen sitting at the cashier's stand to Group Two couriers who dropped by for lunch or dinner. A number of student radicals were implicated in this fashion, and their interrogations yielded the names of yet others whom the secret service kept under periodic surveillance.⁵¹

Efforts to penetrate radical groups redoubled when Wu Naixian became regional chief of the SSD in Shanghai in 1934. Wu, a first class graduate of Whampoa, had initially gained Chiang Kai-shek's confidence by betraying Deng Yanda to him. Chiang and Dai Li subsequently tried to use Wu to establish connections with what was then called the "third party" (*disan dang*), the Chinese Nationalist Party Temporary Action Committee (*Zhongguo guomindang linshi xingdong weiyuanhui*). In this way they hoped both to undermine this rival force within the Guomindang and to use it to draw close to the underground organization of the Chinese Communist Party that was still tenuously connected to the old "left wing" of the United Front. This range of activities, incidentally, was always directly under the supervision of SSD headquarters in Nanjing. Dai Li's men in the capital made their own connections with "third party" figures in Shanghai, more or less bypassing regular channels in the Shanghai Station to work through Wu Naixian directly.⁵²

Wu's deputy in the Shanghai Station was the regional secretary, Zhang Shi, who had formerly been a Communist. Dai Li hoped that Zhang's experience in underground work would make it easier for the secret service to gain an entrée into core CCP cells. The Shanghai Station's budget was increased by 50 percent, and a regional inspector (*ducha*) was added to the table of organization.⁵³ But Wu Naixian and Zhang Shi were unable, like Cheng Mui, to *chiku* and live among the workers where the Communists had organized their defenses. Wu and his deputy were even more cautious than their predecessors, moving the headquarters of the regional office from the French Concession to the Old West Gate (Laoximen) in the Southern City, which was an area controlled by the Guomindang. Yet because the Chinese part of Shanghai was thought to be so dirty and unsanitary, Wu and his aides lived in the French Concession on Huanlong Road in a secret residence, the address of which was known only to two persons within the Shanghai Station proper.⁵⁴ Partly because of their squeamishness, then, Shanghai Station leaders did not enjoy much success in penetrating the underground, but even more debilitating to their effort, at least until 1935, was their lack of police authority to prosecute Chiang Kai-shek's enemies.⁵⁵

POLICE CONNECTIONS

At first, the Shanghai Station had tried to use private connections with members of the Chinese municipality's Public Safety Bureau in order to get

the detectives' help in carrying out SSD missions. The chief of police in 1933, Wen Hongen, and his chief of detectives, Lu Ying, were reluctant to cooperate with Dai Li.⁵⁶ Dai Li was therefore somewhat grudgingly forced to ask his Group One leader, Chen Zhiqiang, to use his Green Gang *guanxi* to link up with individual detectives on the squad. But as Chen's grip over this group of police officers tightened, so did his own ambition swell. Within two years Dai Li had promoted Chen out of Shanghai to head the detective brigade (*zhenji dui*) of the Shaanxi provincial police office, abolishing Group One and dividing its personnel among the various other *zu*.⁵⁷

By then, the Public Safety Bureau had a new chief, Cai Jingjun, who was much more willing to cooperate with Dai Li. Gradually, he allowed SSD agents to assume positions in the police training unit (*jingshi jiaolian suo*); and eventually Dai Li was able to get his agent Chen Zhiping the post of chief of indoctrination in the PSB while two other secret service men were made guidance counselors (*zhidaoyuan*) in the Police Academy.⁵⁸ However, owing to Lu Ying's reluctance, Dai Li did not directly control the bureau's detectives division.⁵⁹

Curiously enough, Dai Li and his men had better fortune in using the French Concession police force, mainly because the French authorities had come to rely so heavily upon the use of gang members as detectives in the Chinese division to control the native population in their settlement. One of the key figures in that division was a petty gang leader (*xiao touzi*) named Fan Guangzhen, who—like almost all of the detectives (*baotan*) on the force—had started out in the ranks as an ordinary patrolman (*xunbu*), and who was eventually promoted to detective sergeant (*tanmu*). As his secret service chief in Group Two put it, “Fan's social relationships were extremely complicated.”⁶⁰ Not only was he a gangster working as a detective, but he was also a partially loyal servant of his French masters while working on the side for the Nationalist intelligence services. As Dai Li saw it, Fan was more devoted to the French colonial authorities than he was to the SSD, but he obviously felt that he had to curry favor with both sides. If he were put under too much pressure, then Fan might feel forced to sacrifice his Chinese relationships in order to maintain his bread-and-butter ties to his foreign employers. Therefore, Dai Li only had recourse to him when it was absolutely necessary, asking Fan Guangzhen to tap his widespread net of informers for an occasional lead into the underground, and requesting cover and help whenever the Shanghai Station had to carry out a kidnapping in the French Concession.⁶¹

Because of Fan Guangzhen's unreliability, Dai Li believed that it was necessary to introduce someone he could really trust into the ranks of the Chinese detectives division of the French police. Dai turned to a Whampoa classmate, Ruan Zhaohui, whose first assignment had been as a communications officer in the Nanjing headquarters of the SSD in Chicken Goose

Lane.⁶² Offering Fan Guangzhen five hundred yuan as a bribe, Dai Li managed to get Ruan an appointment as a *baotan*, even though unlike all the other detectives he had not gone through his apprenticeship as a foot patrolman. Once appointed to the post, Ruan became Fan's superior within the Shanghai Station apparatus, though he was nominally his assistant on the police force proper. This put Fan in a delicate position, because he was unwilling to communicate directly with Group Two for fear of being compromised. Receiving his instructions directly from Ruan Zhaohui, then, Fan allowed the newcomer to use, and thus appropriate, the gang leader's connections.⁶³ As a result, the Shanghai Station was able to keep watch over and control a number of progressives who had sought safety in the shelter of the French Concession; and later, they were able to use their men within the detective squad to protect SSD agents who were for one reason or another vulnerable to arrest.⁶⁴

The detective squads of both the Chinese Municipal Public Safety Bureau and the French Concession Police were only indirectly put at Dai Li's disposal. The SSD still lacked direct police authority in the Shanghai area, and if the secret service wished formally to arrest and interrogate a suspect, that person had to be illegally kidnapped and secretly transported to Nanjing.⁶⁵ This structural weakness in the Shanghai apparatus was not overcome until 1935, when Chiang Kai-shek finally decided to turn over to Juntong control of two major law enforcement groups, the military police detectives division and the transport police.⁶⁶

THE ACQUISITION OF THE DETECTIVE BRIGADE

Early in 1935 General Chiang granted Dai Li authority over the Main Detective Brigade of the Song-Hu Garrison Command (Song-Hu jingbei silingbu zhencha dadui), and Wu Naixian—chief of Juntong's Shanghai Station—was named commander (*dadui zhang*) of the entire division, which was housed in the Baiyunguan on Fangxie Road in the Chinese sector of the city.⁶⁷ In theory, then, all of the military detectives in the Shanghai area were now subject to the SSD's commands. In practice, however, it amounted to little more than a change of administrative hats. That is, Station Chief Wu simply asserted his nominal authority over the detective brigade. If the secret service commander wished to do more than take charge at the top, then he would have to control the intermediate sections of the *zhencha dadui* (detective division) by filling the posts of superintendents (*ducha*) with his own men.

This critical line staffing came about when Wu Naixian was succeeded as detectives commander by Weng Guanghui, who brought with him four top SSD agents to be appointed *ducha*: Shen Zui, Cheng Mui, Lin Zhijiang, and Ni Yuanchao. The new inspectors quickly encountered two impediments to

their plans to turn the garrison command's detective squad into a political and paramilitary secret police unit: the recalcitrance of the standing deputy brigade commander, and the reluctance of the regular detectives already on the roster.⁶⁸

Peng Bowei, the deputy brigade commander, was one of Yang Hu's men. Ever since the 1927 purge he had run the seamen's union for Yang Hu, and he had a large network of loyal followers among customs officers and inspectors who had acquired their jobs thanks to him. As long as Peng remained second in command of the *zhencha dadui*, Dai Li's interests were not going to be completely served. Consequently, when the command next changed at the top, with Wang Zhaohuai succeeding Weng Guanghui as *daduizhang*, Dai Li squeezed Peng Bowei out and replaced him with the current head of Group One, Yang Fengqi.⁶⁹

The regular inspectors (*jichayuan*)—the old-timers in the military police—represented another sort of obstacle to the transformation of regular MP detectives into a “red squad.” In their outlook and training, the military inspectors were mainly devoted to maintaining local law and order (*zhixu*). It was offensive to them to think of turning their detective brigade into an instrument of terror and coercion that used its powers of arrest as a substitute for illicit kidnapping and that transformed acceptable interrogation procedures into techniques of torture.⁷⁰ Yet the *jichayuan* could not be readily dismissed nor replaced. For one, many of them had developed close working relationships with detectives in the French Concession Police and the Shanghai Municipal Police. This made arresting suspects in the International Settlement a lot easier for the SSD, but it also made the Shanghai Station agents leery of arousing the suspicions and hostilities of the foreign concession police by suddenly getting rid of old friends and acquaintances in the military police. The decision was made, therefore, to proceed very slowly in culling the detective brigade ranks and to try whenever possible to get former military detectives to allow themselves to be co-opted into the Shanghai Station.

Gradually, then, after Wang Zhaohuai took over the brigade, a dozen or so new inspectors were brought in from regular secret service ranks, and a number of important *jichayuan* of the former brigade, such as Zhu Youxin and Wang Kaiming, were enrolled as full-fledged members of the SSD. As the misgivings of the new inspectors were allayed, the military detectives division was transmogrified into a true secret police, functioning as an outer service or field organ for the Shanghai district headquarters of Juntong. Whenever the Shanghai Station wanted to transform a kidnapping into an arrest, the detective brigade simply requested the garrison command to sign a warrant. The latter invariably complied. Occasionally, when there were cases of gross injustice, the secret police turned to the Military Law Department (*Junfa chu*) of the garrison headquarters for cosmetic legal support.

The chief of that department was Lu Jingshi, a disciple of Du Yuesheng who was very close to Wang Zhaohuai, the head of the detective division. If the secret police felt that they had to release a prisoner, nearly beaten to death while under arrest, they would ask the Military Law Department to take over. Lu Jingshi was quite happy to comply, although his lieutenants grumbled constantly, complaining that they were forced to act as a front for the Shanghai Station's detective squad. As a consequence, Dai Li's men came to possess full and unimpeachable powers of arrest, which actually superseded the authority of the Shanghai Municipal Public Safety Bureau, and which gave them *carte blanche* to turn the Shanghai Station into the fearsome Leviathan that Juntong was rapidly becoming in areas directly under Nanjing's control. Political suspects could now be incarcerated and tortured with complete impunity on the spot.⁷¹

Dai Li took over the transport police in Shanghai the same way that he had taken over the garrison command's detectives: in the autumn of 1935 he had Wu Naixian appointed head of the Nanjing-Shanghai-Hangzhou Railroad Police (Jing-Hu-Hang jiao tielu jingcha). This was a major administrative job, and it meant turning over Wu's responsibilities as *dadui-zhang* of military detectives to Weng Guanghui and as Shanghai Station chief to Wang Xinheng.⁷² Shortly after that, the police inspectors' office of the China Steam Merchants Navigation Company was also turned over to Dai Li's men, who staffed leading posts directly from Nanjing. Henceforth, SSD agents traveled free of charge on the railway and on steamboats, and whenever prisoners of the secret service had to be transported from Shanghai to the capital, the Shanghai Station agents had the complete support and aid of the railway police, with special compartments in the sleeping cars turned over to them for clandestine use.⁷³

WANG XINHENG

The acquisition of the detectives brigade and the responsibility for staffing of the transport police vastly increased the duties of the Shanghai Station, which flourished under the direction of its energetic new chief, Wang Xinheng. A former Communist who had studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, Wang was a native of Ningbo who had many contacts among merchants from that city in Shanghai. He was also well connected with the Shanghai underworld, being a close friend of Du Yuesheng and a warmly welcomed guest at the Hengshe (Constancy Club), which was organized by the Green Gang.⁷⁴

Thanks to these links, Wang was able to attract a broad membership to the secret service, enlisting as agents students who been in the USSR, merchants, working-class leaders, gangsters, members of the Shanghai Postal

General Union, writers, and entertainers. New clandestine district offices were opened in Hongkew, Zhabei, and southern Shanghai (Hu'nan). A dozen or so individual stations (*zhan*) were attached to military investigation groups (*diao cha zu*). A large wireless broadcasting station was installed to form a central communications network. Altogether the personnel of the Shanghai Station increased fivefold, from one hundred to five hundred members working full-time at headquarters or in the field.⁷⁵

Dai Li's appointment of a Communist "renegade," or *pantu*, such as Wang Xinheng to direct the Shanghai regional office reflected the secret service chief's belief that no one was better equipped to deal with the underground than a former CCP member. In that respect, Wang was just one among many Communist Party defectors such as Liang Ganqiao, Xie Ligong, Ye Daoxin, Lu Haifang, and Cheng Yiming who became senior SSD agents in the 1930s.⁷⁶ Upon their shoulders supposedly rested much of the responsibility for penetrating and smashing the enemy's own clandestine organs, which they hoped to reach through the peripheral or front organizations that were the only public manifestations of the CCP readily detected.⁷⁷

This was not an easy task, even when the most skilled of agents posed as a "progressive element" by attacking the government's policies in newspapers or journals. One of Group Two's best spies was a Hunanese named Su Yeguang who had once been a member of the Communist Party and who participated actively in the affairs of the "democratic party clique" (*minzhu-dang pai*).⁷⁸ Yet even though he frequently criticized Chiang Kai-shek in public in the most cutting of ways, and although he published numerous gloomy articles indicating his unhappiness with contemporary society, Su appeared to fool none of the activists in the New Nationalist Party (Xin Guomindang) and had no success at all in penetrating various CCP front groups.⁷⁹

COMMUNIST COUNTERESPIONAGE

One explanation for Juntong's failure to bore into the radical underground was the Communists' own extremely effective security system, based upon a combination of Moscow tradecraft and their own inventiveness. In Shanghai the CCP counterespionage effort was commanded by General Chen Geng, who had made his way to the French Concession after being severely wounded in the Nanchang uprising of 1927. Treated by the famous surgeon Niu Huilin, who was T. V. Soong's cousin, Chen Geng recovered from his injuries and faded into deep cover.⁸⁰ The Shanghai Station somehow learned of his presence in the city, but even though Dai Li assigned Wu Naixian—Chen Geng's *tongxue* (classmate) in the first class of Whampoa—to the case, the Chinese Communist security chief slipped through their fingers.⁸¹

Thereafter, SSD agents had to redouble their efforts to keep track of known CCP members, who learned to abandon safe houses frequently and cover their trails whether they suspected they were under surveillance or not.⁸² Indeed, Chen Geng's operatives mounted a countersurveillance, keeping watch over the residences of important Shanghai Station officers as well as the Main Detective Brigade headquarters on Fangxie Road.⁸³

The acme of General Chen's clandestine career in Shanghai was the security arrangement he devised for the Communist Party's Fourth Plenum in January 1931. In order to bring together safely all of the delegates under the hypersensitive noses of Guomindang agents who had gotten wind of the CCP conclave but did not know where it was being held, Chen Geng set up a fake hospital, complete with medical equipment, physicians, and nurses. Delegates arrived swathed in bandages or were carried in on blanket-covered stretchers, and Dai Li's men never suspected a thing.⁸⁴

When Communists were captured, they received very short shrift. According to the operating procedures that Dai Li worked out with Chiang Kai-shek, Communist agents arrested by the SSD fell completely under the bureau's jurisdiction. They were never handed over to other agencies for investigation but were nearly always arraigned, sentenced, and punished within Dai Li's organization.⁸⁵ This was not strictly legal, of course, but in 1934—as one secret policeman later recollected—Shanghai Station agents simply took it for granted that if you were lucky enough to get your hands on a Communist, you routinely tortured and killed him, unless he agreed to change sides.⁸⁶

This made it a relatively simple matter to cover up mistakes. In one of those cases where the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing, Shanghai field agents from one group became interested in a man named Ma. Pretending to be "progressives" themselves, they sedulously cultivated Ma, who was thought to be an important underground Communist cadre. A special task force of more than twenty agents was set up within the Juntong group, and more than a thousand yuan were spent satisfying Ma's various appetites. Yet the cost seemed worthwhile because Ma repaid them with credible intelligence about the underground, including the revelation that he was an important leader in the Huadong (east China) branch of the Chinese Communist Party. This information was duly relayed to Dai Li, who was so delighted by the group's success that he reported the case directly to Chiang Kai-shek. Sure that they had netted a big fish, the group decided to close the case by arresting Ma and submitting him to interrogation. But when they hauled him in for questioning, identifying themselves as members of the Shanghai Station, Ma quickly told them that he was already working as a *pantu* for other SSD agents in Shanghai. A quick check with that other group revealed that he was telling the truth. He had been a Communist in the past for sure, but now he was working as a "renegade" for an-

other Shanghai Station group whose agents had thought that they were using Ma to penetrate an enemy network themselves.⁸⁷

When Dai Li was told of the mix-up, he was furious, cursing out the Shanghai regional office agents for being “fatheads” (*fantong*). In turn, Station Chief Wang Xinheng excoriated the case officers who were running Ma and threatened to punish them severely for having failed to report the operation to headquarters. But it was too late: Chiang Kai-shek had already been told that Juntong was going to be arresting the “responsible person” of the East China bureau of the CCP. Unwilling to lose face (*diu chou*) before his master, Dai Li tacitly indicated to Shen Zui that he considered Ma the Communist leader he was pretending to be. “So this guy finally dared use our activities to give himself a cover,” Dai Li said. “Luckily we caught on soon enough. Otherwise we’d be getting the worst of it from him.” Since punishment was decided entirely within Juntong, Ma was simply remanded to Nanjing, where he was cruelly sacrificed. Thereafter, Dai Li insisted that all future operations involving the discovery of either a fresh trail or people posing as “progressives” be reported in full detail to SSD headquarters.⁸⁸

EXTERMINATING THE DOG KILLERS

Of course, the Shanghai Station had its successes too. One of its agents’ best-known victories was against the Communist assassination squad that called itself the Dog-killers League (Dagou tuan) and that was devoted to murdering “renegades” as a lesson to others.⁸⁹

In 1935 Group Two captured an underground Communist and persuaded him to become one of their agents. His assignment was to break into the higher-level leadership of the Shanghai CCP, but he quickly fell under suspicion within the party, and eventually he was shot and left for dead in a vacant lot near Xujiahui. The man was still alive, though badly wounded, when he was discovered by the police. Dai Li was in Shanghai at the time, and he decided to use the double agent to bait a trap. A story was planted in one of Shanghai’s “mosquito” newspapers that the secret service had a Communist in custody, and that the man was recovering from critical wounds in a hospital in the French Concession. Dai Li’s plan was to let the Communist hit squad actually kill the wounded man, and then use his own SSD agents to trail the assassins back to their safe house.⁹⁰

The scheme nearly misfired. A team of SSD agents from Group Two was assembled and convincingly disguised as hucksters and ricksha men to be stationed around the hospital entrance. On the fifth day of the surveillance two visitors presented themselves at the wounded agent’s door with bags of fruit. Moments after they entered the sickroom shots rang out. Two secret service men ran into the hospital and found the hostage dead in a pool of blood. While they were searching the hospital floor for the assailants, one

of the assassins ran out of the front gate. The rest of the Group Two agents chased after the man, some on bicycles and some on foot. Though the cyclists quickly outstripped the other SSD agents, they were still unable to keep track of the assassin, who slipped away down a crowded alley. After searching the neighborhood in vain, the dispirited agents gave up and returned to headquarters, flinching at the thought of Dai Li's wrath. But just as they were telling Dai Li that they had lost both bait and prey, a telephone call came in from the laggardly foot agents. They had been so hopelessly outdistanced by the others that they had decided to take a streetcar back to headquarters. Passing along Rue Foch, one of them had casually glanced out of the trolley car window and spotted the suspect walking calmly along the street. Jumping off at the next stop, the agents had circled back and had trailed the assassin into a silverware store, where he was now under observation.⁹¹

Dai Li instantly ordered a full-scale raid of the store. Yang Fengqi, deputy commander of the Main Detective Brigade, and group leaders Xu Pengfei and Shen Zui were sent along with nearly the entire contingent of military detectives to pick up a squad of Chinese detectives from the French Concession police headquarters. Then they surrounded the jewelry store and dashed in. The inhabitants were caught completely by surprise. Three men and a woman were seized, along with six pistols and ammunition. One of the three men was identified as the assassin from the hospital. Dai Li wanted to interrogate the Communist agents himself, but the French police insisted that they had the right to a preliminary investigation because the suspects had been arrested in the Concession proper. After Dai Li acceded, the French interrogators learned that these were the key members of the Dagou tuan, which had been executing Communist defectors throughout Shanghai. Since their victims were agents working for the Nationalists, the prisoners were turned over to Dai Li's men in the garrison command. Further interrogation revealed nothing more, and eventually the members of the assassination squad were remanded to Nanjing, sentenced to death, and executed.⁹²

THE SSD'S ROLE IN THE NOULENS AFFAIR

Certainly the most sensational spy case in Shanghai in the early 1930s was the Noulens affair, which remains something of a mystery even today.⁹³ Hilaire Noulens, whose real name was Yakov Rudnik, was an experienced agent of the Comintern's Department for International Liaison (Otdel Mezhdunarodnoi svyazi—OMS) operating in Shanghai undercover as a professor of French and German who supposedly headed the Organization Department of the Comintern's Far Eastern Bureau (FEB).⁹⁴ Aided by Madame Noulens (Tatyana Moiseenko), his responsibilities included:

All communication between the ECCI [Executive Committee of the Communist International] and the CCP, between the ECCI and the FEB, between the FEB and the CCP, and between the FEB and other Communist parties in the Far East (not only enciphered telegrams, but also letters, packages, illegal printed matter, and so on). He had to distribute the money received from the Metropolitan Trading Co. to the FEB, KIM [Communist Youth International], CCP, and so on. Flats and houses, whether for living purposes, for “business” (for the FEB, for the FEB’s military section, for OMS activities like enciphering and record-keeping all unconnected from each other) or as meeting-places (separate places for meetings between members of the FEB and of the CCP, meetings with couriers, or meetings with members of other East Asian Communist parties), had to be rented by him, as well as cover addresses, P. O. Boxes and telegraphic addresses. Flats had to be furnished, staffed with servants and wound up when the respective agent had left. Students for the KUTV (Communist University for Eastern Workers) as well as agents of the Comintern had to be channelled through Shanghai. In short, everything to do with accommodation, finance and communication was within Noulens’ purview.⁹⁵

He had arrived in the city with a stolen Belgian passport under the name of Ferdinand van der Cruysen, and he had many aliases, including Charles Alison, Donat Boulanger, Samuel Herssans, and Dr. W. O’Neill. In Shanghai he had ten separate apartments, eight post office boxes, seven telegraphic addresses, two offices, one shop, and ten separate bankbooks with deposits totaling 500,000—which was an astonishingly high figure at the time, smack in the middle of the Great Depression.⁹⁶

The first inkling the police had of Noulens’s existence came when the British authorities in Singapore arrested a French Comintern courier named Joseph Ducroux, alias Serge Le Franc. Among his belongings was found a Shanghai telegraphic code address (“Hilanoul, Shanghai”) and the number of a post office box in the International Settlement.⁹⁷ The code was part of an elaborate communications arrangement that was later found to consist of two different cryptographic systems involving one code to correspond with Comintern workers in Asia, and a second set to correspond with Comintern leaders in Moscow and Europe.⁹⁸

Meanwhile, following leads of their own, Chinese investigators began to track down the same Comintern network. The case began with the arrest of a suspected Communist agent in Hubei province. Juntong’s interrogators in Wuhan tried repeatedly to break the suspect, whose name was Guan Zhao-nan, but he held out under torture until a legal official sent out from Nanjing persuaded him to write a letter to the Shanghai branch of the CCP asking that a courier be sent to contact him.⁹⁹

Shanghai duly complied, and soon an agent named Lu Dubu arrived in Wuhan, where he was picked up by Dai Li’s men. Although he quickly broke

under torture, Lu could tell them very little about the inner organization of the CCP in Shanghai because he was restricted to external communications liaison duties in the party. Dai Li therefore decided to use Lu to smoke out other underground agents, and had the hapless Communist brought back to Shanghai and put in the custody of the garrison command's detective brigade. Then Lu was made to follow his usual contact procedure by registering in the East Asia Hotel (Dongya lüguan) on Nanking Road, and by posting a letter to his elder brother with his whereabouts.

At the same time, Shanghai Station agents were stationed in Lu Dubu's room and in the room next door. The following day Dubu's brother, Lu Haifang, came to the hotel and went directly to Dubu's room, which he entered without knocking. The moment he opened the door, Lu Haifang spotted the SSD agent asleep in a chair, and he quickly backed out of the room without awakening the dozing secret service man. But the agents in the other room did spot him, and—led by Shen Zui—dashed after him as he ran downstairs. Lu Haifang almost got away. He slipped into the Xianshi department store to lose himself in the crowds of shoppers, but Shen Zui cannily waited by a side door, and when the Communist agent tried to sneak out that exit, Shen managed to get handcuffs on him in spite of furious resistance.¹⁰⁰

Lu Haifang proved to be an invaluable catch. First of all, he turned with surprising rapidity. On the day of his arrest he was first taken to the Louza Road police station (Laozha bufang) of the SMP, and a few hours later he was extradited to the *zhencha dadui* of the garrison command. Dai Li was present to supervise the interrogation. Before anyone had laid a hand on him, but just as they were bringing out the instruments of torture, Lu Haifang volunteered to betray his leaders to Juntong. This was one of the quickest defections of a seasoned Communist agent that anyone could remember. Second, his position in the party was unique: he was—Dai Li's men soon discovered—the English-language secretary of the top Comintern intelligence agent in the Far East.¹⁰¹

Shen Zui later claimed that it was Lu Haifang who betrayed Noulens to the French police.¹⁰² Actually, it was the SMP who made the arrest on June 15, 1931, seizing the Russian spy in one of his flats on Sichuan Road.¹⁰³ But Lu Haifeng did cooperate closely with the SSD agents, even though he was excoriated by his wife for being a "renegade."¹⁰⁴ He successively implicated as Communists a member of the League of Left-Wing Writers, an actress who was making a film of *Blithe Spirit* (*Ziyou shen*), and a young woman nicknamed "Black Peony" (Hei Mudan) who had studied in Germany with the support of Yang Hu and Zhang Qun.¹⁰⁵ Lu also told them all that he could about his chief, which was precious little. In fact, the police initially could find out almost nothing at all about their prisoner, who first

identified himself as a Swiss named Germain Xavier Alois Beuret, and then as one Paul Ruegg.¹⁰⁶

Noulens, in the meantime, observed a quiet and dignified demeanor, in contrast to his arrested wife, who was aggressive and belligerent.¹⁰⁷ Dai Li at first was forced to confess to Chiang Kai-shek that he did not know who the man was, though the suspicion was that he was the head of the Far Eastern intelligence division of the Comintern whom the British were seeking. In the end Noulens and his wife were put on trial in Wuhan, where they were sentenced to death by the Nanjing court. This was commuted to life imprisonment, but the Noulenses ended up serving only five years for their espionage. When the Japanese took Nanjing, the Noulenses were released from jail to seek their own bail money and reappeared briefly in Shanghai before disappearing again, probably headed for the Soviet Union.¹⁰⁸

The “case of the strange Westerner” (*guai xiren an*), which is how the Chinese newspapers referred to the trial, fascinated the Shanghai press. When the Noulenses went on a hunger strike, Soong Qingling, Yang Quan, and Shen Junru went to the Nanjing prison to see the couple, and then sent two telegrams to the government demanding their release. One read, “If you refuse the Noulens’ request [to be released] and force them to go on fasting, revolutionary and liberal opinion throughout the world will hold the KMT [GMD] responsible for their deaths. This way of killing them is comparable to the atrocities of Nazi Germany.”¹⁰⁹

Although the government refused the request, the Noulenses eventually resumed eating, but neither ever admitted guilt.¹¹⁰ Their stoic demeanor confirmed the image in many people’s eyes of the implacable Communist agent who refused to reveal even his name under interrogation.¹¹¹ This image persisted in later years in spy stories and novels, especially those written and published after 1949 in the PRC. In *Red Crag* (*Hong yan*), which concerns the secret service after Dai Li’s death, the Communist prisoner who is about to be interrogated is described as having a “gaunt face” that was “expressionless” and that had a “look of cool detachment.” The character of Xu Pengfei—the actual head of Group Two of the Shanghai Station in 1934–35—is, on the other hand, depicted in the novel as being apprehensive and nervous, as well as convinced that only by means of sudden and harsh cruelty can the secret service chief rattle the composure of a prisoner of such “strength of character.” According to the novel, “Xu Pengfei had a start. The cool detachment of this man would be a ticklish thing to handle. He pulled himself together and reflected that the only way to deal with such a man was to strike him with lightning-like blows.”¹¹²

In fact, most people broke sooner or later under secret police torture. What Communist prisoners appeared to be particularly skillful at doing—perhaps because they were trained ahead of time for the experience of in-

terrogation—was providing false information that would help other members of their organization get away. Often, for instance, a CCP agent being tortured in the *zhenchā dadui* would pretend to reveal the location of the headquarters organization but actually give an address one or two blocks away. Until the secret police caught on to this trick, they would launch a raid against a totally harmless address close enough to the real headquarters to alert the party leadership to seek safer refuge elsewhere.¹¹³

ARRESTING COMMUNISTS

One should not exaggerate the skill of the Communists and deprecate the often deadly success of the secret police altogether, even though one of our main sources—the turncoat Shen Zui—does so in works published in the PRC after his “reeducation” was completed. In May 1933, for example, GMD secret agents intercepted intelligence about a secret rendezvous with Ying Xiuren, the poet and children’s book writer who was doing underground work for the CCP after spending several years in the Soviet Union. When Ying, who was a member of the League of Left-Wing Writers, went on a secret mission to a building near Kunshan Park, armed agents were waiting for him. In the struggle that followed he was hurled through the window to his death. Ying Xiuren was the seventh member of Shanghai left-wing cultural circles to be killed by the secret police *hors de la loi*.¹¹⁴

Generally speaking, however, the more contact Shanghai Station officers had with Communist underground agents, the more skittish they were about trying to approach or arrest them.¹¹⁵ Their wariness was understandable. SSD agents who were formerly Communists sometimes found that when they attempted to cultivate CCP members they still knew, they ran the risk of getting beaten or killed as *pantu* themselves. Wang Kequan, the assistant head of the operations section, once spotted two people in the Pudong factory area whom he recognized as having formerly worked under him in the CCP. Thinking he could persuade them to join him in the SSD, he took them off for a quiet talk, only to be beaten half to death with his own gun until a police patrol came along and scared away his former comrades. Thereafter Wang, like many other “renegades,” shunned former party comrades out of sheer self-preservation.¹¹⁶

Shen Zui himself came to appreciate the risk of running up against underground agents one night in the summer of 1935 when he led a dozen or so SSD men up to Jiangwan to arrest a group of Communists who were holding a meeting. As they approached the gathering place, they were discovered and the group of Communists scattered, leaving one man behind with a gun to hold off the secret police. In the flurry of shots that followed Shen Zui was shot in the chest by the Communist. Surgeons removed the small caliber bullet, but Shen carried the scar thereafter.¹¹⁷

Later that winter, after he had recovered, Shen Zui took two agents along when he went to Caojiadu to arrest a writer suspected of being a Communist. Since the suspect was a literary person, he seemed to pose no threat, and the SSD agents were quite relaxed after they had gained entry to his apartment with the help of his landlord. The writer asked to be allowed to get his clothes on, and then, just as it was time to leave, he suddenly reached into his hat, pulled out a hand grenade, and snatched out the safety pin. No one dared reach for his gun. The writer then backed to the door and suddenly switched off the lights. Pandemonium ensued. The agents were sure he had dropped the grenade and scurried for protection, but there was no explosion. By the time the SSD men had gotten the lights back on, they discovered that the writer had slipped away, locking them in. Shen Zui and his men broke down the door and rushed outside, but a nearby factory was changing shifts and it was impossible to find the suspect in the crowd.¹¹⁸

It was much safer for Shanghai Station officers to collar “progressive” students handing out anti-Japanese pamphlets or to mount raids on bookstores carrying pro-Soviet literature than to detect and arrest a known Communist agent. According to Shen Zui’s own biased account, during the three years that he served in the Shanghai Station’s communications section, from 1932 to 1935, not one of the thirty or more “communications agents under direct control” was a Communist Party cadre, and there were only two who were members of peripheral organizations of the CCP. And Shen claimed not to know of a single successful penetration of the party itself during his six years of active service in Shanghai.¹¹⁹

This failure on the part of Juntong’s Shanghai Station constantly provoked Dai Li’s rage.¹²⁰ “If we go on in this way,” he shouted at the station chief and several group leaders one night during a dinner party in the Apricot Flower Pavilion (Xinghua lou) on Sima Road, “our work is going to collapse. How can you manage not to penetrate a single Communist organization?”¹²¹

Dai Li’s criticisms must have echoed Chiang Kai-shek’s complaints, despite the very real success of the Nationalist secret police in securing key CCP defections.¹²² Later on neither man could forget that during those years the Shanghai Station was utterly ignorant of the fact that, as of 1931, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party had moved itself, lock, stock, and barrel, from the French Concession to the rugged mountains of Jiangxi. It was a colossal intelligence failure, hardly made up for by the waves of kidnappings and assassinations that fell upon other suspected enemies of the regime.¹²³

The Nationalists’ counterespionage successes on the ground did, however, imperceptibly alter the balance of power within the Chinese Communist Party, setting the stage for Mao Zedong’s rise to supremacy after the Zunyi Conference of January 1935.¹²⁴ Because Chiang Kai-shek’s secret po-

lice was able to sever all electronic communication between the Comintern's Shanghai office and the Executive Committee of the Communist International in Moscow, "the total isolation of the Central Committee [of the CCP] from the outside world was to play an inestimable role in the further development of the Party. It gathered even more significance when it lasted into 1936, the year of the Comintern's Seventh World Congress, which determined the strategic and tactical course of the Communist and Workers parties."¹²⁵ Even as Wang Ming was addressing the congress on the need to end the civil war in China, Mao, left to his own devices, was mustering strength for a new rural strategy that would eventually lead to victory over Chiang and his urban minions in Shanghai and beyond.

Chapter 12

Death Squads

Because murdering people had become his second nature, Zhao Lijun came into friction with special agents of Central Statistics in Henan, and ended up secretly arresting and burying alive six people, including a Central Statistics administrative inspector and a middle school principal. After an investigation by Central Statistics brought forth positive proof of Zhao's involvement in these murders, Chen Lifu and others tearfully implored Chiang Kai-shek to punish him severely. Dai Li still thought that he could protect him, but because Chiang Kai-shek wanted Central Statistics special agents to continue to exert all of their strength on his behalf against the Communists and the people, he decided to have Zhao shot. Thus, the executioner who had slaughtered people for Chiang Kai-shek for more than a decade was in the end killed by his own master. In addition to being grief-stricken for a while, Dai Li later, whenever he came to Chongqing, always went to the Military Statistics cemetery at Longquanyi to pay a visit to his grave.

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ABDUCTION

Kidnapping was a specialty of the secret agents commanded by Dai Li, and it was conducted on a vast scale, especially by the Shanghai Station of Juntong.¹ Zhao Lijun, head of the East China District Operations Group (Hua-dong qu xingdong zu), simply could not remember how many persons he had ordered abducted and killed during the years when he was in charge of “secret arrests” (*bimi daibu*) in the Shanghai area.² Of course, certain key abductions always stood out in agents’ memories, and these famous cases later became the examples used in the curriculum of Juntong training camps where secret service cadres, in addition to learning how to drive the automobiles so indispensable to modern abduction techniques, were also given seven or eight hours of instruction drawn from the accumulated experiences of kidnapping missions during the early 1930s.³

By 1937, SSD agents boasted that they could kidnap anybody, anyplace, anytime.⁴ But that was not always the case, especially in a city the size of Shanghai, where one was hardly ever out of the sight of another human being, and where—before the Shanghai Station’s budget grew large enough to afford an automobile—kidnappings often had to be conducted on foot.⁵ Since, more often than not, this meant carrying out the abduction in the

midst of a slew of pedestrians, deception was absolutely essential. Typically, one agent would pretend to be a robber and use a homemade blackjack, fashioned out of a rubber tube filled with shotgun pellets, to knock the victim unconscious. Another agent standing nearby would then rush up through the crowd and pretend to be a relative, dragging the coshed victim away from the assailant and hailing a ricksha, which he would loudly order to the nearest hospital. Once away from the crowd, however, the agent would tell the ricksha coolie that he wanted to take the victim home first. Then the agent would deliver the unconscious suspect to another address, where he would be picked up by other members of the unit and taken off to be interrogated.⁶

Once there were enough cars to go around, Dai Li's men began to use the standard gangland technique of hustling their victim into a waiting automobile at gunpoint from behind. This was not a foolproof method, and victims sometimes managed to get away before they could be shoved into the motorcar and driven off. Dai Li himself was infuriated by several of these botched attempts, and he insisted that members of the Shanghai Station perfect their craft by practicing on one other. Gradually, Shanghai agents developed a standard *modus operandi* requiring four assailants. They shadowed their victim until they had determined his or her daily routine, then they stationed a car nearby. As the victim, or "meal ticket" (*roupiao*), strolled along the street, one agent approached from the rear while another walked toward the hapless person from the front. When the two converged, a car simultaneously pulled alongside. The driver would stop the car, engine idling, while another agent in the backseat opened the curbside door. At that same moment, the agent to the rear would shove a gun in the victim's back just as the man to the front stepped forward and punched the victim in the belly. When the *roupiao* bent forward as the wind was knocked out of him or her, the agent behind would put his hand on the victim's back to keep him or her from straightening up, and the man inside the car would simply reach out and yank their prey into the backseat. Within moments the car would be moving smoothly through traffic again while the two curbside agents melted back into the crowd as though nothing had happened.⁷

Various "soft" (*ruan*) variations were developed on this technique in order to satisfy Dai Li, who wanted his men to be able to snatch their victims from crowded streets in broad daylight without attracting more than passing notice. To avoid flashing firearms, Shanghai field agents learned how to disable the victim momentarily by using *qinna* pressure points. The two curbside secret policemen would pretend to play a friendly trick upon the victim, as though he were an acquaintance. From behind, the agent would put his hands over the person's eyes, jamming his thumbs with great force into the mastoid area so that the victim was too stunned to cry out. The sec-

ond agent would step forward then and grab the “meal ticket” firmly by the hands, saying, “I bet you can’t guess who it is.” Then the two agents would laughingly tumble the disoriented victim into the car, leaving bystanders with the impression that they had just witnessed a happy reunion among old friends.⁸

Another variation, which was particularly effective with targets who were men about town and thought of themselves as lotharios, was to use two female field agents. One, dressed flashily enough to be the man’s mistress, would accost the victim on a crowded street, shouting and crying as though he had thrown her over for another girlfriend. While the victim insisted that this was a case of mistaken identity, another woman would alight from a passing car and pose as the mistress’s friend, offering to mediate the quarrel if the two of them would come along with her for a talk. As the victim hesitated, two other agents—male this time—would step forward from the crowd, saying, “What? At it again? Aren’t you ashamed to conduct this kind of behavior on the open street? Let’s get in the car and talk this over.” Invariably, the victim would feel that the easiest way to resolve this problem was to get in the car and explain who he really was to these strangers. Once inside, of course, the poor “meal ticket” disappeared forever.⁹

Sometimes rapid improvisation was required. For example, Chen Liuan, the special agent in charge of the Guixi clique’s activities in Shanghai, was put on the Shanghai Station’s kidnapping list. Keeping Chen’s house under surveillance, Shen Zui saw Chen come out of the front door with a suitcase in his hand, obviously looking for a cab that he had phoned to take him to the train station. Shen Zui instantly ran down to the end of the lane and hopped into the arriving taxi, pretending to be a member of Chen Liuan’s entourage. Then, when the car pulled up in front of Chen’s gate he jumped out again and acted as though he were the chauffeur’s aide by opening the door and ushering Chen into the backseat. Once they were clear of the house, however, Shen asked the driver to pull over as they came abreast of two of the SSD men on stakeout. The secret servicemen clambered into the car, drew their guns, and directed the frightened chauffeur to drive them to the garrison command. Chen’s panicked protests notwithstanding, the chauffeur dared not resist the military detectives and obligingly took them to their destination.¹⁰

These elaborate kidnappings were not the practice in the Chinese sections of Shanghai, where the seizures were carried out as regular secret police arrests, usually in the middle of the night.¹¹ In the French Concession and the International Settlement, however, they were the norm. Although SSD agents, operating as regular PSB or garrison command detectives, could request—and get—help from the police in either foreign concession to make an arrest, Dai Li preferred not to operate that way.¹²

VICTIMS

One reason for Dai Li's reluctance in Shanghai to seek the help of the international police was that most arrests were made in the early evening, and the prisoners were then held over until the following day, when a formal request for extradition could be submitted. This gave journalists time to run down the story and publish articles about the case in local newspapers that Dai Li had no way of controlling. Consequently, Shanghai Station agents working out of Zhao Lijun's operations section, which was later commanded by Shen Zui, were instructed to carry out "secret arrests" (*bimi daibu*), which were actually political kidnappings. This kept the prisoners completely out of the hands of the Western police, and the stories of their arrest utterly out of the pages of the local press.¹³

Dai Li's abhorrence of press reports was quite reasonable: publicity exposed his secret realm and tied his hands. One of the best-known examples of this was the disappearance of the writer Ding Ling on May 14, 1933, when police agents raided her apartment on Kunshan Road and seized her, her husband Feng Da, and a Communist friend—all of whom completely slipped from public view.¹⁴ The semipublic kidnapping was protested by the secretary-general of the League for the Protection of Human Rights, Yang Xingfo (Yang Quan), but the protest was met with official silence, and Yang himself was assassinated soon afterward.¹⁵

Another, perhaps even better, example was the Liu Luyin affair, which took place in 1936. Liu Luyin, who was believed to be a follower of Wang Yaqiao, had come to Shanghai that winter to represent the interests of Chen Jitang, Hu Hanmin, and other members of the Guangdong clique.¹⁶ Like most of Chiang's enemies who knew that they might end up on a death list, Liu chose to quarter himself in the safety of the French Concession. Orders therefore went out from Dai Li to the Shanghai Station to stage a kidnapping and bring the victim back to Nanjing for secret trial and execution.¹⁷

The first task was to locate Liu. Shen Zui's agents learned that Liu's young concubine, a woman named Hua, was living near Rue Pétain and that Liu was likely to be with her most evenings. After loading his men into the station's Studebaker, Shen Zui was driving across the French Concession toward Rue Pétain when he spotted Liu and the young woman coming in the opposite direction in a new bright green Ford. The SSD agents quickly made a U-turn, but the Ford sped up and swiftly outran their old sedan, losing them in Shanghai's back streets. However, Shen Zui had been able to jot down Liu's license number, and word went out to his men to search for the car throughout the city. Agents soon spotted the Ford parked in front of the Yangzi Restaurant on Sanmalu off Fuzhou Road in the International Settlement. Shen Zui surrounded the restaurant with his men, and when the couple came out of the building at midnight, stepping into a lightly falling

snow, the Juntong men pounced upon them, forcing Liu and his concubine into the backseat of their sedan.

The two of them put up a desperate resistance. Miss Hua screamed for help at the top of her voice, and Liu threw himself across the partition into the front seat and struggled with the chauffeur, who was trying to drive off. Before the car could pull away, an English policeman ran up and placed them all under arrest, taking them into custody at the Louza (Laozha) headquarters of the Shanghai Municipal Police. The SSD men had their own police badges to fall back upon, of course, and they were able in short order to arrange for Liu Luyin's extradition to Wuhan on charges of instigating the assassination of Yang Yongtai, the head of the political study clique and the chairman of the Hubei provincial government who was supposedly murdered by Cheng Xiechao at the Hankou ferry wharf after attending a reception at the American consulate on October 25, 1936.¹⁸ But once the affair was thrown into the open in this way, Dai Li could no longer arrange one of his secret trials and peremptory military executions. Liu Luyin's fate was decided in an open hearing by the criminal section of the Wuchang District Court, which eventually sentenced him to ten years in jail and five years' deprivation of civil rights.¹⁹

Celebrated cases notwithstanding, most of the victims of Dai Li's death squads were anonymous students and workers. Workers were usually seized outside their factories, which the SSD men hesitated to enter for fear of encountering resistance from fellow comrades.²⁰ Whenever possible the abductions were made at night, when there would be more time for the interrogators to extract information before the victim's absence was noticed.²¹ Once in the clutches of the SSD, both workers and students simply disappeared from sight, suffering anonymously at the hands of torturers who seldom knew their captives' real identities.²²

TORTURE

In Shanghai, the torture room was behind the lice-ridden sheds where the prisoners were kept. With the exception of a small number of captives who defected to Juntong on the spot, all of the other unfortunates routinely underwent torture, which was conducted by a special guards unit (*jingwei*) under the supervision of a section chief, inspector, or deputy brigade head, without any legally appointed interrogation officials (*shenxunyuan*) present.²³ There was no one, in other words, to prevent the torturers from horribly maiming their victims. As the jailers themselves put it, "You only have people in good walking condition upon entry. You seldom have people in good walking condition on their way out."²⁴

Torture was perforce routine, and the threat of it was always present in interrogations, as the novel *Hongyan* (Red crag) showed when the secret po-

lice chief Xu Pengfei was questioning the Communist Xu Yunfeng.²⁵ During the interrogation, when the Communist agent presented a particularly haughty mien, Chief Xu suddenly had an iron door in the wall opened, and out of the adjoining torture cell came a dazzling glare and the reek of blood, shed by the Communist's battered assistant, who had also been dragged in by the secret police. "A torn, bleeding body was lying on the concrete floor with heavy fetters on its ankles. Blood was still dripping from the motionless figure. Several hairy-chested men stood over him holding gory whips. One of them picked up a brown leather jacket and with a hideous laugh tossed it towards the unconscious man."²⁶ Torture, which is described again and again in the novel in the most harrowing detail, brought the masters of the secret world—Dai Li and his lieutenants—their most intimate and depraved sense of ultimate power.²⁷

There was the sound of whips whistling through the air and thudding on naked flesh. . . . The man in the swivel chair straightened up and lit a cigarette. Slowly blowing out smoke rings, he listened to the cries, the faintest hint of a smile playing around his lips. To him the screams of the torture were like music. He was used to this life. A lull in the groans and shrieks, and a feeling of emptiness and fear would overtake him. Without interrogations under torture, he would have lacked a sense of his own existence and power.²⁸

The man in the swivel chair was a thinly disguised Major General Xu Yuanju, one of the "bloodthirsty monsters" in Juntong who by 1948 was chief of the Second Department of the Southwest Bureau and concurrently director of the Security Department of the MSB.²⁹

It is not pleasant to dwell upon this harrowing aspect of the SSD death squads' activities, but we will never comprehend the terror of the victims' experience nor the horror of their disappearance unless we stop briefly to consider the way in which torture became part of the Nationalist secret service's routine operating procedures under Dai Li.³⁰ Certainly, the practice cannot merely be viewed pathologically, although the stereotype of the torturer is that of a sadist. Some torturers may be psychotic, but medical studies have found "that most are not sadists in the psychological sense; that is, they are not people who derive sexual excitement from the infliction of cruelty." Rather, conditions that lead someone to become a torturer include "a fervently held ideology that attributes great evil to some other group and defines the believer as a guardian of the social good; an attitude of unquestioning obedience to authority; and the open or tacit support of the torturer by his peers."³¹

ESA torturers serving in 1970 at the Eidikon Anakritikon Tmima (Special Interrogation Center) in Athens or at the military prison in Boyati, for example, were guided by fanatical anti-Communists like Major Theodoros Theofiloyannakos, who was "totally indifferent" to the physical con-

dition of his prisoners.³² “I am convinced,” said the prosecutor at his trial, “that if there had been a catastrophic earthquake, the only person in the whole of Greece to attribute it to the Communists would have been Major Theofiloyannakos.”³³

Along with this fanatical self-certainty went a process of brutalization that “tried to awaken the beast” in the police cadets.³⁴

If the proper learning procedures are applied under the right circumstances, any individual is a potential torturer. An explanation that has recourse to the presence of strong sadistic impulses is inadequate, and to believe that only sadists can perform such violent acts is a fallacy and a comfortable rationalization to ease our liberal minds.³⁵

Here is testimony from the 1975 trial of the Greek Military Police delivered by Georgios Kambanas, an ESA corporal and jailer:

From the moment we arrived at KESA from the basic training center, the torture began. They snatched us from the army lorries and threw us down like sacks. The beating began, and they made us eat the straps from our berets. . . . They beat us with belts and clubs. . . . The beating never stopped. They beat us in the lorries, in the lecture halls, and during the lessons. . . . I thought of asking to be transferred from ESA, but I realized that it was as much as my life was worth. . . . I beat prisoners to save myself.³⁶

One former ESA soldier said that their training “had the effect of turning the trainees into clockwork soldiers”; and a dentistry student, twice arrested by ESA men, claimed that the military torturers “had been specially trained so that fascism had passed into their personalities. . . . They are not weird monsters but the results of a system of training.”³⁷ They were on their way to becoming, in Shen Zui’s words that described his own acceptance of the need to torture prisoners, “persons who had lost their human nature” (*shiqiule renxing de ren*).³⁸

The interrogation room in the Shanghai Station lockup was traversed by a thick joist. Hempen ropes were suspended from the heavy wooden beam. The end of one of these was made fast to the thumbs of the prisoner, whose hands were tied behind his back. At the shout *diao!* (“lift up!”) the rope was yanked and the person was lifted off the ground. At first the victim was left with his tiptoes touching the ground, and the rope was tied to a hook while the interrogation continued. After several minutes the victim’s face would be covered with perspiration. If there were no confession at that point, then the torturers would shout—like lictors in a traditional yamen announcing the next level of judicial punishment—*Che!* (“pull!”), and the body would be hoisted clear of the floor, its weight suspended entirely from the victim’s thumbs. While the wretch’s entire body broke out in sweat, the interrogators would sit in relaxed positions, smoking cigarettes while

they watched the person writhe in torment. If the prisoner still refused to talk, the pain usually made him pass out.³⁹ Then the body was taken down and doused with cold water until the victim recovered consciousness and could be hoisted again. Usually, one session of *diao* was enough to get the prisoner to reveal all that he knew.⁴⁰

If *diao*—and the use of the insider’s jargon (the esoterics of cruelty) is very telling—were not enough, then the Juntong torturers moved on to “fry the ribs” (*chao paigu*).⁴¹ Again, the person was hung from the beam on his tiptoes, and his legs were tied together to keep him from kicking.⁴² The victim’s clothing was stripped away and the person’s back was pressed against the wall. One of the interrogators would don thick leather gloves and then slowly squeeze down on the ribs, moving the gloves up and down the flanks both to create friction and to put pressure on the internal organs. Although prisoners who survived this torture might feel internal pains for a long time afterward, the agony at the time of the ordeal was not sufficient to cause unconsciousness, and SSD interrogators favored it for precisely that reason until much later, when they learned how to use magnetos for torture.⁴³

DEHUMANIZATION

The fundamental psychological device of the torturer is to divide the world into “us” and “them.” Scapegoating and devaluing are important means of effecting this division. The cruelty unleashed upon the victim is promoted by the torturer’s need to believe that the world is just. One consequence of this belief is that interrogators view the prisoners as having brought their plight upon themselves. The victims, in effect, deserve what is happening to them; and their suffering, in the torturer’s eyes, justifies further mistreatment. These are not uncommon thought processes, and they rarely lead to brutality under normal circumstances. But they are the mental preconditions for mistreating another person, and thus they function as the psychic seeds of brutal dehumanization for those who are able to define the victims as an evil group posing a threat to social order or as a source of racial infection and impurity.⁴⁴

Torturers are mostly made, not born, and they have to be initiated into that perverse mentality gradually. Amnesty International has reported that guards who become torturers are often first posted just outside the interrogation cells, where they hear the sounds of beating from within. Then they are moved into the detention rooms, where they witness the degradation of the victim. Finally, if they get through these duties satisfactorily, they are “suddenly actively involved” and brought forth to beat the prisoners themselves.⁴⁵

Just as the torturers “lose their human nature,” so must the victim be made to feel that he has lost his spiritual way, and that he is also going to

lose part of his physical wholeness.⁴⁶ Dai Li's men used two types of torture to this end: the "tiger bench" (*laohu deng*) and "treading on the stick" (*dao gangzi*), both of which left the victim crippled.⁴⁷ SSD interrogators often applied this treatment to suspected Communists, whose bodies they wanted to maim. "The special agents, in order to force a revolutionary to come out with a new clue, would always want to use every means possible to torment the body of the revolutionary."⁴⁸ The desire to debase and deform was balanced by the drive for scientific efficiency. Secret policemen such as Shen Zui who taught "operations techniques" (*xingdong jishu*) to new recruits were always interested in developing more effective methods of torture and perfecting new devices, both of which were tried out within a day or so of their "invention" on prisoners in the Shanghai Station lockup before being incorporated into the Juntong training curriculum.⁴⁹ Psychologically, this "professional" and seemingly detached interest in "go[ing] about the business of torture" was part of what Robert J. Lifton calls "doubling": the development of "a full repertory of feelings and habits that are quite specific to [the torturer's] evil role" and that allow him "to revert to his ordinary self while away from work." Doubling is the key to doing day-to-day evil, and it explains how people can become immersed in activities that are so much out of keeping with the rest of their lives.⁵⁰

But doubling was not an entirely hermetic process. The brutalization that characterized the making of a torturer spilled over, and a bestialization of the entire personality gradually took place as taboo after taboo was broken within the confines of the torture chamber. Juntong torturers, for instance, engaged in cannibalism. Playing upon the term "chicken-hearted" (*dan xiao*, literally "with a small bladder or guts"), Dai Li's men would take the heart and liver from a murdered prisoner, fry the organs, and eat them, saying, "Eating someone's heart makes your own *dan* stronger."⁵¹ They also routinely raped young women, especially suspected Communists, with the blessings of Dai Li, who thought that this was a reward or "encouragement" (*guli*) to his operations agents for work well done.⁵²

The ranks of torturers obviously include more than an average share of sexual perverts or sexually obsessed people. Yet Amnesty International representatives who followed the trials of the ESA officers in Greece remarked that:

Although such sexual aberrations among torturers often attract considerable attention and deserve condemnation from well-meaning opponents of torture, it is important to see that these individual perversions are not the cause of a system of torture. Rather, once a system of torture has been created in order to support the political needs of those in power, the ruler's agents will exhibit patterns of behavior that they would not otherwise be in a position to do so. Social jealousy and sexual aggression are two cases in point.⁵³

Nevertheless, in the eyes of a Juntong officer himself, secret service interrogations of women, and especially of defiant young student radicals, were an opportunity for his men “to give vent to their bestial desires” by inflicting sexual pain and humiliation upon members of the opposite sex.⁵⁴

SSD agents seemed to save their cruelest and most sadistic outrages for the women in their custody. Their nipples were pierced with pins, bamboo slivers were driven into their fingernails, and their genitals were whipped with rattan canes. These were all tortures ultimately sanctioned by Dai Li, who used exactly the same cruelties himself against Yao Ying, the wife of the man who tried to assassinate Chiang Kai-shek and instead wounded Wang Jingwei in November 1935.⁵⁵

Sexual humiliation was almost too common to bear mention, with modest young women of good family being forced to strip off their clothing and expose themselves to their brutish torturers’ mockery and fondling. Occasionally, but only very seldom, was a woman able to shame her torturers in return. Shen Zui tells the story of Xu Yuanju’s interrogation of the Communist Jiang Zhuyun in Chongqing. After she disdainfully refused to answer his questions, Xu resorted to his usual practice (which he claimed in nine cases out of ten broke the will of the female prisoner) of ordering his men to strip off Jiang’s clothes. But she refused to be cowed, shouting back:

Do you think you can strike terror in me by humiliating me with your base methods of stripping me naked? But I say to you, do not forget that you were born of woman. Your mother is a woman; so are your wife, your daughter, and your sisters women. When you submit me to such humiliation, not only I but all the women on earth are being humiliated, which also includes your own mother! You have humiliated her too! If you have no sense of decency towards your mother, your sisters, and all women, then order your men to strip me!⁵⁶

At this point Shen Zui, who was observing the interrogation, “prodded [Xu] lightly with [his] foot and murmured, ‘Can’t you find some other way of dealing with her?’” Xu Yuanju fell back upon the tried-and-true method of driving bamboo splinters under her fingernails, but even that excruciating pain did not in the end bring Jiang to confess.⁵⁷

DISPOSAL

The victims of torture frequently died. Indeed, standing orders from Nanjing were that if a kidnapped suspect refused to waver under interrogation, then he or she should be killed and the corpse concealed or destroyed.⁵⁸ There were so many people who fell into the hands of the death squads and disappeared that, after 1949, many people claimed that acid baths or pools were used to dissolve their bodies. This was hardly necessary during the heyday of the secret service in Chongqing between 1945 and 1949, when bod-

ies were simply buried (often still alive) with impunity, and only occasionally was a corpse disfigured or burned to conceal the person's identity.⁵⁹ But in Shanghai, before the war, Dai Li's men did not want to have the victims' bodies discovered by the Concession police and the death squads' crimes denounced to the foreign authorities. They therefore conducted "experiments" (*shiyān*) with acid baths, but they discovered that the procedure was much more time-consuming and costly than they had anticipated.⁶⁰

Instead, they favored a cheaper and simpler method of disposal called "moving the corpse by transport" (*yī shì jiā huó*). After someone had been killed by Juntong, the body was dismembered and the grisly remains put in a trunk. Then the agents left the trunk in a deserted place or else carried it to the sidewalk and hired a ricksha boy to haul the container to a railroad station or hotel. At the first available opportunity the agents, who walked along behind the coolie pulling the laden ricksha, slipped away. When the ricksha boy reached his destination and found that his fares had disappeared, he would then, more often than not, take the trunk home thinking that he had fallen heir to foreign treasure until he opened it up and discovered what its gruesome contents really were.⁶¹

The death squads used other means of disposing of their victims' corpses. Sometimes, in order to mislead people into thinking that the death was a revenge for adultery, the agents would castrate male victims and stuff the dead man's genitals in his mouth. Other times they simply bundled the corpse into a sack and threw the body into the Huangpu River. But Dai Li preferred the *yī shì jiā huó* solution, believing that it was a tidy way of disposing of the thousands of persons who fell prey to secret police terror between 1928 and 1936, and ended up in the torture chambers of Zhao Lijun and his inquisitors.⁶²

Chapter 13

Assassinations

Dai Li was a sadist addicted to killing [canren shisha]. Not only did he want to kill Communists and patriotic democrats, as well as all those who were opposed to Chiang; but if any of the members inside Juntong offended him or his gang rules [bang gui] in the slightest way, then the jig was up. Those among them who were secretly executed would have to be counted in the thousands.

ANG EI AN, *Dai Li yu Juntong ju*, 138

REVOLUTIONARY ASSASSINATION

The first Chinese revolutionary to attempt political assassination was Shi Jianru, who tried, as a “man of determination” (*zhishi*), to kill Deshou, the Manchu governor of Guangdong in October 1900.¹ Although Shi had no developed rationale of his own for this suicidal effort, others influenced by Japanese anarchism and Russian nihilism began to enunciate a doctrine of sacrificial terrorism beginning in 1902. Yang Dusheng, a Chinese student at Waseda, learned of Russian revolutionary assassination efforts through the work of Kemuyama Sentaro, whose *Modern Anarchism* (*Kinsei Museifushugi*) was translated into Chinese under the title *Freedom's Blood* (*Ziyou xie*); and Yang subsequently helped Huang Xing, the Hunanese student leader, to found the first of several assassination corps that culminated in the formation of the Northern Assassination Corps (*Beifang ansha tuan*) in 1905.²

The Northern Assassination Corps was best known for its member Wu Yue, who tried to bombard a delegation of five government political reform commissioners at the Beijing Railroad Station in September 1905. Wu Yue blew himself up instead, but he left behind a tract called *Heaven's engeance* (*Tian tao*) that was published in April 1907 in the Revolutionary Alliance organ, *Minbao*. The tract called for “assassinationism” (*cishazhuyi*), quoting the reform movement martyr Tan Sitong; and it cited with admiration the conscripts' revolt led by Chen She against the tyrant of Qin as an example of the inspirational righteousness of the romantic *xia*, or medieval knight.³

Early on, then, the figure of the revolutionary assassin was cast with molds drawn both from the new world of international revolutionaries and from the traditional realm of self-sacrificing knights-errant and loyal retainers, pledged to avenge their masters' life and honor.⁴ Although partic-

ular motivations varied, the assassinations of Enming, governor of Anhui, in 1907 by Xu Xilin; of Fuqi and Fenshan in Guangdong in 1911; and of Liang Bi by Peng Jiazhen in January 1912 partook of these two traditions that converged most dramatically on the eve of the Xinhai Revolution in the famed effort by Wang Jingwei to blow up the Manchu regent Zaifeng (Prince Chun).⁵

Political assassination did not cease once the Qing dynasty was overthrown, but—as in the infamous conspiracy of Yuan Shikai to murder Song Jiaoren in 1913—revolutionary pretexts were often absent. Moreover, during this period of political fragmentation and reordering, when boundless ambitions flourished, adventurers in the *haohan* (manly fellow) tradition were not slow to present themselves as the leaders of armed men, mercenaries to some and loyal followers to other, willing and ready to serve as the “claws and teeth” of competing claimants to power. Dai Li was just such a leader himself, and he was by no means unique.⁶

WANG YAQIAO

In the early 1930s, for instance, readers of the “mosquito press” grew familiar with the name of Wang Yaqiao, who was eventually identified by the *Shanghai Times* as “public enemy number one,” a mysterious figure “widely known as a notorious assassin responsible for a number of political murders.”⁷ Wang, whose father was a country doctor who sold coffins on the side, was leader of the Anhui branch of Jiang Kanghu’s Chinese Socialist Party. Fleeing from local warlords to Shanghai in 1913, he became head of the Anhui Gang (Anhui bang) thanks to a band of “dare to die” hatchet-toting thugs who helped him control a number of labor unions and eventually followed him into the service of warlord Lu Yongxiang. Named commander of the Zhejiang Brigade Headquarters (Zhejiang zongdui siling) in 1923, Wang Yaqiao actually accepted Dai Li as one of his disciples, inviting him into his own home. According to later interviews conducted on Taiwan, Dai believed that the charismatic Wang was endowed with unique political skills. Because the “king of assassins” was able to attract support by projecting an aura of warm solicitude toward his followers, Dai Li reportedly emulated Wang and learned to muffle his own cold and harshly dominant style of leadership.⁸

Wang Yaqiao first appears in the Shanghai police files as a leader of mercenaries during the military struggles over control of the Yangzi delta in the spring and fall of 1923.⁹ He soon, however, appeared to take on a “radical” cast, first as a sympathizer of the Bolshevik Revolution, and later as an affiliate of the social democratic Chinese Racial Revolutionary Union and head of special services for the Nineteenth Route Army.¹⁰ In November of that same year, the Shanghai Municipal Police, always hypersensitive to the Bol-

shevik danger, became alarmed by Wang Yaqiao's activities in connection with the pro-Russian leanings of certain Chinese labor organizations. On November 7, 1923, the Chinese National Laborers Salvation Society, which had its headquarters in an office near St. Catherine's Bridge in Shanghai, sent a telegram of congratulations to the Soviet representative in Beijing, extending congratulations on the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Russian Republic and acting for the southwestern warlords in seeking an alliance with Russia:

This day six years ago Russia became a republic. The Chinese laborers have the pleasure of congratulating you on this occasion and take this opportunity to express our wishes for your success and to request you to leave Peking at once and proceed to the south to sign a Russo-Chinese commercial treaty with the government of the Southwest. The friendly relations between China and Russia will thus be upheld, and the peoples of the two nations will benefit.¹¹

Wang Yaqiao, who was the organizer and chairman of the society, had personally presided over the meeting that drafted the telegram.¹²

However high-minded and patriotic Wang Yaqiao's motives might have been as leader of the Laborers Salvation Society, he was at the very same time deeply involved in the intrigues and machinations surrounding the monopolization of illegal narcotics in the Shanghai area. Three days after the meeting was held to draft the telegram to the Russian representative, the Chinese general who was in charge of the native constabulary of Shanghai and Song-Hu was assassinated. The murder of General Xu Guoliang on November 10, 1923, was perpetrated by a man named Li Dasheng. Li, alias Zheng Yiming, was a follower of Wang Yaqiao and was said to have been acting on his master's orders. Wang in turn was believed to have ordered the killing both to resolve a jurisdictional squabble and to remove a police official—Xu Guoliang—who refused to condone the massive traffic in opiates through Shanghai.¹³

The jurisdictional squabble was related to the struggle then taking place between the Jiangsu *dujun* (warlord) who was military governor of Nanjing, General Qi Xieyuan, and the Zhejiang warlord General He Fengling.¹⁴ The official version of this affair, which was issued by General Qi's representative fifteen days after the assassination took place, claimed that He Fengling had become jealous of Xu Guoliang after he had been named superintendent general of the constabulary by Governor Ji.¹⁵ But Qi Xieyuan himself readily admitted that the immediate reason for Xu Guoliang's murder was the narcotics traffic. In an interview that appeared on January 8, 1924, in the *North China Daily News*, Governor Qi said:

General Hsu was in the way of a gang of official opium smugglers. He tried to stop the smuggling but met with little success. In fact, his efforts to expose

those connected with the affair resulted in his death. He managed, however, to report the affairs of this official gang to the civil governor just before his death and made it plain that those in charge of the affairs of the gang wanted the money for war purposes and wanted to murder him.¹⁶

The two reasons were obviously connected: if one of the two warring sides could establish a narcotics monopoly in Shanghai, then the revenue from that source would help finance the military preparations that would in turn guarantee victory and ultimate control over the city's drug trade. Since it was in Qi's interest to keep that source of revenue out of his enemies' hands, supposed opium suppression was one facet of an all-around policy of depriving the Zhejiang warlords, Lu Yongxiang and He Fengling, from additional funds.¹⁷

Hence, once Governor Qi's government announced plans to establish a police office at Shanghai under Xu Guoliang's aegis to stop opium and arms smuggling, He Fengling countered by setting up an office of his own under military jurisdiction at Wusong ostensibly to control smuggling. Actually, the Song-Hu opium control office abetted, rather than prevented, smuggling. Its director, a man nominated by Lu Yongxiang's chief of staff, was a smuggler operating in cahoots with the three leading racketeers of Shanghai: Du Yuesheng, Huang Jinrong, and Zhang Xiaolin.¹⁸

Together, the racketeers and the Zhejiang warlords organized a company that acquired a small fleet of steam launches and motorboats to smuggle the drugs to wholesale dealers. Protected by the warlords' soldiers, the dope dealers were able to garner profits of more than one million Mexican dollars per year that they shared with their military patrons. Forty percent of the proceeds, or about one thousand Mexican dollars per day, went to the military governor's yamen; 40 percent more went to the gangsters in the French Concession; and 20 percent went to the authorities in Hangzhou.¹⁹

General Xu Guoliang not only refused to partake of these spoils; when he learned that the bribes were being funneled through the Wusong garrison command, he accosted the officer in charge of the operation and threatened to expose him.²⁰ This interference, plus General Xu's vaunted incorruptibility ("It is a well-known fact that General Xu did not receive any money on opium smuggling"), supposedly marked him for death.²¹ According to one account, Wang Yaqiao was contacted at this point to arrange for the assassination. He in turn got in touch with two members of the military police and promised them forty thousand taels for the murder. They then engaged a third person, who had a contact within the detective squad of the Shanghai arsenal. This was the person who finally carried out the attempt, successfully assassinating Xu Guoliang. Wang Yaqiao's involvement in the affair seemed confirmed shortly thereafter, when Wang suddenly left his haunts in Shanghai and showed up in Hangzhou at the head of a military

unit, said by some to be the reward for his having arranged the assassination in the first place.²²

The reward was short-lived. In September 1924 Lu Yongxiang—Wang Yaqiao's Zhejiang warlord patron—was defeated and had to flee to Japan. Once again Wang bolted to Shanghai with two hundred of his followers, where he resumed his racketeering activities as head of the Anhui Gang. Dai Li quickly grew disillusioned. Wang was clearly not the charismatic strategist Dai had taken him to be; he was really no more than a gangland chief. And so the future secret service chief took his leave, stepping onto the path that would soon lead him to the Whampoa Military Academy.²³

Thereafter Wang Yaqiao surfaced from time to time in one prominent assassination case after the other. On July 24, 1930, Zhao Tieqiao, former managing director of the China Merchants Steam Navigation Company, was murdered. According to police reports, the assassins were agents of Wang Yaqiao, whose brother Wang Zeh Chao, a lawyer practicing in Shanghai, was later arrested by the Shanghai Municipal Police and eventually handed over to the Chinese authorities.²⁴ A year later, in July 1931, gunmen tried to kill T. V. Soong at Shanghai's North Railway Station, and in the attempt they murdered his secretary; Wang Yaqiao was accused of organizing that assassination as well.²⁵ And again, nominally as a freelancer, Wang was believed to have planned to assassinate members of the inquiry mission sent to China by the League of Nations to investigate the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931. The plot against the League of Nations investigation team was frustrated due to the close surveillance and protection provided by the Shanghai Municipal Police.²⁶

Wang Yaqiao certainly had collective backers, to whom he may have had to turn for help after the central government offered a reward of Mex. 100,000 for his arrest.²⁷ In 1932 Wang sought out the protection of General Chen Mingshu, the leader of the Fujian People's Government; and he became a close follower of the general, serving as the head of his special services section.²⁸ After the 1933 Fujian Incident, when Li Jishen and Chen Mingshu established a separatist government in that province, Wang Yaqiao offered his services to Chiang Kai-shek, asking Chiang's secret agent, Fan Hanjie, to arrange his defection to the Generalissimo. But the covert alliance collapsed when Chiang turned the affair over to Dai Li, whom Wang by then openly held in contempt; and the master assassin instead sought the patronage of Chiang's enemies in the Guangxi clique.²⁹

The connection between patrons and client, however, was largely nominal. Wang Yaqiao remained a maverick, operating according to his own whims and with access to his own personal resources. And such a romantic image of the assassin as a maverick persisted to a certain extent through the 1930s and early 1940s, when political murder was extended, as we shall see, to puppet collaborators and Japanese colonialists.³⁰

THE ORGANIZATION OF ASSASSINATION

In reality, however, assassination was more of a group business, and the secret organizations created by the ruling party to exterminate the Communists were political instruments that stressed blind obedience to Chiang Kai-shek and the Party Center.³¹ The men and women who joined the Shanghai Municipality Comrades Association for the Elimination of Communists had to fill out members' pledges, complete registration forms, and agree to abide by the elaborate sets of secret rules that governed relationships with friends, other members, and officers of the association.³² And as technicians of homicide, the Special Services Department assassins of the 1930s drew more upon the modern practices of secret service hit teams and group training units than the legends and tales of individual heroes.³³

The primary clandestine outfit in central China charged with political homicide by Dai Li's secret service was staffed by men—including the group leader Mao Sen—who were all graduates of the Juntong training unit at Linli, where they were taught the skills of the knife and gun.³⁴ The same kind of collective discipline was shared by the members of the SSD's North China Zone Action Unit (Huabei qu xingdong zu) such as Bai Shiwei, Huang Siqin, and Chen Gongshu.³⁵

Chiang Kai-shek was said to be extremely impressed by the successful kidnapping and assassination operations of the SSD's North China Zone office, and especially by the killings of Ji Hongchang and of Zhang Jingyao, both of whom he personally ordered Dai Li to dispatch.³⁶ Zhang Jingyao was ordered killed after the Henanese warlord began to intrigue with the Japanese, and Dai Li entrusted the mission to the section chief of the north China section of the Special Services Department, Zheng Jiemin.³⁷ The section chief in turn ordered operations agent (*xingdongyuan*) Bai Shiwei, who was a graduate of the seventh class of the Whampoa Academy, to take charge of the case.³⁸

To his admirers in the secret service, Bai (who was descended from Manchu bannermen) was cast in the mold of a traditional *haojie* (courageous brave). "Bai Shiwei had the fabulous flair and quality of the valiant of Yan and Zhao. He was generous, straightforward, gallant, and yet observant of details. He was both calm and brave."³⁹ On the morning of May 7, 1933, at 8 A.M., Bai Shiwei, together with his classmates Wang Tianmu and Chen Gongshu, met Zheng Jiemin in a safe house at No. 18-A Beichang Street, in Beiping. Zheng told Bai:

You must successfully accomplish your mission, or else you must at least seek to end your life with that of the enemy *tong gui yu jin*. You must avoid falling into the hands of the Japanese at all cost. Your capture would give the Japanese militarists further excuses for invasion, and would put our government

in a difficult position. The chance of your safe return is slim. What will be the words to your family, should the unfortunate happen?"⁴⁰

Bai replied, "I have parents, two older brothers, a wife, and an infant daughter, Zonghui. We have some property, and my family will not have problems making a living. Should I die, I hope that the government will take care of my parents, wife, and daughter. I will die in peace."⁴¹

Zhang Jingyao occupied rooms in the Liuguo Hotel in Beiping. That same day, May 7, Bai Shiwei, full of "dignity and the determination to kill," tracked the warlord to his quarters. He forced his way into the suite and shot the general down.⁴² The screams of the warlord's female companion brought hotel waiters and managers running, but they were so awed by Bai Shiwei's intimidating manner that they let the assassin get away. General Zhang succumbed to his assailant's bullets and died in the arms of his female companion. Bai, who after his escape survived the War of Resistance, became chief of the Tainan city police after 1949, and eventually served as a member of the Legislative Yuan on Taiwan in the 1950s.⁴³

Dai Li's other target, Ji Hongchang, had fallen afoul of Chiang Kai-shek after he had become deputy commander of Feng Yuxiang's Chahar People's Anti-Japanese Allied Army (Minzhong kang-Ri tongmeng jun), which was the 200,000-man force organized in May 1933, when the Tanggu Truce was signed with the Japanese. After Chiang forced Feng Yuxiang to resign his command, Feng's deputy commanders, including Ji Hongchang, were tricked into surrender.⁴⁴ When they were ordered arrested, however, the Nationalist general in charge of the operation balked and instead provided Ji Hongchang with transportation to Tianjin, where he took refuge in the relative safety of the city's foreign settlements. There, Ji evaded Chiang Kai-shek's agents by renting accommodations in the French Concession's National Hotel (Guomin fandan).⁴⁵

After Chiang told Dai Li to kill Ji Hongchang, the secret service chief arranged for the Huabei district office of the Special Services Department to assign the head of the operations squad (*xingdongzu*), Chen Gongshu, to the assassination.⁴⁶ On November 9, 1933, Chen and another operations squad agent, Lü Yimin, went to the Guomin fandan to kill Ji. The attack failed. Ji was only wounded by a ricochet in the shoulder, and another man, Wang Hua'nán, was killed by mistake.⁴⁷ The incident did help provoke the French Concession police to arrest Ji Hongchang, who was extradited at Chiang Kai-shek's orders and handed over to the Beiping Military Police headquarters. In the course of an investigation conducted by He Yingqin in his capacity as head of the Military Affairs Commission in Beiping, Ji Hongchang acknowledged that he was a Communist Party member. However, he refused to recant, and on November 24, 1933, is said to have died a martyr's death.⁴⁸

Ji Hongchang's execution was considered one of Dai Li's great coups in north China during Juntong's early days.⁴⁹ His most famous analogous accomplishment in the south—an act that became known in SSD lore as a *jiechu zhi zuo*, an “exceptional deed”—was the assassination of Yang Xingfo on June 18, 1933, in the Shanghai French Concession.⁵⁰

THE KILLING OF YANG XINGFO

The Yang Xingfo assassination was intimately connected with the foundation of the Chinese League for the Protection of Human Rights (*Zhongguo renquan baozhang tongmeng*), which in turn was connected with the death of Deng Yanda, leader of the left wing of the Guomindang. On August 19, 1931, the Guomindang left wing had sent Deng Yanda to preside over the closing ceremonies for the Third Party Cadres Training Course. This provided an opportunity for Chiang Kai-shek's men to seize Deng and hold him in prison, where he was personally interrogated and chastised by the Generalissimo. After four months in captivity Deng was ordered killed by Chiang Kai-shek; and on December 29 the head of Chiang's bodyguard, Wang Shihe, secretly executed Deng at Shazigang outside the Qilin Gate of Nanjing. However, the disappearance of one of Chiang's major political opponents could not be kept concealed for long, and as news of the heinous affair spread, it created a public furor.⁵¹

As yet one more example of the abuse of citizens' rights by the secret services of the Chiang regime, the death of Deng Yanda added fuel to the campaign to condemn the government for human rights violations. In December 1932 a group of some of the nation's most prestigious intellectuals, including Cai Yuanpei, Song Qingling (Soong Ching Ling), Lu Xun, Ma Xiangbo, Shen Junru, and Shi Liangcai, came together to found the Chinese League for the Protection of Human Rights. The chief secretary (*zongganshi*) and vice chairman (*fuhuizhang*) of the league, which quickly became known in liberal and progressive circles around the world, was Yang Xingfo.⁵²

Yang Xingfo (Yang Quan) was a graduate of Qinghua University who had studied abroad at Columbia University.⁵³ At the time of his involvement in the *Zhongguo renquan baozhang tongmeng* he was serving as both a deputy of the Shanghai government and one of the engineering officials for the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum. His wife, Zhao Zhidao, and he were living then in Shanghai's French Concession at No. 7 Mingdeli, on Huanlong Road, not far from the headquarters of the league at No. 331 Yaepei Road. The decision to have him killed was evidently made by Chiang Kai-shek both in a fit of pique about Yang's activities in the league and as a way of frightening others from engaging in similar protest movements.⁵⁴

The league had already infuriated Chiang by publishing an English-language announcement of the death of Deng Yanda in Shanghai and foreign newspapers.⁵⁵ Furthermore, early in 1933, in the wake of the Manchurian Incident and the Shanghai hostilities, Yang Xingfo had made a trip to north China to try to drum up support for a national alliance against the Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek was furious, and sometime in March or April of 1933, Dai Li received orders from his leader to arrange for Yang's assassination. The secret service chief promptly established a temporary headquarters in Shanghai to oversee the project.⁵⁶

Dai Li's first step was to set up surveillance to determine Yang Xingfo's daily habits. His men soon discovered that Yang regularly went for a one- or two-hour horseback ride every day outside the French Concession. They quickly developed a plan to accost and kill him during his exercise period. Chiang Kai-shek did not agree with this plan. He thought that Yang should be killed in the French Concession, where his death would have a greater impact on Song Qingling. Dai Li, who believed that one of the major points of the exercise was to intimidate other members of the league, naturally agreed, and new plans called for killing Yang somewhere near the Academia Sinica offices, which were located in a part of the French Concession where there were relatively few pedestrians.⁵⁷

The hit squad was led by Zhao Lijun, chief of the operations group, who took with him Li Ada, Guo Decheng, and Shi Yunfei.⁵⁸ On June 18, 1933, the assassins—each of who had sworn to the others not to let himself be captured alive—hid themselves in the freight doorway of the international publications division of the Academia Sinica on Yaepei Road. As Yang Xingfo's car pulled up in front of the door, the killers stepped forward and opened fire. Yang was hit ten times. In the fracas one of the gunmen, Guo Decheng, became confused and ran into the line of fire of Zhao Lijun, who wounded him by accident. Guo was subsequently arrested by the French Concession police—his suicide oath notwithstanding—and had to be silenced later by Dai Li's agents.⁵⁹ The rest of the assailants escaped. Yang, mortally struck, was taken to the Guangci Hospital on Jinshenfu Road, where he died from his gunshot wounds.⁶⁰

Yang Xingfo's assassination was a cause célèbre. Song Qingling published a stirring announcement:

These people and their hired thugs think that by relying on force, kidnapping, torture and assassination they can crush the struggle for freedom. . . . But, far from being crushed, we shall battle on more staunchly because Yang Quan has lost his life for aspiring to freedom. We shall redouble our efforts until we attain our goal.⁶¹

Lu Xun wrote in a more melancholic vein a poetic lament that read:

My fire of days gone by is chilled.
 Whether flowers bloom or fade;
 I did not think in the tears of the southern rain;
 To weep again for this fine son of China.⁶²

And when the final funeral procession was held, fittingly enough in a warm summer rain on June 20, both Song Qingling and Lu Xun risked their own lives by marching with the retinue.⁶³

Song Qingling was under constant surveillance during this entire period, and Dai Li's men made several attempts to suborn one of her female servants. Each effort failed. Furthermore, the plainclothesmen charged with the surveillance merely took note of the comings and goings of visitors, writing down license plate numbers but never following the callers back to their own homes. The watchers did report, however, that Song Qingling appeared undaunted by Yang Xingfo's death, and Chiang Kai-shek was so angered by her courageous poise that he supposedly ordered Dai Li to put the fear of death in her by arranging for an auto accident. Shen Zui set about solving the technical details (including the provision of shatterproof glass for their own European sedan, which was to be the instrument of punishment), but at the last minute Chiang grew afraid that his secret servicemen would inadvertently kill Song Qingling in the process, and he called off the assault, lest his wife and brother-in-law become furious with him for having harmed their sister.⁶⁴

Song Qingling's courageous composure in the wake of Yang Xingfo's assassination helped galvanize international opinion against the excesses of the Chiang regime. If the murder had a deterrent effect on some Chinese liberals, it also brought disrepute and dishonor to the Generalissimo's government. On July 19, 1933, the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury* published an article entitled "Mysterious Document Marks 55 Chinese Leaders on Death List for Assassination by Fascists—General Chiang Kai-shek Depicted as Ordering Murderous Activities of Blue Shirts' to Strengthen Personal Power." Aroused by Yang Xingfo's death, the public was said to be agitated over news of a "mysterious document" that supposedly emanated from the "secret Blue Gown or Chinese Fascist organization" of Chiang Kai-shek and that contained orders for wholesale assassinations. A copy of this document had been received, it seemed, by Harold Isaacs's *China Forum* directly from the Communists' Central Press Agency (Zhongyangshe) in Guangzhou. According to the *China Forum* report, the document—which was dated June 15, three days before Yang Xingfo's death—not only marked Chinese Communist leaders for assassination, but it also extended the targets to Nationalist rivals of Chiang such as Hu Hanmin.⁶⁵

COMMUNIST COUNTERMEASURES

Of course, the Communists were not without assassination plans and experience of their own. They had their own operations unit in the Party's Special Department in Shanghai, the duties of which included the punishment of traitors. Contemporary journalists reported the killings of hundreds of "renegades," mill foremen, detectives, guild officials, gangsters, philanthropists, key industrialists, noncooperative labor leaders, and Nationalist agents over the course of the 1930s by specially trained Communist assassination squads furnished with municipal maps, special weapons, and detailed operations plans.⁶⁶

The most infamous case was the murder of Gu Shunzhang's family after he defected to the Nationalists in 1931.⁶⁷ Gu, who worked for the Nanyang Brothers Tobacco Company, had been in charge of the secret service department of the Chinese Communist Party, working first under, and then over, Zhou Enlai.⁶⁸ Gu, who had the air of a Shanghai playboy about him and belonged to the infamous Green Gang, was a master of disguise and deception. He often posed as a famous magician named Hua Guangqi, and his ability to move unnoticed past the police of a dozen different foreign concessions was legendary.⁶⁹ When he was captured by agents of the Central Statistics Bureau (Zhongtong) in Hankou it was a terrible blow to the CCP security apparatus.⁷⁰ The Communists were able to cut some of their losses, thanks to a mole placed high in the ranks of the CSB.⁷¹ But Gu Shunzhang's defection (he went on to become head of the "converts," or *zishou* clique of former Communist "renegades," within the Nationalist secret services) led to numerous arrests and the death of the CCP secretary-general, Xiang Zhongfa, among others.⁷²

In self-defense, the Politburo decided at a meeting in September 1931 to make an example of Gu, and it entrusted the task of retaliation to Zhou Enlai, who had already shown that he was capable of taking care of traitors among his closest followers.⁷³ Zhou subsequently ordered one of Gu's former lieutenants, Wang Shide, to liquidate the entire Gu family.⁷⁴ Wang, who was said by foreigners to resemble a "consumptive Chinese tailor," murdered Gu Shunzhang's wife, his parents-in-law, and his brother-in-law, and buried the corpses beneath an apartment in the French Concession.⁷⁵ Gu's young son, Ansheng, was spared.⁷⁶ When Wang Shide was captured by the government, he helped the French Concession police uncover the gruesome site. As a result, Zhou Enlai was charged with the crime and placed on the wanted lists of the Shanghai Municipal Police and the Public Safety Bureau.⁷⁷

Throughout this secret war between Nationalist and Communist assassins, each side steadfastly discounted the accusations of the other.⁷⁸ The publication by Isaacs of the Blue Shirts document issued by the Central

Press Agency thus led Nationalist representatives to claim that this was a baseless piece of disinformation fabricated by the Communists' "anti-government [press] organ."⁷⁹ Shanghai mayor Wu Tiecheng even filed a formal protest with the American consul general in Shanghai, complaining about calumnious articles in the *Shanghai Evening Post* concerning the Blue Shirts Society.⁸⁰

Yet the policy of assassination was not abandoned—at least as far as the mosquito press was concerned. On August 12, 1933, *Xiao gongbao* claimed to have gotten hold of the assassination plans of the Blue Shirts Society, which had been training agents to attack Chiang Kai-shek's enemies.

Since their return to Shanghai from Lushan to await instructions from General Chiang Kai-shek, local assassination members of the society have been becoming increasingly active. Drastic training of secret service members is underway in the headquarters of the society, and the selection of assassination members to carry out the work in all districts is being made.⁸¹

This elaborate scheme listed fifty-seven agents divided into fourteen different corps under the leadership of Dai Li and Zhao Yongxing: six corps in the French Concession, five in the International Settlement, and three throughout the Chinese parts of the city.⁸² These terrorists, who were said to be armed with pistols, were supposedly disguised as ricksha coolies, fortune-tellers, hawkers, and other members of the city's lowlife. Their assignment was to locate the whereabouts of persons on the Generalissimo's hit list, and then kill them on sight.⁸³

Whatever the truth of sensational accounts such as these, which fed upon public rumor and concern, there was substance to fears that another major opponent of the regime would be struck down by Dai Li's men. Despite negative public opinion, Chiang Kai-shek had by the time of these reports already ordered preparations for the murder of a second leading member of the League for the Protection of Human Rights: the editor of *Shenbao*, Shi Liangcai.⁸⁴

THE MURDER OF SHI LIANGCAI

Shi Liangcai was marked for murder for three reasons.⁸⁵ One was his continuing involvement in the League for the Protection of Human Rights and his newspaper's vociferous condemnation of the government's assassination of Yang Xingfo.⁸⁶ A second was Shi's vigorous public support for a strong policy of resistance against Japanese aggression. After the January 28, 1932, war with Japan broke out in Shanghai, Shi Liangcai publicly contributed his own money to provide military rations for the Nineteenth Route Army, which was courageously defending the city in marked and seemingly deliberate contrast to Chiang's pusillanimity.⁸⁷ The third reason had to do with

the government's policy of "partification" (*danghua*) of education, which was being carried out by the new minister of education Zhu Jiahua, whose police background did not bode well for the academy. Zhu had gotten his doctoral degree in geology from Berlin University, and was "credited with being an admirer of the Nazi form of government."⁸⁸

In 1932, when Zhu became minister of education, he was replaced as president of Central University (Zhongyang daxue) by Duan Xipeng, a leading right-wing ideologue who had been a prominent member of the Anti-Bolshevik League. The students at Zhongyang daxue had shrilly resisted Duan's appointment, and when he showed up to take over his new position a riot broke out, with the students physically attacking the new president and driving him off the campus. The government retaliated by arresting sixty of the students, including their leaders Wang Zhiliang and Qian Qiming. Shi Liangcai's *Shenbao* actively attacked these moves as reactionary components of a larger strategy designed to suppress Chiang's internal opponents while he bought time from the Japanese by refusing to mount a united opposition against the external aggressors.⁸⁹

These charges, which were made by the chief editor of *Shenbao*, Li Liewen, in his column "Free Talk" (Ziyu tan), infuriated Chiang and his supporters. When Wu Xingya, head of the Guomindang Social Affairs Bureau and a leader of the right-wing youth movement, demanded that Li Liewen be dismissed, Shi Liangcai refused. The conjunction of all three causes, and especially the dramatic linkage that *Shenbao* drew between internal persecution of liberal human rights proponents and external appeasement of the Japanese, constituted a direct provocation to Chiang Kai-shek.⁹⁰ Sometime in the fall or early winter of 1933, consequently, Chiang commanded Dai Li to make ready to assassinate Shi Liangcai, who was then serving in one of the most prominent public positions in Shanghai: head of the Chinese Municipal Council.⁹¹

Dai Li originally planned to conduct the assassination operation in Shanghai, but Shi Liangcai lived in the International Settlement, where police protection was difficult to circumvent. In October 1934, however, Shi decided to leave the sanctuary of the International Settlement and take his family for a holiday to Hangzhou, where he had rented the Autumn Waters Mountain Villa (Qiyushui shanzhuang) off West Lake. Dai Li moved quickly. An operations squad of six men headed by Zhao Lijun and his deputy Wang Kequan was assembled and sent to Hangzhou.⁹²

Also, in addition to cabling a request for assistance to Zhao Longwen, the chief of the Zhejiang provincial police force, Dai Li had one of the SSD chauffeurs, Zhang Bingwu, drive a black Buick limousine from Nanjing headquarters at 53 Chicken Goose Lane down to the Hangzhou Police Academy.⁹³ With the help of one of the instructors, Jin Minjie, the car was

repainted and fitted with a new license plate so that it resembled one of the cars from the Nanjing Salt Gabelle Bank (Yanye yinhang).⁹⁴

On November 14, 1934, Shi Liangcai and his family wound up their holiday and prepared to return to their Shanghai residence by chauffeured automobile. The party, which included Shi's wife Shen Qiushui, his son Shi Yonggeng, his niece Shen Lijuan, and his son's schoolmate Deng Zuxun, took the Hu-Hang highway. As the car drew near Boai zhen, not far from the harbor of Wengjia in Haining county, they came across another automobile drawn athwart the highway. Shi's chauffeur, Huang Jincai, slowed down, and just as he was rolling to a stop the doors of the other car opened and the assassins jumped out with drawn guns. In the first hail of bullets the chauffeur and schoolmate were shot dead. The others tried to flee across a nearby field. Mrs. Shi was hit and fell wounded, as was her niece. Shi Yonggeng, the son, managed to run to safety. But Shi Liangcai, who tried to hide in a dry drainage ditch, was shot in the head by Zhao Lijun, his body riddled with bullets by the other assassins who clambered into the Buick to make good their escape. Although alarms were quickly sounded, Police Chief Zhao Longwen had tied up all of his mobile brigades by calling a meeting of the Hushu and Xiaohe police precinct stations as well as of the motorcar inspection personnel (*qiche jiancha zhan ren yuan*), so that Zhao Lijun and his men were able to drive back into Jiangsu without being stopped. By then Dai Li already knew that the mission was successful, for Chief Zhao had sent a coded message to the SSD via Dai's brother-in-law, Mao Zongliang, reporting that "one set of the twenty-four [dynastic] histories has already been bought at Hangzhou."⁹⁵

Somehow, for all of their planning, Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Li had failed to foresee the tremendous hubbub both inside and outside China that would be caused by the brutal killings and woundings of Shi Liangcai and his family.⁹⁶ As one public figure after another expressed outrage over the terrorist act, the entire body of members of the Shanghai Chinese Municipal Council resigned in protest.⁹⁷ And although their resignations were rejected by the municipal government, Nanjing was forced to make other gestures to alleviate the overwhelmingly hostile public opinion. Chiang Kai-shek cabled a set of mournful condolences to Shi Liangcai's family and charged the chairman of the provincial government of Zhejiang, Lu Diping, with special responsibility for solving the heinous crime. Zhao Longwen made a great show of trying to run down the murderers, offering ten thousand yuan as a reward for information leading to the arrest of the assailants. But Zhao had to flee the glare of public opprobrium by leaving for England to join H. H. Kung in attending the coronation ceremonies of George VI in May 1937.⁹⁸ And because the case never was broken, Lu Diping felt duty-bound to resign as governor. Lu went on to become head of the Military Af-

fairs Commission Staff College (Junshi canyiyuan), but he was still in disgrace when he died of illness shortly afterward.⁹⁹

Political assassination was soon to become inextricably linked with anti-Japanese terrorism, first in north China during and after the Great Wall War, and then in the south after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. In the meantime, Wang Yaqiao, the “king of assassins,” continued to inflame the public’s imagination, especially after the sensational attack on Wang Jingwei’s life at the meeting of the Sixth Central Committee of the Fourth Plenum of the Guomindang in Nanjing in November 1935.¹⁰⁰

THE WOUNDING OF WANG JINGWEI

The *attentat* was as dramatic and arresting an incident as anything the public had witnessed that year. On November 1, as the Central Committee was launching its formal opening ceremonies, the committee members lined up to have their presence at the gathering commemorated by official and press photographers. Chiang Kai-shek was supposed to be in the group photograph, but he was in the washroom when the picture taking began.¹⁰¹ The rest of the notables lined up around and alongside the leading figure present, which happened to be Wang Jingwei. As the photographers prepared to take pictures, one of the press cameramen, bearing an identification pass from the Chenguang Information Agency (Chenguang tongxunshe), fiddled with his camera, which suddenly erupted with a flash and a bang. At that same moment Wang Jingwei fell to the ground wounded. The camera was actually a camouflaged weapon that concealed a small-caliber gun, fired through the lens.¹⁰²

As Wang Jingwei fell a melee broke out in the auditorium. Wang’s chief bodyguard fired at the photographer, whom he struck, and two of the other national leaders on the dais, Zhang Xueliang and Zhang Ji, grappled with the assailant and knocked him down.¹⁰³ Fortunately, Wang Jingwei was not mortally wounded. But that did not deter his wife, Chen Bijun, from angrily accusing Chiang Kai-shek of engineering the murder attempt. Chiang himself was infuriated by the accusation, and he angrily called in Dai Li and ordered that no stone be left unturned in finding out who was behind the plot.¹⁰⁴

Dai Li conducted the interrogation of the wounded attacker, Sun Fengming, personally, first trying to find out how the photographer had gotten a pass to attend the opening ceremony as a journalist. The answer to that question led Dai Li in two different directions. The first direction was toward his comrades in the Society for Vigorous Practice, and beyond them to Chiang Kai-shek himself; and the second was away from the Whampoa Blue Shirts and toward Chiang’s opponents in the Nineteenth Route Army.

Sun Fengming first confessed to having an accomplice in the Central Mil-

itary Academy. This officer turned out to be none other than Chen Guangguo, the headquarters assistant (*zhushu*) to the secretary-general of the Lixingshe, Feng Ti. Dai Li immediately conveyed this information to Chiang Kai-shek, who appeared shocked to learn of Chen's involvement and instantly convened a meeting of all Lixingshe staff officers and inspectors. According to Gan Guoxun, who was present at the meeting:

After they were all seated, [Chiang Kai-shek] raised his eyes and looked around. He said, "Why isn't Feng Ti here?" No one responded. He immediately ordered Dai Li to summon Feng Ti. Shortly after that Feng Ti arrived. As soon as he sat down, Chiang Kai-shek said, "Who told you to appoint Chen Guangguo?" Feng Ti [at first] did not answer. Then he admitted that it was naturally he himself who had appointed him. Chiang Kai-shek said angrily, "For a position as important as this, you make appointments without asking for any indications of my preference? You never brought this up at the general meeting for discussion and adoption. This is really a case of idiots taking things in their own hands, and now he is involved in the Wang Jingwei assassination case! Since you never gave a thought to the safety of my life, then I do not care for your life either." All of a sudden it became very tense. Feng Ti said, "Let the Leader please punish." Chiang Kai-shek said, "Do you think punishment will take care of this?" He Zhonghan got up with tears streaming down his face: "Comrade Feng has always been loyal and faithful. This time, because of his negligence, he made a major mistake. All of us should assume responsibility. Let the Leader please punish us."¹⁰⁵

Feng Ti's life was saved by Dai Li's second line of investigation. During his interrogation, Sun Fengming also implicated members of the Chenguang Information Agency, including the owner Hua Kezhi, editor in chief Zhang Yuhua, and section chief He Boguang.¹⁰⁶ All three of these men were instantly placed on a wanted list by both Dai Li's SSD and Chen Lifu's Central Statistical Bureau.¹⁰⁷

Dai Li's men captured Zhang Yuhua, who broke his leg while trying to escape arrest at the Cangzhou Restaurant in Nanjing. At the same time CSB agents were able to nab He Boguang, whom they tracked down to a hideout in Danyang (Jiangsu) after interrogating his mistress.¹⁰⁸ Neither secret service managed to arrest Hua Kezhi, who was living in the International Settlement then, and who got away before they could seize him.¹⁰⁹

Nevertheless, Hua Kezhi's complicity established a connection between the plotters and the "king of assassins" Wang Yaqiao. Hua Kezhi was known to be one of Wang's right-hand men and was implicated in a series of murders of Japanese sailors and civilians—including the Nakayama and Taminato killings—between 1935 and 1936.¹¹⁰

This connection led in turn to the diehards of the Nineteenth Route Army, for Nationalist authorities had reasons to believe that these killings were deliberate provocations undertaken by the Communists in cahoots

with former officers of the Nineteenth Route Army operating out of the Burlington Hotel, a property owned by General Chen Mingshu in Shanghai. In November 1934, the Shanghai PSB had requested the help of the Shanghai Municipal Police in keeping track of former officers of the Nineteenth Route Army, tracing the comings and goings of suspicious characters at the railroad station, and paying special visits to hotels to catch assassination teams by surprise. The reason for this heightened caution, the Chinese authorities said, was that they had received information that the Communist parties of China, Japan, and Korea had decided “in collusion with ex-officers of the Nineteenth Route Army, one of whom is named Chu, to organize a group in Shanghai to assassinate important leaders of the Guomindang and leading Japanese personages, including HIJIM’s minister, with a view to embarrassing the Guomindang and causing a serious breach between China and Japan.”¹¹¹

THE KING OF ASSASSINS

After the Wang Jingwei assassination attempt, this belief in a Communist plot waned, and the Nationalist police authorities came to feel that the Nineteenth Route Army group was operating on its own accord but with the help of Wang Yaqiao and his band of professional killers. SSD agents understood that Wang Yaqiao had managed to escape to Hong Kong; and soon reports in the press were linking Wang Yaqiao with his patrons in the Reorganization clique (Gaizu pai), Generals Chen Mingshu and Li Jishen, who were supposed to have ordered him to mount an assassination attempt against either Chiang Kai-shek or Wang Jingwei or both.¹¹²

The linkage was only circumstantial, however, until Dai Li’s detectives supplied direct evidence from successive interrogations of Zhang Yuhua and Sun Fengming, who were questioned in the hospital daily, of the complicity of Yu Likui, who had close connections with the Reorganization clique in Hong Kong. The real break came with the arrest of Sun Fengming’s wife, Cui Zhengyao, who was spotted in the Xinya Restaurant on Sichuan Road in Shanghai. Dai Li personally conducted the interrogation, which was one of the few occasions on which he directly engaged in the cruelest torture, and when Cui Zhengyao broke she not only implicated Yu Likui; she also betrayed Zhou Shiping and Hu Dahai—men whose membership in the Reorganization clique finally convinced Chen Bijun that Chiang Kai-shek had not been behind the attempt to assassinate her husband in the first place.¹¹³

Chen Bijun’s forgiveness of Chiang Kai-shek probably saved Feng Ti’s life. Certainly, Feng Ti’s own position in Chiang’s inner circle, plus his defense by He Zhonghan, who requested that they all be allowed to share Feng Ti’s punishment, made a difference. But it was Sun Fengming’s revelation of

all these connections with the Reorganization clique that lent credence to Chiang's own denials and that protected Feng Ti from his full wrath. In the end, only Chen Guanguo ended up being secretly executed for his involvement with Sun, while Feng Ti was simply removed from his position as secretary-general of the Lixingshe. This, too, was done secretly, while the attention of the public was focused on the possible involvement of Wang Yaqiao in the Wang Jingwei assassination plot.¹¹⁴

Once Cui Zhengyao's disclosures confirmed Wang Yaqiao's role in the plot, this "notorious leader of a gang of assassins" risked arrest or assassination himself if he continued to remain in Hong Kong or Macao, where Dai Li's agents, led by Zheng Jiemin, circulated freely.¹¹⁵ Consequently Wang, with the help of Li Jishen, left Hong Kong in July 1936 and made his way up the West River to Wuzhou, where he moved into a house belonging to the provincial governor of Guangxi, Huang Xuchu, and took over the special service corps within the Wuzhou military headquarters of General Chen Mingshu.¹¹⁶

But Zheng Jiemin, who had arrested Yu Likui and "turned" his wife into a Special Services Department agent, was not far behind.¹¹⁷ The moment Wang Yaqiao reached Wuzhou he was under the surveillance of Nationalist secret service men, but he seems to have been oblivious to danger. He quite comfortably settled into the life of Wuzhou, ensconcing his concubine, Jin Shixin, in a riverfront inn at 14 Taidong (Great Eastern) Street in this large if somewhat decaying provincial city.¹¹⁸

That fall, Miss Jin decided to take the West River ferry down to Hong Kong to shop for clothes. When she arrived in the British colony she was spotted by Dai Li's agent, Chen Zhiping, who subsequently recruited the beautiful young woman for the SSD. Chen—who later served as Chiang's ambassador to the Philippines—introduced her to one of the SSD's best field agents, a man named Wang Luqiao, who booked passage back to Wuzhou with her when she returned on the overnight ferry on November 17, 1936.¹¹⁹ Four nights later, on Saturday, November 21, Wang Yaqiao was entertained by two officers of the Guangxi Army.¹²⁰ The three of them got very drunk and then proceeded together to Miss Jin's rooms on Taidong Street. At 11 , not long after they arrived at the concubine's residence, five shots were heard. Police and Peace Preservation Corps officers rushed to the scene, but by the time they had arrived the assassins and the alluring Miss Jin had already disappeared.¹²¹ Wang Yaqiao's body was found on the floor, struck by three bullets and stabbed twice.¹²²

Police officers in far-off Shanghai doubted that the "king of assassins" could really have been so handily killed. Initial reports of the assassination had referred to a Chinese male about forty years old, whereas Wang Yaqiao was about fifty-five years of age. Also, there were rumors that he had been seen in Xi'an, where Chiang Kai-shek had just been kidnapped, conferring

with General Yang Hucheng as the representative of Bai Chongxi and the Guangxi clique.¹²³ But as time went by, there seemed no doubt that Wang Yaqiao had really been assassinated, and that his body had been buried just above the Wuzhou golf course across the river from the city. When the Wuzhou magistrate sent men to look into the matter, they were denied entrance to the house on Great Eastern Road, and not long after that the Public Safety Bureau was instructed by the military to drop its investigation of the case.¹²⁴

Thus, whether killed by Dai Li's SSD agents in retaliation for the Wang Jingwei attempt or by Guangxi officers who feared that the "king of assassins" was getting out of control, Wang Yaqiao passed from the scene just as terrorism was about to take off on a new trajectory as full-scale war with Japan broke out in 1937. By then political assassination would have taken on an entirely different cast, as individual "heroes" (*haojie*) gave way to entire bands of special agents with mixed motives and confused ideals.

Chapter 14

Police Academies

Then I discovered that this skunk, this Dai Li fellow, had been the chief of the Chinese Police Academy in 1932–1937 and that was a police academy in the Hangchow area in East China that trained all the major police officers in the whole country of China. That's something like they believed in out there was having a National Police. It was sort of like a National Guard, I guess. But they were trained in police activities and they had many people in from the United States and from Great Britain to be assistant instructors, but the bossman of the whole outfit was this man Dai Li. One of the things that the Chinese all look up to, one of the people they look up to, is their instructors. They think the world of their instructors and their fathers. Once an instructor, you're always an instructor. So that several thousands and thousands of people that Dai Li had trained in the police academy, no matter what happened to them afterwards, they became—they were still students of Dai Li.

ADIRAL MILTON HILES, 1957¹

TRAINING SPIES

Modern Chinese historians are by now quite familiar with the story of SACO, the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (Zhong-Mei hezuo suo), established under the direction of General Dai Li and Admiral “Mary” Miles during the Pacific War.² Although SACO was hailed by the U.S. media in the last year of the war as a shining example of successful Sino-American guerrilla activities against the Japanese, SACO’s darker side—the training of Dai Li’s nefarious secret policemen by American military and police advisers whose “scientific” techniques were eventually directed against the Communist underground movement—only emerged much later.³

This was partly because, at the time, the American side of the operation deliberately tried to exclude “China hands” from staffing the units that were training Dai Li’s *gaoji tewu* (high-level special agents).⁴ It was also partly because, until the 1980s, Western historians had much easier access to favorable Nationalist accounts of SACO rather than to confidential (*neibu*) analyses by Communist historians who were sharply critical of the Americans’ involvement in training Chiang Kai-shek’s counterespionage cadres.⁵ Now, however, it is possible not only to come to a deeper understanding of the nature of the alliance between the Nationalists’ Military Statistics Bureau

(Juntong) and the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence and Office of Strategic Services, but also to recognize that the American training of Chinese police agents had begun a decade before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941.

Modern spies are the creations of training courses and special schools. From the days of the Cheka on, espionage and secret service work have invariably begun with a special formation: the training unit or short course that moves one, by rites of passage, from civilian bearing and outlook to agent status and mentality.⁶ The military academy experience is more profound and lasting than the special intelligence course, but the latter is much more intense, especially insofar as it cultivates the secrecy vital to preserving the clandestine identity of the covert agent. Spymaster Dai Li had recognized the importance of this form of specialized training early on, and it was not long after he had opened his office in the Whampoa Alumni Association that he established a special training center (*xunlian suo*) to develop cadres for his secret service.⁷

The secret service training system flourished independently only after the War of Resistance broke out. Until then and the ensuing Pacific War, when American aid proved to be so important, Dai Li's training units had to operate behind and within the regular police academy structure that had developed in China, hand-in-hand with the establishment of modern police forces, since the turn of the twentieth century.⁸

MODERN POLICE

The first modern police force in China was created in Changsha (the capital of Hunan) during the Hundred Days of Reform in 1898.⁹ Although the Changsha Guards Bureau (Baowei ju) was dissolved during the reaction against the Hundred Days, modern police forces reappeared under imperialist auspices during the foreign occupation of Beijing at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. After the Qing court fled to Xi'an, the various nations in the allied army of occupation set up Public Offices for the Security of the People (Anmin gongsuo), which were meant to handle police work, road repair, and other municipal administrative tasks.¹⁰ The upper ranks of the Anmin gongsuo were composed of foreigners, while the cadres were foreign military policemen and the regular patrolmen (*xunbu*) were Chinese. When the allied forces withdrew in September 1901, the Anmin gongsuo were replaced by a Reconstruction Assistance Patrol Regiment (Shanhou xie xun ying), which was in turn the nucleus in 1902 for the Patrol and Construction Department (Gong xun zongchu), which quickly became a model for other police forces in North China.¹¹

Yuan Shikai (governor-general of Zhili, 1901–7) was the leading sponsor of the new European-style police forces of North China, replacing tra-

ditional lictors and yamen runners (*buban*) with police modeled on the European and Japanese examples in occupied Beijing. Yuan began in Baoding, the provincial capital, by placing five hundred demobilized soldiers under a Head Bureau of Police Affairs (*Jingwu zongju*). Once Tianjin was recovered from the allies in September 1902, Yuan made that city his police headquarters, intending to use these new forces both to pacify the people and to provide the viceroy's government with a means of bypassing local home-rule interests, who until then controlled their own local militia and village braves.¹²

The new Tianjin police were called "constables" (*xunjing*), *xun* meaning "to patrol or go on circuit" and *jing* meaning "to warn." Terminologically, they stood somewhere in between traditional lictors (*xunbu*, "to patrol and arrest") and modern police (*jingcha*, "to warn and investigate"). The latter term was first used by the Japanese who were sent to Europe in 1872 to study Western police systems and who submitted proposals (which in turn became regulations in 1874 and 1875) for the establishment of police in Meiji Japan. The term *jingcha* came into common usage in China sometime between 1915 and 1925.¹³

JAPANESE ADVISERS

The Japanese etymological provenance is hardly surprising, given the prevalence of the Japanese police model in China after 1901, when the Qing government began sending students to Tokyo to study the Meiji control system. After these students returned home many of them were assigned positions as officers or instructors in the new military schools and police academies established either by strong provincial officials like Yuan Shikai or by the reformists more directly loyal to the Qing monarchy.¹⁴

One of the leading organs of the latter was a police training unit in Beijing that was established by Prince Jing, Manchu head of the Office of Foreign Affairs (*Zongli yamen*), with the aid of a Japanese police expert, Kawashima Naniwa. Kawashima's services were contracted in order to supervise police training in this new academy, but he soon came to act as a general adviser to the Qing government in its last-ditch reform efforts. Indeed, one of Kawashima's memoranda, which was submitted in 1902, constituted the basic document for a program of police reorganization that was launched in 1905–8. The rationale for this program was spelled out in the memorandum itself:

There is no country that does not have a police system. It stands as the complement of military strength. One is the preparation for protection against the outside to resist foreign countries in order to protect national interests and rights. The other is an instrument for internal control to restrain the

people in order to extend national laws and national orders. These are the two greatest forces of the country and cannot be done without for even one day.¹⁵

In addition to establishing what was to become the ruling metaphor of Nationalist political domination—the two wings of army and police protection—Kawashima's memorandum called for a national police system responsible directly to the emperor. As Kawashima made quite clear, this new Chinese police system was modeled after the centralized police forces of continental Europe, closely resembling above all the police of the Netherlands and of Berlin.¹⁶

Seeking European wealth and power, the Qing government accordingly decided in 1905 to follow many of Kawashima's proposals, issuing orders to establish training schools for police officials. On October 8, 1905, a Patrol Constable Board (Xunjing bu) was set up under the chairmanship of Xu Shichang, senior vice president of war; and in 1907, when the Green Standards were abolished, the Xunjing bu was folded into a Board of Civil Administration (Minzheng bu). Within that board all police work was brought under a single Department of Police Administration (Jingzheng si), and it was this department, nearly twenty years later, that would be the key administrative nucleus of Dai Li's power within the Nationalist Ministry of the Interior.¹⁷

Between 1907 and the Revolution of 1911, the constables of Beijing became the dynasty's model police force.¹⁸ The Beijing police were also held up as a national model after Yuan Shikai's death. The department was featured prominently in the conference on police affairs (*jingwu huiyi*) that was convened in Beijing in April 1917 by the minister of the interior, who seven months later ordered that the provinces open police training schools. Because of the internecine militarists' wars that broke out that same year, however, central and local governments were too distracted to concern themselves with the details of police administration, and reform efforts lagged. In that respect, the history of the early republic followed the history of the late Qing: despite the promises of centralized authority provided by the Japanese model and European examples, police control was difficult to impose in China without prior military unification. More effective and lasting police reform had to await the completion of the Northern Expedition and the establishment of a new regime in Nanjing.¹⁹

NATIONALIST BUREAUS OF PUBLIC SAFETY

If the Beijing constabulary was in some respects the national model for the Beiyang warlords, the Guomindang paragon in 1927 was the Guangzhou (Canton) Bureau of Public Safety (Gongan ju), whose title was inspired by

the euphemistic name for police departments in the United States in that period. The Canton Bureau of Public Safety was established by Sun Ke when he put into operation an American system of municipal administration in Guangzhou before the Northern Expedition. After the Nationalists took power every police department, except for the metropolitan police headquarters in Nanjing, dutifully changed its name to "Bureau of Public Safety."²⁰

Titular unity nominally entailed administrative unity. In 1928 a national commission of police experts was established, consisting of four capital officials and eight provincial officials under the chairmanship of the director of the Department of Police Administration in the Ministry of the Interior.²¹ The following year regulations were promulgated calling for the education of all police officials and recruits; and police academies were established in Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Shanxi, Guangdong, Jiangxi, Hubei, Shaanxi, Shandong, Yunnan, Hebei, Gansu, Chahar, Qinghai, Fujian, and Guangxi.²² The national commission itself was supposed to meet four times a year, but in fact there was never a quorum nor an official meeting, and later the body simply atrophied.²³

In 1931 a fresh effort was mounted to establish a national forum for police reform. In January the Ministry of the Interior convened the First National Conference on Internal Affairs (*Diyici quanguo neizheng huiyi*), which met at Nanjing to discuss police administration. This was followed in December 1932 by a second conference, consisting of more than one hundred delegates from various cities and provinces who made proposals for the introduction of pension systems for police, the use of new weapons, the hiring of policewomen, and the unification of the fingerprint system.²⁴

Throughout this period the Japanese police system continued to enjoy a good reputation. In 1930 the Ministry of the Interior held an examination to select the ten best graduates from the fifteenth class of the higher police school to attend the police training school of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Tokyo. And that same year the Zhejiang Police Academy sent twenty-one of its best graduates to Japan as well.²⁵ But European police forces remained the primary model. In 1929 Wang Darui, one of the members of the national police commission, had taken advantage of attendance at the Fifth International Police Conference in Paris that September to study European police systems. The Viennese police force seemed one of the best systems to copy, and in 1930 the governor of Zhejiang invited Dr. Rudolph Muck and other Austrian police experts to serve as administrative and training consultants. That same year ten members of the graduating class of the Zhejiang Police Academy were sent to Vienna to study, and by 1932 Dr. Muck had become a police adviser to the central government in Nanjing, serving also as a consultant for the reorganization of the Shanghai Public Safety Bureau.²⁶ Two years later a commission headed by Feng Ti was sent by the Min-

istry of War to study the police and military systems of England, France, Italy, and Germany; and in 1935, Li Shizhen—a member of the central cadres group of the Lixingshe core of the Blue Shirts—was also sent abroad to study the police systems of Europe, the United States, and Japan.²⁷

One of the law enforcement experts invited to China in 1930 was Captain A. S. Woods of the Berkeley, California, police department.²⁸ Woods was selected as an adviser to help reorganize the metropolitan police of Nanjing because of the Berkeley department's growing reputation as one of the best police forces in the world, thanks to August Vollmer, whose "V-men" were to local U.S. police departments what J. Edgar Hoover's "G-men" were to the national police force.²⁹

AUGUST VOLLMER AND THE AMERICAN MODEL OF POLICE PROFESSIONALIZATION

August Vollmer, the "father of police professionalization" in the United States, was born in 1876 in New Orleans. His father died when he was eight years old, and his mother took him back to her native Germany for two years, between the ages of ten and twelve, before returning to New Orleans. Vollmer, who was a determined boxer, wrestler, and swimmer as a boy, studied secretarial skills at the New Orleans Academy for a year before the family moved to San Francisco, and then, in 1890, to Berkeley, where the tall, strong boy drove a delivery wagon. Within five years, before he was twenty, Vollmer had started his own feed and coal store in Berkeley; but in April 1898, when the United States declared war on Spain, he decided to enlist in the army and fight in the Philippines.³⁰

That summer Vollmer participated in the American attack on Manila and in the capture of Fort Malate. During the autumn of 1898 he helped police Manila; and the following February, when Aguinaldo's partisans arose, he volunteered to serve on an armored riverboat, firing three-inch howitzers against the Filipino guerrillas and earning distinction for a special behind-the-lines mission to contact guerrilla allies against Aguinaldo's men. Vollmer returned to California at the end of his tour, a robust and fearless six-footer impatient with indoor work and restless as a simple civilian.³¹

In January 1905 a group of Berkeley's leading citizens asked Vollmer if he would like to run for town marshal on a reform slate. The twenty-nine-year-old Vollmer stood and won. His first major act was to close down the largest Chinese fan-tan, faro, and roulette casino in town. At the same time he commenced a series of administrative and technical innovations that made the Berkeley police force famous throughout the country. It was August Vollmer who initiated a bicycle-mounted patrol force, created the first regular beat system, copied a telephone alarm and call box setup from a private detective in Los Angeles (and financed the signal apparatus with a spe-

cial city bond election), opened a *modus operandi* file, perfected a fingerprint filing method, inspired the invention of the lie detector, mounted the first wireless radios in patrol cars, and appointed college graduates as patrolmen.³²

As August Vollmer's reputation spread, especially after he was elected chairman of the International Association of Police Chiefs, he not only agreed to reorganize law enforcement agencies in other American cities, but he also accepted the invitations of foreign governments to reform ailing police departments. In 1926, for instance, Vollmer went to Havana at the request of Cuban president Gerardo Machado, who greeted him when he arrived as a kind of professional healer of social pathologies. "You are a doctor of police departments," Machado told him, "and we need you here."³³

After curing the Cuban dictator's law enforcement ills by setting up a police training school and installing a teletype communication system, Vollmer returned to Berkeley to find yet another plea for aid from a foreign government, this one an invitation from the Nationalist regime in Nanjing. Chief Vollmer reportedly called Captain A. S. Woods into his office and said, "Captain, this letter is from the chief of police of Nanking, China. He needs some real help. How about you tackling the job?"³⁴ Thus, while Woods went off to China in 1930 as a police adviser to both the central government and the Guangdong provincial Ministry of the Interior, Vollmer stayed behind in Berkeley to develop academic criminology at the University of California and to train the growing number of students who were coming there to study police administration under his tutelage.³⁵

VOLLMER'S CHINESE STUDENTS

Vollmer's foreign students that year included a man named Feng Yukun, who took a special six-week summer-session course at Berkeley on police organization and administration before enrolling in the fall at the University of Michigan, where he was among a group of fifteen students sent from China to learn about municipal administration. In November 1930 Feng wrote to August Vollmer from Ann Arbor, explaining that he was interested in "finding out the cause of crime" and "the method of prevention," and that he was hoping to make a "comparative study of crime statistics" in America based upon data taken from the writings of the eminent criminologist Raymond Fosdick.³⁶ During the following academic year, 1931–32, Feng enrolled in the Berkeley criminology program, and the next summer he returned to China to help reform the police system by conveying Vollmer's scientific criminology to his countrymen.³⁷

As a returned student trained in the latest police methodologies, Feng Yukun did not go unheard. He was immediately invited in July 1932 to call

upon General Chao Chen, the police commissioner of Nanjing; and shortly after that he was granted an audience with Chiang Kai-shek, to whom he submitted two papers in Chinese, one on “the condition of police forces in the world,” and one on a plan to study “the condition of all the police forces in China.”³⁸ Then, after a brief term as the head of Nanjing’s traffic division (where he revised the city’s traffic regulations), Feng was seconded in March 1933 to Commissioner Chao’s office to serve “as an extra secretary” in the security division.³⁹ He promptly set about popularizing Vollmer’s ideas by translating an article on police professionalization from the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, and by giving university lectures that stressed the “scientific basis” of police work his American professor advocated.⁴⁰ He also, of course, tried to introduce the latest police technology, seeking Vollmer’s help to copy the Berkeley Police Department’s communications setup in Nanjing by installing two-way radio telephones.⁴¹

In March 1934 Feng Yukun was invited by the president of the Zhejiang Police Academy, Zhao Longwen, to come to Hangzhou and serve as dean of police training.⁴² The Zhejiang Police Academy was one of the premier cadre-training institutions of the new Nationalist regime. It had been founded just after the Northern Expedition by Zhu Jiahua, the administrative director of Zhongshan University who in 1926 had helped Dai Jitao purge the school of left-wingers. The following year he had been appointed to serve as director of the Department of Civil Affairs for the province of Zhejiang, and in that capacity he founded the Zhejiang Police Academy. As head of the local government training school (*difang zizhi zhuanxiu xuexiao*), Zhu Jiahua was able to ensure that the budget of the police academy was generously funded. And even though he left his provincial post in 1930, Zhu saw to it that the academy was kept in the hands of a man he personally trusted, Shi Chengzhi. Shi, however, did not remain president of the academy beyond 1932: Wang Gupan succeeded him in 1933, and Zhao Longwen became principal in turn in 1934.⁴³

Feng Yukun was one of several returned students appointed to a leading position in the academy. Another police specialist trained abroad was Dr. Liang Fan, an agricultural student and secret service agent who had been the assistant of the French forensic scientist Dr. Locard at the Lyon Police Laboratory.⁴⁴ Liang had returned from his studies in Lyon with two French women: one was his wife and the other was a detective who became the head of the policewomen section of the Zhejiang Academy. He also brought back with him the makings of a complete police laboratory, including all of the instruments and chemicals needed for ballistics, toxicology, handwriting analysis, and fingerprint investigation. This equipment formed the foundation of the first forensic laboratory in China outside the International Settlement Police facilities in Shanghai; and although Liang’s abilities as a forensic scientist were later called into question, he was soon

offering courses in the latest police laboratory techniques to students at the academy.⁴⁵

The third most prominent returned student was another Vollmer disciple named Yu Xiuhao (Frank Yee). Yee, who was a Cantonese well known to the Chinese community of San Francisco, had asked Vollmer to recommend him for a job at that same prestigious police academy.⁴⁶ Vollmer accordingly wrote Feng Yukun about Frank Yee, and when the latter arrived in Shanghai aboard the *President Wilson* of the old Dollar Line, Feng was at the dock, standing alongside Yee's "many cousins" to greet him.⁴⁷ After the homecoming was over, Yee was offered a position at the Zhejiang Police Academy, which he discovered to be "the largest of its kind in China" and in Chiang Kai-shek's eyes "the model so far as police academies is [*sic*] concerned."⁴⁸

THE ZHEJIANG POLICE ACADEMY

The Zhejiang Police Academy was located on a "large piece of land" covering ten *mu* at Shanghongjiang, where more than five hundred students could be accommodated.⁴⁹ According to Frank Yee's description, the 350 "girls and boys" who were enrolled were all high school graduates between the ages of twenty and thirty. They were well provided for, receiving room and board plus 15 a month, and were equipped with "rifles, revolvers, machine guns, bicycles, as well as horses and automobiles."⁵⁰ The timbre of the school was distinctly military, with the students awakening to bugles at dawn and the raising of the national colors, with drills conducted by army officers, and with courses in "political training" taught by "men from the central government" identified as Guomindang "commissars."⁵¹

The academy itself was—like Vollmer's program at Berkeley—closely connected with the local police force, which in Hangzhou consisted of two thousand policemen, divided into eight precincts and supported by a budget of about one million dollars. After September 1, 1934, the president of the academy, Zhao Longwen, served concurrently as the chief of the Hangzhou Public Safety Bureau; and Yee and Feng Yukun, along with a Berlin police academy graduate, were appointed his confidential advisers.⁵² At the advice of a planning commission (*sheji weiyuanhui*) chaired by Zhao, a cadet system was established so that students from the academy could experience a tour of duty on the Hangzhou force. By January 1935, Frank Yee had devised a patrol system modeled after the Berkeley beat system that Vollmer had pioneered.⁵³ The regular members of the Hangzhou police force strenuously resisted the new system, but with Feng Yukun's support Frank Yee managed to get the beat plan implemented on April 1, 1935, in the area around West Lake. Within two months, crime rates had dropped by 50 percent.⁵⁴

From Frank Yee's perspective, their position at the helm of the Zhejiang Police Academy provided Vollmer's students with a golden opportunity to see that "the Berkeley System and Spirit are transplanted here [in China]." ⁵⁵ He told Vollmer that "our school has been under the Japanese and Austrian influence because of the fact that students only [were] sent to the two mentioned countries. Now, you might say new blood has been injected. Namely, American or, to be more specific, Berkelian [*sic*]." ⁵⁶ And he asked Chief Vollmer to tell the friends that he had made in the "famous [Berkeley] seminar that we are in a position to modernize [*sic*] the whole Chinese police administration" by translating the latest works on criminal investigation and the secret service, by introducing the use of police dogs, by building modern police laboratories, and by importing into China the newly invented lie detector. ⁵⁷

The reforms of the American-trained contingent were not automatically accepted. In his letters to August Vollmer, Frank Yee frequently complained about the reluctance of his fellow instructors, and even of Feng Yukun, to accept all of his innovations. ⁵⁸ But Feng Yukun did agree to help Frank Yee draw up a new curriculum for the Zhejiang Police Academy. Courses on economics, psychology, crime prevention, municipal government, radio, police dogs, and so forth were added to the general offerings, supplementing the New Life courses "initiated by General Chiang." Yee and Feng also designed a first-year syllabus patterned after the Berkeley training program, which included target practice, swimming, self-defense (jujitsu), and military science as required courses. ⁵⁹

During the second year students were allowed to major in one of four departments: administration, criminal investigation, foreign services, and policewomen training. Frank Yee was chairman of the administration major, which consisted of the study of Anglo-Saxon, European, and Japanese police systems; of police personnel; of traffic accident prevention; of census taking and police records; and of radio communications and the distribution of police forces. ⁶⁰ The criminal investigation major had courses in forensic chemistry, photography, criminal identification, police dogs, cryptology, and police records. The other two sections were much less well developed, though the foreign services section offered courses in European history, world diplomacy, radio, and psychology. ⁶¹

By the fall of 1934 the Zhejiang Police Academy was well on its way to becoming a national prototype. In September the faculty learned that in Nanjing the National Police College and the Central Military Academy had been amalgamated into a single institution, leaving the Zhejiang Academy as "the only national police institute in the field." The student body was recruited from all over the country, including sergeants drawn from a number of local police forces who were chosen after a battery of physical and mental tests instituted by Frank Yee according to the Berkeley model. ⁶²

NATIONAL POLICE TRAINING

Early that winter, while Frank Yee and Feng Yukun were awaiting a special audience to present their plans to Chiang Kai-shek for national police reform, they were also being courted by important local officials such as the mayor of Shanghai, Wu Tiecheng:

Right away we were invited to take over some important posts in Shanghai. Mayor Wu was especially pleased with my article in the Shanghai police magazine "Police Lantern." But under no circumstances the Special Commissioners who control all the police organizations in China permits [*sic*] us to leave. Together with [Feng] Yukun [and Liang Fan] we three are held responsible for police education in China.⁶³

Mayor Wu Tiecheng, who tended to appoint fellow Guangzhou natives to the Shanghai city government, may have been attracted to Frank Yee because of his Cantonese provenance. Nevertheless, the central authorities—including, no doubt, Dai Li himself—were not about to let their best foreign-trained police specialists become advisers to major municipal police forces that they hoped eventually to dominate. The Zhejiang Police Academy was meant to set national standards, not provide support to regional and provincial institutions. Thus, when Frank Yee was offered a teaching job at Zhejiang University he felt obliged to turn it down because of his full-time position at the police academy.⁶⁴

As a national institution, the Zhejiang Police Academy also assumed responsibility for the policing of Lushan, the popular mountain resort in northern Jiangxi where Chiang Kai-shek had his summer residence.⁶⁵ Lushan was already being used as a training zone for counterinsurgency forces. The Military Academy Lushan Special Training Unit (Junxiao Lushan texunban) was billeted there, and while some of its graduates were assigned to the anti-Communist investigative unit commanded by Deng Wenyi in the Nanchang garrison, a special cadres brigade under Lian Mou was set up by Dai Li to prepare agents for Special Services Department missions. (Dai Li was assisted by Kang Ze, whose more orthodox military standing made Dai Li jealous and eager to move from police to paramilitary forms of organization.)⁶⁶ During the summer, the Lushan area was overrun with more than twenty thousand visitors who were easy prey for thieves. It seemed logical, therefore, to give the Zhejiang police cadets a chance to try their hand at practical law enforcement while also beefing up the security of the Generalissimo's favorite mountain spa and showing the foreign-run police in the territory leased by the British at Guling that the Chinese were capable of policing themselves.

In July 1934 Feng Yukun was ordered to take the Zhejiang Academy's second graduating class of nearly one hundred policemen to Lushan and pa-

trol the area. Then and during the following summer Feng and his men did an impressive job, building up *modus operandi* files and instituting other criminal procedures that permitted them to solve a number of outstanding crimes.⁶⁷ Frank Yee came along as well, climbing with his students more than 3,500 feet up to Guling, where they escaped the lowlands' heat and plunged vigorously into a practicum of police work. Using the fingerprinting and camera equipment that Yee had brought back from Berkeley, and wishing that they had one of Vollmer's new lie detectors as well, the police cadets successfully conducted burglary investigations and helped implement Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement.⁶⁸ Their record was so good that the British relinquished their police powers in the leasehold to the Chinese, and the Zhejiang cadets were held up as national models to police officials from other parts of Jiangxi and Hunan. The impressed provincial officials duly returned home in the fall and held competitive examinations to send up to twenty men and women from their own areas to the Zhejiang Police Academy to receive similar training.⁶⁹

For all of his candor, Frank Yee wrote nothing at all to his mentor about one of the most intriguing aspects of the Zhejiang Police Academy. Although ostensibly a provincial institution dedicated to the formation of regular police officers, the academy was actually a closely connected part of the national secret police apparatus that Dai Li had been building since 1932. The president of the academy, Zhao Longwen, was one of Dai Li's agents, and virtually all of the school's political training officers (*zhengzhi zhidaoyuan*) were cadres of the Special Services Department.⁷⁰

DAI LI AND THE ZHEJIANG POLICE ACADEMY

Dai Li had seized control of the Zhejiang Police Academy in the summer of 1932, when the second class of regular students had just graduated and were living in the alumni association dormitory at 30 Xiongzheng lou, awaiting job assignments.⁷¹ Using the authority granted him by Chiang Kai-shek to act as Special Political Officer (*Zhengzhi tepaiyuan*) for the Zhejiang Police Academy Special Training Section (*Texunban*) and maintaining wireless contact with the central government, Dai Li had moved into the academy with a team of special agents. The team—which included Wang Kongan, Mao Renfeng, Mao Zongliang, Zhao Longwen, Hu Guozhen, Xie Juecheng, Luo Xingfang, and Liu Yiguang—virtually took over the entire school during the vacation months of that year. Wang Kongan was named secretary-general (*shujizhang*) of the Political Training Department (*Zhengxun chu*); Mao Renfeng became secretary (*mishu*); and Mao Zongliang served as the unit's communications officer. The rest were designated political training officers (*zhengzhi zhidaoyuan*).⁷² By the fall of 1932 Dai Li was able to set up, under the cover of the Political Department, a special secret

service training unit divided into “A” (*jia*), “B” (*bing*), “C” (*yi*), and Communications sections. Each section was divided into classes (*qi*) that lasted six months and that consisted of twenty to thirty people who were meant to become “basic personnel” (*jigan renyuan*) in the Special Services Department. Many of the “higher-level special services elements in Juntong in later periods”—such “high cadres” (*gaogan*) of the 1940s as Mao Sen, Xiao Bo, Yang Chaoqun, Ruan Qingyuan, Ding Mocun, Zhang Weiham, Lou Zhaoyuan, and Huang Yong—thus received their initial clandestine training within the Zhejiang Police Academy during 1932–35.⁷³

Section C, or *yi*, was formed with thirty students chosen from among the graduates of the police academy each year. Their brigade commander was Liu Yiguang, who also served as the class’s political instructor. After their period of training was over, the graduates were sent to serve as plainclothes agents in Chiang Kai-shek’s bodyguard (*jingwei zu*).⁷⁴

Section B, or *bing*, was set up to train “cover” (*yanhu*) personnel, who were female agents. Six of the police academy’s women graduates were chosen for this training section, which was supervised by Zhang Cuiwu, the political instructor of the policewomen’s class in the academy’s regular student body.⁷⁵ The students were given special classes in haircutting and cooking before being assigned to serve as personnel in charge of “arranging cover relations” (*buzhi yanhu guanxi*) in individual special services units.⁷⁶

Section A, or *jia*, was the most critical training group of the three, its graduates designated “backbone cadres” (*guguan*) to operate under the SSD chief’s direct control. Dai Li nominally served as head instructor of the training class, which was composed of both graduates from the police academy’s second and third classes and agents already on active duty in the Special Services Department. The actual chief of instruction was Yu Lexing, who supervised the classes held on the premises of 30 Xiongzhen lou, and who offered classes in the theory of special operations, the use of secret codes and chemical means of communication, and the employment of poisons and morphine. Xie Ligong, a former Communist, taught classes in military geography, international espionage, and ciphers; Li Shizhang offered courses on political parties and factions; Liang Hanfen on the detection of tracks and fingerprints; Yin Zhenqiu on explosives and demolition; Guan Rongde on stenography and speed writing; Ye Daosheng on intelligence (*qingbao*); Zhu Huiqing on physiognomy (*kanxiang*); Wang Wenzhao on photography; Jin [Kim] Minjie on jujitsu (*qinna*); Liu Jinsheng on Chinese self-defense (*guoshu*); Zeng Timing and Huang Siqin on automobile driving; and Tan Jincheng on equestrianism. Japanese language classes were offered by Huo Shuying and a Japanese national named Shantian Yilong.⁷⁷

The major textbooks were Communist-inspired. Wang Xinheng, who had been trained in the Soviet Union, translated two books from Russian into Chinese.⁷⁸ One was on “Gebowu,” the GPU, and the other was on the

Cheka.⁷⁹ Students also read *Tegong lilun he jishu* (The theory and technique of special operations), which was written by Gu Shunzhang, the Communist defector who had later offered his services to Dai Li.⁸⁰ Gu Shunzhang's own knowledge of Bolshevik secret service tradecraft was sharpened by his experience as the chief liaison officer between the rural soviets and the urban party cells of the CCP.⁸¹ In fact, former Juntong officers believe that his information was so valuable to Dai Li that it may have cost Gu his life. They have claimed that not long after joining Zhongtong as the top Communist *pantu* (renegade), Gu Shunzhang was assassinated. Although his murderers were never apprehended, MSB historians believe that they were dispatched by Chen Lifu, who had never forgiven Gu for offering his talents to Dai Li and who wanted to keep the other spymaster from milking the Communist's secrets. This has been denied by Chen Lifu, who suggested to the author that Gu Shunzhang had to be dispatched because he was a pathological killer.⁸²

By 1935 the Zhejiang Police Academy was completely under Dai Li's control. That same year, however, Chiang Kai-shek announced his decision to create a national police training institute by merging the Zhejiang school with the Jiangsu Police Academy to form a new Central Police Academy (Zhongyang jingguan xuexiao).⁸³ This merger presented both a challenge and an opportunity to Dai Li.⁸⁴

THE CENTRAL POLICE ACADEMY

Chiang's decision to create a central academy stemmed from a wider vision of a countrywide police system that would integrate other systems of local control. In 1936 Chiang Kai-shek summoned a special Conference of Higher Local Administrative Officials (Difang gaoji xingzheng ren yuan huiyi) to discuss local police and security problems.⁸⁵ The meeting took place within the context of a long-standing debate between officials from the central government and provincial leaders over the retention of the peace preservation corps (*baoandui*).⁸⁶ Provincial officials naturally favored preserving local militia that they themselves funded and controlled, while representatives of the central government opposed the *baoandui* and argued for the creation of regular police departments that would be directed and trained by the new Nationalist government, albeit financed with local resources.

After hearing both sides of the argument, Chiang Kai-shek came down on the side of the police. As Frank Yee wrote to Chief Vollmer, "General Chiang is now very much concerned with the improvement of police administration in China. He wants to abolish all the Peace Preservation Corps, gendarmes, and what not, leaving the responsibility of maintaining internal peace to the police in three years."⁸⁷ The Executive Yuan duly approved a

proposal that required the provinces to submit plans for police reform according to principles worked out by the Department of Police Administration. The department proclaimed, first, that as of the end of 1936 the peace preservation corps would be abolished and over three years their duties would gradually be taken over by the regular police. Second, as each *baodian* was dissolved, its budget would be transferred over to the county police departments. Third, the establishment of various grades of local police forces would be as uniform as possible. Fourth, in rural areas too poor and remote to afford regular police, law enforcement duties would be assigned to the former *baojia* mutual responsibility units. Fifth, in order to improve the quality of the police, requirements for police service would be gradually raised, with graduation from elementary school being the minimum qualification for employment. Sixth, monthly police salaries would start at ten yuan. Seventh, higher police officials would all receive an education at the new Central Police Academy. Eighth, ordinary police recruits would be put through training courses offered in the provincial capitals and cities. And ninth, the firearms of the dissolved peace preservation corps were to be turned over to the regular police for their own use.⁸⁸

Clearly, one of the major instruments of vertical integration was to be the Central Police Academy, which was “entrusted with the mission of transforming the old peace preservation corps into police after some process of elimination.”⁸⁹ As this new national organization superseded provincial institutions, the Zhejiang Police Academy closed its doors and transferred its fifth class to Nanjing.⁹⁰ Zhao Longwen’s—that is, Dai Li’s—students were now nominally the disciples of the Central Police Academy’s forty-year-old president, Li Shizhen.⁹¹

Li Shizhen was the leading police expert in China. A 1924 graduate of the Whampoa Military Academy, he had completed a regular training course at the Japanese Police Academy in 1931 after service as commander of the Peace Preservation Corps of Zhejiang. In 1935 Li was named head of the Chinese delegation sent to study police systems in nineteen European and American countries, and after he returned to China he was appointed director of the Higher Police Officials School (*Jingguan gaodeng xuexiao*) in Nanjing and then, in September 1936, he succeeded Chen Youxing as academic dean (*jiaoyu zhang*) of the new Central Police Academy (*Zhongyang Jingguan xuexiao*).⁹²

Li quickly set about building his own campus. He selected a site in the suburbs of Nanjing, near the Qiling gate, where he put up buildings, brought in new equipment, and recruited trainees (*xueyuan*) and cadets (*xuesheng*).⁹³

Members of the trainee class were already police officers in provinces, cities, and districts who were ordered to report to this place in various classes that

were divided into new-style training [sections], such as fingerprints, household registration, interrogation, jujitsu *qinna*, tracking *zhuizong*, communications, signals, and training and use of police dogs. These fellows were trained for half a year. Regular cadets *xuesheng* were admitted by examination from among junior and senior middle school graduates who had to have passed entrance tests. They were given instructions in all kinds of police subjects, in political theory, and in foreign languages; they were also given military instruction and military drill, and trained in physical fitness. Their training was for three years. The purpose of this sort of class was to reform police administration.⁹⁴

Dean Li believed, along with Chiang Kai-shek, that the foundation of a modern country was an excellent police force. He told the graduating cadets of the Central Police Academy's class of 1943 that "if you want to establish a new nation *guojia*, then you must first establish a new society. If you want to establish a new society then you must first of all establish a modern national police force."⁹⁵ Li Shizhen also combined administrative leadership with scholarship.⁹⁶ After his return from Europe he published a major survey of police systems around the world, and he founded and chaired the Chinese Research Society for the Study of Police Science (*Zhonghua jingcha xueshu yanjiushe*).⁹⁷ His professional credentials were thus unimpeachable.⁹⁸

Dai Li was nonetheless determined to undercut Li Shizhen by wresting police "training powers" (*xunlian quan*) from his grasp at the Central Police Academy, which was housed in a "magnificent" new quarter-million-dollar building in the Nanjing suburbs.⁹⁹ To counter Li's authority over the students, Dai Li first became a member of the academy's School Affairs Committee (*Xiaowu weiyuanhui*).¹⁰⁰ Then, he used his secret service authority to set up a Special Services Committee (*Tewu weiyuanhui*) within the academy, and had himself named chairman of the group, which included protégés and followers such as Wang Gupan, Feng Yukun, and Zhao Longwen.¹⁰¹ He also secured appointments for former Zhejiang Academy instructors like Hu Guozhen, Lu Zhengang, and Yu Xiuhao (Frank Yee) on the faculty of the new central training institute. And, to lend himself professional academic respectability and counter the police administration principles of Li Shizhen's police science group, Dai Li established as well a Chinese Police Study Association (*Zhongguo jingcha xuehui*), which became actively engaged in policy debates with Li Shizhen's Chinese Research Society for the Study of Police Science.¹⁰²

To succeed in his competition with Li Shizhen, who was basing his own reform of the Chinese national police system on survey questionnaires developed in Berkeley by August Vollmer, Dai Li needed to acquire some measure of control over the national police administrative policies of the Ministry of the Interior.¹⁰³ He therefore arranged for Feng Yukun to be ap-

pointed to the one post in the central government that looked after police programs in the provinces: department director (*sizhang*) of the Department of Police Administration (Jingzheng si), which was “entrusted in the planning, directing and supervising of the entire policing in China.”¹⁰⁴ In that capacity, Feng controlled “the police administrative affairs sections *ke* in the people’s government offices belonging to each provincial section, grasping control over personnel matters *renshi* throughout the entire police system.”¹⁰⁵ He also managed to plant secret cells of Dai Li’s men within the capital police force.¹⁰⁶

At the time of Feng Yukun’s promotion, his fellow student from Berkeley, Frank Yee, was put in charge of the division within the Police Administration Department that was responsible for police education, fire prevention, foreign affairs, criminal investigation, and “special services.” In his letters to Vollmer, Yee presented their appointments as the triumph of the Berkeley police reform program.¹⁰⁷ “Hereafter,” he wrote Vollmer, “the whole police administration and education will be in the complete control of the V-men.”¹⁰⁸ Since Berkeley’s “V-men” were by then SSD agents, several critical aspects of central police administrative control were thus in the hands of Dai Li’s lieutenants. The years 1936–37 consequently saw the extension of the secret police chief’s influence into regular municipal police bureaus—Jiujiang, Zhengzhou, Wuhan, Luoyang—through the manipulation of Ministry of the Interior training programs and personnel assignments.¹⁰⁹

Feng Yukun played an absolutely crucial role in this expansion. As the highest-ranking police administrator in the Ministry of the Interior, Feng could lend his office’s name whenever Dai Li needed the legal authority of the central government to transform regular police units into secret service squads. This was especially evident after war broke out with Japan. In 1941 Dai Li wanted to have the regular investigation and apprehension brigade (*zhenji dui*) of the Chongqing police force changed into an expanded large brigade (*dadui*) and placed under the control of his former Shanghai station chief Shen Zui. When Dai Li sent this request to Tang Yi, the chief of the Chongqing police, Tang naturally sought instructions from the Ministry of the Interior’s Department of Police Administration.

At that time the director of the Ministry of the Interior’s Department of Police Administration, which was in charge of managing the entire country’s police operations, was Feng Yukun [who] was a Juntong special agent; and this department was under the control of Juntong as well. At the same time that Dai wrote his letter to Tang, he also telephoned Feng, explaining that he wanted to change this system [from a regular detective squad to a large brigade under Juntong control]. Over the telephone Feng was extremely compliant, affirming again and again his willingness to obey his commander’s orders.¹¹⁰

Within a week Dai Li's aide and protégé Shen Zui was named head of the Chongqing detective squad.¹¹¹

Tang Yi himself was a powerful force in Dai Li's takeover of the Sichuanese police. Originally head of the intelligence office in Liu Xiang's headquarters, Tang was named head of the intelligence unit (*diecha*) in the Sichuanese garrison command.¹¹² Though an opium addict and member of the Gowned Brothers Society, Tang earned the favor of the provincial secretary Wang Zuanxu by providing him with a favored prostitute. Appointed a special aide to Wang, Tang also made contact with Dai Li, who considered him a regular special agent. By 1938 Tang Yi was chief of the reformed Chengdu police force, which gave Dai Li complete entrée to the very center of Sichuan law enforcement.¹¹³

The Chinese secret service's plan to recruit agents through legal education coincided with the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation's police chief training program, and to a certain extent it drew common strength from the "scientific" goal of spreading police professionalism to local law enforcement agencies. Frank Yee reported to Vollmer that from September 15, 1936, on, "high police officers from all parts of China will receive an intensive refresher training in the academy" in Nanjing, while other police officers would be attending a special summer training program at Lushan, where the syllabus would be Yee's writings, including translations of Vollmer's texts on American police systems.¹¹⁴ These courses were supplemented by Frank Yee's lectures and inspection trips around the country, as well as by Feng Yukun's frequent public radio broadcasts "emphasizing the importance of police administration and the need of cooperation from the people."¹¹⁵ And they accompanied as well moves to introduce the latest American methods for centralizing identification and record-keeping procedures in the Ministry of the Interior's police section. Early in 1937, for example, Feng Yukun contacted J. Edgar Hoover in order to find out how the FBI organized and handled fingerprints, and the Nationalist government began to set up its own Central Fingerprint Bureau in Nanjing.¹¹⁶

This attempt to introduce the latest police methods combined a drive toward modern administrative efficiency with the Chinese government's traditional and long-standing effort to assert national control over local paramilitary systems. In that sense the returned students' zeal for reform coincided neatly with Chiang Kai-shek's determination to exert his influence by placing the police alongside the army as one of the two main wings of his government's rule. In his role as chancellor (*xiaozhang*) of the Central Police Academy, Chiang Kai-shek told the graduating seniors of the class of 1937 that:

There are two great forces in our country; the army and the police; one is for national defense, and the other is for maintenance of peace. Like a plane, it

takes two wings to fly; but because of the complexity of modern police duties and because they are the only public functionaries that are in constant contact with the people, the position of the police is even more important in our society.¹¹⁷

As an arm of the state, the police in Republican China promoted central power in the largest sense.¹¹⁸ As a system unto itself, however, the police were never a unified administrative instrument.

Chiang Kai-shek deployed the police at large to undermine the power of local military rivals.¹¹⁹ But he also tacitly supported followers who struggled among themselves within the national law enforcement system to capture fragments of legal authority for their own bureaucratic interests. At the time that Dai Li was seeking to wrest control of the Central Police Academy training program from Li Shizhen, he was also trying to take the postal and telegraph inspection service out of Chen Lifu's grasp.¹²⁰ The outcome of each of these clandestine bureaucratic battles invariably depended upon the Generalissimo's support. At the end of the day it was Dai Li's personal devotion to his master that counted most, especially within the secret services struggling so furiously for paramountcy among themselves.

Chapter 15

Sleeping in Their Coffins

n the midst of this bombing of Pucheng by the Japanese, a band of university students appeared, pitching in enthusiastically, talkative and carefree. But someone, in the midst of this, whispered Dai Li, and suddenly they were tongue-tied and obviously awestricken. took little stock in the intelligence stories about the general that had read in Washington, but had been told that the general's name was sometimes used to frighten children into behaving. asked him about it while the res burned around us and he admitted that it served his purposes. He had no wish to frighten children, he told me, but his name sometimes served to deter racketeers, smugglers, and defectors. A righteous fear, he told me, works better than guns.

IL ON E ILES, *A Different Kind of War*, 54

THE COMPETITION FOR RESOURCES

Although a revolutionary “mass line” eventually prevailed in the Chinese civil war, Dai Li and Chiang Kai-shek lived in an age in which political dominance appeared to be as much a question of efficiency, achieved with the help of modern technology and organizational discipline, as of the creation or nurturing of cultural and political consensus. A huge following of poor and illiterate peasants did not necessarily promise immediate political rewards to a relatively small number of organized and reliable personal followers whose ability to assert control was disproportionately enhanced by the possession of modern techniques and material resources.

As we have seen, Dai Li consistently sought to control the Chinese police forces, both because public security forces provided a legitimate cover for his men's secret service activities, and because local public safety bureaus afforded him a means for penetrating urban political systems.¹ Although it may be an exaggeration to claim that “by 1933 police personnel matters in the major cities of the nation were at Dai's disposal,” from 1932 on Dai Li's influence began to permeate an impressive array of public security organs.²

Dai Li was never free of competition, however. Throughout this period his power increased by fits and starts, but it was always checked by Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu.³ They also commanded their own party secret police, known after Chiang's reorganization of the special services in 1938 as the

Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Party Central Office (Zhongyang dangbu diaocha tongji ju, or Zhongtong for short).⁴

The director of Zhongtong—which, in addition to maintaining its own central, provincial, and district offices, ran agents in the Bureau of Statistics and Investigation of the Ministry of Communications, in the Gabelle Unit of the Ministry of Finance, in the Institute for the Training of Judicial Personnel and the Institute for the Training of District Magistrates of the Ministry of the Interior, in the Diplomatic Club of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the Ministry of Education, and in the Overseas Chinese Office—was Xu Enzeng, Chen Guofu's nephew.⁵ Xu was a graduate of Communications University in Shanghai who had studied electrical engineering in the United States. From his point of view, Dai Li's Tewuchu (Special Services Department) was a band of rash and semiliterate ruffians who knew no better than to commit arson and murder.⁶

THE CHEN BROTHERS

From the perspective of Xu's uncles, the Chen brothers, on the other hand, Dai Li's Special Services Department was from the start intended by Chiang Kai-shek to offset their own secret surveillance forces. John Carter Vincent reported in 1942, for example, that "[Dai Li's] organization is at times utilized to counterbalance the Party police under the CC' Clique—an illustration of one of the fundamental tenets of Chiang's policy of controlling the Kuomintang, that is, the maintenance of an equilibrium of forces by means of checks and balances."⁷

Chen Lifu himself claimed to have only learned of the existence of Dai Li's independent secret service two years after its formal foundation. Up until 1934, Chen Lifu thought that he alone was responsible for intelligence activities as chief of the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics, first under the Guomindang's Organization Bureau, which he and his brother controlled, and then directly under the Military Affairs Commission. As far as Chen knew, Dai Li functioned as a kind of special bodyguard for Chiang Kai-shek, being charged with his personal security. "Wherever Mr. Chiang went, Dai Li sent his men to make advanced preparations. The head of the bodyguards held a very sensitive post. . . . There were spies also among the bodyguards."⁸

But when Chen Lifu turned over Zhongtong to Xu Enzeng, he discovered that Dai Li was cultivating another independent secret service organ alongside his own, and at Chiang Kai-shek's orders.

Shortly after I turned over the Central Bureau of Investigation to Xu Enzeng, Mr. Chiang told Dai Li to head a separate organ without informing me. You

see, when there was only one secret police organ, our work was very efficient. We were very powerful. I think Mr. Chiang wanted some other organ to check us.⁹

At first we didn't know anything about Dai Li's organ. How did I find out? Dai Li told people that Mr. Chiang had assigned him to do investigative work. People of the Central Bureau of Investigation told me that Dai Li was getting active. My comrades in the Bureau were naturally unhappy. They felt that Mr. Chiang lacked confidence in them. I explained as follows: Our work was what the Chinese call "the ears and eyes." I asked them how many eyes and ears they had. Two, of course. So, I said, there should be two organs for carrying out our work. I told them not to harbor any suspicion of this parallel organization but to cooperate with it.¹⁰

Chen Lifu himself feigned ignorance of Dai Li's activities at first. "I pretended not to know," he recalled. "Later Mr. Chiang ordered everything to go through my hands, but despite his order the system did not work a hundred percent. I didn't mind."¹¹

Actually, he did mind, as he candidly confessed later:

I was placed in a difficult spot. If I did not ask Mr. Chiang about Dai Li, it would look as though I was not carrying out my work well. On the other hand, if I asked him, it would look as though I was suspicious. In any case, a few weeks after [I found out about Dai Li] I told Mr. Chiang that Dai Li said Mr. Chiang had told him to do investigative work. I asked Mr. Chiang whether this was true. He seemed embarrassed. He said Dai Li was doing a certain kind of work and told me to direct him.¹²

This placed Chen Lifu in an even graver predicament. Who, after all, would want to take on the responsibility of harnessing Dai Li's dangerous and often violent efforts?

I was not very keen to assume direction over Dai Li's organ. Why? I was getting tired of this sort of work. I went to see Mr. Dai Jitao. Whenever I had a problem, I always talked to Mr. Dai, who was a very thoughtful man. He always gave me good advice. I told Mr. Dai that I was a kind man and not fit for the job. He reminded me that when one entered a temple—Mr. Dai was a devout Buddhist—one would see the smiling Maitreya Buddha with his big tummy, but behind him one would see the Vedas [sic] holding a big club. When one walked further into the temple, one would see the kind and smiling Tathagata sitting in the center, but on the sides one would see the eighteen lohan looking ferocious and holding various kinds of weapons. The idea was: I was kind and smiling, but if you didn't listen, I held a big club; you had better be careful! Mr. Dai told me I had better take the job. If I didn't take it, who could control these people armed with powerful weapons? He likened the job to a sharp knife. When directed by someone else, it might do real harm, but if watched [by] my men, they wouldn't dare do anything wrong. I could reduce the danger. No one was better suited for the task. Mr. Dai was speaking first of general principles in solving problems as well as the fact that I was kind. I was like

Maitreya. His point was that a kind person was needed to direct ferocious men. I took his advice.¹³

Chen Lifu may have been far from happy with Chiang's parallel and competing system of intelligence organizations, and he certainly must have resented the interloping Dai Li, but the strategist in him appreciated the need for checks and balances.

Of course, Mr. Chiang trusted Dai Li. Someone who took charge of such work had to be absolutely reliable. If Dai Li was involved in the slightest trouble, it would have been disastrous. On the one hand, Mr. Chiang watched him; on the other hand, he told me to watch him too. . . . As far as my own opinion is concerned, Dai Li was absolutely reliable, but it was always better to play safe, to double-check.¹⁴

To be sure, the extent of Chen Lifu's actual control over Dai Li was questionable. "Did I actually direct Dai Li's organ? When important problems came up, I talked them over with Dai Li and directed him."¹⁵

THE JOINT ORGAN

In fact, Chen Lifu's control was quite indirect. Sometime in 1935, a special secret committee, or "joint organ" (also called the Michazu or Investigation Group), was created under Chen Lifu to coordinate intelligence activities for Chiang Kai-shek.¹⁶ According to Chen Lifu:

A joint organization was set up in 1935 to promote coordination between the central and the military bureaus of investigation. It was subordinated directly to Mr. Chiang. I was the head of the joint organ. My deputy was Chen Zhuo [Chen Kongru],¹⁷ who did important work at the Military Council. . . . The joint organization was composed of three sections. The first section was headed by Xu Enzeng. Most of its personnel held concurrent posts at the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics under the Organization Department. They drew their pay primarily from Central Party headquarters. At the second section, headed by Dai Li, the majority of the personnel received their pay from military organs. Most of them held concurrent posts in intelligence organs of military organs in army units and the center. The third section, headed by Ding Mocun, was relatively small. It was maintained by special funds.¹⁸

The first section was supposed to handle all "anti-Communist work except that of a military nature," which was assigned to the second section.

Dai Li's organ or working group was subordinated to the Military Council. Its task was to protect Mr. Chiang on the one hand, and on the other hand to carry out work assigned by Mr. Chiang. This gradually developed in a military direction. Dai Li's men worked in army units and military organizations and

in the territory of some militarists. However, the organ also dealt with the communists and Japanese and problems in general. This aspect of their work was of secondary importance. Their principal work was to eliminate spies working for communists or for Japan in the army.¹⁹

Section three was responsible for international intelligence, and especially intelligence on Japan.²⁰

The task of this mysterious “joint organ”—which “had no name”—was to coordinate activities among the various sections or bureaus, and especially between the civilian Central Bureau of Investigation and Dai Li’s Special Services Department (Tewuchu). The coordination was carried out via weekly meetings, which were initiated by Chen Lifu “to discuss broad outlines of strategy.”

One of the reasons for setting up the joint organization was the fact that the two bureaus often handled the same cases. We wanted to concentrate results in a joint organ to make possible cross-checking. Sometimes, of course, duplication was necessary; both bureaus were purposely told to handle certain cases. What was the name of the joint organization? There was no name. How many would attend the weekly meetings? The really important people from both bureaus. . . . It was primarily a matter of personal relations.²¹

The joint organ also may have screened some of the individual agency reports, especially when they dealt with matters that Chiang Kai-shek had assigned to both sets of agents simultaneously.²²

Then and later, the Chen brothers regarded Dai Li’s secret service with a measure of contempt, believing that his men relied too much upon brute force and terror, and too little upon a refined sense of the operating procedures of the opposition. Chen Lifu routinely recruited college graduates for the Central Statistical Bureau, and he very often employed agents who were former Communists, trained in the Soviet Union, on the grounds that they understood better than anyone else the worldview of the enemy. Dai Li, despite his acquisition later of the newest “scientific” investigative techniques that Frank Yee and others brought back from the United States or that were made available to him via Captain Miles and the Sino-American Cooperative Organization, was never able to shake this image of brutality and heavy-handedness. To others he remained, in Vincent’s words, “the personification of the latter-day repressive tendencies of the Guomindang,” lacking Chen Lifu’s jesuitical reputation for refinement and subtlety.²³

Dai Li himself was aware of Chen Lifu’s contempt for him, especially after his bureau was briefly merged with Central Statistics in the Second Department (Dierchu) under the Central Military Affairs Commission.²⁴ Dai Li never forgave Chen for “looking down upon” (*miaoshi*) him then, when he presented himself, hat in hand, for inspection, and he nourished resentment and hatred in his heart for years thereafter.²⁵

DENG WENYI AND THE NANCHANG AIRPORT FIRE

A more immediate rival within the group of Whampoa comrades who made up Chiang Kai-shek's inner circle was Deng Wenyi. As we have seen, Deng was a "mad supporter of Chiang," who was so rabidly anti-Communist that he became virtually incoherent at times, raving wildly and slaving at the mouth. Within the Whampoa clique, he was regarded as the most fanatical advocate and executor of "purifying the party" (*qing dang*), and his loyal devotion to Chiang after the April 12 *coup de main* helped get him appointed to the post of secretary of the Generalissimo's Escort Office (Shicongshi), or Aides-de-Camp (ADC). He was impossible to discourage; and if Chiang were to treat him unkindly, as he sometimes did, Deng was always to be found back at the side of his *lingxiu* (Leader), slavishly devoted to his master. His eagerness to publish Chiang Kai-shek's writings and essays with funds gathered from other Whampoa students was matched only by his zeal in printing various manuals for extirpating the Communists: *The Handbook for Exterminating Bandits* (*Jiao fei shouce*) and *Important Documents for Exterminating Bandits* (*Jiao fei zhuyao wenxian*).²⁶

Before 1932, Deng Wenyi's position within the ADC was crucial to his control over anti-Communist espionage. Reports from Dai Li's organization routinely went to Group Six (Diliu zu) of the ADC, which Deng Wenyi controlled.²⁷ After 1932, Deng's power became based upon command of the Investigation Section (Diaochake) of the Nanchang military headquarters.²⁸ In the summer of 1934, however, Deng Wenyi's paramountcy was challenged as a result of the Nanchang airport affair (see chap. 4).

A military aircraft under repair at Nanchang caught fire and the blaze spread to the barracks and nearby buildings, razing the entire airport from whence Chiang had been launching his bombers in repeated attacks upon the Jiangxi Soviet.²⁹ Deng Wenyi's Diaochake was assigned to look into the matter. Meanwhile, rumors appeared in the Shanghai press that the fire had been set by officials of the Aviation Bureau to cover up traces of their own embezzlement of state funds. Deng's investigation team, however, found no signs of this and reported so in a cable that was sent to Nanjing, but which was also intercepted and disclosed to reporters.

Shanghai newspapers promptly published excerpts from the leaked document and accused Deng Wenyi of having accepted a bribe from the Aviation Bureau officials in return for whitewashing the entire affair. Although Deng himself claimed that this was all an elaborate plot on the part of competitors for control of the Aviation Bureau, he failed to convince Chiang Kai-shek of his innocence.³⁰ Without further ado, the Generalissimo ordered that the Aviation Bureau officials be fired, and that Deng Wenyi be dismissed from all of his public posts.³¹ Dai Li swiftly took over Deng's counterintelligence role, merging his SSD with the Nanchang Investigation

Section and thereby finally enlisting his own men on the regular military payroll.³²

EXPANSION OF THE SPECIAL SERVICES DEPARTMENT

By this time Dai Li already had established special services units in twenty-six cities throughout China organized into zones (*diqu*), provincial stations (*zhan*), units under a station's jurisdiction (*zhanhaizu*), and simple lower-level units (*zu*).³³ There were also special services units in the Nanjing foreign concessions, in the Railway Communications Bureau (*Tiedao tongxun zu*), and in the Investigation Group of the Ministry of Finance (*Caizheng michazu*).³⁴

After the Nanchang airport fire and Deng Wenyi's subsequent disgrace, Dai Li not only took over the Investigation Department of the Nanchang garrison; he promptly began to extend the influence of his special services organization throughout each of the security and military police organs of the Chinese army.³⁵ At military police headquarters, for example, he established a Political Training Department (*Zhengxunchu*) under Liang Ganqiao and Zhang Yanyuan. Within individual military police companies he appointed political training officers (*zhengzhi xunlianyuan*) already in his service. Each provincial Baoanchu or Peace Preservation Department (PPD) was additionally ordered to form an intelligence section (*diebaogu*), whose chief was concurrently head of the local special services unit in that area.³⁶

Dai Li eventually came to dominate the Capital Police Bureau Investigative Section (*Shoudu jingchating diaochake*), which was nominally headed by Zhao Shirui; the Shanghai Songhu Garrison Command Main Detective Brigade (*Shanghai Songhu jingbei silingbu zhencha dadui*), which he placed under the command of Wu Naixian, Weng Guanghui, and Wang Zhaohuai; the Zhejiang Provincial Public Safety Department Investigative Division (*Zhejiangsheng baoanchu diaochagu*), also under Weng Guanghui; the Nanjing-Shanghai-Hangzhou Railroad Bureau Police Office (*Jing-Hu Hu-Hang jiao tieluju jingchashu*), under Wu Naixian; and the Secret Investigative Group of the Anti-Opium Surveillance and Investigation Department (*Jinyan duchachu michazu*). Moreover, by the late 1930s leading operatives on the detective squads and in the training sections (*xunlianke*) of most provincial public safety departments regarded the Nanjing Special Services Department as their own "headquarters" (*zongchu*), to which they routinely reported.³⁷

After this crucial formalization of Dai Li's secret service organization, Deng Wenyi did continue to serve as an assistant secretary (*zhuli shuji*) for the Fuxingshe, but he lost his opportunity to perform—and perhaps even his flair for—secret police duties. Instead, he turned entirely to propa-

ganda work, reassuming the post of chief secretary (*shujizhang*) of the Renaissance Society once again in 1936 and welcoming the opportunity to become—as he explicitly put it—the Goebbels of the regime to Dai Li's Himmler. “As far as this kind of special work is concerned, I am after all just an amateur *waihang*. I just don't do it very well. If we want to have a Himmler, then we only have [Dai] Yunong who has the capacity for that.”³⁸

Dai Li disliked being compared to Himmler. Always a master of theatricality in search of the most appropriate role, he preferred during this phase of his life to think of himself as a kind of master spy and strategist in the tradition of Sunzi, scouting out the road ahead so that the way could be smoothed for the cart of politics—the train of state—to move smoothly along behind him.³⁹ Although he was later to develop a fairly elaborate doctrine of moral service, heavily influenced by Confucian ethics, his guiding principles were merely fourfold in 1934.⁴⁰ These four points, enunciated in his own handwriting and distributed to his associates, were very simple: 1) adhere to the “ism” (*zhuyi*) of the Three People's Principles, 2) use reasoning and be rational, 3) cultivate sentimental ties, and 4) maintain discipline.⁴¹

DAI LI'S DEVOTION TO HIS LEADER

The mentality that these points were meant to inculcate was supposed to be focused on the person of the Leader, around whom a cult of personality was rapidly forming after 1932. Like the Nazi Führer, Chiang Kai-shek was greeted with salutes and rhythmic heel clicking both in person and in absentia. “After 1933 and until the end of the Pacific War, every meeting when the name of the chairman *weiyuanzhang* [of the Military Affairs Commission] was mentioned, the people present would jump up to attention.”⁴² Dai Li's special services headquarters thus had its auditorium draped with slogans that emphasized empathetic understanding of the Leader's burdens and familistic collectivism in his support.

Act on the orders of the Leader. Give sympathetic consideration *tinian* to the pains *kuxin* taken by the Leader.

The group *tuanti* is the household *jiating*. Comrades are brothers [literally, “hands and feet”].

Needs are truth *xuyao jishi zhenli*. Action is theory *xingdong jishi lilun*.⁴³

Dai Li's instructions thus exhorted his agents to adopt a philosophy of individual activism: “to have the will to die *si de yizhi*; to have the determination to act *gan de juexin*!”⁴⁴ But they also paradoxically counseled passive acquiescence to the Leader's will: “Intelligence agents may not have their own political views. They must accept the will of the Leader as their own will.”⁴⁵

The notion of the *lingxiu* (Leader) was critical to Dai Li's worldview. It embodied several different traditions. On the one hand, there was the veneration that Chiang Kai-shek's former pupils, the Whampoa cadets, were supposed to reserve for their chancellor (*xiaozhang*). This devotion exceeded Confucian bounds, however, in the selflessness demanded of the Generalissimo's followers. Grafted onto such Confucian cults of loyalty as Zeng Guofan's "muscular Confucianism" of the late nineteenth century, Chiang Kai-shek's version of discipleship was meant to instill the kind of personal self-discipline that he associated with modern military order and revolutionary spirit.⁴⁶ Chiang held himself up as the exemplar of this sort of discipline, and it was left to his followers to live up to his high standards of rigid self-control and perpetual dedication. They were supposed to find their own personal significance, directly and individually, one by one, in the Leader's personal approval of their obedience to his cause, of their total immersion in his identity.⁴⁷

In a speech delivered on September 20, 1933, in Xinzi county, Jiangxi, to cadres on "how to be a member of the revolutionary party," Chiang Kai-shek identified this "leadership worship" (*lingxiu de xinyang*) with international fascism.⁴⁸

The most important point about fascism is absolute worship of one competent and outstanding⁴⁹ Leader. Aside from him, there is absolutely no second leader or second "ism." There has to be total belief in one man. Therefore, within the organization of this collectivity *tuanti*, that there are officers such as cadres, committee members, and secretaries is totally irrelevant. There must be belief in no one else but the single person of the *lingxiu*. Everything awaits the final decision of the Leader. At this point we must recognize that without one Leader that everyone worships absolutely *juedui xinyang* it will not be possible to reform the country to complete the revolution. Therefore, from now on, all of you must have this awareness. The special characteristic of fascism is there is only the one person of the Leader. Aside from this man, there is no second leader. All power and responsibility rests with the one person of the Leader. Of course, the Leader himself must have great personality and revolutionary spirit to serve as an exemplar to all members of the party. And all members of the party must be able to make sacrifices directly for the Leader and for the collectivity, and indirectly for the society, for the country, and for revolutionary principles. The day that we joined the revolutionary party is the day that we completely entrusted all personal rights, life, freedom and happiness to the collectivity and to the Leader. There absolutely cannot be second thoughts and divided loyalties. We can only become true fascists upon fulfilling these criteria!⁵⁰

The last point is the most important point. After you leave here you must all share this understanding with other comrades: revolution in the present day must not be quite so scattered and dissolute as in the past. First of all, you must

ask yourself: do you have absolute faith in this Leader? Can you entrust everything about yourself to this Leader? Now that you have become a member of this revolutionary party, you must first of all make sure that you can do this. Then there will be hope for our party and for China's revolution.⁵¹

All members of the party must entrust everything about themselves to the Leader. On his part, the Leader must not only assume responsibility for the revolution and the entire collectivity. He must also assume responsibility for all matters concerning the individual members of the party. The Leader must not only assume responsibility for matters that concern the person of the party member; he must also assume responsibility for matters that concern the party member's family. The Leader is responsible to the party member not only during the latter's lifetime. He will also assume full responsibility after his death to provide for his dependents. To sum it up, if you can have true faith in the leadership, if you are loyal to the collectivity, and dedicate yourself to your revolutionary responsibilities, then all other public and private matters will be taken care of by the Leader and by the collectivity! After you have understood this, you will not have anxieties about gain or loss; you will not attach yourselves to your family and to your spouse; you will not lament over poverty and hardship. You will have no fear that after your sacrifice there will be no one to care for your family and children, that there will be no one to take care of matters after your death. In short, the personal affairs of a member of the party, whether during his lifetime or after his death, will all be taken care of by the group and the leadership. An individual must not plan for himself; he must totally dedicate himself to the collectivity, to the principles of the revolution, and to the leadership.⁵²

This was the purpose of forging the band of devoted followers into the Li-xingshe in the first place—a tenet never to be forgotten by the special operations units that eventually merged in Dai Li's Juntong.⁵³

HOUSE RULES

Chiang Kai-shek's clandestine surrogate was Dai Li, who reigned over his agents like a traditional elite paterfamilias. Emphasizing again and again that the organization was "a large family," and stressing the importance of group spirit, Dai Li promised to assume personal responsibility for the life and death of his followers in return for their loyalty and devoted service.⁵⁴ In a brainstorming session of the SSD's inspectors that was held beside Hangzhou's West Lake in early January 1935, Dai Li rejected suggestions they adopt the organizational ethos of either the KGB or the Gestapo, although the operational techniques, tradecraft, and models of organization of these organizations were readily accepted. The Chinese secret service, Dai Li stressed, must be built upon Chinese concepts of benevolence, righteousness, loyalty, and filial piety. "Our comrades converge through the prin-

ciples of benevolence and righteousness; our collective bond is created through mutual loyalty and obligation.”⁵⁵

The role of traditional patriarch dictated on the one hand that Dai Li behave with the exaggerated courtesy of a gentry host toward his household’s high-status “guests.” Quoting the maxim “a gentleman would rather lose his life than endure humiliation” (*shi ke sha, bu ke ru*), Dai Li exerted himself to show the greatest kindness and consideration to the elite field agents, high-ranking officers, and attendant scholars with whom he tried to surround himself. But he demanded absolute obedience and total dedication from his own students (which meant anyone who had graduated from a secret service training course) and subordinates, who were subject to the strictest discipline.⁵⁶

Dai Li dealt out three forms of punishment to those who violated his regulations: verbal reprimands, confinement, and death before a firing squad. In spite of his elaborate courtesies, he was extremely short-tempered and sharp-tongued, perhaps because of the very tension created by the clash between postured humility and visceral willpower.⁵⁷ When he lost his temper (which he frequently did), he became verbally aggressive, cursing and scolding his followers for having broken his *jiagui*, or “household regulations.”⁵⁸ These rules represented the patriarch’s orders to his “household,” governing personal behavior and dictating individual attitudes. The most notorious of these orders, one of which forbade gambling and playing *ma-jiang*, was the ban on marriage during the War of Resistance.⁵⁹ According to Oliver Caldwell, “Dai Li was strangely jealous of the influence of women on the lives of his men. He had women in his organization, both as secret operatives and to take care of the biological needs of his men, but he objected strongly to marriage or any permanent alliances.”⁶⁰ Invoking a phrase in the *Dynastic History of the Han* (*Han shu*), “Is personal happiness possible before the extermination of the Huns?” (*Xiongnu wei mie, he yijia wei*), Dai Li prohibited Juntong men and women from getting married to anyone inside or outside the bureau until the Japanese had been driven out of the country.⁶¹

To enforce his rules, Dai Li built an intricate surveillance system within the special services. A large number of personnel were assigned to internal supervisory and surveillance duties. These inspectors were given overlapping responsibilities within the Inspectorate Office (Duchashi) under Ke Jian’an and reported via a chain of command that was never very clear, although it obviously reached directly to Dai Li himself.⁶² All evaluations prepared by internal surveillance organs were personally reviewed by Dai Li, regardless of the rank of the officer who wrote the reports. Whenever someone infringed one of the *jiagui*, scolding was frequently followed by solitary confinement in one of Dai Li’s prisons or concentration camps.⁶³ The jailing was often without time limit, and despite Dai Li’s courtesies to-

ward “gentlemen,” no one—not even those of the highest rank in his organization—was safe from punishment.⁶⁴

THE JUNTONG PRISON SYSTEM

Dai Li’s prisons and concentration camps merit a study unto themselves.

Chiang’s soldiers disarmed and arrested the Fourth Route Army, throwing them into concentration camps (called Labor Camps). For some time, not only the “regular” Chinese secret police under Dai Li (ironically called the Chinese Himmler), but the Guomindang party police have been making arrests. Camps are said to exist in a dozen places and to be filled not only with Communists and with students desirous of reaching the Communist stronghold at Yan’an, but with representatives of the so-called “middle parties” between the Communists and Guomindang, and with persons guilty merely of criticizing the government.⁶⁵

They were “chock full of tortured, emaciated men and women, including many who had been there for years and should have been released under the terms of the 1937 United Front.”⁶⁶ Chen Lifu later told an interviewer:

What proportion of captured suspects were sent to these institutions? Most of them. What do I think of the results? Quite good. I’ll tell you the reason. Most Communists were muddle-headed. Once trapped they could not get out. The Communists used any means: money, girls—to grab hold of [new members]. Most Communists joined the party because they were momentarily muddle-headed, not because they had faith [in Communism]. How did I arrive at this conclusion? From my conversation with you. Communist youth? Not necessarily. I saw a lot of leftist youth. This conclusion was not just mine. It was shared by colleagues who questioned [suspects] such as Zhang Daofan. That’s why we used the reform institutions. These were Chinese institutions—the Russians would not use them. Their policy was either to use or kill.⁶⁷

The most infamous prisons included Yiyang under Warden He Jisheng, Xifeng under Warden Zhou Yanghao,⁶⁸ the Southeastern Lockup (Dongnan kanshousuo) at Jian’ou (Yandun) in Fujian under Cao Feihong, and the Northwestern Youth Labor Camp at Xi’an under Jiang Jianren.⁶⁹

The Northwestern Youth Labor Camp was established by order of the Generalissimo on February 1, 1940⁷⁰ (see appendix A). It was formed from the Special Training Unit (Texun zongdui) of the fourth *tuan* of the War-time Cadre Training Corps of the Commission of Military Affairs. The Texun zongdui’s commander, Xiao Zuolin, was replaced by General Jiang Jianren, who was named “dean” (*jiaoyu zhang*) of the camp.⁷¹ More than three hundred high school and college students arrested by district governments, by the Thirty-fourth Military District, and by the Shanxi Guomin-

dang Office were “enlisted” in three *dadui*.⁷² Their biweekly indoctrination sessions were intended to serve as rebuttals to the viewpoints put forth by the Communists at the University of the War of Resistance (Kangzhan daxue) in Yan’an. For the next three years, the labor camp steadily expanded its operations; in 1944 it was reorganized as the Northwestern Youth Training Center (Xibei qingxun zongdui), still under the overall leadership of Hu Zongnan.⁷³

There existed, apart from the labor camps for politically wayward youth, Dai Li’s own internal penal system, which dated from the early years of the SSD, when Shanghai secret police operations were expanding. Both to jail suspected dissidents and to punish unruly followers, Dai Li constructed a special prison in Nanjing at a location never divulged even to his own top field agents.⁷⁴ Prisoners from Shanghai—virtually all tortured and some partially maimed—were taken to the train station, without handcuffs but with the lower half of their faces wrapped in muslin bandages and wearing sunglasses.⁷⁵

Usually the captives were made to wear a shoe studded with nails so as to cause them to limp badly as they leaned against one of their two arresting officers. Invariably, they were put on the night express at the very last minute, hustled into a sleeping car deprived of toilet facilities. The trip to Nanjing was harrowing for even the Juntong captors, because they never knew until the last minute if they themselves might be slotted for detention. Upon arrival the secret policemen were met outside the train station, ordered to hand over their prisoners, and—if they were lucky—dismissed. Many hapless SSD escorts were arrested on the spot, just as they were handing over their prisoners to the Juntong welcoming committee; and they went on to spend years in Dai Li’s prison system, where they were expected to gather information from other political prisoners in order to secure their own release.⁷⁶

High-level MSB backbone cadres such as Zhou Weilong, Yu Lexing, and Xie Ligong were all confined at least once; and some of Dai Li’s very best agents—men like Xu Zhongwu and Lou Zhaoli—were thrown into Juntong jails seven or eight times.⁷⁷ There was also always the risk of Dai Li’s administering the dreaded third sanction whenever he wished.⁷⁸ The death sentence was applied utterly at Dai Li’s discretion. In 1941, for example, out of a total of several hundred deaths within the MSB, more than thirty were executions for flouting the integrity of the bureau’s discipline.⁷⁹

It is important to understand, however, that Dai Li’s punishments were not arbitrary.⁸⁰ Within his own organization, which was, after all, partly composed of ambitious and restive adventurers, officers who slipped up expected to be disciplined.⁸¹ They clearly saw the connection between their own errors or malfeasance and Dai Li’s sanctions. Indeed, they knew his sanctions to be part of a larger system of internal discipline and punishment

that was ultimately supervised by Chiang Kai-shek himself, but that was from beginning to end implemented by Dai Li in person.⁸²

An example of this was the case of Wang Tianmu, chief of the Tianjin Station.⁸³ Wang, like most of the experienced gunmen in his operations group (*xingdong zu*), was from Henan, but his family lived in Beiping, where he also had a residence.⁸⁴ In the spring of 1934 Wang went to Zhangjiakou on bureau business, so that he was away when a particularly “shocking” (*jingren*) homicide case in Beiping was attributed to SSD field agents from the Tianjin Station. News of the affair died down after the Beiping Investigation and Apprehension Brigade (*Zhenji dui*) announced that they had broken the case, but the true details of the homicide remained something of a mystery to the public.⁸⁵

While Beiping still buzzed with news of the murder, the head of the local SSD station, Chen Gongshu, received a cable from Dai Li in Nanjing ordering him to reserve a hotel room without telling anyone of the secret police chief’s presence in the former capital. The evening of Dai’s arrival the two men ordered food from the Central Restaurant (*Zhongyang fandan*) on East Chang’an Road and took it back to the general’s hotel room for dinner. After the two chatted casually at supper, Dai Li questioned Chen Gongshu at length about Wang Tianmu, who was still in Zhangjiakou. When Chen was about to leave, Dai Li said, “I am going to wait around until Tianmu comes back from Zhangjiakou. I have something to go over with him. I’ll call you up and let you know when I am ready to leave Beiping.” The next day Wang Tianmu returned from Zhangjiakou, and that evening Dai Li informed Chen that he was heading back to Nanjing. Chen went to the railroad station to see him off and was surprised to see that Dai Li had Wang Tianmu in tow.⁸⁶

Wang Tianmu did not return to his Tianjin post after this.⁸⁷ Instead, Wang Zixiang was appointed to succeed him as station chief, and about a month later Dai Li sent a telegram ordering the Beiping Station to “escort” the secretary of the Tianjin Station, Wang Tianmu’s former assistant, to Nanjing in order to close the case. With that the Operations Group of Tianjin Station was disbanded, and the field agents were either reassigned or given punishment.⁸⁸

Dai Li wrote a special report to Chiang Kai-shek about this case. According to Dai’s personal secretary, Mao Wanli, the entire dispatch was only a few hundred words long. But Dai Li worked on it for a whole night, from dusk till dawn, writing the report by himself, stroke by stroke. Dai gave a succinct summary of the event, implicating the former Tianjin station chief, then listed Wang Tianmu’s past merits and accomplishments, and finally made three proposals for Chiang to consider: first, the death sentence; second, life imprisonment; or third, giving Wang another chance to redeem himself. Chiang Kai-shek adopted the second proposal. Wang Tianmu was

incarcerated in “Location C” (Bing di), which was set aside for SSD use in the Nanjing Military Prison at Tiger Bridge. “Location C” was reserved for long-term imprisonment, and there Wang Tianmu would remain until Dai Li released him from jail for underground work in Shanghai under Japanese occupation.⁸⁹

Service in Dai Li’s secret police was, in effect, a lifetime term.⁹⁰ Once you became a member of the SSD, or what was eventually called the Military Statistics Bureau, you were never dismissed, nor could you resign from that position. If a person even asked for Dai Li’s permission to retire, he or she risked being clapped into confinement indefinitely.⁹¹ Agents told each other, “The comrades *tongzhi* in our organization come in when they’re alive and only leave when they’re sleeping in their coffins.”⁹²

Chapter 16

Skirts and Sashes

Without money there is no method that is going to work. If you have money, then you can hire the devil to come and work for you. When it comes to playing at politics, who can be without it—in both ancient and modern times, both inside and outside China, it's always been like this, I'm afraid.

DAI LI, *Address to Juntong Agents*¹

RITUALS AND CEREMONIES

Secret service agents who were killed at Dai Li's orders—and there were nearly two thousand MSB men and women who died at his command in order to maintain the “discipline” (*jilü*) of the organization—were posthumously honored by Juntong as “martyrs” (*lieshi*).² Dai Li believed that bureau members who were executed in this manner “gave their lives to maintain the dignity and integrity of the collective discipline,” having died to perpetuate the purity of Juntong's “family tradition.”³ He gave their families the same living stipend, tuition, and fees that he handed out to other widows and orphans of the bureau; and this in turn reflected the usual GMD treatment of cadres' survivors initiated by Chiang Kai-shek in a speech made in 1933 at a funeral ceremony in Fuzhou for soldiers who had died in the suppression campaign.⁴

After Dai Li became head of Juntong, he held every year on the anniversary of the founding of the Special Services Department a solemn ten-day “April first meeting” (*siyi dahui*) at MSB headquarters, during which all of the agents who were part of the secret “internal” (*neibu*) workings of the bureau commemorated these and other martyrs' sacrifices. Before the convocation began confidential invitations were sent to the “responsible person” in each provincial and municipal Juntong office. The guests were supposed to represent their bureaus, and when they arrived they were ushered into an auditorium with great solemnity to await the arrival of the principal mourner, Chiang Kai-shek himself.⁵

As the years wore on, these April first meetings became more and more elaborate, and their rituals increasingly dramatic. By the time Juntong headquarters had moved to Chongqing an elaborate “mourning hall” (*lieshi ling-*



Figure 11. Dai Li and children at party, Christmas 1944. Estate of Milton Miles.

tang) had been erected, and the secret agents for the ten-day ceremony were apt to find the auditorium festooned with banners that proclaimed:

Blood shed in a just cause [will last] a thousand autumns *bixue qianqiu* . A noble spirit is imperishable *haoqi changcun* .

Continue the glorious history *jixu guangrong lishi* . Carry forward pure family customs *fayang qingbai jiafeng* .

Assisted by Dai Li, Chiang Kai-shek made offerings to the spirits of those who had been “killed in the line of duty” (*xunnan*), those who had been “killed because of illness” (*xunzhi*), and those who had been “killed because they had broken the law” (*xunfa*). After the ceremony was over, Chiang made a tour of the hall, inspecting the higher-level secret agents. Once he had left, the rest of the audience presented offerings of money, clothing, and other gifts. The stage was then taken over by Dai Li, who would usually direct his comments toward the various section leaders who had come to attend the meeting, explaining how the MSB had been founded and how much concern and solicitude their supreme Leader had shown for them.⁶

Once Dai Li concluded his remarks, the guests adjourned to a banquet of more than four hundred tables with food personally selected by Dai Li. Toasts were given, the first to Chiang Kai-shek’s health, the second to Dai

Li's longevity, and the third to everyone else's well-being. Then, once the duty officer had shouted, "commence!" (*kaidong*), the secret agents sat down and began eating. The banquets, interspersed with entertainments put on by a theatrical troupe organized within the MSB, went on day after day. The first night the festivities lasted until midnight. The second evening there was another dinner party. On the third day the agents rested before attending a banquet at Juntong's administrative offices. Then, beginning on the fourth day, the guests were divided into small groups to discuss work problems. These discussions generally continued for four or five days. On the very last day, Dai Li usually led Juntong office and division cadres as well as the representatives from each local bureau to the tomb of the "anonymous heroes" (*wuming yingxiong*), where a flowered wreath was placed before the smooth and unmarked monument, deliberately devoid of personal inscription. This marked the completion of the closing ceremonies, which were followed by Dai Li's taking the MSB provincial representatives to the Central Training Unit (*Zhongyang xunlian ban*) to have a private audience with Chiang Kai-shek. Once that was over, the ten-day ceremony was brought to an end and the representatives returned to work in their individual units.⁷

Although these ceremonies, especially after 1941, were set to an august Confucian cadence scored by Dai Li's solemn and uplifting lectures, his remarks to his agents before that date were earthier and less high-flown.⁸ One is struck by the vulgar suppleness of his conversations recorded during the 1930s, conversations that reveal only average literacy but that demonstrate a quick and facile mind, capable of twisting aphorisms around and of easily manipulating spatial relationships.⁹ His language during that decade was that of someone steeped in the tradition of the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*San guo yanyi*). He spoke of the renegade, the bandit, and outlaw, of the "rivers and lakes" (*jianghu*). Mao Zedong (to make an obvious comparison) also was steeped in the *San guo yanyi*, but his language was much more literary and elegant. Mao spoke like a magistrate in front of his yamen; Dai Li sounded more like a worldly *muyou* (tent guest or literary scribe). He was certainly a step above the illiterate yamen runner, but his language was still that of the clerk, and not that of one who held a lower degree.¹⁰

RIVERS AND LAKES

An event most revealing of Dai Li's own strategic vision, colored as it was by the romance of feudalism and the wisdom of the marshes, occurred during the spring festival of 1944, when Hu Zongnan gave a banquet at the Maling Mansion in Xi'an. At the end of the meal talk turned to the *Three Kingdoms*. Hu and his guests—especially Liang Ganqiao, Fan Hanjie, and Jiang Jianren—moved easily from the romance to Sunzi's treatise on war. Dai Li at first hemmed and hawed, pretending he knew nothing about the classic;

but then, pressed by the others, he uncharacteristically began to express his own opinion. First, he said he knew little of the commentaries that Fan had cited, nor could he talk about the German strategist von Clausewitz from practical experience, since he was not a battlefield general. But he did have something to say about the chapter “De jian” and *dejian wei zhu* (acquiring intelligence is the chief matter) in the *Sunzi bingfa*, the Warring States work on war and military strategy that constituted one of the standard texts in the military academies of this time.¹¹

According to a listener at the banquet, Dai Li talked with unusual enthusiasm about the *Sunzi bingfa*, his voice falling and rising in waves as he spoke of “military espionage” (*junshi jiandie*) and “military intelligence” (*junshi qingbao*).¹² After all, it was much more important in the long run to attack the hearts and minds of the enemy than to assault his defended walls (*gong xin wei shang, gong cheng wei xia*). Dai Li’s hero in this respect was Zhuge Liang (Kongming) of the *Three Kingdoms*, China’s earliest spymaster, who was also close in Dai’s eyes to being a “godlike immortal” (*shen xian*), as Kongming advised Liu Bei how to conduct the “great enterprise” of reconstituting the empire.¹³

Kongming’s skill as a master magician is revealed most vividly in the novel during his punitive expedition against Wei in 231 E, when he confronts General Sima Yi sitting in a battle wagon “wearing a bonnet fastened with a clasp and a robe bestuck with crane feathers, feather fan in hand.” Escorted by twenty-four long-haired unshod men in black led by Guan Xing, and dressed “as the Straw-headed Monster of the Field,” Zhuge Liang escaped the pursuing Wei cavalry by trickery and magic, leaving General Sima to sigh to heaven that “Kongming’s maneuvers are as subtle as those of gods and demons.”¹⁴

In the Mao recension, used by Moss Roberts in his magisterial translation of Luo’s classic, Zhuge Liang is only said to be “disguised” as a god, but his Merlin-like qualities are present throughout the romance, and these qualities certainly must have accounted for some of the fascination China’s modern spymaster, a wizard of deception himself, felt for “the sleeping dragon.”¹⁵ Indeed, Dai Li told the other banquet guests, somewhat to their surprise, that he intended to write a biography of Zhuge Liang when time permitted.¹⁶

Needless to say, Dai Li’s discourses had to take his audiences into account, and by and large the agents that he recruited before the War of Resistance were not highly educated men and women. Despite the emphasis he placed upon intelligence work in the *Sunzi bingfa*, espionage and counterintelligence were hardly a reputable occupation during the Republican period.¹⁷ Many of the early recruits—the rank and file in particular—were drawn from the lower strata of society: jugglers, wrestlers, itinerant entertainers, journeymen traders, jailers, executioners, thieves, and gangsters.

These agents readily put on the disguises of candy hucksters, porters, street hawkers, restaurant and hotel waiters, domestic servants, newspaper vendors, and ricksha pullers when they were on assignment.¹⁸

Moreover, top-ranking agents who were culturally literate did not receive the best higher education of the time. Available information on the service's officers of the 1930s shows that the majority of these agents received a traditional education during the early decades of the century in a provincial milieu, insulated from the intellectual ferment of the May Fourth Movement. Dai Li, of course, attended Zhejiang Provincial Normal School, which before 1919 offered a traditional literary curriculum and, given its practice of free tuition, attracted students of lesser social background.¹⁹ Other key figures of the secret service, from Deng Wenyi and Zhao Longwen to such middle-ranking cadres as Liu Peichu and Qiao Jiakai, received education in the classics and dynastic histories as children, admired the heroes of *Three Kingdoms* and *The Water Margin*, and readily alluded to literature and classical poetry.²⁰ What separated these men from the college graduates of Shanghai or Beijing was not only their inability to compete successfully in college entrance examinations that stressed competence in English and mathematics, but also their profound ambivalence toward the cultural iconoclasm and Westernized urban lifestyle embraced by the educated elite.²¹

The cultural universe of these officers, as that of Dai Li, was dominated by traditional heroic lore and by historical allegories that in turn shaped the profile of secret service paragons during the Nanjing decade. Dai Li searched for men with special skills such as the ability "to imitate the crow of a rooster, and steal through a hall like a dog" (*ji ming gou dao*), as described in a famous passage in *The Records of the Historian (Shi ji)*; or the ability "to leap from the roof of one building to another, and walk horizontally on its outer walls" (*fei yan zou bi*), which was presumed to be a skill of accomplished thieves in numerous popular tales of martial valor.²²

Dai Li's willingness to believe in the extraordinary ability of those schooled in traditional martial arts, incidentally, lasted even into the mid-1940s, when the MSB in Chongqing had transformed itself into a bureaucracy of professionally trained code operators and secret agents, equipped with shortwave radios and Thompson submachine guns. Dai Li, after considerable effort, convinced a certain Daoist priest to join his organization. He also invited to the bureau a *gongfu* master, believed to be the real-life model for the leading hero of the *Jianghu qixia zhuan* (Legendary heroes of the rivers and lakes), a popular Republican *wuxia* (martial valor and knight-errant) novel of the time.²³ The search for "true men of the rivers and lakes" (*jianghu haohan*) also led Juntong to recruit bandits and kidnappers from Sheng county in the central hills of Zhejiang, where so many Shanghai gangsters and racketeers originated.²⁴ In one case a burglar, who was being held in Wuhan Military Jail under sentence of death, was released and given

a few months of spy training before he was assigned to duty by the Special Services Department.²⁵ Certainly, one of Dai Li's major strengths in the Generalissimo's eyes must have been his ability to mobilize such unsavory elements and turn them into tools of the regime.

In his instructions to subordinates during those years, Dai Li emphasized five different words, which were a kind of strategic shorthand: *qun* (skirt), *ban* (manage), *shi* (master), *cai* (wealth), and *gan* (make, do).²⁶ His explanations of these terms were both straightforward and axiomatic. The first word, "skirt," was obvious enough. In "playing at politics" (*wan zhengzhi*), Dai Li often said, one can never get far from the "skirt and sash relations" (*qun-dai guanxi*) that exist between men and women.²⁷ Whenever possible, try to discover those relationships—or create them—and then use the sexual connection to your advantage. "Foreign affairs" (*waijiao*), on the other hand, called for the kind of "persuasive guest" (*shuike*) who was around in Warring States times and who nowadays served as the head of a warlord's office (*ban-shichu*) in Shanghai or Beiping, "managing" (*ban*) his affairs. People like that had "eyes that could see a thousand *li* and are able to penetrate ten thousand things." At the same time, you had to know how to acquaint yourself with and manipulate the stratum of officials (*shi*) who served as the staff of important leaders. These were the military advisers (*junshi*), who, like the Shaoxing private aides of the imperial period, served as the confidential secretaries (*jiyao mishu*) and chiefs of staff (*canmouzhang*) of the army generals who ran China. If you have these men in your grasp, then everything else follows: "The ether penetrates from top to bottom, and once you penetrate one you penetrate ten thousand" (*shangxia tong qi, yi tong wan tong*).²⁸ Wealth (*cai*) was important because "it's the thing that holds everything else down in terms of strategic foundations." As for *gan*, which simply means "to do," it's a matter of doing all of these things at once. "To grasp all of the key five characters at once almost never happens. In order to cross over the passes like breaking bamboo, you need to do it one section at a time. Following that momentum, you'll pass easily along to do whatever you want to do."²⁹

Dai Li's genius as a secret police chief was in his ability to shift so readily from one role to another, but that in turn depended upon his skill at reading his audience's expectations of himself, their momentary dramaturge. His understanding of human nature stressed the ignoble qualities of others, qualities that he viewed with equanimity in himself. Yet it was precisely because he was willing to recognize, and even pander to, his own vices that he felt himself to be such a master of men's souls. Dai Li's operational obsession with "skirt and sash relations" thus reflected his own predilections as a compulsive womanizer, at least insofar as he was presented as a Lothario by critical biographers who may have been meeting their readers' expecta-

tions about such wayward behavior by writing from sensational subtexts of their own.³⁰

DAI LI'S WOMEN

According to his detractors, Dai Li not only constantly had affairs with his female agents, such as Zou Zhiying; he was also a continuing threat to his cadres' wives and sisters, and his disciples quickly learned to spirit their women out of sight once he began to take an interest in them.³¹ Dai Li was said to be particularly fascinated by contemporary women of action like Shi Jianqiao, who assassinated the warlord Sun Chuanfang in the international settlement of Tianjin in 1934.³² Sun Chuanfang had killed Shi Jianqiao's father, Shi Congbin, who was one of his division commanders (*shizhang*) in Anhui, so that her assassination was an act of retaliation. Consequently, Shi Jianqiao was a popular celebrity: the classic martial arts maiden and the archetypal filial daughter combined.³³ Contemporaries compared her to the heroine He Yufeng in the *youxia* (knight-errant) novel *Women Warriors* (*Ernü yingxiong zhuan*), and the public thought—incorrectly, it seems—that she was one of Dai Li's top agents in the MSB.³⁴

Dai Li was also fascinated by the Japanese spy Kawashima Yoshiko, who cross-dressed like a man and at this time, around 1935, was supposedly commanding collaborationist cavalry against Chinese partisans in Rehe (Jehol).³⁵ But, if the lurid tales about his womanizing are to be believed, Dai Li found women of almost every variety and age attractive. It did not matter whether the person was a menial servant or his own best student: female agents, women doctors, friends' wives, unlicensed prostitutes, licensed courtesans—all he needed was a glimpse.³⁶ Former Juntong agents claimed that one reason Dai Li had so many safe houses scattered here and there was because he needed to have places of assignation available to fulfill his errant sexual impulses whenever the whim struck.³⁷

His own marriage was unhappy. His betrothal to Mao Xiucong occurred in the fall of 1915, when Dai Li was 19 *sui* and a student at Zhejiang Provincial First Normal. Dai Li described his wife as a woman "from the countryside." She was said to be stubborn and unyielding, hard-working, frugal, honest, and unambitious, content with a commoner's lot. Although she suspected that Dai Li was having affairs in the early 1930s, she feared him "like a tiger" and hardly dared quarrel with him. Eventually, because of his extramarital affairs, they lived apart. Typically enough, Dai Li made her brother, Mao Zongliang, his majordomo, giving him appointments in various special service training camps and in cooperatives within Juntong that acted as purchasing agents to buy soft drinks, sundries, and the like for the organization. Although he relied upon him considerably, Dai Li treated his

brother-in-law shabbily, and Mao Zongliang in turn felt that Dai had caused his sister the worst kind of misfortune. After their estrangement, she fell ill and died in Shanghai in 1939.³⁸

Dai Li's aides claimed to be embarrassed by his constant womanizing.³⁹ Every time he made an inspection trip by automobile to one or another of his secret service stations, some kind of misalliance was likely to occur, with his lieutenants often forced to act as go-betweens and procurers. "Although I went along with him as an aide four times," one former secret agent reported, "there wasn't a single time that a person dared bring up these humiliating sexual activities with him."⁴⁰

Not all the relationships were casual, and as time went on Dai Li seemed to grow steadier in his affections, particularly toward the end of his life. At the height of his prewar activity, he supposedly had two major mistresses, Zhao Ailan and Ye Xiati, and he often traveled with both of them. For example, whenever a particularly urgent intelligence report came from one of his field units, Dai Li would personally deliver the message to Chiang Kai-shek in Nanjing, driving overnight from wherever he happened to be at the moment. During those long nighttime drives, conducted by two chauffeurs taking turns at the wheel, Dai Li would ride in the back seat with Zhao Ailan and Ye Xiati, falling asleep close beside one or the other woman.⁴¹

Ye Xiati was a graduate of the Special Training Section (Texunban) of the Zhejiang Police Academy. She had caught Dai Li's eye when she was a clerk (*shiwuyuan*) in the Sanji Wireless Radio School. Once she became the object of his "infatuation" (*chongai*), Dai Li decided to have her learn proper manners by living in the household of Yang Hu, commander of the Shanghai Garrison. An intimate of the Yang Hu family and a frequent visitor to their house on Huanlong Road, Dai Li was very envious of the Guomindang general's ability to surround himself with women who were able to handle his social affairs. He was particularly impressed by the willingness of Yang Hu's concubines to "sacrifice appearances" (*xisheng sexiang*) and bestow their sexual favors upon important visitors and friends of the general at his behest. After Ye Xiati acquired this same sort of savoir faire, Dai Li arranged for her to study political economy in the United States, and then, when she returned to China, he helped her get a teaching position at Western China University (Huaxi daxue) in Chengdu. Eventually—so one of Dai Li's least friendly biographers claims—Dai Li gave Ye Xiati in marriage to his best friend, General Hu Zongnan.⁴²

Whether this last story is true or not, Dai Li's other mistress at the time also became betrothed to one of the spy chief's friends. Zhao Ailan ended up marrying the chief of the Juntong Communications Office, Wei Daming.⁴³ But these alliances did not always end so happily for the woman in question. In 1940 Dai Li seduced his English-language secretary, Yu Shuheng, even though the young Hunanese woman was engaged to a valued



Figure 12. Dai Li's Baoan mansion. Photograph by Frederic Wakeman.

Juntong agent.⁴⁴ Dai Li claimed that he wanted to marry Yu, but within two years he had fallen in love with the movie star Hu Die and promptly abandoned the now-pregnant Yu Shuheng, sending her to the United States to study.⁴⁵

The general's passion for the actress consumed the last years of Dai Li's life.⁴⁶ Butterfly (Hu Die) was already married to a Shanghai businessman named Pan Yousheng when Dai was smitten by her at first sight.⁴⁷ To celebrate their "marriage," which Dai eventually wanted to make legal, the secret service chief built a pretentiously landscaped "mansion" (*gongguan*) on adjoining pieces of real estate at Yangjiashan, outside Chongqing, as a token of his worshipful devotion to the cosmopolitan movie star (see fig. 12). During Chongqing's muggy evenings the general and his mistress would stroll dreamily along a cement pathway inscribed with the characters *xi* and *shou* (joy, long life), winding among the ten thousand silver dollars' worth of tropical plants and exotic trees that adorned the Grotto of the Immortals (Shenxian dong).⁴⁸

But it would not do to exaggerate the "skirt and sash relations" that Dai Li enjoyed and employed as head of the military secret service. His intimate relations with the women who served him as private clerks and secretaries formed part of a more general pattern of establishing confidentiality through particularistic ties. These habits were also a way for Dai Li to ensure

his own monopolistic control of the gathering and reporting of secret information at the center of his "internal" network. For he was, above all, jealous of anyone infringing upon his confidential sources and using them to try to move around him and gain access to his own main source of power, the Generalissimo himself. One of the best examples of this phenomenon was the Weng Guanghui affair.

THE WENG GUANGHUI AFFAIR

In 1932 the French Concession police raided an underground Communist safe house in Shanghai, seizing, among other materials, a CCP report that gave the deployment, equipment, and other military conditions of the Red Army units in Jiangxi province. The chief of the Chinese detective squad in the French police, Fan Guangzhen, was a Green Gang member who was also on Dai Li's payroll. He therefore passed on a copy of the secret report to his case officer, the head of the Shanghai Special Section, Weng Guanghui. The importance of the document was immediately obvious to Weng, who decided not to convey the information to Dai Li, but rather to go directly to Chiang Kai-shek with what amounted to an intelligence coup of unusual dimensions.

Weng himself was a graduate of the third class at Whampoa who had gone on to captain a warship in the revolutionary navy. Knowing that there was at that time a Chinese warship under repair in the Shanghai shipyards, Weng decided to commandeer the vessel and proceed directly to Jiujiang, whence he would go overland to Lushan and hand in the report personally to the Generalissimo. As soon as the ship left Shanghai, however, one of his underlings in the Special Section informed Dai Li about the venture. Dai—predictably enraged—ordered a plane made ready to fly him posthaste from Nanjing to Jiujiang, where he was waiting with a contingent of special agents when Weng's boat sailed in. The minute the vessel docked Dai Li went aboard and took Weng Guanghui into custody, seizing the secret report and threatening his Special Section chief with the direst punishment. Miraculously, Weng Guanghui managed to escape death, although he was removed from his position.⁴⁹

Thereafter Dai Li made sure that each secret service *zu* (group) had one of his own internal surveillance spies anonymously attached to it so that other agents would not dare to try to go around him to reach the Generalissimo on their own.⁵⁰ In this way, Dai Li zealously defended his indispensability to Chiang Kai-shek, while simultaneously presenting himself as the arch-guardian of the safety of other leading members of the Chiang regime. Juntong thus took blatant precautions to protect major Nanjing officials who came down to Shanghai on weekends for pleasure. If anybody was seen hanging about their front doors or loitering by their automobiles,



Figure 13. Song Ziwen (T. V. Soong), Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law and minister of foreign affairs. Photograph by Wu Yingping.

then secret service agents would have them arrested on suspicion. Almost invariably these suspects turned out to be perfectly harmless, but they were routinely kept in jail for several months. Their efforts to bribe their way out of captivity during such protracted detention additionally provided welcome pocket money for the SSD agents who imprisoned them.⁵¹

SECRET SERVICE COUPS

On September 23, 1931, an attempt to assassinate T. V. Soong (Song Ziwen) was made at the Shanghai train station. Soong survived by throwing aside his trademark white panama hat, an easy target, and got away in the crowd, hiding behind a steel girder.⁵² But his secretary, Tang Yulu, was killed. The murderer escaped. In April 1934 an informant contacted the Shanghai Station of the SSD with a lead to the whereabouts of the assassin. Dai Li instantly dispatched two of his top officers, Shen Zui and Cheng Muyi, to run the lead down. The informant led them to Subei (northern Jiangsu), where the suspected assassin was serving as a brigade commander in the peace preservation core (*baoundui*) in Yancheng. With the informant's help they lured the suspect aboard a small boat, where he was seized for interrogation.

Under torture, the man confessed that Soong's death had been ordered by the "king of assassins," Wang Yaqiao. He also implicated an accomplice: T. V. Soong's former chauffeur, now working as a mechanic in Yangzhou,

where he was subsequently arrested. After the two men were brought back to Shanghai, Dai Li showed T. V. Soong a photograph of the second man. Soong not only confirmed the chauffeur's identity; he also tried to give Shen Zui a five-thousand-yuan reward. But Dai Li ordered Shen Zui to return the check with a note saying that his men were simply carrying out their duty to protect a valued cabinet minister. T. V. Soong as a result felt that he owed Dai Li a considerable debt of gratitude, and later his signature more than once endorsed Juntong requests to the Bank of China for operating funds once Dai won Chiang Kai-shek's permission to bypass the Ministry of Finance.⁵³

Dai Li's greatest secret service coups during these years, however, involved the subordination of domestic militarists in the southeast: the suppression of the Fujian rebellion in 1933 and the subversion of the "king of south China" (*Huanan wang*) in 1936. In November 1933, Li Jishen and Chen Mingshu led the Nineteenth Route Army in a movement to create an independent government in Fujian province, dedicated to the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek.⁵⁴ As soon as he realized the gravity of the Fujian rebellion, which constituted one of the most severe threats to Chiang's power yet to appear, Dai Li went in person to Jian'ou, about eighty kilometers south of Pucheng.⁵⁵

Dai brought along with him a team of agents headed by his deputy Zheng Jiemin, assisted by Zhang Yanyuan. The team, which was called a *cefan zu* (group to incite defection), was divided into four action units under Mo Xiong and others, who went into the area controlled by the Fujian People's Government (Fujian renmin zhengfu) to try to enlist turncoats and subvert the rebel enterprise. Dai Li himself, accompanied by Shen Zui, set up his own headquarters on Gulangyu, the island resort just off of Amoy (Xiamen), which was dotted with the residences of foreign diplomats, businessmen, and missionaries who sought relief along the seashore from the summer heat of Fujian. The defection team followed Dai Li's dictum by trying to win over the *shi* (masters) of the rebel forces, and succeeded in bribing two key officers in the Nineteenth Route Army: Huang Qiang, one of the commanders; and Fan Hanjie, who was chief of staff (*canmou chuzhang*). Within days of the inception of the revolt Dai Li's men had in their hands the code books of the enemy, and the spymaster was able from his perch on Gulangyu to intercept all the battle plans for the deployment of the Nineteenth Route Army. In addition, Dai Li also subverted the military commander at Mawei, opening the gateway to Fuzhou, which was handily occupied by Chiang Kai-shek's army in January 1934, bringing the rebellion to a rapid end and elevating Dai Li's importance even more in the Generalissimo's eyes.⁵⁶

The "king of south China" was Chen Jitang, the warlord of Guangdong who, together with Hu Hanmin, led the New Guomindang (Xin Guomin-

dang), headquartered in Canton. After Hu Hanmin's death in May 1935, Chen Jitang joined the Guangxi warlords in a direct challenge to Chiang Kai-shek's government: armed insurrection in June 1936 against the Nanjing regime.⁵⁷ Once again, Dai Li personally proceeded south with Zheng Jiemín to try to subvert his master's enemy. Zheng himself went on to Hong Kong with a large sum of money, which he entrusted to another one of Dai Li's agents, Xing Shan (Xing Senzhou), for the purpose of bribery. A complicated intrigue followed. Using Zhu Jiahua, the Nanjing minister of education who had been president of Zhongshan University, Dai Li's men were able to persuade the dean of the Guangdong Aeronautical School (Hang-kong xuexiao) to make contact with Huang Guangrui, commander of Chen Jitang's airforce.⁵⁸

At the same time, Dai Li sent one of his best women agents, the former Cantonese dance hall girl Huang Peizhen, to seduce Huang Guangrui.⁵⁹ Together, "skirts" and "wealth" did the trick. Xing Shan promised Huang Guangrui twenty thousand yuan for every airplane that he delivered to Chiang Kai-shek's forces from Chen Jitang's air corps. On June 30, a wing of seven airplanes took off from Guangdong and surrendered to Chiang Kai-shek.⁶⁰ Less than three weeks later, on July 18, eighty-two more airplanes left from Baiyun Airport and field-hopped their way north to Nan-chang. When that contingent of more than 150 pilots and mechanics joined the Nanjing forces, mortally depleting the Guangdong air corps, Chen Jitang felt his cause was lost. That same day the "king of south China" announced his resignation and fled to Hong Kong on an English ferry.⁶¹

The Guangdong revolt was over, and Dai Li once again won most of Chiang's acclaim, which was instantly translated into a more material form, thanks to the SSD's earlier resolution of the Soong assassination attempt. Henceforth, Dai Li could count on the Generalissimo's permission to withdraw funds directly from the Bank of China without recourse to the Ministry of Finance, simply on the strength of a note from T. V. Soong or Bei Songsun, director of the Shanghai branch.⁶²

THE XI'AN INCIDENT

If the sole purpose of Dai Li's activities was to consolidate his relationship with the Generalissimo, then the crucial turning point for him had to have been the pivotal Xi'an Incident of 1936. On December 12, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek was seized in Xi'an by the "Young Marshal," Zhang Xueliang, and by General Yang Hucheng. While the mutineers attempted to force Chiang to negotiate a united front with the Communists, the Nationalists contemplated a counterattack, including bombing the city of Xi'an itself.⁶³ Madame Chiang forbade bombing and ordered the army units loyal to them not to try to rescue the Generalissimo by invading the Wei River valley from

the garrisons at strategic Tong Pass.⁶⁴ Instead, she resolved to fly to Xi'an together with her brother, T. V. Soong, president of the Executive Yuan; Chiang's Australian advisor, W. H. Donald; and—at his own pleading—with General Dai Li.

Chiang's military intelligence chief was painfully aware of the dangers he courted by placing himself in the hands of the Communists and their allies.⁶⁵ Dai Li, after all, was responsible for the deaths of thousands of underground agents and Communist "reactionaries."⁶⁶ But he was resolved to "share the difficulty" (*funan*) of his Leader's plight, remembering how Chiang Kai-shek himself had "shared the difficulty" of Sun Yat-sen's peril during the *Yongfeng* cruiser incident in Canton in 1922.⁶⁷ Young Chiang's decision to rush to Sun's side when the latter was besieged by Chen Jiongming had elevated Chiang Kai-shek to the status of one of Sun's revolutionary heirs.⁶⁸ Dai Li believed now that what was to become known as the Xi'an Incident (Xi'an shibian) would be a similar acid test for loyalty to Chiang's personal rule, and it was with the *Yongfeng* incident firmly in mind that he departed the capital.⁶⁹

Before leaving Nanjing to "devote himself heart and soul" (*xiaozhong*) to Chiang, Dai Li called together all special services officials above the rank of deputy section chief (*keguzhang*) in the assembly hall at Caoduxiang. As the officer in charge of the Leader's safety—the man who had already launched an intelligence effort against Zhang Xueliang that had failed miserably—Dai Li was wracked with remorse for his inability to forestall this crisis. He spoke to his agents in tears, saying, "This trip is fraught with grim possibilities." And when the flight left Nanjing for Xi'an on December 21, 1936, Dai Li was aboard armed with two revolvers, determined to "share life or death together with the *xiaozhang*." The moment he was ushered into Chiang's presence after they finally reached Xi'an, he rushed forward, fell to his knees in front of the Generalissimo, grasped his Leader's legs, and wept bitterly, crying out and berating himself for having failed in his duty to protect the *lingxiu*.⁷⁰

Dai Li's dramatic behavior may have been contrived, but, as it turned out, his presence in Xi'an was crucial in persuading Zhang Xueliang to release Chiang Kai-shek and accompany the Generalissimo back to Nanjing. According to foreign intelligence reports at the time, no one other than Dai Li could have convinced the "Young Marshal" that he would enjoy the protection of the Nationalist secret service once they were both back in Guomindang territory.⁷¹ To be sure, the "protection" turned into the longest house arrest in Chinese history, but Zhang Xueliang's life was spared, whereas Yang Hucheng and his family were eventually killed by Juntong executioners.⁷²

Chiang Kai-shek was certainly impressed by Dai Li's willingness to risk his own life to join him at Xi'an. He mentioned Dai Li's name several times in

the *Xi'an banyue ji* (Record of fifteen days in Xi'an), his journal of the incident, and in later years he frequently praised Dai Li in front of other people for his loyalty to the Leader during the crisis.⁷³

At the same time, rivals who failed to come to his side during the Xi'an Incident earned Chiang's disfavor. Deng Wenyi and He Zhonghan, for instance, had appeared to waver during those two weeks, the Generalissimo believed; and after Chiang got back to Nanjing he saw to it that they and others were reduced in rank and significance.⁷⁴ Deng Wenyi was given only the job of commander of the first regiment (*tuan*) of the wartime cadres training unit after the War of Resistance broke out in the summer of 1937. Later he became head of the political section of the Chengdu Military Academy, and after World War II was over he finally became director of the Bureau of Information (Xinwen ju) of the Ministry of Defense. But Deng Wenyi did not recover his former standing with Chiang Kai-shek and the Whampoa clique until he was restored to his position as a secretary in the ADC more than a decade after he had failed to appear alongside Dai Li at Xi'an "in the tiger's mouth" in 1936.⁷⁵

Dai Li reaped other benefits from the Xi'an affair. As the man in charge of Zhang Xueliang's future, he took over such important members of the Young Marshal's retinue as Chen Xudong, Wu Qian, and Wang Huayi, who all joined Juntong as special services officers. In addition, a number of Manchurian bodyguards, assistants, chefs, servants, and relatives attached to Zhang's entourage were brought under Dai Li's sway, which redounded to his profit in years to come. Zhang Xueliang's younger sister, for example, was married to the son of Chen Lu, who later accepted the portfolio of foreign minister in the puppet "Reformed Government" of Liang Hongzhi during the Japanese occupation; and it was through her Manchurian bodyguards that Dai Li's plot to assassinate the foreign minister spun.⁷⁶

The Xi'an Incident also brought Dai Li and Madame Chiang closer together. Not long after he returned to Nanjing from the northwest, Dai Li developed dilatory appendicitis and was operated on in the Hongen yiyuan (Cottage Hospital). After the operation, Song Meiling came to see him in person, conveying Chiang's wishes for a quick recovery and ordering the hospital staff to look after him with the most careful attention.⁷⁷ Thereafter Dai Li cultivated greater favor with "Madame" (*Furen*), presenting her secretaries and servants with presents and money to help him use "the pathway of the skirt" (*qundai menlu*) to keep on the good side of Chiang Kai-shek.⁷⁸

Clearly, Xi'an represented a major personal victory for Dai Li, who began at this time to overshadow decisively his rival, the "CC" clique spy chief Xu Enzeng.⁷⁹ Dai Li would henceforth be regarded by Chiang as his most trusted protector, and in the eyes of others Dai Li's organization and its activities would become "virtually indispensable to Chiang's survival as the Party's leading political figure."⁸⁰

War with Japan only reinforced the relationship between the two men. As the hostilities unfolded, Dai Li quickly took on a grander national role, commensurate with Chiang Kai-shek's new stature as the country's savior. Japan's attempt to conquer China, after all, represented an opportunity for Dai Li to expand his secret empire even as the nation was under attack. Entirely new dimensions of covert activity now existed for the spymaster and his men, who could convert their expertise in terrorism and assassination to patriotic resistance against the enemy who had invaded their land.⁸¹

Chapter 17

War and the Special Movement Corps

You young fellows must love your country and not assist the Japanese or be a traitor. Now in Nandao they are in need of a number of young plainclothes soldiers. If you wish to join us, you must follow me.

S E I A L O E E N O R S R E R I E R, September 1937¹

DAI LI AND DU YUESHENG

The War of Resistance against Japan that broke out in the summer of 1937 presented Dai Li with new opportunities for expansion of his secret empire. As his former assistant Shen Zui put it so sarcastically later, “The country’s fate was all for the worse, but the hound’s fortunes were just the reverse.”² The spread of warfare across the nation drastically hindered Nanjing’s program of vertical integration by military and police expansion, and the loss of the coast cut Chiang Kai-shek off from irreplaceable sources of revenue. The patchwork pattern of Japanese military occupation, however, abetted Dai Li’s interstitial expansion into local security and paramilitary forces, and the existence of two contiguous wartime economies afforded the secret police new resources through black markets and transport linkages that Dai Li controlled. The war also brought the secret service chief into closer contact with racketeers like Du Yuesheng and reinforced the dependence of Juntong upon illicit profits from the traffic in narcotics.³

Contemporaries claimed that Dai Li had known Du Yuesheng since his days as a *liumang* in Shanghai between 1921 and 1923. Their relationship supposedly grew closer in the fall of 1927, when Chiang Kai-shek resigned from the Nationalist government and temporarily dissolved his secret investigative unit. Nearly penniless, Dai Li had returned to Shanghai in search of funds and ended up going to his old friend, Du Yuesheng, for help. Du, by now a “big shot” (*wenren*), twice gave Dai Li fifty dollars to ease him through the crisis. Dai’s penury proved to be short-lived. But long after Chiang Kai-shek returned to power and reassembled his personal secret service, Dai Li remembered Du’s generosity.⁴

Meanwhile, Chiang’s regime began to cooperate with Du Yuesheng in



Figure 14. Du Yuesheng, leader of the Green Gang. Xi'ershiao, *Jiu Zhongguo jiaofu* 'Du Yuesheng [Du Yuesheng: a "godfather" in Old China]. Beijing: Jinri Zhongguo chubanshe, 1994.

monopolizing the Shanghai opium traffic. It was practical to place the opium trade in the hands of a single group, keeping a difficult problem segregated from other national affairs and transferring the stigma to more deniable quarters. Indiscriminate competition was eliminated, order and control were insured, and huge revenues were channeled without too much publicity.⁵ As soon as the new Nationalist government was established in Nanjing, the Ministry of Finance began to organize an official opium monopoly, which was extended into the Jiangsu-Zhejiang region on August 20, 1927. Initially, Du Yuesheng opposed the plan because it threatened the profits of his company, Dagongsi, which controlled most of the trade. However, a *modus vivendi* was arranged between Du and the Nationalists, who turned over monopoly rights in Shanghai to a subsidiary of the Dagongsi called the Zixin Company in exchange for monthly revenues protected, in effect, by the Nationalist military.⁶

Dai Li, as we have seen, began to get access to some of these revenues to cover the costs of the Special Services Department within the Blue Shirts. The "CC" clique also enjoyed moneys from the Du Yuesheng connection. To combat the "CC" clique—implementing what one former Blue Shirt described as Chiang's typical policy of "fighting poison with poison"—Dai Li supposedly swore blood brotherhood with Du Yuesheng and began to recruit Red and Green Gang members into the SSD in order to strengthen his ties to the underworld and its traffic in drugs.⁷

The 1927 arrangement with Du Yuesheng was not altogether stable simply because the volume of traffic was so high that its profits constituted an overwhelming temptation to both sides of the deal. By 1931, as the world depression began to severely afflict the Chinese economy, China was producing about twelve thousand tons of narcotics per year, or more than seven-eighths of the globe's supply of illegal drugs. Displacing the Near East as the source of opium and its derivatives, China dominated the U.S. market. In fact, most of America's heroin came from laboratories in Shanghai and Tianjin.⁸ In Shanghai, which contained about 100,000 opium addicts, ten of these refineries were operated by Du Yuesheng and his men;⁹ and of these, the two largest earned 40,000 per day. The payoff to the Nationalist government to protect these factories alone amounted to 400,000 per month.¹⁰

In May 1931 Du Yuesheng met with Chiang Kai-shek in Nanjing. Chiang offered to pay the racketeer 1 million to throw his Green Gang into the Communist suppression campaign. He also agreed to share the government's national opium monopoly with the gangsters in exchange for a payment of six million yuan from the underworld. However, payment to the Green Gang leaders in the first case was made by Finance Minister T. V. Soong with devalued government bonds.¹¹ Soong also failed to show good faith in administering the secret opium monopoly agreement. Struggling to pay Chiang's huge military bills for the Communist extermination campaign, the minister of finance cast covetous eyes on the narcotics business, planning to use opium seized by the Suppression Bureau to corner the market.¹²

Although the Nanjing regime issued orders on June 18, 1931, that all officials observe the laws prohibiting the sale of opium, Soong and his supporters continued to try to create a national monopoly in opium, which was expected to raise about 100 million per year in additional government revenues. In a number of provinces sales agencies sprang up, and opium warehouses were constructed in Anqing, Datong, and Wuhu to store confiscated supplies of the drug. These warehouses were controlled by Soong's special tax bureau rather than the Opium Suppression Bureau, to which they supposedly belonged.¹³

THE SAN SHING COMPANY

In July 1932 the Ministry of Finance introduced a scheme to sell opium on the open market in Jiangsu, where the provincial government was authorized to conduct a public sale of confiscated supplies of the drug the following September 1. Du Yuesheng negotiated with representatives of the provincial government and managed to secure the opium monopoly for

Shanghai, a deal that he confirmed at the national level after a meeting in Hankou at which he promised to pay 3 million directly to the Ministry of Finance in exchange for government protection of opium shipments downriver from Sichuan.¹⁴

Du Yuesheng next founded a new wholesale company in Nanshi to provide the drug to retailers in Shanghai. The San Shing Company (Sanxin gongsi) allegedly disbursed about 200,000 per month to local Chinese authorities and other organs. Part of the goal of this massive drug-marketing scheme was to secure the protection of the special services. This occurred at two levels. Locally, Du Yuesheng coupled his San Shing Company affairs with the Chinese municipal security forces' corrupt interests. According to an International Settlement police report:

Realizing that armed protection was necessary for the transportation of opium, he succeeded in nominating General Yang Hu as commander of the Shanghai Peace Preservation Corps. A "special service department" was then formed by the corps; this department took over the work of the San Shing Company, which was "wound up." The special service department was, however, annexed and incorporated into the Bureau of Public Safety in the middle of December 1932 by the order of mayor Wu Te-chen [Tiecheng].¹⁵

At the national level, Du Yuesheng simultaneously joined forces with Dai Li to found the Big Fortune Company (Dayun gongsi) in Shanghai. The Big Fortune Company ran a numbers racket on Jingxiao Hangkong Street and succeeded the San Shing Company as a major opium mart. Dai Li's profits from the gambling and narcotics sales were used to supplement regular funds for secret service activities.¹⁶

Meanwhile, T. V. Soong continued to try to expand the Nanjing government's countrywide opium monopoly. In January 1933 Soong, once again finance minister, brought Hankou's special tax bureau under Chiang's general headquarters, and the following month complete control of all opium suppression was handed over to Chiang Kai-shek as chairman of the Military Affairs Commission.¹⁷ During that same year—which saw the Hankou tax bureau collect over 16 million on opium shipments—the Chinese authorities there seized large quantities of morphia.¹⁸ The Nationalists had already commenced the practice of turning confiscated opium over to Du Yuesheng for refinement into heroin.¹⁹ Now the International Settlement's Special Branch discovered that Chiang Kai-shek had decided to have this new batch of morphia refined and sold, ostensibly for medical purposes. In truth, however, "the sum thus raised was intended for the use of the Blue Shirt Society."²⁰

Du Yuesheng was given six months to refine the morphine and heroin. During that time, his drug factory in Nanshi was promised the complete protection of the Chinese authorities. Du saw the possibility of considerable

profits in this scheme, profits that would help him make the huge payments that he had agreed to hand over to Chiang's forces in order to preserve his monopoly. By this time he had already fallen nearly a million dollars in debt to Chiang's government. Thinking that he could now run his narcotics refinery with total impunity, he arranged a secret deal with the brother of General Zhang Xueliang, Zhang Xueming, who was then the chief of the Tianjin police force. They arranged to transport a large quantity of morphia from Zhang Xueming's stocks in Tianjin and use the Nanshi factory to refine it in place of the supply seized by Chiang Kai-shek's men. According to the Shanghai Municipal Police, Mayor Wu Tiecheng received 10,000 a month "to connive at this deception."²¹

When the six months had elapsed, Mayor Wu applied to Chiang Kai-shek for an extension on the grounds that the market for the drug was at an ebb and refining therefore had to be postponed in order to increase their profits. Chiang approved the application, but in mid-autumn he received information—perhaps from Dai Li—about the deception.

Chiang Kai-shek was already angered by the open talk in criminal circles about the new government's complicity with the underworld in the narcotics racket. He immediately sent a detachment of military police from Nanjing to raid and occupy the largest of Du's Nanshi morphia factories, where they confiscated narcotics worth Mex. 1,500,000. As soon as word reached Du Yuesheng of the raid (which he probably attributed to greedy local commanders), Du put pressure on the chief adjutant of the Wusong-Shanghai Garrison Command, Wen Jian'gang, to issue instructions to withdraw the troops. The instructions were chopped with the seal of the Shanghai mayor, General Wu Tiecheng. However, instead of prudently withdrawing, the military police contingent stayed in place and forwarded Wu's orders to Chiang Kai-shek, who furiously demanded an explanation.²² "The mayor," explained the Shanghai Municipal Police report on this incident, "excused himself by stating that he had no knowledge of the morphia factory and that one of his chops, which was usually kept by the chief adjutant for office use, had been used without his knowledge. Wen Chien-kang [Jian'gang] was subsequently escorted to Nanchang and subsequently shot. It is not known how Mr. Tu [Du Yuesheng] wriggled out of his own share in the trouble."²³

By 1934, the annual revenue from opium for the government of China was over 100 million.²⁴ Avid for more revenue, T. V. Soong determined to take advantage of Du Yuesheng's discomfiture by wresting domination of the Shanghai market from the gangs. Naming himself director of opium suppression in Shanghai, Soong recruited and uniformed a special squad of several hundred crack police to do his bidding. But the effort failed, probably because Du was willing to up the ante for his stake in what was, after all, Chiang Kai-shek's game. Not long afterward, Soong's opium police force was disbanded, and Chiang Kai-shek's chief secretary, Yang Yongtai, negoti-

ated a new agreement with Du Yuesheng to reopen the Nanshi morphine factories.²⁵ Thereafter Du's chemists monopolized the final refinement of all crude drugs sent downriver from Chongqing and Yichang.²⁶

In that same year, 1934, Du Yuesheng continued his ascent to respectability, securing such titles as counselor, Command Headquarters of the Army, Navy, and Airforce; Shanghai municipal councilman; chairman, Board of Directors of the Zhonghui Bank; head, Shanghai Municipal Consultative Association; chairman, Chinese Ratepayers' Association of the French Concession; director, Shanghai Chinese Commercial Silk and Cloth Trade Association; member, Shanghai Stock Exchange; member, supervisory committee of the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce; member, standing committee of the National China Steam Merchants Navigation Company; chairman, boards of directors of *Shenbao*, *China Times*, *China Evening News*, and *China Press*.²⁷

NATIONAL NARCOTICS CONCERNS

During the following year, 1935, Chiang Kai-shek's troops entered Guizhou in pursuit of the Communists on their Long March. If Chiang was going to bring the southwest and its political cliques under control, then he was going to have to undermine their independent opium monopolies. U.S. military attaché Joseph Stilwell reported, "By means of secure domination of the opium traffic [Chiang hopes] to increase the political power of the national government over provinces whose allegiance is doubtful. . . . No local government can exist without a share of the opium revenues. If the central government can control the opium supply of a province, that province can never hope to revolt successfully."²⁸ In light of Stilwell's observation, it is easy to see why Chiang turned his military campaign in Guizhou into an opportunity to create a national government opium monopoly that would keep the drug from being shipped through Guangxi to the south, and instead divert opium supplies to the Yangzi River, where they would merge with the flow via Hankou to Shanghai. Li Zhonggong, a Guizhou native named commissioner of finance after the Nationalists entered the province, was made head of the opium monopoly; and, at the same time, Du Yuesheng and his opium combine were given monopoly exporting rights to carry Guizhou opium out of the province to Hankou and Shanghai. On May 29, 1935, Chiang Kai-shek made sure that the entire opium system came under his own personal purview by abolishing the National Opium Suppression Commission and making himself opium suppression superintendent in its place.²⁹

Chiang's diversion of Guizhou opium forced the Guangxi clique to turn to Yunnan for alternative supplies. The Nanjing government retaliated by building a highway from Yunnan to the as yet uncompleted Hankou-

Guangzhou railway. But even after the highway was inaugurated in the autumn of 1935, the Yunnan opium caravans continued to move through Guangxi because transit taxes were much lower in that province. Nevertheless, the Guangxi warlords felt the economic pinch, and Chiang's own coffers continued to swell with profits from the monopoly arrangements that he had worked out with Du Yuesheng and the Shanghai narcotics marketing interests.³⁰

The rub, however, was that the Shanghai refining and retail arrangement was growing ever more rickety as competition between the Chinese and the Japanese in the drug traffic increased. On January 1, 1937, new laws were announced by Chiang Kai-shek to punish users of refined opium derivatives. According to the Shanghai Municipal Police, this was a sally in the war between Japan and China to control the drug traffic. The Chinese government did effectively monopolize the opium trade, but the Japanese were becoming increasingly dominant in the traffic in morphine and heroin, thanks to huge refineries and the protection of the Japanese military authorities in north China.³¹

Moreover, drugs and espionage were becoming more intimately connected than ever.³² As the Japanese expanded their influence in the north, their special services units were increasingly linked to narcotics. And, once the Japanese launched their invasion of central China after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident in July 1937, they began to take over drug networks in the south, either by co-opting Du Yuesheng's men, or by introducing their own agents into the traffic.³³

THE BATTLE FOR SHANGHAI

As soon as the war broke out in the late summer of 1937, Du Yuesheng took the lead in organizing anti-Japanese resistance by means of the Shanghai Civic Federation, which had been formed during the hostilities in 1932.³⁴ Clearly seeking "a patriot's halo," he offered to sink vessels from his Da-Da Steamship Company in the lower Yangzi to impede Japanese warships, and at the same time he offered his bulletproof car to one of the Chinese generals defending Shanghai.³⁵ These were flamboyant gestures, widely publicized, but not nearly as effective as his covert arrangements with Dai Li to create an underground resistance movement against the Japanese during and after the hard-fought defense of Shanghai.³⁶

Dai Li had turned his attention to Shanghai just as soon as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident erupted. His most important agent in the city was Wang Zhaohuai, head of the Investigation Brigade (Zhencha dadui) of the garrison command and—as a disciple of Du Yuesheng—a member of the Hengshe.³⁷ The resources of the Shanghai Station had until then mostly been devoted to actions against the Communist Party and other domestic

enemies of Chiang Kai-shek, so that very little intelligence was being gathered about the Japanese.³⁸ Shen Zui, who was then head of the Hongkou operation of the SSD, had only one primary agent in the Japanese community: the owner of a pawnshop on Dongyouheng Road. The rest of his informants in "Little Tokyo" were all double agents who worked for Japanese intelligence officers as collaborators. The SSD could adduce Japanese intentions from the kinds of tasks they assigned to their Chinese agents, so that they at least had some sense of the direction of enemy military ambitions. But it was all maddeningly vague—like the report from one agent that his Japanese case officer had gotten drunk a few days after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident and said, "It's only going to take a few days' time before Shanghai is going to be ours. Then your work is going to really get busy all of a sudden."³⁹

Hostilities did break out in Shanghai a few days later on August 13, 1937, and as Chinese refugees streamed out of the native quarters of the city north of Suzhou Creek, Dai Li realized how poor their military intelligence was. He immediately gave orders to infiltrate teams of agents equipped with radios into Hongkou, Zhabei, and Wusongkou, but the effort was largely unsuccessful because it was easy for the Japanese to spot spies moving against the human tide in the other direction.⁴⁰ Shen Zui did manage to assemble a team of eight people, including his brother, which set up a single cell in Hongkou. But they were spotted by Japanese counterintelligence within a few weeks and had to scatter. Shen Zui and his radio man, Qiu Shenghu, made their own escape by concealing their transmitter in the baby carriage of Qiu's one-year old, but they were so shaken by the close call that Shen Zui refused to go back into enemy territory, and for some time there was not a single SSD agent in the Hongkou area.⁴¹

Dai Li had images nonetheless of a partisan victory in the bloody block-by-block battle for Zhabei. Through his underworld contacts, the secret service chief encouraged gang and secret society groups to rise in arms against the aggressors.⁴² At first, these were disorganized units that scattered whenever they encountered regular Japanese military forces, and that botched an attempt to sink the Japanese flagship *Suigumo* at anchor in the Huangpu River.⁴³ But they soon took on a more formal paramilitary cast, being brought together with army cadres outside Shanghai to form a Special Movement Corps (Biedongdui) in the last two weeks of August and the early part of September 1937.⁴⁴

URBAN GUERRILLAS

According to intelligence reports gathered by the Shanghai Municipal Police, Chiang Kai-shek's Military Affairs Commission had decided at the beginning of September to organize an "emergency period service group"

(*feichang shiqi fuwutuan*) to deal with traitors and spies in Shanghai. Shanghai already had a peace preservation corps (*baopandui*), but its purpose had been mainly to serve as a surrogate police force for the Chinese municipality after the Japanese withdrew in July 1932.⁴⁵

In order to fight the Japanese now, both in front of and behind enemy lines, Chiang decided to create an urban guerrilla force. The MAC accordingly set aside 500,000 for this group, which was put under the orders of General Wang Jingjiu, commander of the 87th Nationalist Division. His headquarters at Jiangyin had already been training cadets for intelligence work in a *junguan xunlianban* (officers training unit) that was also a “preliminary training” (*rumen xunlian*) course for the Special Services Department; and three days after hostilities broke out in Shanghai, 240 of these cadets were sent to Longhua Primary School to serve as special forces.⁴⁶

General Wang’s deputy commanders of the “emergency period service group” were General Cai Jingjun, chief of the Shanghai Public Safety Bureau who reported directly to Chiang Kai-shek, and Du Yuesheng, who immediately tried to turn the new organization to his own use.

On receiving their appointments and instructions, General Wang Jingjiu and General Cai Jingjun found it inconvenient in their present positions and the work they entailed to actively participate, so left the matter of organizing this new unit in the hands of Mr. Du Yuesheng, deputy commander. In carrying out the organizing of this unit, Mr. Du saw a chance to use his own followers as heads of sections and appointed Mr. Lu Jingshi, Chief Judge of the Military Court at Longhua, and Mr. Zhu Xuefan [chairman of the Shanghai General Labor Union] to those positions.⁴⁷

However, when Du Yuesheng submitted the names of his lieutenants to the Military Affairs Commission, they were rejected, greatly annoying him and insulting Lu Jingshi and Zhu Xuefan.⁴⁸

As a result of Du Yuesheng’s momentary indifference, the Shanghai chief of police, General Cai Jingjun, decided to step in and establish a headquarters for the special group within the PSB with the help of the Loyal and Patriotic Association (Zhongyihui), a group described by Shanghai Municipal Police informants as being “composed of Whampoa cadets” and which was led by Pu Fengming. He and General Cai subsequently set up two squads or regiments (*tuan*): the Defense and Protection Squad (Fanghutuan) and the Special Services Squad (Tewutuan).⁴⁹

The Defense and Protection Squad performed different functions north and south of Suzhou Creek. In the northern parts of the city, and especially in Hongkou, they formed the so-called Shanghai Snipers Corps, which was composed mainly of “loafers” and unemployed workers given Mauser rifles or pistols to snipe at the Japanese behind enemy lines.⁵⁰ South of the creek, in Nanshi, the Fanghutuan consisted mainly of residents conscripted to dig

bomb shelters. The principal tenant in every house in South City was supposed to supply one member of the household daily for work with the squad, which was commanded by one of General Cai's lieutenants out of an office in the Wu'an Primary School on Luxiangyuan Road.⁵¹ By September more than three hundred persons were serving as conscripts and fifty-seven dugouts had been finished.⁵²

The Special Services Squad had its headquarters in a private school that was part of the Shaoxing guildhall off Liyuan Road in Nanshi.⁵³ It was commanded by General Cai's former Criminal Investigation Department superintendent, Liu Huai. His two deputies in turn were PSB inspector Chen Bannong and a former bus conductor named Zhang Guoquan.⁵⁴ Regular members of the Tewutuan were recruited mainly from the ranks of unemployed workers. They were promised a wage of 9 a month, plus room and board on the premises of the school, which was built to house about one thousand people. By late September 1937, about four hundred men had enlisted.⁵⁵

The Special Services Squad also had an investigation section, which consisted of thirty members under a man named Yang Fulin. These men were billeted in the Jingqin Primary School on Xilin Road outside the West Gate. One of them, an elementary school principal named Fu Duoma, reported that he had been assigned by Liu Huai to report on the activities of Japanese plainclothesmen in the International Settlement. He had also been instructed to investigate Chinese "traitors," and, if sufficient evidence could be found, to get the Chinese police to arrest the collaborators and remand them to the custody of the Special Services Squad headquarters for further questioning.⁵⁶

THE SU-ZHE OPERATIONS COMMITTEE

Dai Li undoubtedly had placed some of his agents within the two groups serving under General Cai, and especially within the investigation section of the Special Services Squad. But the secret police chief concentrated most of his attention on Du Yuesheng's networks of disciples among the labor unions, in mercantile circles, and within the underworld. It was apparently Dai Li who brought the insulted racketeer and his Green Gang followers back into the orbit of the Military Affairs Commission in late September and early October by persuading Chiang Kai-shek to establish a Jiangsu and Zhejiang Operations Committee (Junshi weiyuanhui Su-Zhe xingdong weiyuanhui) in order to transform "gangland" (*banghui*) members into paramilitary cadres.⁵⁷

The Su-Zhe Operations Committee was chaired by Chiang Kai-shek himself, and its members included Du Yuesheng, Huang Jinrong, Wang Xiaolai, Yu Xiaqing, Zhang Xiaolin, Yang Hu, Mei Guangpei, Xiang Songpo, and

Lu Jingshi. The secretary-general (*shujizhang*) was Dai Li, who set up offices off Shanzhong Road in the French Concession. The committee's activities were divided by departments (*chu*) for planning (*canmou*), political indoctrination (*zhengxun*), intelligence (*qingbao*), training (*xunlian*), and general affairs (*zongwu*). The department chiefs were SSD officers such as Chen Xudong, Wang Zuhua, Xie Ligong, and Yu Lexing.⁵⁸

The main task at hand was to ready cadres and enroll militiamen. Special classes were opened in Songjiang and Qingpu to train team leaders (*zhi-duit*).⁵⁹ In early October, Dai Li used the authority of the committee to organize a General Command Headquarters for the Special Action Army (Biedongjun zongzhihuibu).⁶⁰ The command post of what would become known as the Song-Hu biedong zongdui (Song-Hu Chief Special Movement Corps) was located at No. 1 Shenjiazhai, near Fenglinqiao opposite Route Ghisi in South City. Although it was nominally directed by Du Yuesheng, the organization's real chief was Dai Li, whom the International Settlement police identified as the "leader of the Blue Shirt Society."⁶¹ Du Yuesheng's "foreign affairs" assistant, the old Green Gang warlord from Shandong, Liu Zhilu, was titular deputy-head of the Special Movement Corps.⁶² But the key department personnel were all Dai Li's men: Chen Xudong as chief of staff, Fang Chao as staff executive, Zhou Weilong in charge of indoctrination, Zhou Jiali and later Tan Liangfu as chief managers, Zhou Jiwen responsible for general affairs, and Yu Lexing looking after technical matters. Yu was also responsible for the Songjiang and Qingpu training campus, along with Xie Ligong.⁶³

SPECIAL MOVEMENT CORPS (SMC)

The Song-Hu Chief Special Movement Corps was divided into five branch brigades (*zhidui*) of five hundred to three thousand men each, totaling eight thousand militiamen in all. Branch brigades in turn were broken down into three large brigades (*duit*), subdivided further into medium (*zhong*), small (*xiao*), and district (*qu*) brigades. All officers, from district brigade commanders on up, were either agents of Dai Li's SSD or backbone cadres from the Hengshe.⁶⁴

The rank and file were drawn from various social sectors: retail clerks (*dianyuan*) from the Shanghai Shopkeepers Association, local ruffians (*dipi* and *liumang*) from the gangs, routed Guomindang soldiers, laborers thrown out of work by the closing of the factories and shops during the Japanese attack, and organized labor union members.⁶⁵ Meanwhile, in addition to recruiting new members, the SMC incorporated former units of the peace preservation corps (*baodandui*) such as the Nanshi brigade, which was reorganized in early September as the fifth section of the Shanghai Special Movement Corps under Colonel Tao Yishan, who had been named by Nan-

jing head of all the Shanghai civic training centers and whose headquarters was in the Wusong-Shanghai Garrison Command.⁶⁶

Colonel Tao Yishan's merchant and worker unit was one of several groups provided with khaki uniforms and armed with Mauser rifles and pistols.⁶⁷ Section Two was barracked at the East Asia Athletic School on Luban Road in Nanshi, where it was ordered to help the police preserve law and order.⁶⁸ However, according to the testimony of one Yun Huifang, well known to the International Settlement police "for his terrorist activities in 1932," the purpose of his section of the SMC was "solely to locate traitors *hanjian*," whom they supposedly turned over to the nearest Chinese police bureau.⁶⁹

Section Three was assigned to Zhu Xuefan, the chairman of the Shanghai General Labor Union whose nomination had originally been turned down by the Military Affairs Commission. This section was supposed to maintain labor control.⁷⁰ Other working-class units included branch teams of postal workers and seamen, under Lu Jingshi, and a longshoremen's brigade.⁷¹

Naysayers later described the SMC as "a motley rabble" (*wuhe zhizhong*), ineffective against Japanese regulars.⁷² Nonetheless, Du Yuesheng's lieutenants, Lu Jingshi and Shui Xiangyun, momentarily threw off their familiar underworld roles as "rats in dark corners" and adorned themselves in flashy uniforms, becoming heroes of the hour.⁷³ Their glory was short-lived. Initially supposed to defend the zone from the south bank of Suzhou Creek along Fanwangdu and Caojiadu across to Rihuigang, the SMC retreated once the Japanese launched a frontal attack across Suzhou Creek.⁷⁴

Before the Chinese zones of the city fell, Dai Li fled to quarters on Haig Road in the French Concession. He still hoped to rally his own men in a heroic defense of the Nanshi, striving to emulate the feats of regimental commander Xie Jinyuan, whose defense of the Four Banks Depository (*Sihang cangku*) in 1932 had already become patriotic lore.⁷⁵ But many of his agents in Shanghai simply abandoned their commands and sought refuge in the foreign concessions. The head of the Shanghai Station, Zhou Weilong, promised Dai Li that he would stay behind in the French Concession and set up a sabotage unit in the "underground zone" (*qianfuqu*) to harass the enemy. Dai Li also ordered his fellow townsman Jiang Shaomo to organize an underground espionage unit to gather and transmit intelligence after the Japanese took over.⁷⁶

For reasons of security, these spy organizations were supposed to remain completely apart from the Special Movement Corps and respond directly to Dai Li through Gong Xianfang, who had been head of the Shanghai SSD personnel office and was now designated as the liaison and principal courier for the Shanghai net. As we shall see, however, these underground intelligence cells were all either compromised and smashed by Japanese counterespionage, or became collaborationist secret service organs work-

ing for the puppet government.⁷⁷ Moreover, the means to finance these underground operations entangled Dai Li's organization all the more in the complex web of clandestine Sino-Japanese relations surrounding the drug trade.

As the Japanese troops fought their way into the Chinese portions of Shanghai, the most prominent leaders of the resistance left the city. In November 1937 Mayor Yu Hongjun, T. V. Soong, Qian Xinzhi, and Wang Xiaolai all secretly went to Hong Kong.⁷⁸ Du Yuesheng joined them there and was soon organizing a clandestine intelligence operation for Chiang Kai-shek, financed in part through a narcotics enterprise called the Gangji Company that he and Dai Li set up.⁷⁹ Meanwhile, as soon as the Japanese took over the Chinese-administered sections of Shanghai, their special service organs (*tokumu kikan*) began to use the divided city as a *point d'appui* for their own rapidly expanding drug traffic between what would become Free and Occupied China.⁸⁰

The Shanghai Special Movement Corps scattered in the face of the Japanese Imperial Army. Most armed units made a dash for the Anhui-Jiangsu border area, and especially for Tunxi and Shexian counties, where they either fell in with warlords like the former Hunanese bandit Chen Shihu and became guerrillas (*youjidui*) who "wandered but never attacked" (*you er bu ji*), or else they were later organized by Dai Li into units of the Loyal and Patriotic Army (*Zhongyi jiuguo jun*) that was eventually armed by the Americans.⁸¹

The last batch of SMC militiamen withdrew from Shanghai on February 1, 1938, issuing a farewell letter to the Chinese press that stated they were leaving the concessions "for the safety of the residents of the foreign settlements."⁸² By then Dai Li had escaped from Shanghai to Changsha via Hong Kong, and the Su-Zhe Operations Committee was completely dissolved.⁸³ The war in Shanghai had become an underground operation, and for the next thirty-four months, until the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, terrorism would be conducted in secrecy from the concessions. Here, too, Dai Li mainly stood to gain

Chapter 18

The Training Camps

*Revolutionary youth, quickly prepare,
Be wise, humane, and brave!
Grasp the pulse of this stage.
Stand before this great age.
Neither be moved by dire circumstance
Nor subdued by threat of force!
We will defend our Leader's safety
And protect our nation's sovereign soil.
We will ever be thus, unyielding and steady, well ordered and earnest.
Through hardships and labor with one mind we strive on!
We are the great wall of the nation and the vanguard of the race.
Revolutionary youth, quickly prepare,
Be wise, humane, and brave!
Grasp the pulse of this stage.
Stand before this great age.*

SONG O E LINLI RAINING LASS, *Military Affairs Commission,
Bureau of Investigation and Statistics*¹

BATTLEFIELD INTELLIGENCE

After the fall of the Chinese municipality of Shanghai in November 1937, Dai Li was recalled to Nanjing. He knew, of course, that the capital was bound to succumb soon to the Japanese armies coming from the north and east, and he immediately began preparations for underground work in the city. Remembering the difficulties that the SSD had encountered in setting up a military intelligence network in Shanghai after hostilities broke out, Dai Li designated Nanjing as a special district, which he put under the command of one of his most trusted followers, Qian Xinmin, an officer whom he described to Chiang Kai-shek as completely reliable and thus qualified for this sensitive position. Two clandestine radio stations were established inside Nanjing proper, staffed by women radio operators who were left behind to work as underground reporters (*baowuyuan*) once Nanjing was occupied by the enemy.²

At the level of national military intelligence gathering, Dai Li's importance as head of the Second Bureau increased significantly during the weeks

and months just after the fall of Nanjing. Until then the main mission of Dai Li's headquarters had been the so-called "static investigation of military affairs" (*junshi jingtai diaocha*). In the field this was divided into two different stages of activity: "information gathering" (*souji*) by one set of field (*waiqin*) agents, and "investigation and verification" (*chazheng*) of their reports by another group of Second Bureau personnel.³

The gathering of intelligence was the responsibility of special agents who were usually military staff officers. Their charge was twofold: to acquire intelligence on Communist forces in the field, and to report on the state of the military units to which they were assigned. Reports about the Communists were forwarded to Dai Li's headquarters, first in Wuhan and later in Chongqing, where they were sorted and sent back down to other agents in the appropriate local Fuxingshe network or in other military affairs organs to be verified before action was taken. Reports about the Nationalists' individual military formations, including peace preservation constabularies (*baoantuan*) in the area, contained information on the units' fighting ability (number of horses, number of weapons, physical condition of the men), the soldiers' political background and moral quality (whether they gambled, drank, or consorted with prostitutes), and "the state of the officers' thought." These were routinely forwarded to office (*nei qin*) staff, who kept track of the peacetime and wartime ability of these particular units on a regular basis. However, even though the first kind of report was considered more urgent than the latter, both were transmitted at a uniformly prescribed speed. Dai Li's special services system thus maintained a well-deserved reputation for celerity and efficiency of communication. Second Bureau officers boasted that no other military unit could match the rapidity with which messages were received and transmitted between field agents and Dai Li's headquarters.⁴

After the war broke out, Dai Li added another focus to this work by providing Chiang Kai-shek with intelligence reports on military engagements and on the activities of Nationalist generals. He established several battlefield investigation units (*zhandi diaochazu*) that were sent out to hot spots like Jiangwan, Luodian, Liuhe, and Yanghang. Each of these groups minimally consisted of a unit chief, who usually operated under the cover of being the political officer attached to the brigade headquarters, a radio operator equipped with a small transceiver, a code officer, and an internal affairs clerk—all regular special services personnel from headquarters. Other personnel were added as needed from a pool of mainly unemployed military officers who had been trained in one of the central military academies and who were introduced by their graduate investigation departments (*biyesheng diaochachu*). Because of their military backgrounds, these officers were able to function effectively as liaisons to military personnel at the front, where

they were sent whenever there was a battle to be investigated and reported. The battlefield investigation units were also charged with surveillance of military personnel.⁵

Chiang Kai-shek regarded Dai Li's daily battlefield reports as the most reliable information he got about conditions at the front. This trust may have been misplaced. Although Dai Li sent special emissaries to Nanjing by train every night with these bulletins so that Chiang could read them the morning after they were compiled, the intelligence was not always based upon first-hand observation. Battlefield investigation unit officers, including the chiefs themselves, were sometimes only welcome at the battalion (*ying*) headquarters level and not allowed to proceed further to the company or platoon emplacements on the front lines. Shen Zui, who served as battlefield investigation unit chief at Luodian and Liuhe, was several times prevented by a brigade commander from visiting the front lines precisely because the commander wanted to conceal from Nanjing his inability to recover a particular salient from the Japanese.⁶ Only after the whole line collapsed was Shen able to piece together a reasonably accurate picture of the reasons for the failure from reports of other officers interviewed in the wake of defeat.⁷

Meanwhile, as the enemy drew nearer to Nanjing, Dai Li removed himself to Hankou, where he set up his intelligence headquarters in what had once been a primary school on Nanxiaolu in the former Japanese Concession.⁸ He would on occasion travel to Hunan, Guizhou, or Chongqing, but he always returned as quickly as possible to Wuhan to monitor reports from agents and secure his own control over the growing wartime espionage network. It was there, in his residence in the French Concession of Hankou, that he learned the details of the massacre at Nanjing. He also learned, to his consternation and fury, of the flight to Japanese-held Shanghai of his Nanjing station chief Qian Xinmin.⁹

Even before the Japanese surrounded Nanjing, Qian Xinmin had moved his district headquarters across the river to Liuhe. Once the Nationalist capital surrendered, Qian (and the name lists of secret service personnel for the capital district) fell into the hands of the Japanese secret service (*tokumu kikan*), which proceeded to round up as many of Juntong's agents as could be found. In a matter of days all of Dai Li's efforts to prepare an underground intelligence operation in the occupied city were undone. The Nanjing net was completely exposed by Qian, and Dai Li castigated himself for having been "like a blind person, unable to see this man's true character." Once again the secret service chief felt terribly chagrined about disappointing his commander, and he told Shen Zui—who had brought the news of Qian's supposed defection to him in the first place—that he had completely lost face before Chiang Kai-shek for having guaranteed someone who "was completely without conscience."¹⁰

The fall of Nanjing was followed by a general shake-up in Nationalist Party ranks. On February 4, 1938, Chiang Kai-shek created a Party Members' Supervisory Net (*Dangyuan jiancha wang*) "to discover whether Party members were really doing the work assigned them." According to Chen Lifu's recollection, "Mr. Chiang felt that Party members were useless. Members of the Communist Party performed definite functions, but our Party members did not. They were careless and slack in carrying out their orders. Mr. Chiang felt that it was necessary to inspect them, to push them."¹¹ At the same time, the Guomindang was put on a wartime footing as more and more military men joined the Party, and provincial government chairmen become members of the Central Executive Committee.¹² At the extraordinary Provisional Party Congress of March–April 1938, which was held at Luojiashan in Wuchang, Chiang Kai-shek was unanimously elected Party Leader (*zongcai*), and the role of the security services was strengthened.¹³

THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF JUNTONG

Dai Li's special services organization was still nominally under the Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (*Zhongtong*), which had been set up by Chen Lifu under the Military Affairs Commission.¹⁴ For a brief period that winter, *Zhongtong* (CSB) was renamed the Fourth Group of the Sixth Division of the Main Headquarters (*Dabenying diliubu disizu*), and Xu Enzeng was addressed both as major general (*zhongjiang*) and group head (*zuzhang*).¹⁵

Then, on March 29, 1938, Chiang announced to the Party Congress that a Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics—also called *Zhongtong*—was going to be formed as an office attached to the Central Committee of the Guomindang. This completely new organization (which was originally the first department of the old joint organ that Chen Lifu nominally chaired) would be headed by Xu Enzeng, and we can safely surmise that most of its members and agents were members of what had been the Organization Department's intelligence group. Meanwhile, the office of investigation (originally the second department of the joint organ) that Dai Li headed remained within the Military Affairs Commission as the newly named Military Affairs Commission Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (*Junshi weiyuanhui diaocha tongjiju*, or *Juntong* for short). Thus was Dai Li's MSB or *Juntong* finally formally created.¹⁶

Because of Dai Li's shallow history in the Guomindang and his low seniority within the Whampoa group (he was, after all, just a member of the sixth class), Chiang Kai-shek feared that other sections would not heed Dai Li if he were appointed the formal bureau chief of *Juntong*. The Generalissimo therefore inaugurated the practice of concurrently appointing his personal chief of staff (the head of the first department of the Escort Office,

or Shicong shi, which composed Chiang's bodyguards) director of the MSB. In name, then, Dai Li was at first only the assistant bureau chief (*fujuzhang*) of Juntong.¹⁷

In practice, however, he alone commanded the Military Statistics Bureau. The three nominal chiefs during the first two years of the MSB's existence—He Yaozu, Qian Dajun, and Lin Weiwen—all understood perfectly Chiang Kai-shek's intention: Dai Li was meant to be entirely in charge of the MSB, and it was not in their province to ask questions about Juntong work, personnel, or finances.¹⁸ Once a year, on the occasion of the April 1 *dahui* (big meeting) held to commemorate the founding of the Special Services Department in 1932, the chief would show up at Juntong headquarters to hear Dai Li's annual report and then leave. Most of the field agents who served outside headquarters did not even know that there was someone higher up than Dai Li himself. By 1940, in any case, Dai Li had acquired so much real authority that he was finally formally appointed full chief (*juzhang*) of the bureau.¹⁹

At the time of its establishment, Juntong was not a very large organization. When Dai Li took command of the MSB in 1938 there were only four departments (*chu*) and two large offices (*shi*). They were staffed by slightly more than one hundred office staff (*neiqinrenyuan*) and fewer than two thousand men and women in the field (*waiqin*). Some of these departments overlapped with the old second department of the Blue Shirts. The assistant department chief (*fuchuzhang*) of the Special Affairs Department of the Fuxingshe, Zheng Jiemin, was simply made secretary (*mishu*) of the new MSB, and the various *ke*, or sections, of the earlier organization were amalgamated with the intelligence, operations, legal, and telecommunications departments of Juntong.²⁰

TRADITIONAL "CC" RIVALRY

The reorganization, however, did not eliminate the old animosities that had pitted the Blue Shirts against the "CC" clique three or four years earlier.²¹ And, despite the need for wartime unanimity, these divisions persisted even after the institutions were formally divided and set up independent of one another. According to Chen Lifu:

The Central Bureau of Investigation was concerned with society; the Military Bureau with the army. It was difficult to draw a clear dividing line. Both organizations frequently worked on the same cases. They often met and were engaged in conflict. They were like two men groping in the dark and colliding. We were different from the Communist Party, which was one organization; its work was not compartmentalized. The difficult thing was that each bureau could easily invade the other's territory. Often a militarist army captured

Communists who had used it as a base of operations for their work, but if “the military” claimed it as its territory, you couldn’t get in.²²

Although each of the two intelligence agencies wrote reports on the other, the CSB—Zhongtong—did not dare to try to penetrate the MSB.²³

Nor did the CSB work directly in army units, even though some militarists were much more frightened of Dai Li than they were of Xu Enzeng and Chen Lifu.²⁴

Did the Central Bureau of Investigation work in army units? No. Its policy was “hands off the army.” Otherwise there would have been complications and conflicts. However, if the Central Bureau got information that a certain person in an army unit was colluding with the Communist Party, and the case was important involving a time element, it made a more detailed investigation. If the results of the investigation confirmed the existence of collusion, it informed Dai Li so that he could take action.²⁵

Presumably, Juntong did not attempt to infiltrate the CSB either—at least at the level of headquarters. At the local level Dai Li often used investigative organs set up by the CSB, and his men on occasion worked closely with Zhongtong agents in a given unit. Nevertheless, the relationship remained an uneasy one, as did Juntong’s position vis-à-vis the regular political commissar system within the military. Chen Lifu’s reminiscences are particularly telling in this regard.

Did [Dai Li’s] agents cooperate with the political training department or the special Party headquarters of the army unit to which he was assigned? Not necessarily. There were several different political lines in the army—they did not necessarily converge at any particular point. All information went upwards within each line. This was different from the Soviet system of the Party commissar in army units. In our case, everything depended upon the people involved. Supposing, for instance, I was an agent sent out by Dai Li. You were sent out by the political training department, and somebody else was secretary of the army *dangbu* [or Party branch] in that particular unit. If we were friends, we knew that each of us had been sent by the central authorities—sometimes it was possible to know this—[and] we might cooperate closely. It all depended on personal relations.²⁶

One area of particularly keen competition between Dai Li and Chen Lifu was communications, and especially control over the telegraph and postal inspection system. Chen Lifu, of course, was especially proud of his contribution to the Nationalists’ Northern Expedition through radio communications and codes. This technical side of intelligence work conformed with his own vision of Zhongtong as a kind of Chinese FBI.²⁷ But Dai Li coveted this domain too, and during the jostling that went into the creation of the

joint organ, the existence of the separate Third Section of the original Military Affairs Commission Bureau of Investigation and Statistics must have represented a considerable compromise for both principals.

For, in addition to being charged with the collection of foreign intelligence, Ding Mocun's Third Section was responsible for postal and telegraph investigations.²⁸ Sometime in 1937, the section's name was changed to the Special Investigations Department (Tejianchu); and the following year, as each of these units moved inland, Chiang Kai-shek placed the office under the direct control of the chief of staff of the Military Affairs Commission.²⁹ Eventually, as Zhongtong's control over communications waned during the war, the Special Investigations Department was made to report to Juntong. Dai Li thereby gained control of mail censorship and telegraph monitoring, which was an essential pillar of his secret police apparatus during the Chongqing period.³⁰

THE EXPANSION OF JUNTONG

The creation of an independent Juntong under wartime conditions finally provided Dai Li with a long-awaited opportunity to enlarge his secret empire.³¹ Within a few years, and perhaps by the time he was named chief in his own right, Dai Li had expanded the bureau to ten departments and as many corresponding offices, regions, and groups.³² As district offices (*qu*) were set up after 1941, decision making passed on to regional supervisors (*quzhang*), who reported directly to Dai Li and whose role in the reorganized MSB became increasingly important.³³ The regional supervisors, for example, were placed in charge of personnel, budgets, broadcasting and code equipment, local intelligence, and field operations. Once a regional supervisor received Dai Li's personal permission for an operation, then every other section had to lend whatever support was necessary for the task at hand. In other words, operations within a region took priority over the various departments' needs within Juntong headquarters.³⁴

Meanwhile, headquarters staff exceeded a thousand persons, assigned to eight departments, three zones, and several *shi* (rooms or sections).³⁵ (See appendix B.) Each *shi* was equal in standing to a department. Section A (Jia shi) was Dai Li's private secretariat (*mishu bangongshi*), consisting of some of the secret police chief's most trusted personnel: Zhang Yifu, He Zhiyuan, and the dispatcher Mao Zongliang. Section B was also called the secretariat (*mishushi*), but it reported to Dai's lieutenants, Mao Renfeng and Zheng Jiemin.³⁶ Section C was the office of the auditor (*jiheshi*), Zhang Guanfu, who was responsible for internal financial oversight.

Besides these three units, there were two other important *shi*. The Confidential Section (Jiyaoshi)—originally the Code Translation Section (Yidianke)—was headed by the highest-ranking woman officer in Juntong,

Jiang Yiyong.³⁷ Most of its members were from Jiangshan, the impenetrable dialect of which became the working language of the unit. The workers from Jiangshan were widely regarded as being of “a low cultural level.”³⁸ The Inspectorate (Jichashi), on the other hand, was an elite unit consisting of a relatively small number of headquarters officers under Guo Shouhua (and, later, Liao Huaping) and a much larger group of external “secret inspectors” (*bimi ducha*) who reported directly to both Dai Li and regular circuit inspectors (*zhou ducha*) on their clandestine surveillance of Juntong personnel throughout the country.³⁹

Consequently, field personnel continued to increase along with the expansion of headquarters staff.⁴⁰ Even foreign observers had come to recognize the importance of Dai Li and his secret service.

One organ of the National Military Council [i.e., the Military Affairs Commission] about which very little is known is the Central Investigation and Statistics Bureau. It is a super-intelligence and counter-intelligence agency which no doubt is represented in every party and government body. This bureau is headed by General (Mr.) Dai Li, who is said to be the only man having access to the Generalissimo at any time or place.⁴¹

This enormous expansion in personnel was accomplished primarily through Juntong training camps and spy schools, units that Dai Li increasingly regarded as the key to forming a modern espionage system.⁴²

“XUNLIAN” (TRAINING)

As of the summer of 1935 Dai Li had already created a “special training unit” (*tebie xunlian ban*) within the Hangzhou Police Officers Academy (Hangzhou jingguan xuexiao).⁴³ The students were mainly drawn from the ranks of the better-educated cadres working for the SSD, and each was assigned a position in one of six brigades (*dui*), of which numbers one to three were for training ordinary secret police or “control” (*zhian*) officers, number four was for all-around secret agents (*quannengxing de tewu*), number five was for automobile drivers, and number six was for radio communications specialists.⁴⁴ The term “secret agent” (*tewu*), by the way, was not Juntong officers’ preferred way to refer to themselves. They all understood that the designation was a loan word from the Japanese *tokumu* and much preferred the phrases used by Soviet agents to identify themselves: people engaged in “revolutionary work” (*geming gongzuo*), “revolutionary security work” (*geming baowei gongzuo*), “intelligence work,” or “investigative statistical work” (*diao cha tongji gongzuo*).⁴⁵

The fourth brigade, which was the most prestigious, offered classes on cryptography, detection and surveillance, explosives, photography, driving, pistol marksmanship, politics, and foreign languages (usually English or

Japanese). Graduates underwent a special midnight initiation in a Buddhist temple, where they bowed under dark green lanterns before a portrait of Chiang Kai-shek, swore to be loyal to the Three People's Principles, and promised to sacrifice themselves if necessary to the Leader. To seal the ceremony, the recruits drank the blood of a sacrificed cock together with wine. Many of these graduates went on to become intelligence officers (*qingbao-yuan*) appointed to SSD (later MSB) stations throughout the country.⁴⁶

In 1938, "[Dai Li] again and again emphasized that work for Juntong was not something that ordinary people could be qualified for. Therefore, you first had to undergo training *xunlian* and ideological assessment *sixiang kaohe* before they dared to release you for work."⁴⁷ Under his supervision during the next seven years Juntong was to train more than 20,000 basic cadres, 50,000 armed forces (*wuzhuang dui*), and at least 5,000 telecommunications personnel in more than 100 special services classes.⁴⁸

Shen Zui recounts an anecdote that is particularly revealing of Dai Li's obsession with creating—and monopolizing—secret service training classes during the early years of the Sino-Japanese War of Resistance, when a new source of secret service recruits appeared in the form of patriotic students seeking refuge in Free China. Just after Shanghai fell, Shen Zui reported to Dai Li that Liang Ganqiao, the former Communist who had joined the original Gang of Ten, was about to establish a training unit (*xunlian ban*) in Zhengzhou with eight hundred students who were no longer able to attend regular school because their hometowns had been taken over by the Japanese. Liang's intention to create an elite paramilitary cadre was evident from his requests to General Hu Zongnan to provide him with several hundred rifles and to the military police to loan him personnel to assist in the training.⁴⁹

Dai Li immediately wrote a high-handed letter to Liang, ordering him to send every one of these educated patriotic youth to Hunan, where the secret service chief was planning to set up a Juntong training school to take advantage of the availability of such attractive new personnel now that coastal China was in Japanese hands.⁵⁰ When Shen Zui delivered the letter, however, Liang instantly realized that these new human resources were being taken away from him arbitrarily. He erupted in anger, throwing the letter to the ground and ordering Shen Zui himself to report to the Zhongzheng Middle School, where the students were being quartered, to serve as an instructor.

Three days later the commander of the Nanjing Capital Police Force Security Brigade (Shoudu jingchating baojing dadui), Yang Qingzhi, arrived at Liang Ganqiao's headquarters with yet another letter from Dai Li, even more peremptory than the last. The former Communist knew that he had no choice but to relinquish control of these well-educated and socially presentable personnel for the military secret service. Liang also realized that by

trying personally to train the students for work in Juntong under his direction, he had sacrificed Dai Li's trust in him as one of the earliest defectors to come over to the side of Chiang Kai-shek's special services. After a final confrontation with Shen Zui at the Zhongzheng Middle School ("You can all get lost!" Liang reportedly shouted), Liang Ganqiao quit Dai Li's service and went to work for Hu Zongnan in the northwest. He died later in the war in Yaoxian while still serving as a special adviser (*zhuan yuan*), expert in "anti-Communist work."⁵¹

THE LINLI TRAINING UNIT

The training unit that Dai Li had been in the process of establishing in Hunan was located in a former county normal school in Linli, outside Changsha. This major Juntong cadre school was, at the time of its formation in March 1938, identified as a "provisional training class" (*linxunban*).⁵² When the planning group for the school was activated in 1937, before Juntong was formally founded, Dai Li had invoked the authority of the Military Affairs Commission by calling the unit the Military Affairs Commission special training class (*Junshi weiyuanhui tebie xunlian ban*).⁵³ But the MAC's administration headquarters refused to issue him a seal of office. He instead used his position as head of the Central Police Academy's educational affairs committee to change the name of the training group in April 1938 to the Central Police Officers Academy special police personnel training unit (*Zhongyang jingguan xuexiao tezhong jingcha ren yuan xunlian ban*).⁵⁴

Graduates of this first MSB class were entered on the roster of the Central Police Academy, but within the MSB they were simply identified as members of the "special training unit" (*texunban*).⁵⁵ The graduates themselves, fiercely proud of their status as members of the first class of Juntong's new agent-training academy, used either the name "provisional training class" (*linxunban*) or "Linli training class" (*Linli xunlian ban*) to identify their formation. The parallel with the Whampoa Academy was, of course, quite self-conscious; and it was underscored by Dai Li's determination to send the best "talents" (*rencai*) in Juntong to Linli to serve as instructors. After graduating these men and women became the "backbone cadres" (*guguan*) of other training units, like Liao Huaping, who supervised the Lanzhou special training unit;⁵⁶ Wu Lang, who ran the Qianyang intelligence course; and Jin Shuyun, who headed the Southeastern *xunlian ban*.⁵⁷

The Linli students' vaunting was to be enhanced by Deputy Director (or Assistant Superintendent) Yu Lexing's lectures on intelligence work. Yu, a senior and highly seasoned agent, compared their new calling to the vocation of Zhuge Liang (Kongming), hero of *Three Kingdoms*. "Zhuge Kongming was the most accomplished and exceptional organizer and implementer of intelligence work in the history of our nation."⁵⁸ Not only did he

establish a “scientific intelligence net” throughout the three kingdoms; Kongming also employed the “most talented high-level special work personnel” while being both a brilliant analyst and singular operational leader himself.⁵⁹

Although several hundred of the students were recommended by friends and relatives already attached to the secret service, not all of the recruits realized that they were entering Juntong when they first arrived at Linli and were given gray military uniforms along with a monthly stipend of twelve yuan.⁶⁰ The eight hundred or so youth from Liang Ganqiao’s Zhengzhou program had been told that they were signing up for a training course for “technical personnel in the inspector-general’s section” (*zongjian bu jishu ren yuan*) of the Nationalist forces.⁶¹ Many of them had no families to return to, and they were completely unfamiliar with Hunan when they arrived at Linli and pitched in with the teachers to repair the school’s buildings and erect a large auditorium made of bamboo and straw to seat a thousand people. Perhaps the first inkling they had of the real purpose of their training came when the head of the unit, Yu Lexing, named part of the auditorium “rain-peasant dike” (*yunong ti*), using Dai Li’s other name, Yunong, to flatter Juntong’s chief.⁶²

Yu Lexing was actually assistant superintendent of the training group, as it was Dai Li’s practice to serve nominally as the principal of the class. In fact, the head of instruction, Xie Ligong, was appointed by Dai Li to offset the influence of Yu Lexing over the students, who grew quite restive when they finally realized they had enrolled in a school for spies.⁶³ The realization dawned slowly, as the students initially, from March to June, underwent an orientation period called *ruwu xunlian* (training to enter the ranks), which consisted of having their political thinking scrutinized, their family background investigated, and their personal character tested to see for what sort of work they were best suited. But by the time they were “divided into brigades for training” (*fendui xunlian*) and saw that they were being schooled in search and arrest techniques, kidnapping methods, ways of conducting assassinations, and so on, many of them got cold feet.⁶⁴

The most vigorous resistance came from a group of women students whom Dai Li had asked Hu Zongnan to recruit from the number seven campus of the Central Military Academy in Changsha.⁶⁵ These young women thought that they were putting aside their student brushes to fight the Japanese, and when they learned that they were being trained to be secret agents whose enemies were also the Communists, they demanded to return to their original campus. Dai Li and Yu Lexing both reacted cautiously. Because they had been recruited by Hu Zongnan, and because they had families nearby in Changsha, the young women were spared outright coercion. Instead Xie Ligong and the political training officer spent a full day talking about the importance of working for Juntong and the possibili-

ties for advancement that lay ahead of them. Eventually the young women grudgingly agreed to remain in the program, and under the tutelage of such famous female agents as Wu Yukun, Zhao Shiyong, Peng Jiacy, Wu Kuiyuan, Wu Shunhua, and the ferocious brigade leader An Zhanjiang (who shot her own husband once with a pistol when he incurred her anger) they eventually become key cadres among MSB headquarters and field agents.⁶⁶ Thereafter, all recruits to training units had to sign a form volunteering to participate in the Juntong organization. As Dai Li put it, "If you first slip the chain over their neck, then you have got them by the leash."⁶⁷

In the early stages of the six-month Linli training course, considerable effort was put into "ideological education" (*sixiang jiaoyu*), and—claimed Shen Zui, who was working in the unit's general affairs department at the time—much of this indoctrination was directed against the Communists.⁶⁸ The chief political officer, Wang Zuhua, tried to convince the students that the Communists were lying about their victories over the Japanese.⁶⁹ The students were skeptical of his claims. But he, the political commissars (*zhengzhi zhidaoyuan*), and the political instructors (*zhengzhi jiaoguan*), attached to the seven medium brigades of approximately 140 students each, stolidly maintained that the Communists were secretly engaged in a reactionary war against the Guomindang. It was the Nationalist Party, with its "revolutionary organization" (*geming jituan*), the Military Statistics Bureau, that was actually carrying out the war against Japan. "Outside the Guomindang there was not a single revolutionary and anti-Japanese party."⁷⁰

The Linli political instructors also devoted a substantial amount of their time to investigating the students' political behavior, confiscating "progressive" books and periodicals like *Xinhua ribao*, and censoring their mail. Such snooping particularly offended students whose love letters were intercepted, and when they tried to use local shops as postal boxes instead, the merchants were told either to stop cooperating with the students or to turn over their mail to be opened covertly and read by their political instructors.⁷¹

Despite the Linli authorities' efforts to keep the existence of the training unit a secret, it was not long before they discovered that a large number of people knew that a large-scale special services course was being held in the county. Letters, purportedly from former fellow students of the cadets, even began coming in from the Communist Lu Xun Art Institute in Yan'an. In these letters the correspondents pleaded with the students to resign from the training unit before it was too late. Shortly after these letters were discovered, the Linli brigade headquarters built a lockup (*jinbishi*) to confine students who broke the rules or who threatened to run away.⁷²

The fear of Communist enticement extended even to the instructors themselves. Lessons on infiltrating the Communist Party were regarded as particularly sensitive sessions because some of the instructors of these

courses, such as Liao Huaping who had been a political commissar at the Whampoa Academy, were former Communists themselves (or *pantu*, “renegades,” as the CCP called them). In their classes they used Communist documents seized from postal inspections or police raids to teach the students a bit of Marxist jargon so they would be able to pose as “progressives.” At the same time, the instructors were also supposed to employ these teaching materials to calumniate Communist ideology and inoculate the students against Leninist thought. According to Shen Zui, who was working in the headquarters brigade at Linli, this put the teachers in an extremely difficult position. As former Communists, they wanted the students to understand the power of Marxist thought, yet they were frightened that other Juntong colleagues would mistake this for clandestine left-wing indoctrination and turn them in for reeducation. Knowing that Dai Li had placed informants in their ranks hardly helped to allay their fears. When Dai Li paid his first visit to the camp, he casually alluded to Brigade Director Tao Yishan’s habit of playing cards after dinner, causing everyone to realize that he was keeping the unit under fairly close surveillance.⁷³

Dai Li visited the Linli training camp for the first time in the fall of 1938. Yu Lexing wanted to make a good impression, so he sent students as bodyguards to greet Dai Li’s car, while posting members of the two middle brigades as guards every three to five paces. When Dai Li’s automobile came to the edge of the town, a great shout went up, echoing back and forth, to stand to attention. Meanwhile, other armed students were posted at each crossroads to stop any other traffic from coming through. Dai Li had received a number of negative reports about Yu Lexing even before coming, and his temper was already on edge. When he reached the center of town and saw how elaborate the honor guard was, he erupted into one of his notorious furies. Getting out of the car, he loudly asked Yu Lexing what this fuss was all about. After all, they were not a bunch of feudal warlords! If their Leader, Generalissimo Chiang, found out about this ridiculous posturing, then it would be all over for Mr. Yu. Without permitting Yu to answer, Dai Li continued to harangue him in this manner as they walked into the training unit, frightening the cadres who witnessed the scene and making them feel that their chief was a man of overweening and fearsome authority.⁷⁴

The reports that had made Dai Li so angry were from his secret informants, who had described the excellent job that Yu Lexing was doing as assistant superintendent. Yu’s knowledge of special services work was extensive, which won him the students’ admiration from the very outset. Since he taught the basic espionage course to all of the recruits, he got to know most of them quite well and continued to earn their respect and loyalty. Within the first few months of the training program, Yu had managed to become very close to the students, and this made Dai Li, who wanted to be the pupils’ sole director and master teacher, jealous and resentful.

During the second day of his visit, therefore, Dai Li ran Yu Lexing down in front of the staff and student body, who gathered in the auditorium to hear him give a public talk. Dai Li not only singled out for criticism the assistant superintendent; he also scolded the headquarters brigade commander and denigrated the main instructional officers for spending too much time on liquor and women and too little on the students. He said that there were a number of persons among the teachers and brigade heads who were having illicit sexual relations with female students. He also severely attacked the brigade commander for the drowning of a Henanese woman who could not pass the swimming test, and for the death of another student in hand-to-hand combat with the Korean karate instructor, a certain Mr. Kim. However, he highly praised former CCP member Liao Huaping for using the political training classes to make the cadets realize that if the “Reds” were not exterminated, then there would not be room enough in all of China to bury the Communists’ future victims.⁷⁵

On the third day of his visit, Dai Li spoke with individual groups of students, telling them that Juntong was the most revolutionary organization in the country and that they had a bright future ahead of them. He also reviewed some of “his” students’ records and promoted those he thought deserving, while ordering those with the worst reports to be locked up. This assertion of Dai Li’s dominance over the cadets, however, failed to displace Yu Lexing. After Dai Li had returned to Hankou, fresh reports of Yu’s popularity reached Juntong headquarters. Dai Li consequently decided to recall Yu Lexing and put Brigade Commander Tao Yishan in his place. That failed to solve the problem. Although Tao did his best to run the camp during May and June of 1938, the teachers and students alike deplored Yu’s absence. Eventually, in order to restore their morale, Dai Li relented and reinstated Yu Lexing in late July.⁷⁶

The entire affair, of course, served as a reminder to the faculty and students of Dai Li’s ubiquitous informants. It also heightened their awareness of the dark side of his private autocratic regime, of which they were rapidly becoming lifetime subjects. Concerns about their personal security as future secret policemen notwithstanding, the Linli students were nonetheless fascinated by the tradecraft of espionage: learning how to quick-draw and fire a handgun, pick locks and jimmy open handcuffs, or spot and evade shadows in practice sessions on Changsha’s city streets.⁷⁷

The students were intrigued in part by the technology of modern spying; they were also lured by the techniques of the traditional martial arts. Dai Li himself was invariably impressed by Chinese boxing experts like the Linli student named Li Kelian, a *qigong* specialist who had stones broken on his chest with a sledge hammer. Dai Li later made Li Kelian assistant director of Juntong’s special *wugong* (martial arts) training unit, the Chongqing Art of Attack and Defense Class (Chongqing jiji ban). At the graduation cere-

monies for the Linli class, Dai Li was also impressed by the Korean karate expert's use of a larynx-squeezing technique to render a young teenager unconscious within seconds.⁷⁸ When he reprimanded the Korean *karateka* after the demonstration, Dai Li's officers thought that their chief disapproved of using such young boys as guinea pigs, but Dai Li was actually angry because he did not think that such powerful techniques should be revealed publicly.⁷⁹

TRADECRAFT

Regardless of their later specialized training, all of the students had to study basic espionage tradecraft (*jishu*), taught by Assistant Director Yu Lexing in a course called Elementary Knowledge for Special Services Work (Tegong changshi).⁸⁰ The lectures covered intelligence gathering, evaluation, and analysis; the deployment of secret intelligence organizations and the running of agents; shadowing and evasion; the transmission of intelligence messages; special operations; reconnaissance work; disguises; investigation of post office materials; and the use of poisons and explosives.⁸¹

Once the students had taken this basic course in tradecraft, they were supposed to be able to choose their future specialties. In truth, they were assigned to brigades according to their aptitudes, with the best going into elite spy units and the less promising into guerrilla brigades. If one were particularly smart and alert, he was likely to be chosen to enter the Intelligence Brigade (Qingbao dui). A less intellectual fellow with notable strength and bravery would be directed to the Operations Brigade (Xingdong dui). Cadets who had received military training were appointed to the Military Intelligence Staff Officer Brigade (Diecan dui). The rest, the rank and file, entered the Guerrilla Warfare Brigade (Junshi dui), in which they learned guerrilla warfare techniques copied from Ye Jianying's Communist training school at Nanyue in Hunan.⁸²

The women students were at first assigned either to study intelligence work or to become special operations agents. In July 1938 the Linli training class also set up special groups to teach communications and accounting. Thereafter, most women joined these two training groups. A few were selected as "work wives" (*gongzuo taitai*) to accompany major agents like Fu Shenglan—who ran some of Juntong's Shanghai underground operations until he defected and became puppet mayor of Hangzhou—into enemy-occupied territory.⁸³

Higher-level courses in the Intelligence Brigade were taught by officers who had studied in Germany and Italy. There were additional lectures and demonstrations by Liu Shaofu and Huang Linyu on ordnance and explosives, by Xie Ligong on intelligence gathering, by Shen Zui on tradecraft, by headquarters telecommunications specialists on wireless transmis-

sion and codes, and by expert Juntong photographers on cameras and film development.⁸⁴

The Operations Brigade instructed its cadets in the use of weapons (concealed knives, pistols, hatchets, poisoned daggers), and the conduct of arrests and assassinations, surveillance, and shadowing. Shen Zui, as an experienced Shanghai hand who had conducted numerous kidnappings and arrests himself, gave lectures on the practical details of seizing a suspect: what to do if there were three of you and two of them, how to take a “snatch” out of a building several stories tall, why the differing physical abilities of victims make a difference in their reaction to arrest. Special agents were taught that they must first apply disabling pain to suspects, not so much as to cripple them or make it impossible to walk them out of a building, but enough to keep them from having the strength to cry out and resist seizure. Demonstrations of these techniques to the class sometimes resulted in injuries when students resisted their instructors’ martial arts. The instructors felt challenged in such cases to maintain their authority and credibility in front of the other students and could not afford to be disgraced. That was why one cadet was actually killed by the Korean martial arts instructor, Mr. Kim.⁸⁵

The emphasis was on practical, concrete casework. At first, the Operations Brigade cadets were trained in demolition, but Juntong quickly discovered that to produce an explosives expert required at least six months beyond the regular training period for a secret agent. Also, there were too many accidents in the handling of explosives, and some of them were fatal. It was much more practical to keep the explosives specialists apart, and to have them make bombs and devices for agents in the field, who then only had to be trained in a few basic techniques in order to detonate their charges. The important thing was to teach the students how powerful TNT and dynamite were, and this could be done easily in the countryside outside Linli, although it disturbed peasants living nearby.⁸⁶

Students were not allowed to take notes in these special operations classes. If they failed to understand a certain point, then they were encouraged to ask the instructor to repeat what he had said. The instructors themselves were told to direct students to come to them outside class and ask for special help as needed. This was a way for the backbone cadres to spot the zealous in the class who had an aptitude for violence and conspiracy, and whom they—the instructors—could “nourish” (*peiyang*) into “specialized talents” (*zhuanmen rencai*) fit for higher-level work.⁸⁷

The full course of study was supposed to run one year, but Dai Li had a war on his hands and he would sometimes impatiently telephone Linli, ordering some of the best cadets into the field right away. He was especially keen to make sure that his own Juntong cadres were placed in the “war zone service organizations” (*zhandi fuwu tuanti*) or popular resistance units that

might otherwise be dominated by Communists or other “progressive” leaders. Thus, when the war zone expanded in Jiangxi in the summer of 1938, and a woman representing a resistance unit from that area requested help in the form of personnel, Dai Li ordered that a contingent of women pupils be taken out of the training unit and sent off to join the *tuanti* right away.⁸⁸ Another hundred students in the guerrilla warfare course were selected from the Fifth and Sixth Brigades and dispatched to the southeast to join the Loyal and Patriotic Army (Zhongyi jiuguo jun) when it stepped up its activities in the Shanghai hinterland against the Japanese.⁸⁹

THE LOYAL AND PATRIOTIC ARMY

The Loyal and Patriotic Army stemmed from the “special operations brigades” (*biedongdui*) that had been created under the Su-Zhe Special Operations Committee founded by Dai Li and organized by gang leader Du Yuesheng.⁹⁰ After these members of the labor movement and elements of the underworld were routed from Shanghai by the Japanese and scattered, Dai Li sent Zhou Kang to try to regroup the forces. Out of the remnants they were able to salvage more than two thousand men who were retrained at Liyang and then moved to Xiuning, where they were expanded to form two “training units” (*jiaodao tuan*) under He Xingjian and Tang Yisheng. A third unit was added under Ruan Qingyuan in 1938, and the whole was then named the Loyal and Patriotic Army (LPA) and placed under the command of Lieutenant General Yu Zuobai (also known as Yu Yize), who established his command post at Guangde Jinshanli in Anhui.⁹¹

Yu Zuobai was a former warlord member of the Guangxi clique whose loyalties were bought by Chiang Kai-shek during the 1928 conflict between the Generalissimo and the Guixi forces.⁹² Although the LPA, which grew to more than 100,000 soldiers, later acquired a noisome reputation among progressive Chinese for its operations against CCP-led New Fourth Army units, it did manage during the fall of 1938 to wage effective guerrilla raids against the Japanese in the Yangzi delta.⁹³ There were numerous authenticated reports during the summer and fall of 1938 of ambushes of small parties of Japanese traveling by boat or truck in the region’s backcountry. The Japanese forces were able to keep their lines of communication open, but American observers reported that “casualties resulting from guerrilla activities have been numerous.” And the level of guerrilla activity visibly increased after the Linli cadres joined the LPA in September and October of that same year.⁹⁴

Meanwhile, of course, the Japanese were closing in upon Wuhan. Dai Li had made several trips to southern Hunan to join Chiang Kai-shek while he convoked the Guomindang Central Committee at Nanyue in the Heng mountains. And before Chiang Kai-shek transferred the headquarters of his

Military Affairs Commission to the wartime capital of Chongqing, Dai Li also went to Sichuan to arrange for his Leader's safety and to set up his own Juntong office in Customs Lane (Haiguan xiang).⁹⁵ But once those arrangements were made, Dai Li's primary personal responsibility was to sabotage the municipal public utilities of Wuhan before the Japanese took over the city. Consequently, another hundred Linli men and women students were selected and taken by Shen Zui to Wuhan, where they were quartered in the Nanxiaolu primary school, outfitted as plainclothesmen, and told by Dai Li that they were to have a special role in the defense of Wuhan. In the days that followed they worked directly under Dai Li's personal command, making sure that the utilities were rendered useless for the Japanese.⁹⁶

LINLI'S LAST DAYS

Shen Zui himself went back to Linli to continue working with the remaining seven hundred or so students still trying to finish the full twelve-month course. During the last month of the training program in the winter of 1938–39, Dai Li paid a final visit to the Linli camp, coming rather hurriedly from Changsha. His purpose this time was threefold: to attend the graduating ceremonies, to transfer the training unit to Qianyang in western Hunan, and to remove Yu Lexing for the last time from the directorship of the unit.⁹⁷

Perhaps because the latter issue was now resolved, Dai Li this time was in quite an affable mood. Everything that he saw and heard seemed to please him. He praised the students and their instructors; he told the graduating cadets what their new assignments would be; and, at the ceremonies themselves, although he exhibited anger over the martial arts demonstration, he was obviously pleased by the students' demonstrations of their newly acquired skills.⁹⁸

General Dai was even entranced by their somewhat awkward class song (*bange*), composed by an instructor who had studied in Germany and who had been very impressed by the "Horst Wessel Song." Dai Li's ear was caught by the phrase "Revolutionary youth, quickly prepare, / Be wise, humane, and brave!" But he especially liked the lines "We will defend our Leader's safety / And protect our nation's sovereign soil." As a result, he decided to make this the anthem of the entire MSB, ordering that it be sung at every major meeting, including the annual April 1 meeting to commemorate Juntong's founding. It was evident, from his avuncular good cheer, that Dai Li regarded the graduates of Linli as a rather special group of his own disciples who would merit special treatment in the future.⁹⁹

Each of the seven hundred graduating cadets was given the rank and emoluments of a second lieutenant.¹⁰⁰ Those who had been employed before joining the secret service mainly went back to their original units. A

few members of the First Intelligence Brigade with “high cultural levels” were sent to the Chongqing foreign language training unit for further study. The majority of graduates were assigned to the southwest rear areas, with most going to Juntong offices in Sichuan. A small number were held behind to serve as cadres in the second special services class, now on its way to Qianyang.¹⁰¹

BACKBONE CADRES

As the successor to the Linli program, the Qianyang unit was the second of five core regional training units for regular Juntong cadres; the other three were the Xifeng *xunlian ban*, the Lanzhou training program, and the South-eastern special services course. Over the course of the war, from 1939 to 1945, these five units produced approximately 13,500 MSB cadres expert in intelligence (*qingbao*), military intelligence (*diebao*), operations (*xingdong*), telecommunications (*dianxun*), or guerrilla warfare (*dayouji*).

An additional set of central training units for Juntong cadres and informants prepared military staff officers and attachés, communications specialists, experts on Communist Party organization and tactics, foreign affairs specialists who could use diplomatic cover abroad, and interpreters of German, French, English, and Japanese. The most prestigious of these central units in Chongqing put 250 of the best graduates from the Linli, Qianyang, Xifeng, Lanzhou, and Southeastern training programs, plus carefully selected assistant Juntong station chiefs and section heads, through a rigorous six-month program of advanced intelligence techniques taught by Dai Li’s most experienced instructors, along with fifty American enlisted men and officers who belonged to the Sino-American Cooperative Organization under the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of Naval Intelligence. The least exalted of these MSB programs put five hundred specially recommended central government bureaucrats and administrators from all of the important Nationalist ministries through a one-month short course designed to train them in the rudiments of intelligence-gathering and liaison work so that they could serve Juntong thereafter as informants. Needless to say, not a few did.

A third set of local training units was created to produce special services detectives and counterespionage experts to combat the Communists in the northwest, as well as to train cadres for work on Taiwan in the event of an American invasion of the island.¹⁰² Finally, two overseas training units directly under Juntong’s control prepared Vietnamese agents to be sent back into Indochina to fight against the Japanese (and in some cases the French), and trained overseas Chinese to go back to their homes in Burma, Malaya, and the Philippines to work as MSB spies.

Until the creation of SACO, however, the core training program remained the Linli-Qianyang-Xifeng-Lanzhou-Southeastern complex that trained basic backbone cadres. These courses were at the heart of Dai Li's enterprise, and he regarded them as his own classes, always acting nominally as superintendent, with the actual director in every instance designated *fuzhuren* (assistant superintendent).¹⁰³ In a curious way, the special training units became an integral part of his miniature secret empire. During the early, preparatory days of the core courses, Dai Li would appoint one of his own agents as magistrate of the district in which the unit was located, both to prepare for the establishment of the unit and to protect and conceal its existence once it was underway. The units themselves were often housed in the very sorts of normal schools that had produced the stratum of ambitious power seekers to which he, Hu Zongnan, He Zhonghan, and so many others belonged. And when he paid a call upon his training units, as he did every year, the visitation of the "superintendent" was like an imperial progress.

During his eight years' residence in Chongqing, Dai Li annually visited each of his local training camps, participating in staggered graduation ceremonies timed to coincide with his arrival. Within Juntong this was called *chuxun* (going out on patrol or inspection). Two limousines were prepared for the secret service chief, so that he could ride in them alternately. His retinue, which consisted of an aide-de-camp, a secretary, an assisting official, his personal chef, a woman to do his laundry, a radio operator, and a code specialist, plus cadres from personnel, intelligence, operations, training, and police, had vehicles of their own. Two or three trucks were filled with fifty or more plainclothes bodyguards and armed police guards chosen from the command brigade of the Military Statistics Bureau. Like a viceroy, Dai Li would thus descend upon "his" training unit, often located in a county manned by one of "his" magistrates, to assert proprietorship over "his" students.¹⁰⁴

We have already seen, in the case of Yu Lexing and the Linli students, how jealous Dai Li could be of instructors whose popularity with the students exceeded his own. Indeed, even after he dismissed Yu Lexing for the final time, Dai Li never forgave him for rivaling himself, especially when Linli graduates continued to pay their former assistant superintendent deference, fondness, and respect. Every time Yu Lexing came to Chongqing, at least a hundred Linli alumni would organize a banquet for him and ask him to be the after-dinner speaker. Yu Lexing habitually urged his former pupils to work hard for Juntong and be loyal to Dai Li, but that hardly assuaged his chief, who eventually had Yu Lexing thrown into one of the MSB's prisons and held for more than a year.¹⁰⁵

TRAINING UNIT FACTIONALISM

By so zealously discouraging such teacher-disciple relationships outside his own patronage, Dai Li was seeking to prevent the formation of factions and cliques within his secret service. In theory, the personnel regulations of Juntong prohibited persons from appointing their friends to work alongside or under them. In practice it was sometimes difficult to know when a section, department, or office chief's personnel recommendations were self-interested. To keep private cabals hostile to him from forming, Dai Li needed to have his own corps of loyalists in place throughout the growing Juntong bureaucracy to keep an eye on potential rivals.¹⁰⁶

The reservoir of this corps of Dai Li loyalists was the first class of Linli, or *linxunban*, graduates. Several became secretaries in Dai Li's Confidential Office (Jiyao shi), which was also known as Section A (Jia shi) and was a conscious imitation of Chiang Kai-shek's Shicong shi (Escort Office), arguably the most important government organ during the War of Resistance. A dozen or so were given positions in the Personnel Department (Renshi chu). Others were quickly promoted to division commanders (*guzhang*) and deputy commanders (*fuguzhang*). At headquarters there soon was not a single department, office, or group that did not have a Linli graduate in an important position. And in the field, too, in at least ten counties the heads of the investigation centers (*jicha suo*) were Linli alumni who had been quickly promoted to captain (*shangwei*) or major (*shaoxiao*) not long after receiving their first commission.¹⁰⁷

Older agents who had many more years of experience than the Linli alumni were very bitter about these promotions. Juntong, they said, had become "a world where nobody looked at you if you weren't from [Lin]li, and where nobody employed you if you weren't from [Lin]li" (*fei li wu shi, fei li wu yong de shijie le*). The Linli alumni in turn let older MSB officers know that they were "Dai Li's students," calling the secret service chief "Superintendent Dai" (Dai *zhuren*) instead of "Mr. Dai" (Dai *xiansheng*). Quick to inform on the service's old hands, whose ruder and more corrupt lifestyle these young middle-school graduates held in contempt, the Linli graduates never called each other "comrade" (*tongzhi*) like ordinary Juntong special agents.¹⁰⁸ Instead, they addressed each other as "fellow students" (*tongxue*), and if they happened to encounter former brigade commanders from their *linxunban* days, then they would call them "teacher" (*laoshi*) rather than addressing them with their military ranks.¹⁰⁹

Because some of the Qianyang training unit's students had been with the Linli students at the very end of their course, Qianyang graduates tried to borrow some of the prestige of the Linli class. *Lin Qian bu fen jia*, they insisted: "Lin and Qian are not separate families." But the Linli cohort tended to remain aloof, forming alliances with fellow members outside the head-

quarters circle and maintaining contact through dinner parties thrown whenever a Linli student came into Chongqing from the outer provinces. Moreover, it was plainly part of Dai Li's grand design to treat each of the core regional training units as a group apart from the others by assigning Linli students to the center in Chongqing, having Qianyang alumni staff stations in the southwest, and making the Lanzhou Training Unit the main source of cadres for the northwest.¹¹⁰

Gradually, however, some of the old guard, including canny apparatchiks like Mao Renfeng, realized that Lanzhou cadres could be used to counterbalance the Linli group in Chongqing. As the old guard arranged for the transfer of more and more Lanzhou graduates to Chongqing, a new faction began to form around the Lanzhou graduates, and they became an opposition force to the *linxunban* students.¹¹¹ Later, when the alumni of the three Xifeng training classes were commissioned as Juntong officers, yet another group of opponents arose. Nevertheless, Linli graduates retained their special edge as "Dai Li's students," and during the eleven years between the formation of the Linli Training Unit and the Nationalists' defeat in the civil war, no fewer than five Linli alumni were promoted to the rank of major general in the service of Dai Li and his Generalissimo.¹¹²

Chapter 19

Codes

Spies fascinate us because their trade promises secret knowledge, and secret knowledge seems power. The promise, though, nearly always is empty. The truly useful wartime intelligence came from breaking German and Japanese codes. Codebreaking and electronic and satellite intelligence remain the principal sources of hard intelligence today. The rest agent intelligence excessively tends toward the penetration and counterpenetration of other intelligence services.

ILLIA A 1

FIRST STEPS

Dai Li's first secret service communications training group was organized at the Hangzhou (Zhejiang) Police Academy in 1930.² Its training procedures were drawn from Cheka and KGB manuals, but its technical know-how, based upon the experience of recruits from Shanghai intelligence units, reflected American electronics skills and supplies.³ The Hangzhou telecommunications training unit (*wuxian dianxun xunlianban*), which at first had no wireless equipment, began with twenty to thirty graduates from the second class of the regular police academy.⁴ When these police cadets had completed the course, it quickly became apparent that they had no interest in telecommunications as such; the training unit consequently opened a recruitment office in Shanghai, where recruits were given initial wireless training in order to screen them before they were enrolled in the police academy wireless communications unit in Hangzhou.⁵

Classes two through five were composed primarily of students from Shanghai's Number Three Wireless Training School (*Sanji wuxiandian xuexiao*) brought to Hangzhou for work in "special operations" (*tegong*). Class six prepared students to serve in the Nationalist government's Airforce Commission (*Hangweihui*) as communications officers at air defense intelligence stations (*fangkong qingbao tai*). Classes seven through ten were also composed of students from Yang Yongkui's Number Three in Shanghai, along with graduates of Beiping's Tianxing Wireless School (*Tianxing wuxiandian xuexiao*) under Liu Xingwu.⁶

The Hangzhou training unit was but a first step for Dai Li in developing an effective intelligence communications net.⁷ He was already far behind his civilian rival, Chen Lifu, whose own intelligence unit, the Central Statis-

tics Bureau (CSB), or Zhongtong, was establishing a complex of transmission stations in major cities throughout China.⁸ Until 1932 Dai's Special Services Department had to depend upon the CSB's network of secret radio stations to send its own intelligence reports, which took second place to Chen Lifu's communiqués.⁹

Zhongtong's shortwave radio monopoly was broken by the Gu Shunzhang defection.¹⁰ In April 1931 Gu revealed that Chen Lifu's counterintelligence apparatus had been infiltrated by such Communist moles as Li Kenong, Chiang Kai-shek's personal decoder, who had passed the Nationalist leader's codebook to Zhou Enlai.¹¹ As a result of this intelligence disaster and as part of the formation of a special services force within the Lixingshe, Chiang Kai-shek ordered Wen Yuqing (Y. C. Wen), T. V. Soong's nephew, to set up a secret group in Chiang's office to decipher enemy codes.¹² Wen's cryptanalysis group, the Monitoring Research Code Organization (Zhenshou yanyi xitong), was also supposed to coordinate its activities with other spy agencies through a branch office established within the Military Affairs Commission Special Technical Research Unit (Junweihui tezhong jishu yanjiushi).¹³

Because his own men were supposed to train with Y. C. Wen, and because Juntong's radio communications depended upon the CSB's monitoring equipment, Dai Li grew increasingly frustrated.¹⁴ In 1933 he decided, therefore, to found his own radio school in Shanghai under Wei Daming, who came to him with the enthusiastic recommendation of Hu Zongnan.¹⁵

WEI DAMING

Wei Daming had graduated from the Ministry of Communications telecommunications technical training course (*tongxun jishu xunlian suo*).¹⁶ Working under Li Yifan, who had taken control of the national commercial radio station, Wei Daming had become the supervisor in charge of all the radio operators (*baowuyuan lingban*) in both the international and commercial broadcasting studios. Now he was given complete control over the training and administration of Dai Li's special services communications unit, including personnel training and cryptanalysis.

Wei Daming, who drafted the training programs of the radio school and served as the head of the *tewuchu*'s communications section, saw his co-team as consisting primarily of professionals who focused their interest on the technical aspects of codes, radios, and cryptanalysis. While field agents were valued for their ability to blend into the local scenery, to cultivate informants and gather intelligence through human interactions, to be alert in reading moods and signs, the training in the code section placed a premium upon self-sufficiency in carrying out tasks that were mainly mechanical in nature.¹⁷

Wei Daming was also responsible for research and development, which were particularly pressing needs because the five-watt ground transmitters and fifteen-watt station units were too heavy to be carried conveniently by secret agents. In the late spring of 1933 Wei's section manufactured instead a small transponder, which, apart from batteries and earphones, was no larger than a couple of *binggun* (popsicles). The miniature radio was so effective that Dai Li decided to present Wei Daming to Chiang Kai-shek at Lushan, demonstrate the apparatus, and request that his communications assistant be given a special military reward for his invention. The demonstration was a success: the tiny radio could transmit messages outside the mountainous terrain of Lushan, where a regular fifteen-watt set failed to get through. Chiang Kai-shek gave his permission to manufacture the set, and he authorized Dai to have Wei Daming set up a special radio broadcasting headquarters with eight transmitters at Bailuzhou (White Egret Island), Xishiba (West Stone Embankment), No. 29, Nanjing.¹⁸

As the majordomo of Dai Li's secret service communications, Wei Daming (whose wife was one of Dai Li's former mistresses) became known as his master's "spirit" (*Dai Li de linghun*).¹⁹ His importance to Juntong cannot be overemphasized. It was Wei's cryptanalysts who were to break the Nineteenth Route Army's codes during the Fujian Incident, providing the strategic key to help the Generalissimo bring the rebellious province to heel; and it was the cryptanalysts' needs that in the end led Dai Li to depend so heavily for technological aid upon alliances with British intelligence and with the Americans.²⁰

In the larger picture, of course, communications intelligence seemed equally important to Chiang Kai-shek, who quickly recognized how crucial it was to the maintenance of his dictatorship. Chiang, in effect, treated secret radio intercepts as a family monopoly. As late as 1939, only three people had regular access to these particular intelligence reports: T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung, and Chiang himself. T. V. Soong—recalling the import of radio intercepts to Chiang's gaining the upper hand over Li Zongren, Yan Xishan, Feng Yuxiang, Li Jishen, and Cheng Mingshu—later boasted to President Roosevelt that "I have won two civil wars for Chiang Kai-shek by setting up an efficient decoding service which kept him posted about the movement of his enemies."²¹

Chiang's possessiveness about communications intelligence incited competition among his military and secret service chiefs. He Yingqin, Chiang's chief of staff and minister of war, asked Y. C. Wen for a copy of the daily intercepts, but Chiang refused to release them, thereby indirectly compelling General He to form his own interception office under Wang Jinglu, with orders to begin gathering and decoding Japanese Foreign Ministry communications.²² This put the Chinese army's chief of staff in direct competition with Chiang's own unit under Wen Yuqing, who was named division chief

of communications under the Ministry of Transportation and ordered on March 1, 1936, to organize an Office for the Inspection and Decoding of Secret Transmissions (Midian jianyisuo), which was responsible to Chiang alone. Within three or four months the office had broken the Japanese Foreign Ministry code, and by the time Japan went to war with China in July 1937, the Chinese had more than a dozen secret radio stations intercepting Japanese diplomatic communications.²³ Nonetheless, Wen Yuqing's Midian jianyisuo always held the upper hand. Even though there were monthly intelligence gatherings convened throughout 1937 and 1938 by Xu Enzeng (CSB), Dai Li (MSB), Admiral Yang Xuancheng (Military Intelligence), Wang Pengsheng (Institute of International Studies), and Wen Yuqing, it was always Wen who had the last word, thanks to his superior technical and training facilities.²⁴ As a matter of self-defense, therefore, Dai Li felt that he had to pursue his own code-breaking capacity by searching for scientific expertise abroad.²⁵

HERBERT YARDLEY

In 1931 Herbert Osborn Yardley published his memoir of his experiences as an American breaker of Japan's most secret codes. *The American Black Chamber* was quickly translated by cryptologist Commander Ito Risaburo and published in Japan, where it became a best-seller.²⁶ At the same time, Major Xiao Bo, China's assistant military attaché in Washington and an agent of Dai Li, had the book translated into Chinese (*Hei shi*) and sent it to Wei Daming. Wei in turn brought Yardley to Dai Li's attention as the American who had broken the Japanese diplomatic codes.²⁷

Yardley, the son of a railway telegrapher, was born in 1889 in Worthington, Indiana. President of his high school class, editor of its newspaper, and captain of the football team, he went to Washington at the age of twenty-three and got a job as a telegrapher in the State Department, coding and decoding cables. To his surprise, he found he was able to decipher a coded message from Colonel House to President Wilson in May 1916. He also realized that these messages traveled over cables passing through England that were routinely monitored by the Royal Navy. Since that made all American traffic equally vulnerable to British interception, he reported the matter to his superiors, suggesting ways of restoring American invulnerability, and was instantly singled out by the War Department as a remarkably able cryptologist. On June 29, 1917, as a second lieutenant, he was given charge of the eighth section of Military Intelligence (MI8), responsible for all code and cipher work under wartime conditions.²⁸

Yardley worked feverishly to devise new code systems that provided secure communications with U.S. military attachés and intelligence officers around the world. He also established a special cipher subsection that even-

Figure 15. Xiao Bo, deputy Chinese military attaché and Dai Li's agent in Washington, D.C. *Chung-Mei he tsuo suo chih* [Annals of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization]. N.p. [Taipei]: Kuo-fang pu ch'ing pao chū, 1970.



tually decoded 10,735 messages sent by foreign governments. When the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, Yardley was in Paris overseeing a code bureau in the Hotel Crillon that handled all encryption for the American commission to the Versailles Conference while eavesdropping on communiqués sent by other delegations.²⁹

With the end of the First World War, the U.S. Radio Communication Act of 1912 came into effect once again.³⁰ It provided that the government would guarantee secrecy of communications by requiring that stations engaged in the transmission of messages only divulge their contents to the person(s) toward whom they were directed. Because Yardley was eventually going to be intercepting the cable communications of other countries, not their radio messages, this act did not apply.³¹ Nonetheless, after Yardley returned to the United States in April 1919, General Marlborough Churchill, director of U.S. Military Intelligence, recommended that MI8 be transformed into a jointly funded bureau under the War and State Departments. Chief of staff General Peyton March approved, the Radio Communication Act notwithstanding; and a soi-disant commercial cipher venture, the Code Compilation Company, was thereby opened for business in a four-story New York City brownstone at 3 East 38th Street under the directorship of Herbert Yardley. This Cipher Bureau was to become known as the Black Chamber.³²

At first, the Western Union telegraph company refused to provide the government with copies of its telegrams. The Radio Communication Act, af-

ter all, threatened any employee who did so with direct personal punishment. General Churchill persuaded Western Union's president, Newcomb Carlton, to ignore the law in the name of patriotism. Every morning thereafter government couriers would pick up the cables, deliver them to Military Intelligence, and return them to Western Union's Washington office by the close of the same day. A similar agreement was worked out with the company officers of Postal Telegraph; and the All-American Cable Company, which handled communications between North and South America, consented after being approached on General Churchill's behalf by W. E. Roosevelt and Robert W. Goellet. Before the end of 1920 the Black Chamber could count upon the illegal cooperation of virtually the entire American cable industry.³³

By then, Herbert Yardley, with the help of his brilliant associate Frederick Livesey, had already broken the Japanese Foreign Office codes.³⁴ This clandestine accomplishment turned out to be of critical use to the American delegation headed by Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes during the Washington Naval Conference that opened on November 14, 1921. Yardley's code breakers had been tracking the Japanese preparations for the conference since July, opening up their own daily courier service between Washington and New York. The key issue of the conference was the tonnage of capital ships allowed each major power. Secretary Hughes was willing to accept parity with Great Britain but wished to set a ten to six ratio with Japan, while the latter would only settle for ten to seven. On November 28, the Black Chamber decoded a telegram from the Gaimusho to the Japanese delegation, indicating that ten to six might be acceptable as a fallback position. Knowing Japan's hold card, the Americans pressed hard and the Japanese folded on December 10, agreeing to the ten to six ratio. Yardley's code breakers had decisively won the round.³⁵

Despite Yardley's success, the Black Chamber was vulnerable, dependent as it was upon the State Department for a portion of its secret subsidy. In 1929 Secretary Stinson decided that it was inappropriate for "gentlemen" to read one another's mail and the Cipher Bureau was closed down, leaving Yardley out of work just as he was passing his fortieth birthday. It was, in fact, his need for cash to support his family and his lover, Edna Ramsaier (who had worked with him in the Black Chamber), that led Yardley to publish the book that brought him to Major Xiao's attention in the first place.³⁶

Yardley demanded an annual salary of 10,000 to work in China. Major Xiao met that demand, but he refused to grant permission to take along Edna Ramsaier. Nevertheless, Yardley was so excited by the prospect of working in China that he accepted Xiao's offer anyway and left for the Far East in September 1938, traveling as an exporter of hides under the name Herbert Osborn.³⁷

Yardley arrived in Hong Kong in November 1938 on the very day that air

service was discontinued to Hankou, which was about to fall to the Japanese. Dai Li's Hong Kong agent, a Mr. Ling, received new instructions by radio from his chief (whom Yardley privately called the "Hatchet Man"), and three hours later they had set sail for Haiphong in French Indochina. Again met by an undercover agent, who bribed their way through customs, Yardley and Ling waited three days before taking the twice-weekly train by narrow-gauge railroad to Kunming.³⁸

YARDLEY IN CHONGQING

Airplane transport from Kunming to Chongqing was routinely booked at least a month in advance, but Dai Li's agents got the two men seats on an American-piloted plane carrying high-octane gasoline to Free China's wartime capital. Met in Chongqing by other Dai Li agents, Yardley and Ling were driven along a narrow roadway flanked by rickshas, past the western gate to a four-story apartment overlooking the "little river," which marked the city's northern boundary.³⁹ There Yardley was put up in a third-floor suite of living rooms and offices, complete with Western-style lavatory and toilet.⁴⁰

This, however, was only a temporary dwelling. By December 1938, Yardley had moved to a tile-roofed chateau built of stone blocks stolen from temple ruins.

To reach the chateau from the city you take a narrow, muddy side street that branches from the main thoroughfare above the river, pass for half a mile through stinking bamboo slums, and at the dead end climb steps through a stone arch mounted with lions to an old ruined Buddhist temple and on to a stone wall with barred wooden gate on which are written Chinese characters meaning Pleasant Home. You ring a bell by pulling a cord. A Chinese guard looks through a shutter and takes down the bars. You then climb stone steps to a garden with stone walks and stone tea tables shaded by palms and hedges. You pass a spring whose arch says "Sweet Water" and then, after a climb of forty steps, you come to the entrance of the chateau itself.⁴¹

The chateau, Yardley was told, had belonged to Chongqing's mayor, "who was mysteriously and quickly dispossessed just before my coming."⁴² Perched on a promontory overlooking the Yangzi and the airfield where Yardley had landed, the chateau was located several hundred yards from the German, French, and English embassies. Beneath the mansion, which was known as the Grotto of Divine Immortals (Shenxian dong), was a cave chiseled from rock where Buddhist monks in ancient times supposedly kept young girls. Now it was a bombproof dugout.⁴³

The house itself consisted of twenty skimpily furnished rooms with pine floors. There were no bathrooms, stoves, or fireplaces, except for charcoal



Figure 16. Wartime Chongqing. Imperial War Museum, IB3276c.

ranges used for cooking in the basement. Yardley's bedroom, which was on the top floor of the east wing, was dimly lighted and infested with large Sichuanese rats.

Only a few days ago a rat killed the new born baby of one of our guards, tearing out his testes before the mother could interfere. Despite traps set at my insistence, rats gallop in the attic and scarcely a night passes that I am not awakened by one or two running over me. Though I have had the holes to my quarters plugged, there is a secret entrance I can't find.⁴⁴

Time hung heavily on Yardley's hands. Throughout December, surrounded by "an army of guards and servants," Yardley tried to put in several hours a day working on ciphers, but he mainly awaited the arrival of a group of students from Changsha to commence a full-scale code-breaking operation.⁴⁵

During this hiatus, Yardley tried in vain to interest his Juntong liaison officers in the use of the "truth serums" scopolamine and sodium amobarbital, which were still illegal in the United States though they had been suc-

cessfully tested by the Crime Detection Bureau of Northwestern University. He had better luck with General Zeng, Dai Li's deputy, who was fascinated by Yardley's demonstration of incendiary pencils and who ordered their manufacture by chemists in a workshop at the far end of the Chongqing mansion's garden.⁴⁶

The "Chinese Black Chamber" expanded mightily with the fall of Wuhan and the loss of control over the central reaches of the Yangzi River.⁴⁷ The special monitoring unit (*zhenchatai*) run by Wen Yuqing at Changsha was moved westward to Guilin and Guiyang, and finally to Kunming. Wei Daming continued to send Juntong agents to participate in the work of this monitoring station, but he transferred a group of thirty students under Qiu Shenjun to work directly with Yardley in the "secret code training class" (*mimi yanyi xunlianban*) set up in the Grotto of Divine Immortals that housed the American cryptologist.⁴⁸

There were other important code units to be sure. The original Hangzhou Police Academy training unit had been transferred to Wuchang after war broke out with Japan. After Wuhan fell, it was merged with the Linli training group.⁴⁹ A separate Wuhan training group, consisting of one hundred students per class, was established under the aegis of the high command. Its graduates were sent to either the code and radio station of Juntong or other regional field stations (*zhan*). In 1940 this unit was moved to Zunyi, where it continued to operate under the command of Wei Daming.⁵⁰ Finally, there were two important communications outfits constituted at Jinhua in central Zhejiang. Both were engaged in training radio and code personnel from Jiangshan, Dai Li's native county. Speaking a nearly imperious dialect, these Jiangshan fellow townsmen were schooled in a code section run by cryptanalyst Zhu Limin, or in a "radio-code personnel training program" (*yidian ren yuan xunlianban*) taught by Mao Wanli. Afterward they were sent to work as code clerks in the communications section of Juntong or assigned to "independent stations" behind enemy lines. These radio operators and code men usually sent their intelligence into Chongqing without making formal contact with other bureau agents in their area.⁵¹

Nonetheless, Yardley's group continued to flourish throughout 1939. About two hundred students were trained altogether, and during that year the Chongqing Black Chamber intercepted more than 200,000 secret radio and telegram communications to the Japanese army. Of these about 20,000 were studied and evaluated. A major breakthrough came in mid-1939 when Yardley and Wei Daming decoded a primary Japanese air force cipher, making it possible for the fledgling Chinese air force and Chennault's Flying Tigers to gain intelligence on Japanese air raids.⁵²

Given these accomplishments, Yardley felt underappreciated and underpaid. Alternating between bouts of heavy drinking and total abstinence, Yardley felt deeply homesick, and he began casting about for ways to make

money on the side to either get passage back to the United States or help cover Edna Ramsaier's living expenses.⁵³ Meanwhile, Major David Barrett, the assistant U.S. military attaché in Chongqing, had heard rumors of Yardley's activities in the wartime capital. Colonel E. R. W. McCabe, head of G-2 at the War Department, corroborated the rumors; but he warned Barrett to approach Yardley with caution since the Army had already established a secret intercept section that was trying to break the Japanese military and diplomatic codes. Yardley was equally cautious because Dai Li had warned him not to consort with foreigners or Chinese outside his own section.⁵⁴

Barrett and Yardley met for the first time on February 22, 1940. Yardley told the American attaché that he had decided to stay on in China and that he stood a good chance of being placed in charge of what was to be a new, centralized Chinese Black Chamber. He also discussed the possibility of secretly sharing information on Japanese military traffic with the American War Department. After getting a cautious clearance from Colonel McCabe, on March 8 Barrett met again with Yardley, who promised complete technical information on breaking the Japanese codes in exchange for an annual payment of 6,000 to Edna Ramsaier, who would keep 2,000 for herself and pass the rest on to him.⁵⁵

The War Department turned down Yardley's offer, even though the expatriate code expert gave Major William Mayer, another U.S. military attaché, a copy of a memo Yardley had written to Dai Li listing nineteen different Japanese code systems. By then the American intelligence officers were convinced—correctly, as it turned out—that Dai Li was aware of these covert meetings. Indeed, Major Mayer was actually invited by Dai Li to meet with him to discuss Yardley's work. Mayer was surprised when Dai Li himself offered to share the code breaker's results with the Americans; but, in June 1940, before any further cooperation took place along these lines, Yardley announced his intention to leave China. In increasingly poor health and dismayed when his store of London gin was destroyed during a Japanese air raid, Yardley had decided to go home. Forty pounds lighter and exhausted from lack of sleep during the nighttime bombings, Yardley left Chongqing on July 13. At the time he did not realize that the Americans' Signal Intelligence Service was making progress toward solving "Purple," Japan's most secret diplomatic code,⁵⁶ and that Dai Li's plans for centralizing communications intelligence in a single office were already well underway, leaving little room for Yardley's role in the new organization.⁵⁷

Yardley himself returned to Washington, where he reunited with Edna Ramsaier and worked temporarily for the Signal Corps before joining Canada's cryptanalysts in their Examination Unit. His tour there was brief, and he came back to Washington to open a luncheonette called *Le Rideau* at 1308 H St., N.W., near 13th Street, before becoming a ration enforcement officer in the Office of Price Administration.⁵⁸ In 1945 he coauthored a

novel (*Crows Are Black Everywhere*) about the adventures of a woman journalist in Chongqing, and twelve years later he wrote a best-seller called *The Education of a Poker Player*. He died on August 7, 1958, and was buried with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery.⁵⁹

Yardley brought cryptographic genius to Dai Li, but despite his showmanship he was unable to provide Juntong with the kind of up-to-date equipment and veneer of all-around technical competence that other American- and European-trained communications specialists managed to convey. Dai Li's efforts to vault over his opponents within Chinese intelligence circles by creating an exclusive Juntong Black Chamber therefore failed initially to bear fruit.

CODE WARS

In the early spring of 1940, Dai Li suggested to Chiang Kai-shek that code breaking be centralized. Chiang agreed. On April 1, 1940, an overarching cryptographic center called the Office of Special Technological Research (Tezhong jishu yanjiushi), or OSTR, was set up. To Dai Li's dismay, however, Y. C. Wen was put in charge of this new office, with Wei Daming and Mao Qingxiang (Chiang's confidential secretary) serving as his deputies. A struggle soon broke out between Wei and Wen for control of the OSTR. In early June 1940 Y. C. Wen went to Hong Kong for medical tests and never returned, leaving the way open for Wei Daming—now acting director of the code center—to bring in his own group of Yardley-trained cryptanalysts.⁶⁰

Y. C. Wen's flight to Hong Kong en route to Australia precipitated one of Dai Li's most humiliating experiences: arrest and overnight jailing as a common prisoner by the British police in Hong Kong.⁶¹ When Y. C. Wen left for Hong Kong in the first place, General Dai had followed in order to reclaim him. Dai landed at Kai Tak Airport just in time to see the passengers walking across the tarmac to take the Pan American flight for Manila. He instantly spotted Y. C. Wen, who at that very moment was shaking hands with the American naval attaché in Chongqing, Marine colonel McHugh. Irate, Dai Li was recognized a moment later by British airport police, thanks to a photo supplied earlier by the wife of one of Dai Li's double agents. Dai was seized on the spot and hustled off to the main jail in Kowloon.⁶²

A flurry of activity ensued, with various MSB agents informing Chongqing that the English had arrested Dai Li at the behest of the Japanese. Chiang Kai-shek's government summoned all of its diplomatic resources, and by early the next morning Hong Kong's police commissioner was on hand to guarantee Dai Li's release and to convey the governor's invitation that Dai Li be his house guest. However, General Dai resolutely refused to leave jail without the presence of a major Chinese official, in this case a Min-

istry of Defense general flown down from Chongqing to witness Dai's release and to accompany him back to Free China. This ordeal completely soured Dai Li against the British and their intelligence services, which vastly facilitated the establishment of an American espionage linkage in the months to come.⁶³

In the meantime, Yardley's students remained back in Chongqing. Using these experts along with Japanese prisoners of war, Wei Daming claimed to have scored another communications triumph by deciphering some of the Japanese air force codes. Monitoring these military signals supposedly yielded intelligence that the Japanese were planning to attack the Pacific fleet at Pearl Harbor. Dai Li was said to have ordered his Washington Juntong station chief, Major Xiao Bo, to convey this information to the U.S. Office of Naval Intelligence via the chief Chinese military attaché, Zheng Dequan. According to later Chinese accounts, the Americans were evidently amused by the outlandish idea that Wei Daming's OSTR was capable of such an intelligence coup, and so chose to ignore the information.⁶⁴

As presented in Chinese Nationalists' memoirs, the sneak attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, bowled over the War Department. Suddenly, the U.S. signals intelligence community, and especially the Office of Naval Intelligence, began to take Dai Li much more seriously; efforts were quickly made to gain Chinese cooperation in sharing Japanese military codes, and the U.S. Navy began actively to cultivate Major Xiao Bo.⁶⁵

The presumed American turn toward Dai Li after the attack at Pearl Harbor occurred just about the same time that the Chinese secret service chief suffered his own setback within the Nationalist fold. Wei Daming's employment of his former students to staff the OSTR had already incited a backlash against Dai Li. Earlier, in March 1941, a group of anti-Juntong intelligence officers sent a petition to Chiang Kai-shek accusing Dai Li of bureaucratic aggressiveness. Angered by Juntong's pugnacity, Chiang had dismissed Wei Daming and named his former secretary, Mao Qingxiang, director of OSTR.⁶⁶

As a political appointee lacking a background in engineering or electronics, Mao brought with him a cadre of young European-educated lawyers and humanists. This bred resentment on the part of OSTR's technical experts, who became openly contemptuous of Mao and his companions after Pearl Harbor. But when Dai Li sought to make use of this resentment to publicly harass Mao, the Generalissimo sided with his secretary. In January 1942 Chiang Kai-shek commanded, "All those who are from the Bureau of Investigations and Statistics [that is, Juntong] are hereby ordered to withdraw from the Office of [Special] Technological Research by the end of February [1942]."⁶⁷

This was a harsh blow to Dai Li, who realized more than ever the importance of obtaining access to American radio technology if he were to gain

the upper hand over his adversaries in the civilian and military intelligence organizations reporting to Chiang Kai-shek.⁶⁸ The situation, as described from a subsequent pro-CCP point of view, was simply the following:

Dai Li, besides hoping that the American imperialists would contribute some of their own wireless radio equipment needed by Juntong at that juncture, wanted even more to get the American imperialists to use the organization and equipment of the Americans' special decoding unit called the Black Chamber to set up a branch office in Chongqing. This was in order to facilitate our studying American resources on the sly while we kept our assets (*ben-qian*) to ourselves by preventing the American imperialists' special agents from learning about our own experience intercepting and decoding Japanese air force [signals traffic].⁶⁹

In short, both sides—Chinese and American—reputedly felt that the time was ripe for close but cautious technical collaboration in securing signals intelligence. The stage was thereby set for what was soon to become the Sino-American Cooperative Organization.

Chapter 20

Dai Li, Milton Miles, and the Foundation of SACO

Milton Miles was an unusually sinister and crafty man who was also an old China hand [Zhongguo tong]. During the several years of his cooperation with Dai Li, the relations between master [zhuzi] and lackey [nucui] were exceptionally good. The master doted on the lackey, and this made the lackey extremely obedient and submissive. When there was a problem that couldn't be resolved because Dai Li stubbornly held to his own opinion, Miles would always perfunctorily use the phrase, Let me think this over, and then wait until after he had returned to his office to quickly send a written aide-memoire to Dai Li. When Dai Li got this sort of memorandum, which was completely opposed to his own ideas, even though at the moment he was ready to burst forth in anger, after a while he would carry out things exactly according to the method proposed by Miles's memorandum, not daring to insist upon his own plans. Because Miles never embarrassed Dai Li in front of his subordinates, Dai Li could often boast to his underlings that Miles sometimes had to obey him. Actually, god knows, in all my years there never once witnessed a single important case in which Dai Li made himself master and refused to obey Miles's instructions.

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NAVAL CONCERNS

Shen Zui, in his eagerness to depict Dai Li as a subordinate of the Americans, misrepresented the relationship between his former master and the American naval officer "Mary" Miles, who was determined to support Dai Li as the undisputed head of their joint Sino-American intelligence operation from its very inception. Miles's backing not only purported to recognize Chinese sovereign interests in wartime collaboration, but it also confirmed the crucial role of his own naval service in the China theater.¹ Indeed, the U.S. military, and especially the OSS and the U.S. Army, took pains to show that the collusion between Dai Li's MSB and the Americans was, first of all, a Navy affair:

Before Pearl Harbor, the United States Signal Corps was approached [by then Major Xiao] for assistance in signal communication. The proposition was held in abeyance. Shortly after Pearl Harbor the Army G-2 was approached but the negotiations came to no conclusion. Thereafter the OSS and ONI



Figure 17. Rear Admiral Milton Miles at the end of WWII.
Estate of Milton Miles.

were approached. Nothing came out of these contacts because both OSS and ONI had their own plans. Having known Commodore Miles for eight years, Colonel Xiao talked with Commodore Miles at a cocktail party about the formation of river raiders along the China coast. Commodore Miles reported these proposals to Admiral Leahy who promptly approved. Acceptance by the Generalissimo was obtained.²

Second, under the terms accepted by Commodore Miles and later ratified by the U.S. government, the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO)—and hence the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)—was virtually subordinate to the Chinese secret service chief. As General Donovan told President Roosevelt, “Under [SACO’s] terms we were admitted to China in April 1942, but only as subordinate partners of General Dai Li’s Chinese intelligence service. . . . For General Dai, SACO was an opportunity to receive material support and assurance that if OSS must be accepted in China, at least activities would be under his own control and constant surveillance.”³

The initial steps in the founding of SACO were taken in Washington after the U.S. went to war with Japan. One of the most immediate concerns of the Navy was plotting weather conditions over the western and central Pacific, a task that required meteorological data from weather stations on the Asian mainland. When Xiao Bo and Milton Miles first discussed the question of Sino-American cooperation over cocktails in a Washington ho-

tel room, the two men conceived of an exchange of communications intelligence from the Americans for Nationalist cooperation in the founding of weather observatories in China, including northern and western China, where the meteorological patterns developing over Siberia and the Gobi could best be monitored. After that preliminary meeting Miles sought out his superior officers and obtained their consent for what was originally to have been a relatively modest operation. Xiao Bo, on the other hand, saw far greater possibilities in the arrangement and so informed Juntong in Chongqing. There, after Chiang Kai-shek gave Dai Li permission to pursue the relationship with the Americans, a more formal and higher level round of discussions was held with U.S. embassy military attachés by a team of Chinese officers from the Military Statistics Bureau.⁴

MILES'S CHINA MISSION

Miles left New York on April 5, 1942, flying to China from west to east. His plane, which also conveyed Edgar Snow and various Army personnel, touched down in Brazil, then crossed the Atlantic to Africa, up to Cairo, across to Karachi, and then down to Bombay, Colombo, and Calcutta. There the group was joined by Marine colonel McHugh, the U.S. naval attaché in Chongqing, and Ambassador C. E. Gauss, who were returning from a meeting in New Delhi with the U.S. High Commissioner.⁵ Their flight was to have been the very last China National Airways Corporation airplane to fly into Chongqing via Mandalay, but the craft didn't land in Burma because the Japanese were already in control of the airport. They landed in Kunming before finally reaching Chongqing after a breathtaking flight along the Jialing River.⁶

At the thatched airport customs shed an official drew Miles aside and asked him if he knew Colonel Xiao Bo. Before the man—obviously Dai Li's agent—could draw him away from the other passengers, Colonel McHugh offered Miles housing in his own quarters. But Miles had already decided to distance himself from the embassy staff and the regular OSS mission under Alghan R. Lusey, and so he went instead with Dai Li's driver to a local hotel.⁷

From the moment Miles arrived in Chongqing he was under Juntong surveillance. The brown Chevrolet that carried him to and from the embassy, and eventually to pay a call on Admiral Yang Xuancheng (the head of Chinese military intelligence), was an MSB automobile chauffeured by one of Dai Li's agents. The same car took Miles, Colonel McHugh, and Admiral Yang to one of Dai Li's hideaways, "a somewhat labyrinthian house" where the admiral turned the Americans over to a Juntong aide and discreetly took his leave, surprising Miles, since Yang was formally Dai Li's senior in rank.

Led through one narrow passageway after another, they were finally shown into a reception room and asked to await General Dai's appearance.⁸

The general kept us waiting less than a minute, and he entered with a smile, showing much gold bridgework. He was a slightly built man, not quite as tall as I—five feet seven, perhaps—and he was dressed in the Sun Yat-sen kind of civilian suit made of khaki whipcord. His jacket, which was buttoned up to the neck, was neatly pressed. It had a high, turned over collar. He looked older, I thought, than he had appeared in the photographs Colonel Xiao had shown me, and no picture I had seen had given even a hint of the lively snap of his wide-open and piercing black eyes. He spoke rapidly, often in a dialect that was meaningless to me and that was unfamiliar even to McHugh. But the interpreter that had come in with the General was entirely competent and our conversation did not lag. I had brought two small gifts with me; one was a little Minox camera from Colonel Xiao and the other was a personal gift from me: a snub-nosed, thirty-eight automatic pistol. It was identical to the one I was wearing and he put it on at once.⁹

During the meeting, Miles felt as though he were being carefully looked over by Dai Li, who was particularly curious about the American naval officer's layover in Colombo, which was the British headquarters of the China-Burma-India Theater of the Allies. Miles later realized that this reflected Dai Li's concern that the American might be too close to British Intelligence, which was just then being eased out of China.¹⁰ Miles evidently reassured his host, especially when he expressed an interest in having the general arrange trips for him through Chinese-controlled territory, because Dai Li ended the conversation by promising him a place of his own once the previous occupant had vacated the premises.¹¹

The residence he was assigned a few days later was none other than the Grotto of Divine Immortals, the Chongqing mayor's mansion formerly occupied by Yardley and since billeted by the commander of the Chongqing garrison. The day after Miles moved into his "Fairy Cave" (as Liu Zhenfeng, or "Eddie Liu," translated Shenxian dong) he was invited to attend General Dai's staff conference, and the formal exchange of weather reports, radio intercepts, and plans for mining inland waterways began in earnest.¹²

Shortly afterwards Dai Li held the requisite welcoming banquet for Miles, who once again raised the matter of his traveling through Chinese-controlled territory and behind Japanese lines to the coast. Dai Li was most responsive, for he saw this as an opportunity to both impress Miles with the sway of Juntong's rule and advance the cooperative project in an entirely new direction. General Dai must have been put off by Miles's request to bring along Al Lusey, the former *Globe Wireless* reporter in Shanghai who now represented Wild Bill Donovan in Chongqing. In the end, however, he

assured Miles that the invitation was extended to Lusey as well, and arrangements were made for Dai Li himself to lead the arduous trek by truck and on foot down through the southeastern mountain scarps to the rocky coast of Fujian province.¹³

OCCUPIED CHINA

Though Miles was easy to impress, Dai Li outdid himself during this trip into Occupied China. The Japanese may have controlled the major communications routes and large towns by day, but swirling around them, often during the hours of darkness, were armies of smugglers, freebooters, local resisters, and refugees who supplied Juntong with information and support. In most towns and even villages the local law enforcement authorities were ostensibly on the side of the puppet government of Wang Jingwei; but their chief of police as often as not was part of, or knew someone in, the Juntong apparatus, often through the cadre and police training units (*ban*) that Dai Li had sponsored before the war.¹⁴ Moreover, especially in southeastern China, Dai Li had his own units of the Loyal and Patriotic Army (*Zhongyi jiuguo jun*), whose commanders looked to him for military supplies and equipment. When Japanese troops, alerted by informers about the presence of Nationalist troops and Western observers in the vicinity, prepared to close in, Dai Li was always tipped off in time to get away and move on to the next safe house along their route to the coast.¹⁵

The Japanese almost caught up with them in Pucheng in northern Fujian, south of the Xianxia Pass, where Dai Li's hometown of Baoan lay just across the Zhejiang border. Japanese aircraft began bombing raids on the town, forcing Dai Li's party to abandon their billets and take refuge in a rice paddy under the cover of darkness. It was there, after the bombers had flown over, that Dai Li turned to Eddie Liu and asked him to address Miles—Mei Shendong (Winter Plum Blossom) in Chinese—with a proposition.¹⁶

Tell Mei Shendong that I would like to have him arm 50,000 of my guerrillas and train them to fight the Japanese. Can he do it? . . . The United States wants many things in China—weather reports from the north and west to guide your planes and ships at sea—information about Japanese intentions and operations—mines in our channels and harbors—ship watchers on our coast—and radio stations to send this information. . . . I have 50,000 good men. . . . They had been chosen from among those who had most reason to hate the Japanese invader, but they are armed only with what they have been able to make or capture and most of them are almost untrained. But if we are able to give you all you ask for, your operations will need to be protected and you cannot bring in enough men for that. So, if my men could be armed and trained, they could not only protect your operations but could work for China too.¹⁷

Miles, who refused Dai Li's offer of a commission in the Chinese army, was intrigued. The proposal amounted to setting up a Chinese guerrilla army, fifty thousand strong, under Sino-American command. Al Lusey was skeptical, wanting a go-ahead from Washington before proceeding in this new direction of colluding with the notorious chief of Chiang Kai-shek's secret police.¹⁸ But Miles believed that his orders to "harass the enemy" allowed room for this kind of mutual cooperation, and that Dai Li was neither an assassin nor "the head of a Chinese OGPU with which anyone from the United States would be embarrassed to associate." Miles consequently decided to go ahead with the plan.¹⁹

SINO-AMERICAN TALKS

Although the first contingent of Navy men for Miles's group reached Chongqing in September 1942, formal talks between Dai Li and Miles were not held until that winter, when the two officers met at Dai Li's villa at Ciqikou.²⁰ On behalf of Juntong, Dai Li requested communications equipment, American weapons and transport, and training personnel. Miles, who was formally appointed coordinator of the OSS in the Far East on September 22, 1942, accepted, and the two sides brought American meteorological personnel and equipment into Chongqing along with weapons (Smith and Wesson revolvers, Colt .45 automatics, Thompson submachine guns) and ample ammunition for Dai's paramilitary forces.²¹ Dai Li was very pleased by the speed and generosity (*dafang*) of the Americans, whom he contrasted favorably with the much stingier British agents. But he also repeatedly urged Miles to look after the training of uniformed special service brigades (*wuzhuang tewu budui*) for Juntong, which also needed communications and medical equipment.²²

On New Year's Eve, 1942, T. V. Soong, the Chinese foreign minister, initialed the Miles-Dai Li agreement, which stipulated that SACO's director would be Chinese and the deputy director American, each possessing veto power over the operations of the unit.²³ A few days later, in early January 1943, Al Lusey took the preliminary agreement back to Washington, where it languished until Miles returned himself and asked that the agreement be implemented by sending a small Navy task force directly responsible to Admiral King. The Army and OSS questioned this arrangement, leading General Marshall to send a message to Chongqing suggesting that Miles and the Americans be put directly under Stilwell's command, while Dai Li and the Chinese be under the Generalissimo, who was the nominal theater commander in China.²⁴

General Stillwell resisted the dual-chain-of-command concept (at this stage called the "Friendship Project"), believing that the arrangement simply would not work.²⁵ "We'd get no cooperation from Dai Li that way. Gen-

eral Dai is super-secretive and super-suspicious, and would tolerate no one between himself and Miles.”²⁶ Stillwell recommended, consequently, that Miles be left accountable to the joint chiefs and under Dai Li. The Joint Chiefs of Staff, therefore, issued a separate directive exempting SACO/OSS from theater commander control. Per the preliminary agreement, Dai Li would be in command of SACO with Miles as his deputy, and with each granted veto rights over the operation as a whole.²⁷

In order to implement this arrangement within the American chain of command, Miles would also have to be appointed chief of OSS activities in China. General Donovan initially resisted this outcome, but because Douglas MacArthur excluded the OSS from the Pacific Theater, Donovan was forced to maintain a Chinese base for Asian operations, which meant “an unhappy alliance with Miles and Dai Li.”²⁸ He therefore agreed to this arrangement in January 1943, though “it soon developed that under SACO, even a nominal independence was denied OSS. Dai Li, suspicious of any OSS involvement in internal Chinese affairs, reported the information gathered by his Gestapo directly to Miles, who in turn withheld it from OSS until he was sure it had been cabled to the Navy Department first.”²⁹

By March 1943, the Chinese had come to feel strongly the need for a formally signed “contract” (*hetong*) between the two sides.³⁰ The term itself signified that what the Americans sometimes called an “agreement” (*xie-ding*) should be a more formal arrangement concluded on a basis of equal cooperation. Throughout that month Dai Li’s men worked late into the night to prepare a Chinese version, which T. V. Soong went over himself before presenting in draft to the Generalissimo.³¹ Chiang Kai-shek was amenable to the terms of the contract, and requested his brother-in-law to prepare for a final exchange of signatures in the United States.³²

FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF SACO

Meanwhile, back in Washington, Miles, along with Admiral William Purnell (who had relieved Admiral Willis A. Lee), Captain Jeff Metzel (an OSS representative), and Colonel Xiao Bo took the draft to General Marshall, who initialed the agreement.³³ The chief of staff, Admiral William Leahy, then brought the document to President Roosevelt, who granted his approval.³⁴ The SACO agreement was formally signed on April 15, 1943, by Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox on behalf of the U.S., and by Foreign Minister T. V. Soong on behalf of China.³⁵ General Donovan, Colonel Xiao, and Miles added their names with a space left for Dai Li, who finally affixed his signature on July 4, 1943, in Chongqing (see appendix C).³⁶

The Chinese version of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization agreement called for the United States to supply sufficient weapons to form five special services armed units (*tewu wuzhuang budui*), along with eighty op-

erations units (*xingdong zongdui*) and operations squads (*xingdong dui*). Thirteen SACO training classes would be organized, plus four intelligence stations (*qingbao zhan*) on the southeastern coast, a hydrology station (*shuiwen zhan*), and a number of weather stations and wireless broadcasting units.³⁷

The American version stated that:

For the purpose of attacking a common enemy along the Chinese coast, in occupied territories in China, and in other areas held by the Japanese, the Sino-American Special Technical Cooperative Organization is organized in China. Its aim is, by common effort, employing American equipment and technical training and utilizing the Chinese war zones as bases to attack effectively the Japanese navy, the Japanese merchant marine and the Japanese airforces in different territories of the Far East, and to attack the mines, factories, warehouses, depots and other military establishments in areas under Japanese occupation.³⁸

The U.S. variation was accompanied by a letter from Admiral William D. Leahy, U.S. Navy chief of staff, to Captain Miles:

You are advised that the Joint U.S. Chiefs of Staff take note of the proposed Sino-American Technical Cooperation Agreement for the conduct and support of special measures in the war effort against Japan, and further of the exchange in dispatches between General Stilwell and the chiefs of staff in which General Stilwell expresses approval of the conduct of American participation in these measures by you directly under Chinese command. The Joint Chiefs of Staff approve this arrangement and desire that you cooperate with the responsible designated Chinese authorities in every way practicable for the prosecution of war measures against the Japanese. The president has been informed and has given approval of the plan to place you in direct charge of the American participation as set forth in the agreement.³⁹

Whatever the military value of SACO to either side, Miles's staunch support of the Juntong chief, along with the secret but formal agreement as such, gave a tremendous boost to General Dai Li's standing in the Chinese government. Shen Zui characteristically overstates Dai's pro-U.S. servility in this regard, but he does accurately reflect the extent to which Dai's recognition by the Americans enhanced his status within Chiang Kai-shek's inner circle.

Miles understood Dai Li's psychology very well. In order to be able to permanently use the Military Statistics organization in China to pursue special operations activities, Miles—in addition to propagating various legendary tales in America about Dai Li and his role at the side of Chiang Kai-shek, which made Dai Li feel warm and comfortable from head to toe—spared no effort to encourage Dai Li to make a trip to the United States. What really caused Dai Li to feel the most intense excitement and a sense of special favor that he would never forget for the rest of his life was that during the Cairo Conference

President Roosevelt spoke to Chiang Kai-shek of his hope of being able to catch a glimpse of China's Himmler. After Dai Li heard this, he realized that it was related to Miles's having lavished praise on him in the United States, which had led in the end to his master's own master paying so much attention to him. Consequently, he felt all the more that Miles's connection with his future prospects was extremely important, and he was all the more obedient and servile.⁴⁰

Shen Zui's exaggeration notwithstanding, Dai Li did have to maintain a certain distance from the Americans lest he be identified as their running dog. Hence, from the formation of SACO on, Juntong's chief made certain that he actually retained the upper hand while offering Miles the formal illusion of leadership without substantial control over the field activities of the very guerrilla units that the Americans worked so hard to train, arm, and deploy.

Chapter 21

SACO Training Camps

American boys are exposed to tools, gas engines, electricity, magnets, and radios from babyhood, but these soldiers actually had to start with lessons in the use of tools as simple as a screwdriver. They liked anything that went Bang! but they had no faith in incendiaries, for example, despite their usefulness in sabotage. Time pencils, for instance, could start a blaze hours or even days after the saboteur had moved on. These men, however, saw little that was satisfying in that, for the result could so rarely be watched.

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COACHING GUERRILLAS

From the Americans' perspective, the heart of SACO was its training program. The twenty-five hundred Americans, most of them in the Navy, who did tours of duty in China with SACO during the three years of its existence believed that their major goal was to train Chinese guerrillas to fight the Japanese. Some, of course, served in remote weather stations in the northwest or as coastal watchers along China's southeastern littoral. But the great majority of SACO officers and enlisted men were assigned to the Happy Valley headquarters outside Chongqing or to the fourteen SACO branches established throughout China, where they combined a kind of boy-scout field-training program with instruction in the deadlier arts of assassination, sabotage, and small-group warfare.¹

Although SACO training camps only formally graduated 26,794 students, it was claimed that the program "trained" or "equipped" 40,000 to 50,000 of Dai Li's troops.² After the war was over, Admiral Miles contended that SACO's guerrilla army amounted to 97,000 Chinese and 3,000 American personnel. This formidable force, he declared, had killed 71,000 Japanese.³

However dubious these assertions, SACO's American personnel regarded their mission in China as primarily a guerrilla training effort that would eventually create a maquis-like resistance force to attack the Japanese from the rear when regular U.S. units finally landed on the China coast. Examination of each of the SACO units ultimately belies the claims of enemy casualties inflicted, but it certainly does not belittle the heroism of the Americans who volunteered for this assignment and who have looked back upon

their wartime experience with pride and fondness for the men who served under them. Since almost none of the Americans knew much about China, or even spoke the most rudimentary Chinese, their misunderstanding of the situation was at times grotesque. It is fair to say, I believe, that some were shocked or incredulous to learn later that they had been identified with units that trained the most horrendous of the Nationalist regime's secret police units charged with the persecution—including the kidnapping, torture, and killing—of “progressive” elements throughout Free China during the years that SACO flourished.

THE CULTURE GAP

Part of the young Americans' incomprehension stemmed from their well-meaning and avuncular benevolence toward their physically slighter Chinese trainees, who often seemed childlike and slow moving on one hand, while formidably strong and feral on the other.⁴ First impressions were also strongly colored by the poor health of the Chinese recruits originally mustered for the SACO camps.⁵

Guerrilla trainees selected by Dai Li were either men from the Loyal and Patriotic Army or recruits from Japanese-held territory.⁶ The recruits from Shanghai and the southeast were notably eager because they had suffered under the Japanese Occupation and wanted to fight back.⁷ But by U.S. standards, their physical quality was “pitifully low.” The average trainee was 5'6" in height and weighed 140 pounds. The group suffered from hundreds of cases of scabies, conjunctivitis, and ulcerations.⁸ The vision requirement had to be set at 6/15 instead of 20/20 because of the men's poor eyesight. However—and this is where a more positive impression was instantly made—they were endowed with superb physical endurance. As “efficient human machines,” they were capable of making a forced daily march of thirty to thirty-five miles, “climb[ing] mountain trails almost as tirelessly as they followed the level, winding trails among the rice paddies.”⁹

In their instructors' eyes Chinese recruits excelled precisely because of their primordial adaptability. SACO trainers frequently remarked upon the “toughness” of Chinese feet, shod in straw sandals rather than leather shoes.¹⁰ Their very “peasant-ness” made them good soldiers, just as their feral animality helped them stand out as ferocious nighttime killers, as they were particularly in their element after dark. The Americans were “astonished at the Chinese guerrilla's incredible ability to see in the dark. He literally can see at night like a cat.”¹¹ Described as “eager to learn” and “with [an] expert eye for detail,” the Chinese recruits caught on fast in close combat instruction thanks to their agility at using their hands, feet, and legs to disable an enemy. Again, however, their strengths were attributed to boyish-

ness, not to adult proficiency.¹² The Chinese, their teachers reported, participated in ambush exercises “with the enthusiasm of boys on an American sandlot.”¹³

The cultural distance between the young American instructors and their students was enormous. The language barrier was a constant hindrance, especially because of the shortage of capable interpreters and the profusion of local dialects.¹⁴ Many of the trainers thought themselves well liked, but most were merely accepted. The least effective were those who felt they had “to train the Chinese in American military ways.”¹⁵

In good faith, nonetheless, the Americans “taught those being trained every technical skill [they] knew”: individual combat, demolitions, radio communications, photography, medicine, “and even the beginnings of a kind of FBI.”¹⁶ The Chinese were exceptionally good shots, exulting in the use of the new, clean, fast-shooting weapons supplied by the Navy in place of the cast-off German, Czech, and Japanese weapons (not to speak of rusting Chinese copies, along with ancient muzzle-loading flintlocks) with which they were familiar. Although some Americans believed that they should not issue the .45 caliber Thompson submachine gun because it was too heavy for the average Chinese recruit, Miles decided that the students of each training camp should be given a Tommy gun or .30 caliber carbine as a shoulder weapon, or a .38 caliber revolver or .45 caliber Colt Army automatic as a handgun, once they had graduated from the course.¹⁷

Each weapon, of course, represented a fixed percentage of the weight allocated to SACO for freight flights over the Hump. Dai Li wanted every one of his field agents to have at least one gun. Miles insisted that the guns be issued only after proper training. This continued to be a conflict between the two men throughout the course of the war, no doubt because the Americans “could never appreciate the significance—both military and emotional—of modern arms to China,” while Dai Li’s men shared an “eager, persistent Chinese striving to acquire every possible weapon.”¹⁸

In April 1945 a huge class of trainees graduated from SACO’s Unit Ten. Because the American military commanders were by their own ludicrous admission incapable of telling one Chinese from another, they were afraid of putting their U.S.-made pistols and submachine guns in the hands of soldiers who were not bona fide graduates of the course. Yet how to tell the lined-up Chinese apart, especially when they were in uniform? Lieutenant R. L. Grief, a Navy doctor from Baltimore, came up with the solution:

Why don’t you paint a number on each trainee’s back with some sort of gentian violet? As each man comes down the line for his weapon, take a look at his back. If the proper number is there, you can be sure that he is not a member of the Haifeng police force but a battalion soldier we’ve trained.¹⁹

But even if their American instructors could be reasonably certain of the affiliation of their current batch of pupils, they were usually oblivious that at least some graduates of previous sessions were being rotated through the training units again and again.²⁰

TRAINING UNITS

The first SACO training camp was Unit One, which was set up in a mountain temple at Shexian a few miles south of the mercantile capital of Huizhou in Anhui (see appendix D). Like Juntong training groups (*ban*), it was known to its members by its place name, Xiongkun.²¹ At first there were only six American officers and NCOs under the command of Marine Corps major Bud Masters. Their equipment consisted of arms and ammunition they had brought with them from Chongqing in six trucks. However, there were said to be six thousand Loyal and Patriotic Army soldiers not far away, and two thousand of Dai Li's "well-trained troops" nearby. Both LPA groups were ostensibly ready to supply trainees but were reportedly short of ammunition and military equipment.²²

It took the SACO instructors six months to prepare to receive a class of 320 students for a course in guerrilla warfare. The initial recruits, however, were disappointingly unfit. According to Miles:

General Dai's commanders in the region had the job of providing the men, but they, in turn, had to coax their operating colonels into assigning them to this new training program. The result—at first—often was that the men who were sent were those who were least useful as members of the outfits from which they came. It was only after our training camps had proved their worth and been accepted whole-heartedly that the kind of men we really wanted to train were assigned to us.²³

But the recruits proved to be excellent smugglers and spies, frequently going to Shanghai to supply the Americans with gasoline, tires, daily papers, and even flour sacks that Miles's men used to transport "Aunt Jemima," a flourlike substance used for explosives.²⁴ The record of the unit was, in the end, spotty, partly because their efforts to rescue American prisoners of war were thwarted when the Japanese moved three hundred captive U.S. Marines out of the region altogether.²⁵

Unit Two—the Hongjiang *ban* in Hunan—was deliberately erected near the lake region not far from the Chinese Navy Training School's mine-making depot. The Americans planned to use Chinese river sailors and small boat handlers, including pirates, as a naval force. "We never abandoned the idea, though we never developed it either," Miles later wrote. Part of the problem was that "General Dai knew nothing about boats, and he had no



Figure 18. Nationalist Chinese commando. Imperial War Museum, IB3945c.

control over men of the Chinese navy—even landlocked ones like Camp Two's near neighbors."²⁶

The third SACO training unit—the Linru or Niudong *ban*—was established in Henan, where its guerrillas could harass enemy communications lines. The mountain temple called Fengxue si that housed them was well known to worshipers in the western part of that province, but because of the terrible famine and warfare, it had fallen into hard times. Indeed, while some of the monks moved to other parts of the temple complex, a number of the younger ones joined the SACO training group when it assembled there because they were desperate for food.²⁷

Poorly equipped for battle, the Linru *ban* guerrillas did not do much to engage the enemy, fleeing westward when the Japanese advanced. But the camp itself illustrated both the distance between the Americans and Chinese, and the extraordinary emphasis placed upon correct political training by Juntong instructors.²⁸

The American instructors in the Linru training brigade were not of high rank, ranging from sergeant to captain. None of them knew Chinese, and they had to depend entirely upon eight translators who had graduated from the Juntong interpreters class but who were overseas Chinese (*huaqiao*) barely familiar with the most rudimentary military terminology.²⁹ Consequently, only a handful of the American officers knew about the cadets' compulsory political training, realized that they were surrounded by Juntong agents, or were aware of the standing orders forbidding any Chinese officer from fraternizing with them.³⁰ The Chinese lived in the temple itself, while the Americans had been built a twelve-room Western-style house on a flat spot east of the abbey. Their living conditions were excellent, including European food prepared by a chef, but they were unwitting inmates of the complex. During the four months when Zhong Xiangbai served as a political instructor at the Linru camp, he never once talked with the Americans.³¹

In addition to being prohibited from fraternization with the foreigners, Dai Li's officers were forbidden all political activity and sternly instructed to refrain from unconventional or unorthodox behavior (*biaoxin liyi*).³² Although the Linru training camp was a Nationalist organ, no Guomindang associations—especially the Sanqingtuan—were permitted within. Furthermore, every student had to present a detailed written account of his political background, which was carefully discussed with a political counselor (*zhengzhi zhidaoyuan*), who also casually nosed about trainees' political views over meals and at other relatively casual moments. Unconventional views or behavior were used to label deviant any who questioned MSB's basic tenets: Chiang Kai-shek was the nation's greatest Leader, Juntong was the "purest" (*qingbai de*) and "most revolutionary" (*zui geming de*) element in the country, secret service officers were the Generalissimo's "eyes and ears" (*ermu*), and an ideal MSB agent had both to be an anonymous hero and to subscribe to a "revolutionary worldview" (*geming de renshengguan*).³³

Unit Six—the Huanan Camp—was located near Zhangzhou in Fujian. It was founded in August 1944 after Li Chongshi, SACO chief of staff, accompanied Miles to the Fujianese coast, where they were secretly received by the head of the Minnan (Southern Fujian) Station, Chen Dayuan.³⁴ After the three officers agreed upon the importance of establishing a training unit in the area, where pirate and bandit groups abounded, Miles returned to Chongqing and persuaded Dai Li to go in person in July to the old publishing center of Jianyang to meet with Chen Dayuan and the head of the Minbei (Northern Fujian) Station, Wang Tiaoxun.³⁵ Dai Li not only approved the new training unit; he also decided to set up a SACO Southeastern Office (*Zhong-Mei suo dongnan banshichu*) to oversee the four major intelligence stations (*zhan*) of Shanghai, Dinghai, Fuzhou, and Zhangzhou.³⁶



Figure 19. Students at Unit Nine learn what to do at the scene of a crime from ex-G-man Lt. Cdr. Caputo. Estate of Milton Miles.

The Huaan Unit was from the very beginning plagued by factional struggles between the brigades controlled by Chen Dayuan and Lei Zhenzhong, who were co-deputy directors, and complicated by the direct personal relationship of one of the column commanders with Dai Li. The training program, despite the enthusiasm of the American instructors, was lax. Although Lei Zhenzhong had received army training, Chen Dayuan was an agricultural specialist with no military knowledge whatsoever.³⁷ There was also considerable resentment among the Chinese Juntong officers over the differential salaries paid to them and their American counterparts: for the former, two hundred yuan a month, and for the latter ten times that amount.³⁸ The four Americans further enjoyed a food allowance roughly equal to the allocation for an entire brigade of 180 Chinese. The fact that the Americans controlled all of the unit's finances hardly helped mollify Chinese indignation at this extraordinary dietary discrepancy.³⁹

One of the camp's Chinese officers, who later joined the Communists, claimed that the Huaan Unit botched its attacks on Japanese units during a brief campaign in mid-July 1945. After the Japanese surrendered in August, however, the Huaan Unit took over Amoy; and, by the end of the year, the group had been changed into a Military Affairs Commission Special Operations Army Temporarily Enrolled Brigade (Biedong jun zhanbian zongdui), which eventually followed Chen Dayuan to Taiwan.⁴⁰

There were at least nine additional field units: Xiushui (Jiangxi), Jian'ou (Fujian), Yuhu (Zhejiang), Dongfeng (Fujian), Xifeng (Guizhou), Linquan (Anhui), Jiaoling (Guangdong), Gangkou (Zhejiang), and Meixian (Guangdong). But the most important facility of all was the central headquarters, Unit Nine of SACO at Happy Valley (Geleshan), a dozen miles up the Jialing River from Chongqing.⁴¹

HAPPY VALLEY

Geleshan was a mountainous area, trisected by basins, more than four miles wide and six miles deep.⁴² At first view it was "a lovely place," an idyllic site below a range of pine-wooded mountains.⁴³ At right angles to the main range was a series of three valleys, each with a stream lined with small farms.⁴⁴

Its area extended for thirteen *li* from Chongqing's Geleshan to Shaciqu. Flanked by a chain of undulating hills, the broad mountain valley, which was more than twenty *li* across, enclosed the lands of Zhazidong, Meiyuan, Yangjiashan, Zaoshichang, Songlinpo, Baigongguan, Wulingguan, Hongluchang, Wangjiayuanzi, Xiaoyanggongqiao, Zhugongguan, Buyunqiao, and Lanya, which all belonged to the "SACO" special district.⁴⁵

Shrouded in secrecy, the encampments were surrounded with an electrified fence guarded by armed patrols that shot intruders on sight.⁴⁶ “The villages from Buyunqiao to Geleshan were completely blocked off, and no peasants (*laobaixing*) were permitted to pass through. Inhabitants of Wulingguan were forcibly removed and sent away. Absolutely no one was allowed to enter the perimeters of the special district except for special agents of the Americans and of Chiang [Kai-shek] who had special transit passes.⁴⁷ If someone came by mistake, he was immediately seized and killed.”⁴⁸

During the course of the war Dai Li’s men, with the help of American supplies and funds, transformed the terraced farmlands into a sprawling network of eight hundred buildings.⁴⁹ The complex included barracks, a parade ground and armory, rifle and pistol ranges, classrooms, police dog kennels, pigeon cotes, radio communications shacks, a prison, and interrogation facilities.⁵⁰ Of the three parallel valleys the southernmost was the largest.⁵¹ It housed some of Dai Li’s residences—villas built in Mediterranean style amid the pines on the slopes above the valley—along with the training camps for Juntong agents.⁵² The central valley housed the Americans, who had their own specially sanitized mess hall, Western-style toilet facilities (Miles had brought one toilet bowl over the Hump to be copied and reproduced in a local pottery plant), auditorium, and dance hall, where Dai Li held holiday banquets hosted by “beautiful, smartly gowned Chinese women.”⁵³ Finally, the northern valley—the smallest—contained “a grim prison about which unpleasant stories were told.”⁵⁴ This, of course, was the dreaded concentration camp and torture chamber known in *Hong yan* as Bai mansion (Baigongguan).⁵⁵

In Dai Li’s eyes one of the most important clauses of the SACO agreement was the provision for training Chiang Kai-shek’s special service agents (and especially Juntong’s “criminal police cadres,” or *xingshi jingcha ganbu*) in American law enforcement methods.⁵⁶ This Special Police Officer Training Unit (Tezhong jingcha renyuan xunlianban) would enable Dai Li to form his own investigative unit on a par with rival Chen Lifu’s “Chinese FBI,” the Central Statistics Bureau. Miles realized that in the Chinese general’s eyes this was the Americans’ most important quid pro quo in the SACO guerrilla-training program.⁵⁷

In answer to General Dai’s most earnest wish—a wish so important to him that he was willing to trade almost any service for it—we began a sort of “pilot” FBI school. Lieutenant Commander Charlie Johnston and four hand-picked specialists arrived with plenty of equipment as well as with vast quantities of pep and ideas.⁵⁸

The band of specialists brought in by Johnston (in civilian life an FBI special agent who later served as a legal attaché in Buenos Aires) grew to in-

clude two dozen other former FBI and Secret Service agents, “narcs” from Treasury, veterans of the bomb squad of the New York City Police, fire investigators, state troopers, and a Mississippi district attorney.⁵⁹ These “specialists in mayhem and protection” were assigned the mission of training Dai Li’s higher-ranking Juntong agents in the latest techniques and devices (weapons, lie detectors, police dogs, shackles, truth serum, ballistic kits, and so forth) for surveillance, interrogation, and intelligence evaluation.⁶⁰

Miles later candidly admitted that at Happy Valley, “We were never able to separate the police activities from guerrilla activities.”⁶¹

Our theory was that we would try to train some of these people to do the kind of work that we wanted done, and since Dai Li had set up a police academy in the early thirties and had been five years in charge of it and all the police in Occupied China were technically under his command, then we ought to use them. So we convened a class in Chongqing and we would order the chiefs of police from various parts of Occupied China up there and there would be sessions just about like this.⁶²

He justified this training of secret policemen by arguing that when they returned to Occupied China as puppet police chiefs they played a crucial role in rescuing the hundreds of downed American fliers that might otherwise have fallen into enemy hands.⁶³

But this justification, then and earlier, did not quell the criticisms levelled against Miles and Naval Intelligence for using SACO to train Dai Li’s repressive secret police, and even on occasion perhaps to witness the torture of prisoners under interrogation.⁶⁴ Both the State Department and OSS objected to SACO’s organization of an “FBI school” to train Dai Li’s secret police, which seemed “a blatant attempt on the part of Dai Li to secure American sanction of the Guomindang’s internal political repression.”⁶⁵ In response, General Donovan, through Captain Metzel, ordered Miles to change the name of the training group from “Police Unit” to “Counter-espionage Unit,” and directed that “the function of this unit should be as far as practicable directed against the enemy’s activities.”⁶⁶

WEDEMEYER’S CONCERN

General Wedemeyer was particularly distressed by Unit Nine’s secret police training program after he succeeded Joseph Stilwell as the American commander of the China Theater. During a tense conference with Dai Li, Wedemeyer said it was his concern “that American personnel and equipment were being used in political organizations.”⁶⁷

Dai Li responded by making a distinction between the Military Statistics Bureau under the National Military Council, and the Central Statistics

Bureau under the Central Committee of the Guomindang, the latter being primarily concerned with domestic political security and the former engaged in wartime covert activity. Dai said that all of SACO's assets were being used against the Japanese, except for the "indirect use" of the "school called the ninth training class under the Navy Group."⁶⁸

But Wedemeyer adamantly insisted he meant to say that "he did not want [any] American personnel or military equipment in [the] China theater to be employed in political organizations." Wedemeyer and his staff also questioned Dai Li's assertion that Juntong was devoted to military purposes. Lieutenant Colonel Agnew, representing Wedemeyer's G-2, asked "whether the killing of traitors would be interpreted as political or military." General Dai said that it would be military because it directly affected operations against Japan, but Wedemeyer took exception: "It might be political," he said, "unless [a] clearcut delineation were possible [with respect to] possible relations to Japs and vis-a-vis Communists."⁶⁹

In other words, unless Dai Li could prove that the Communists killed by Juntong assassins were clearly acting in Japan's interest, then the terrorism was politically directed against Chiang's internal enemies. In this particular instance, Wedemeyer made it more than clear that "he did not approve of Americans' involvement [in] any way with the killing or punishing of Chinese." Dai Li simply responded that "No Americans would be asked to do that; their job was to train Chinese to do it."⁷⁰

And train them they did, even though Miles knew of the opposition of the State Department.⁷¹ In fact, not only did the SACO camps continue to turn out graduates; under Article 17 of the joint agreement, the U.S. Navy agreed to provide transportation, tuition, and expenses for the advanced instruction in the United States of a contingent of forty Juntong students, handpicked by Dai Li.⁷² Needless to say, this program was not actually implemented until after VJ Day.⁷³

This was one of the first times that American special operations officers trained police for intelligence-gathering purposes only to find themselves accused of connivance with the forces of right-wing dictatorship. To that extent, whatever the truth of Communist propaganda, the SACO program of training Dai Li's secret agents exposed wartime American intelligence efforts to outright incrimination.⁷⁴ "Since Dai's many functions included that of chief of Chiang's military intelligence, partial technical cooperation with him may have been unavoidable. SACO, however, appears to have gone far beyond this. Dai was soon making unhindered use of American arms flown to him over the Hump to fight against the New Fourth Army and other patriotic guerrillas. Miles's men tried to whitewash Dai's political reputation."⁷⁵

DEMONIZATION

After World War II was over, well-meaning American veterans of SACO—"tigers" of the "rice-paddy navy"—glorified their accomplishments as guerilla instructors in China, traveling to Taiwan as guests of the Nationalists' Military Intelligence Bureau to commemorate their "Rear Duke and Perpetual Skipper," Milton Miles, and his close relationship with "Big Boss Dai Li."⁷⁶ Most were seemingly ignorant of the unit's dark history played up by progressive journalists during the Pacific War and by Chinese Communist propagandists later when anti-Americanism dominated the Korean War mobilization movement among the PRC's civilian population. Just as General MacArthur was demonized in Chinese cartoons during the 1950s as an alien ogre, so were the local SACO training camps portrayed as sites of American aggression into China, peopled by barbarian beasts who raped Chinese women and massacred the best and the brightest of the country's progressive elements.⁷⁷

A few miles northeast of the county seat [of Huxian near Xi'an] was the Sino-American training class which was jointly run by Dai Li, China's Himmler, and the Americans. Since 1945, patriots arrested in Xi'an were taken to this place blindfolded or put into gunny sacks. Peasants can well remember the heart-rending cries of the patriots as they were tortured. The place was heavily guarded all the time. No one dared to go near it. After the town was liberated the people found that all [of the] inmates had been murdered in cold blood by the Guomindang agents who left behind heaps of mutilated corpses.⁷⁸

The most notorious of these camps was Happy Valley, where the museum later built by the Communists contains a photograph of the pit in which ninety-four bodies were found bound with handcuffs made in Springfield, Massachusetts.⁷⁹

According to Communist tour guides of the Happy Valley complex, during the "trials" of progressives at Happy Valley, Miles sat beside Dai Li in judgment—a judgment based in some cases upon confessions extracted by Americans who operated the polygraphs or injected the truth serum administered to the prisoners being questioned.⁸⁰ The main interrogation center was in a series of caverns (which supposedly contained an acid pool) directly behind the twenty-room mansion said to be the Tang poet Bai Juyi's home.⁸¹ Bai's mansion was described by one of its sixteen surviving inmates as a Hades where SACO's hapless prisoners "underwent seven of the forty-eight tortures" of hell.⁸²

The cave itself, described as a "refuse pit," had originally been a coal mine. It consisted of seventeen rectangular cells: fifteen for men and two for women. Across the lintel Dai Li's calligraphers had written, "Your youth will pass, never to return. Think of where you are, and how much time you



Figure 20. One of Dai Li's prisons at Bai mansion in Happy Valley. Photograph by Joshua Howard.

have.”⁸³ By way of answer, the prisoners wrote on their cell wall (at least this is what appears in the reconstruction at the museum):

Flaming irons sear our breasts,
Sharp bamboo splinters pierce each finger.
Icy water floods our nostrils,
Electric currents wrack our bodies. . . .
In the evil flames of hell
Man is tempered
Until his will
Becomes hard and bright as gold.⁸⁴

As the Second Field Army of the People's Liberation Army drew near Chongqing, advancing at a speed none of the Nationalist commanders had anticipated, the jailers at Happy Valley received orders to execute the prison inmates. There had already been regular executions in the Bai Mansion, with prisoners taken downstairs and machine-gunned. On the night of November 27, 1949, while guards burned SACO files in the courtyard, the prisoners were transferred to downstairs cells. According to one of the survivors:

The commandant arrived and soon after soldiers with submachine guns took posts in front of the cell doors. A whistle blew. The soldiers thrust their guns through the square windows in the cell doors and fired. We sang the *internationale*. Some shouted slogans and cursed Chiang Kai-shek. The firing lasted about twenty minutes, ending when the singing and the screaming died away. Then the whistle blew again. The soldiers went around back and fired through the rear windows for some minutes. The commandant shouted ceasefire. Agents came into the cells and shot prisoners in the head. I was in a corner and the submachine fire only wounded me in the leg. The shot on my head missed and I lay quiet. They thought we were all dead but more than thirty were still alive. We got through the cell doors and burst into the courtyard. Some nineteen were killed there but fourteen of us got through a break in the wall.⁸⁵

Though by then SACO had formally ceased to exist, its legacy was perpetuated in Communist tales of Happy Valley's final massacre. "The end was blood and fire. On November 27, 1949, the eve of the arrival of the People's Liberation Army, police trained and armed by SACO executed the inmates of the two prisons, which were burned along with the SACO files."⁸⁶ As a Shanghai newspaper put it at the height of the anti-American campaign during the Korean War, "SACO, headquarters of [the] fascist secret agent organization jointly run by M. E. Miles of the U.S. Navy and the Chinese Himmler Dai Li, was known for its horrible American originated tortures and massacres."⁸⁷

The SACO training program also established a sinister precedent for similar secret service activities later under the auspices of the Central Intelligence Agency. The *modus operandi* of the CIA, after all, was to train secret policemen throughout the world, and especially in Latin America during the 1960s.⁸⁸ At a minimum, some of the public security training program carried out under the auspices of the Agency for International Development in the Panama Canal Zone and the School of the Americas heightened back to America's wartime experience with SACO's "rice-paddy navy."⁸⁹

Chapter 22

Spying

But there was also an adventure far to the right which smelled bad from the beginning and which I believe Americans will be ashamed of for years to come. This was the SACO (Sino-American Cooperation Group), headed on the U.S. side by Captain (later Rear Admiral) Milton Miles of the Naval Intelligence. . . . SACO had the job of infiltrating the Japanese side of the regular front, gathering information, organizing a system of coast watching to report on enemy ship movements, and preparing for future U.S. landings. All these functions were of course legitimate and necessary. SACO's evil side, which later perverted it completely, lay in its organization. Its overall commander was General Dai Li, the hated Himmler of the Kuomintang Gestapo, butcher of everything progressive in Chinese life, grand master of the quiescent Trojan horses that had been sent into the Japanese camp.

ISRAEL EISEN, *Unfinished Revolution in China*, 349–50¹

SACO CLAIMS

As soon as the Pacific War was over, Miles and some of the most enthusiastic American veterans of SACO made exuberant claims about the organization's success in the China Theater.² These exploits were hailed triumphantly by Tillman Durdin in the *New York Times* a month after VJ Day.

The Americans taught the Chinese new skills in guerrilla warfare and gave them new weapons. . . . Chinese units that originally had the mission of protecting the Americans and their weather and radio intelligence stations were developed into a large-scale guerrilla organization. With their American instructors and advisors they ranged widely through the Yangtse valley and southeast China, raiding small Japanese garrisons, tearing up communications, blowing up enemy coastal and river ships and gathering information. . . . The Chinese and Americans in SACO moved ceaselessly around Japanese garrisons and kept a strikingly complete check on everything the Japanese in China were doing. Coast watchers who reported the movements of enemy shipping were responsible for the sinking of dozens of Japanese vessels by American submarines and provided the intelligence that figured vitally in some of the most important fleet engagements of the war.³

The coast watchers were indeed effective, rightfully claiming responsibility for helping American submarines sink dozens of Japanese vessels. SACO agents also provided intelligence to the Fourteenth Air Force, which

subsequently bombed supply dumps, ships, trucks, trains, and troops, while also dropping aerial mines to force Japanese ships into sea-lanes where they were vulnerable to U.S. naval attacks.⁴ SACO's weather reports were indispensable as well to the Navy's Pacific campaigns, enabling, for example, Task Force Fifty-Eight to mount the first full-scale attack on the Japanese homeland.⁵

The effectiveness of SACO as a guerrilla-training unit and intelligence-gathering organization, however, remained in question. There was no doubt about SACO's success in the eyes of its admirers:

Japanese food patrols were attacked so frequently and effectively that many garrisons suffered severely from the lack of rations. In many parts of the country the Japanese were confined almost completely to garrison areas, not daring to venture into the countryside. SACO units from June 1944 to July 1945 killed 23,000 Japanese, wounded 9,000, captured nearly 300, destroyed 209 bridges, 84 locomotives, 141 ships and 97 depots and warehouses.⁶

Miles himself referred frequently to select examples of SACO derring-do: the young Chinese agent who planted explosives on a Japanese ship in Haiphong harbor loading rice for Nagasaki; Unit One's daring exploits in September 1943 in Jiangsu, including the assassination of the governor and a raid on Shanghai that cost the Japanese nine airplanes; Ensign John "Tarzan" Mattmiller's frogman attack on the Amoy docks that blew up a Japanese freighter; and so on.⁷ Moreover, Dai Li himself was seen as an arch-protector of the Americans serving in China, ensuring their survival thanks to his ubiquitous secret agents and ferociously martial guerrillas.⁸

JUNTONG REALITIES

In fact, few Americans participated in SACO guerrilla raids, heeding the MSB officers' warning that they would stand out in Occupied China like a sore thumb. As a result, SACO had no field (*waiqin*) units of its own and had to rely instead upon the operations brigades (*xingdong dui*) of Juntong. Commands to these lower-level local units were supposedly issued by the Military Warfare Unit (*Junshi zuozhan zu*) within SACO, which was jointly staffed by Americans and Chinese and completely dominated on the latter side by regular Juntong agents.⁹

All of the military plans that were made by this group had first to be discussed and settled with Juntong before they could be issued. Even so, the heads of each local uniformed special services [unit] were still not ready to accept [the orders] and continued to use their own direct link with Juntong to request instructions. But in order to get the American imperialists' weapons, ammunition, and equipment, all casualties, military victories, and losses each time they fought with the Japanese had to be reported to SACO along with requests

for replenishments. Most of these figures were routinely inflated or even completely fabricated, and more often than not there was a discrepancy with what was reported to Juntong.¹⁰ Yet the American side put extraordinary emphasis on these statistics and regularly replenished the weapons and ammunition for these units; also, they could use these cooked up “accomplishments” to ask the American government for supplies.¹¹

As for simple intelligence gathering, which was, after all, supposed to be SACO’s most critical mission in China, the public record was even less exemplary.¹² Miles was initially disappointed by the quality of the intelligence that the Office of Naval Intelligence was getting from Juntong, which may have been one of the reasons he was unwilling to share this information with the G-2 members of Generals Stilwell and Chennault’s staffs.¹³ After he complained both orally and in writing to Dai Li, however, Juntong used its contact with “traitors” (*hanjian*) in occupied areas to place special operations units in Shanghai, Nanjing, and other parts of southeastern China where SACO agents could assemble radio transmitting stations to supplement MSB communications with their own reports on Japanese troop activities.¹⁴ By 1944 the number of SACO intelligence officers had doubled to forty, and Dai Li felt it necessary to appoint one of Juntong’s section heads, Wang Yixin (who had conducted covert operations with CCP agents under Pan Hannian), to oversee allied intelligence work.¹⁵

PRC accounts later claimed that SACO had produced very good intelligence, especially on USSR and Chinese Communist Party activities.¹⁶ But, just after the war, Communist writers belittled Dai Li’s accomplishments in this regard and presented Miles as the doddering head of an “idiotic navy” (*fantong haijun*) that misconstrued Japan’s Ichigo Offensive in northern Henan as either just another “foraging operation” or as a “training campaign” for green troops.¹⁷

Dai Li himself valued SACO’s contributions highly, partly because he was impressed by some of the spy gadgetry that Miles provided along with carbines, pistols, and submachine guns. Stanley Lovell, OSS’s wizard inventor, recalled that Dai Li and Miles wanted him to manufacture a toxin for Chinese prostitutes to use against high-ranking Japanese officers. Eventually, he and the OSS bacteriologists confected a tiny gelatin capsule, no bigger than the head of a pin, containing botulinus toxin to be slipped into drinks or a serving of food. The pills were taken back to Chongqing by a Navy doctor, Cecil Coggins, who supplied them to “the Chinese school of assassination and sabotage under General Dai Li.”¹⁸ Other camouflaged weapons—pancake flour that exploded, guns disguised as harmless cameras—were also made available by Miles, whose largess included gifts of watches, clothes, chocolates, and cigarettes individually bestowed upon Chinese members of SACO’s staff.¹⁹



Figure 21. Pan Hannian's underground CCP headquarters in Shanghai. Zhong gong Shanghai shi wei-dang shi ziliao zhengji weiyuanhui, eds., *Shanghai geming shi huace*. Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1989, p. 216.

Dai Li was also impressed with SACO's assistance that improved Juntong's communications capability.²⁰ By the time Miles arrived in China, Dai Li's obsession with electronics had reached new heights. The Chinese secret service chief had concealed a top-secret laboratory in a dilapidated farmhouse surrounded by rice paddies about ten miles from Chongqing. An en-

tire section of the laboratory was concerned with secret writing. Fruit juice was used to write on tiny rolls of photographic gelatin, which, if developed, looked to be perfectly ordinary snapshots. A number of devices had been ingeniously designed to turn ordinary commercial radio receivers into transmitters: a telegrapher's key hidden in a fountain pen, an antenna designed as a Shanghai-made umbrella, and so forth. Copies of Minox miniature cameras were manufactured for Juntong's field agents, while the lab also disguised incendiary materials as soaps or pharmaceutical goods.²¹ Miles's mission supplied more powerful radio transmitters and fresh radio intercept expertise. Shortly after reaching Happy Valley, Miles's men set up a field portable transmitter-receiver that required a steady 120 volts from either a generator or Chongqing's notoriously labile electric power supply.²² After May 1943, radio intercept work was put under the direct supervision of U.S. Marine Lieutenant Colonel B. T. "Banks" Holcomb, who taught SACO technicians how to use radio direction finders to track down collaborators reporting on the flight of Chennault's planes from Kunming to Japanese targets.²³

Radio direction finders were also arranged around Chiang Kai-shek's military headquarters in order to spot enemy transmission stations. These were operated by graduates of Wei Daming's Shanghai training group, the Sanji wuxiandian xuexiao.²⁴ As we have seen, of course, Dai Li already had a highly competent communications staff, and reports from the MSB's code breakers giving advance warning of Japanese bombing raids on Chongqing almost invariably turned out to be reliable. The English, in fact, were so impressed by Nationalist China's early warning system that their ambassador asked Chiang Kai-shek for permission to establish a special intelligence unit composed of English and Chinese operatives.²⁵ The result was the foundation of the Sino-British Special Technical Cooperative Unit (Zhong-Ying tezhong jishu hezuo suo), headed by Zhou Weilong.²⁶

SIGNALS INTELLIGENCE

Nonetheless, other British intelligence units in the China-Burma-India Theater, and especially the director of military intelligence in Melbourne, were reluctant to share signals intelligence with Dai Li for fear of its falling into enemy hands.²⁷ On June 11, 1943, the director of military intelligence signaled the British military attaché in Chongqing of his suspicions. The following July 1, the War Office ciphered Melbourne that "Insecurity of passing information to Chinese [is] fully appreciated. India, Machin [military attaché, China], and we realize that anything given to Chinese is potentially available to Japanese through one means or another. . . . Machin does not repeat not automatically pass information he receives to the Chinese. We

refer most secret matters to him, which we should on no account wish Chinese to know.”²⁸

Six months later allied intelligence had settled upon a general policy of only giving military information to the Chinese that “will assist the Chinese to resist Japan in the immediate prosecution of the war.”²⁹ However, this policy appeared to have been founded entirely on suspicions that can only be termed racist in origin. “There is little concrete evidence of leakage in respect of information given to the Chinese,” MI2 acknowledged, adding that, “There is, however, grave suspicion that much leakage occurs, based mainly on experience of the average Chinese mentality.”³⁰

On June 23, 1944, Machin sent a secret message to the British War Office saying that Zheng Jiemin, director of military intelligence for the Chinese, had given him a letter from He Yingqin to General Carton de Wiart suggesting that a joint office be established under Chinese direction to exchange intelligence concerning the order of battle of the Japanese. This office might also collect intelligence and disseminate radio intercepts while also bringing together SIS (Secret Intelligence Service) and SOE (Special Operations Executive) agents conducting activities in the China Theater.³¹ Machin had explained to Zheng that the latter union was not feasible, but he did suggest sticking with the first option, though that raised the problematic issue of the role of the Americans, who might import their “internecine jealousies” if they were brought aboard.³²

The India Theater commander in chief’s headquarters reminded the War Office of previous strong opposition to such a merging of intelligence activities because it would offer the Chinese access to American and British signals intelligence. Given British Military Intelligence’s suspicion of the constant leakage of information to the Japanese by Nationalist Military Intelligence, this union seemed an extremely hazardous venture to both the India Theater commander in chief and to Whitehall.³³

Yet the British were loath to turn down the Chinese altogether.³⁴ Whitehall’s Joint Intelligence Committee decided that a flat refusal would damage Sino-British relations, and it recommended a counterproposal for a combined Chinese and British collecting agency “from which the order of battle is excluded.”³⁵ Once Supreme Allied Command, Southeast Asia (SACSEA), made it clear, on July 28, 1944, that the British were not going to share Sigint (that is, signals intelligence), the Chinese began to lose interest in collaboration. Nevertheless, SACSEA did draft a charter for a joint Chinese-British intelligence collection and exchange bureau to be set up in Chongqing, reporting on the British side to the English ambassador.³⁶

The Americans did not take news of this draft charter well. On August 3, the U.S. director of military intelligence, General Bissell, told SACSEA that “American clandestine agencies would never come clean” in the event of

such an agreement. Moreover, he argued, the British would be making a mistake by entering into a joint intelligence operation with the Chinese half-heartedly, especially since this might lead the Nationalists to try to use the United States against the British, and vice versa. By no means, Bissell insisted, should the Chinese be allowed to see the draft. The following day, August 4, 1944, the British complied with the Americans. Whitehall told SACSEA to inform the Chinese director of military intelligence, Zheng Jie-min (who was then observing British intelligence operations in India), that at this stage of the war it would not be efficacious to set up a new collection agency. Instead, the two sides should simply increase the exchange of information along the lines of cooperation already practiced by British and Chinese intelligence in China. General Zheng was so informed on August 22: "He received [the] news with no outward appearance of dissatisfaction."³⁷

"SAVING THE NATION IN A DEVIOUS WAY"

Allied suspicions of the wartime loyalty of Dai Li's secret service were fueled by Juntong's engagement with Wang Jingwei's puppet secret service. At the time, this was known as the Nationalist intelligence services' strategy of *quxian jinguo* ("saving the nation in a devious way"): that is, of both overtly working with the enemy's intelligence services and covertly infiltrating thousands of lower-ranking double agents into the puppet Special Work organization.³⁸ This policy of entwinement, according to mainland Chinese sources, had been secretly adopted by Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Li sometime between March 30, 1940, when Wang Jingwei was formally installed as the leader of a unified puppet government, and January 1941, when the New Fourth Army Incident occurred in southern Anhui.³⁹

One of the key figures implementing the "devious way" of entwinement was Cheng Kexiang, head of Juntong's Nanjing Intelligence Group (Qingbao zu). While Wang Jingwei's "Peace Party" was negotiating with Colonel Kagesa Sadaaki, Inukai Ken, and other Plum Blossom Agency members during the fall of 1939 in Wang's fortified Shanghai residence at Lane 1136, Yuyuan Road, Cheng began to cement relations with Zhou Fohai (secretary-general of the political committee and future puppet minister of finance and of police administration) and his brother-in-law Yang Xinghua (future director of the general affairs department of the puppet ministry of finance).⁴⁰ Through them, Cheng Kexiang managed to bring about the defection of Zhou Fohai's trusted follower, Luo Junqiang (future chief of Wang Jingwei's tax police [*shuijing*], puppet governor of Anhui, and the Nanjing regime's minister of justice), along with Xiong Jiandong (future deputy chief of the tax police).⁴¹ Cheng also was able to persuade Zhou Fohai to employ Peng Shengmu (Juntong's deputy head of the Nanjing Intelligence Group) as his confidential secretary, which provided Cheng with complete access to



Figure 22. Zhou Fohai, president of the puppet government's Executive Yuan. Huang Renwen, ed., *Wang Jingwei yu Wang Wei zhengfu*, vol. 2. Hong Kong: Commercial Press, 1994. Plate 19.

the top secret negotiations Wang Jingwei was holding with his Japanese handlers.⁴² After the puppet government was established on March 29, 1940, in Nanjing, Peng Shengmu went on to become a counselor in the Ministry of Finance, continuing to supply the MSB with inside economic intelligence of the most confidential kind.⁴³

Entwinement, needless to say, entailed a certain exchange of information between both parties, confirming Allied suspicions that Dai Li was trading secrets with Japanese intelligence.⁴⁴ As a result the Nationalist regime was kept in the dark with respect to the most important secret of the war, namely that the Americans and British had broken the Ultra and Purple codes. China's standing was also eroded among the Big Four at Cairo and afterwards when leaders from Great Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States met at Teheran.

General Donovan, who had come along to advise President Roosevelt about the situation in Yugoslavia, had his first taste of the China "problem" at the Cairo Conference, where Generals Claire Chennault and Joseph Stilwell were also on hand to debate the pros and cons of the Friendship Project.⁴⁵ In late October 1943 Roosevelt had already ordered Donovan to gather political intelligence in Communist-controlled areas. On the eve of the Cairo Conference, Donovan briefed the president on the Chinese intelligence situation. "We cannot do our job as an American intelligence service unless we operate as an entirely independent one, independent of the Chinese and of our other allies." Roosevelt agreed and authorized Donovan

to tell the Generalissimo “that we must be permitted independence of operations.”⁴⁶

DONOVAN’S VISIT

Dai Li was by then encountering troubles of his own. A combination of events—the discovery of some of Kang Sheng’s moles within the Nationalist secret police apparatus, the ousting of the Special Operations Executive commando mission from China, and growing grumbles in Washington that Juntong was using Gestapo methods—had distanced T. V. Soong and Madame Chiang from the Generalissimo’s spymaster.⁴⁷ Consequently, when “Wild Bill” Donovan arrived in Chongqing on December 2, 1943, the OSS chief found Dai Li in a less than impregnable position.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, Donovan was greeted with grand ceremony, including a reception in Chongqing’s Police Union ballroom replete with Juntong hostesses skilled in English and dancing.⁴⁹ The reception was followed by a banquet at Dai Li’s residence. Donovan took great pains to remain sober, but he completely underestimated his adversary, whom he took to be a “mediocre policeman with medieval ideas of intelligence work.”⁵⁰

With characteristic bluntness, Donovan told the Chinese secret service chief that if the OSS could not secure Dai Li’s cooperation, then it would work on its own in China. General Dai flared up in response, saying that he would execute any OSS agents operating outside SACO on Chinese soil.⁵¹ Donovan hit the table in return, shouting, “For every one of our agents you kill, we will kill one of your generals!” “You can’t talk to me like that,” Dai Li shouted back. “I am talking to you like that,” Donovan responded. Yet somehow, once Donovan had spoken his mind, thinking little of the real consequences to the OSS program in China, Dai Li calmed down and the two men were suddenly all smiles.⁵²

The day after the banquet General Donovan met with Chiang Kai-shek. There is no extant record of the conversation that followed, but Captain Miles did glean the gist of the conversation from Eddie Liu, who served as Donovan’s interpreter. According to Liu, the Generalissimo told the OSS chief that:

You are a high representative of a foreign and friendly country, and *you* are now operating in a country both foreign and friendly to you, in a war of allies against a common enemy. We Chinese are a sovereign nation and expect you to recognize that. We expect you Americans to behave in the same manner as you would expect allies to behave in your country. You do not expect a secret service from another country to go into the United States and start operations. You would object seriously. Likewise, we Chinese object to a foreign secret service or an intelligence service coming into China and working without

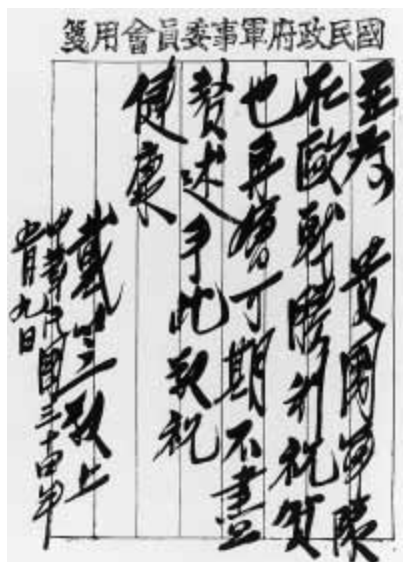


Figure 23. Fragment of a letter from General Dai Li to General William Donovan, director, Office of Strategic Services. Dated May 9, 1945, it reads: "I want to take this occasion to offer you by letter my gratitude and my congratulations for the victory of your nation's army in Europe. Of course, we cannot foretell when we will meet again. Sincerely yours, Dai Li." (General Donovan's Office Files, OSS.) General William J. Donovan. Selected OSS Documents, 1941–45. Microfilm, Record Group 226.

the knowledge of the Chinese. Remember that this is a sovereign country and please conduct yourselves accordingly.⁵³

At that point Donovan had no choice but to agree to leave formal OSS matters temporarily in Miles's hands.⁵⁴

Simultaneously, however, the OSS chief began to explore other possibilities of establishing a separate intelligence operation in China beyond Miles's and Dai Li's purview. Within SACO, the regular OSS contingent of several dozen men was placed under Colonel John Coughlin, while Miles continued as commander of the navy wing (hence earning a promotion to rear admiral by the end of the war).⁵⁵ Outside SACO, Donovan and William Langer (the head of OSS's intelligence research division) met with General Chennault in December 1943 to discuss the possibility of forming a special Fourteenth Air Force unit to gather tactical intelligence in order to pinpoint enemy targets.

AGFRTS

The following April, the OSS and the Fourteenth Air Force created an organization with the unwieldy name of the 5,329th Air and Ground Forces Resources and Technical Staff, or AGFRTS. More popularly known as "Ag-

farts," the organization included a large contingent of OSS agents selected to conduct independent intelligence operations in China.⁵⁶

AGFRTS succeeded where SACO had failed, and its results were almost immediately apparent. OSS agents infiltrated behind the lines constituted a wide clandestine network which supplied both air force headquarters and the Pacific fleet with daily weather and meteorological data. On-the-spot radio coverage of Yangzi River traffic and coastal and rail shipping enabled Chennault's flyers to hit "hot" targets with maximum efficiency, and R&A target analysis and assessment of bomb damage aided Chennault greatly in planning future attacks.⁵⁷

OSS/AGFRTS operatives mainly collected files on targets in Japanese-occupied China, while also interrogating enemy prisoners of war.⁵⁸

In his reports to President Roosevelt, Donovan tried to make as much as he could of the group's covert activities in the field (blowing up a couple of planes at Canton's Baiyun airport, demolishing several bridges during the Japanese drive toward Guilin, destroying a Guangdong coal mine, gathering a few coastal watchers' reports, and so forth); but these were by no means achievements comparable to OSS activities in Western and Central Europe.⁵⁹ There were, to be sure, several highly successful deep cover operations (Starr and Clam) that even escaped Dai Li's surveillance.⁶⁰ But most OSS engagements were completely transparent to the Chinese secret service authorities, who may have actually killed some of their own countrymen working for the Americans.⁶¹

Eventually Donovan made sure that Dai Li was officially notified of the OSS's involvement in AGFRTS.⁶² But this did not remove the sting of the affront, especially since OSS was thereby fielding some of Chennault's best intelligence officers, who typically were born in China as missionary children or at least knew the language well and could live off the land. Lieutenant Colonel Wolfert Smith, for instance, had learned Chinese before English, and had earned a PhD in Oriental History from the University of Michigan before the war broke out. Captain Charles Stelle was born and educated in Beiping and held a professorship in Oriental Studies at Harvard before he was dispatched as an intelligence officer to Chongqing, where he became an important link to the Chinese Communists.⁶³

Although Dai Li appreciated the training functions of the OSS, he disapproved of Donovan's men because of their Communist links, because they sometimes engaged in separate guerrilla warfare against the Japanese without his permission, and because he was increasingly suspicious of high-level OSS agents (whom Miles and his SACO lieutenants called "duffs") sent to China on missions of their own.⁶⁴ In the provinces there was a virtual "range war" between OSS and SACO, while across the Hump in India a "secret war" raged between the OSS and Dai Li's agents.⁶⁵ By November 1944, General

Donovan was able to report to President Roosevelt that, as far as OSS was concerned, "No intelligence or operations of any consequence have come out of SACO. This may have been the result of lack of Hump tonnage, but the main reason is that they were under the operational control of men determined to not permit them to produce intelligence."⁶⁶

This overall verdict is shared by most historians of SACO. "In the final analysis," Shen Yu writes, "the Allied war effort did not benefit much from this joint endeavor. The war ended just when SACO began to get ready to convert its focus from training to operation[s]."⁶⁷ Yet, if the Allied war effort gained little from these combined Sino-American covert activities, Dai Li's own clandestine empire benefited considerably, enabling the Chinese secret service chief to emerge from the Second World War much stronger than when the Japanese invasion was first launched. As Major Carl Hoffmann reported to General Donovan in July 1944:

This secret police network is a tribute to Dai's genius for organization, his resourcefulness, his craft, cunning, and enormous personal courage and charm. Of this personal magnetism he has no little, and many who have met him have attested to his striking attractiveness; this in spite of the fact that he has a slit of a mouth, definitely suggesting cruelty, close set and penetrating eyes, and an imperious manner. He is in his middle forties, of medium height, powerfully built, military bearing, and has an unmistakable air of authority. Socially, he can be ingratiating, pleasant, and cooperative. Although merciless in the performance of his duties as he travels the length and breadth of China, his own private life is said to be above reproach. His far-famed craft and cunning are regarded with mixed admiration and fear. Although he is a legendary figure in contemporary China, even though a photograph of him is never seen, his appearances at any function are rare in the extreme, and his name is seldom mentioned above a whisper; all this in deference to the anonymity he insists on. All factions are aware that he knows, or can learn, their public and private sins of graft, corruption, inefficiency, or stupidity, and that on a nod from him, disgrace, ostracism, or death can follow, regardless of clique or political influence.⁶⁸

By 1945, in sum, the spymaster had reached the pinnacle of his public political power, an edifice erected on the covert economic structures of war-time China.

Chapter 23

Dai Li's Wartime Smuggling Networks

Opium and other narcotics were transported into the area from Manchukuo, Manzhouguo, and Chahar where the cultivation of poppies was encouraged by Japanese authorities. The trafficking was in the hands of Japanese and Korean ronin (hoodlums) who became an offensive addition to the local scene after 1935. Smuggling silver out of China through East Hopei (Hebei) reached such levels that it seriously undermined the efforts of the Nanking government to stabilize its monetary system.¹ In addition, to deny the Nanking government the revenues that it desperately needed and in order to bolster Japan's own sagging export market, Japanese authorities connived with the Tongzhou (Tongzhou puppet) authorities to look the other way as a veritable flood of goods funneled from Japan through East Hopei to markets in North China untaxed and unregulated.² When goods did pass through the customs barriers established by the East Hopei authorities they were taxed at rates far below those charged by the China Maritime Customs. Reliable statistics are difficult to obtain,³ but some indication of the scale of the smuggling can be seen in the strong protests delivered to Japan by countries whose loans and indemnities were secured by Chinese customs receipts.

OYLE, *China and Japan at War*, 40

NATIONAL SMUGGLING NETWORKS

Wartime China, supposedly divided between the free and occupied zones, was crisscrossed with smugglers' routes that linked the two realms through freebooters' entrepôts.⁴ Jieshou was just such a contraband bazaar at the junction of Henan and Anhui provinces:

This was the frontier, but it did not feel like life under the guns of the enemy. The place bristled with men bent on making what money they could while they could: profiteers such as could only be seen in a country at war. Every other man you met there seemed to be a dealer or an agent for something. People came from the coast, from the inland regions across the Yellow River and the Yangtze. The town was unbelievably prosperous.⁵

Dai Li thus paid a personal visit to Jieshou because he coveted some of the enormous "take" that General Tang Enbo was exacting from the smuggling

traffic. After his visit, Dai reputedly advised General Tang that it would be healthier to devote less time to trade and more to military pursuits.⁶

Elsewhere—in the cotton areas for example—raw textiles were exchanged for manufactured goods from Occupied China, such as radio tubes and other necessities.⁷ Eastern Hebei's prodigious smuggling operations, on the other hand, centered on the narcotics trade.⁸ Dalian, a center of smuggling since the fall of the northeast to the Japanese, also combined narcotics operations with other contraband traffic, sending forth shallow draft boats that made landings up and down the northern China coast.⁹

The networks were truly national in scope, though regionally diversified.¹⁰ Just as Jieshou linked Anhui and Henan, so did Yichang, at the foot of the Yangzi gorges, connect Sichuan with Hunan and other downriver provinces that could supply the former with the medicine, cotton thread, and dyes that were otherwise unavailable upstream.¹¹ The same was true for upriver ports such as Wanxian and Badong, which funneled salt, wood oil, bristles, and Chinese herbs downstream to be exchanged for cotton yarn, piece goods, sewing materials, and household hardware items.¹²

Jiangxi was an especially important point of origin because, in addition to rich supplies of rare minerals (wolfram, antimony, tin, manganese, molybdenum, and silver), it produced a surplus of rice and other agricultural products (tea, ramie fiber, rape seed oil), along with luxury porcelains from the former imperial kilns at Jingdezhen, which the Japanese army occupied.¹³ In addition to serving as transshipment ports for Jiangxi goods, Zhejiang coastal cities such as Ningbo and Wenzhou shipped inland large quantities of transportation wares (motor cars, trucks, tires, tools, and gasoline);¹⁴ while less bulky goods came down into central China from the northwest on freight cars of the Beiping-Suiyuan Railway via Baotou, Lanzhou, and Shaanxi.¹⁵

SMUGGLING AND INTELLIGENCE WORK

The Japanese justified this smuggling in part as a way of infiltrating their Chinese secret agents, disguised as merchants, into Nationalist-occupied territory.¹⁶ These agents, whose very service to the Japanese was tendered on the condition that they would be able to trade across enemy lines, were under orders both to penetrate the Chinese secret service and to convey disinformation to Juntong and Zhongtong (Central Statistics Bureau) counter-intelligence officers.¹⁷

The Chinese, naturally, did the same in the opposite direction, while relying even more heavily than the Japanese on the profits from smuggling to provide government revenues, despite fear of exposing official entanglement in the heroin trade.¹⁸ Hence wartime conditions in themselves, by

preventing open trade between Japanese-controlled areas and the inland, made it possible for the secret services on both sides to make colossal profits from illegal commerce, which they could justify in terms of either acquiring needed goods (peasant products and local manufactures for the Japanese, medicine and tires for the Chinese) or procuring intelligence assets.¹⁹ The ultimate latitude, then, was afforded the secret services to strengthen their sources of income, which also provided well-connected individuals and speculators with a chance to make a great deal of money.²⁰

Major Guomindang officials became profiteers through the various companies that were set up as fronts for the goods transport offices that were controlled by Chinese intelligence. That is, wartime bureaucratic capitalism led to private gains while simultaneously affording China's spymasters—and especially General Dai Li, head of military intelligence—with the prospect of building a huge illicit empire that stretched from Burma and Assam to Yunnan, Guangdong, and Fujian;²¹ and that employed more than half a million men solely engaged in smuggling gasoline into Free China.²²

THE SMUGGLING POLICE

Dai Li's smuggling empire was built upon a system of revenue collection enforcement that went back to the formation of a taxation police force during the early 1930s.²³ When Song Ziwen (T. V. Soong) was minister of finance in the winter of 1931–32, the Nationalist regime had established a Tax Police Force (Shuijing zongtuan) under the command of Wang Geng.²⁴ During the January 28 Incident Wang Geng was arrested by the Japanese army in Shanghai, and their intelligence officers discovered he was carrying military maps that revealed the deployment of the Nineteenth Route Army, information that helped the Japanese defeat the defenders of Shanghai after the amphibious landing at Liuhe.²⁵

Wang Geng lost his job as a result, and the badly compromised Tax Police was supplemented with a body of cadets from the Military Academy (Jiangwu tang) of Zhang Xueliang's Northeastern Army. In 1936 the Tax Police was transferred to the command of Huang Jie, who lost that job in turn when his forces were routed by the Japanese army during the Battle of Shanghai in August 1937. After Shanghai fell, those members of the Tax Police who survived were transferred to Baoji for retraining under a new commander, Sun Liren.²⁶

The Tax Police's major rival was the army's Communications Inspection Bureau (Jiaotong jiancha ju), which was then under the thumb of Feng Ti, commander of the Nationalist garrison at Changsha. On October 15, 1938, a disastrous fire broke out at Changsha, disgracing Feng Ti and provoking Chiang Kai-shek to order Feng's execution by a firing squad.²⁷ The dead

officer's Communications Inspection Bureau was immediately taken over by Dai Li, who later prompted the formation of the Wartime Goods Transport Management Bureau (*Zhanshi huoyun guanli ju*), also known as the Transport Control Bureau (*Yunshu tongzhi ju*). General He Yingqin was made chief of the bureau while Dai Li took charge of the Supervisory Office (*Jiancha chu*) that actually wielded power within the unit by means of more than eighty inspection control points (*jiancha suozhan*) throughout Free China.²⁸

This office was covertly designated to conduct the smuggling trade with the enemy and provide another source of financial support for Juntong.²⁹ Dai Li's agents established in each of the provinces goods transport management offices (*huoyun guanli chu*), and these offices in turn managed a network of goods transport management stations (*huoyun guanli zhan*) that operated under the cover of local businesses (the Xinglong zhuang, Zhenxing zhuang, Xiechang zhuang, and so forth) in collusion with Chinese puppet businesses run by the Japanese special services organs.³⁰

The Nationalists themselves used American printing presses owned by the Central Bank to counterfeit northern Japanese military scrip and Wang Jingwei-regime notes to buy goods in Occupied China. Units of the Loyal and Patriotic Army, along with employees of the various transport management stations, then smuggled the commodities back into the interior, where they were sold at a considerable profit.³¹

CUTOUTS

The Nationalist smuggling operation depended upon a complex network of more than twenty major import and export merchants operating across enemy lines out of Chun'an.³² In 1942–43 the companies banded together to organize a Joint Guild of Import and Export Merchants (*Jinchukou shang lianhehui*), which was headed by the former mayor of Hangzhou, Zhao Zhiyou, and Wang Lieyan, the banker who handled much of the business of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO). Acting as a cartel, the guild monopolized commerce in husked rice, soybeans, tung oil, hog bristles, rosin, ramie, bamboo, and lumber, which they traded for cotton cloth, tobacco, rubber tires, medicine, hardware goods, and items for daily use sold by counterpart firms organized by the Japanese and puppet secret services: the Lingnan gongsi, a Plum Organ asset; the Jijizhuang, another Japanese secret service front; the Liancheng gongsi, run by Wang Jingwei's Political Guards Bureau (*Zhengzhi baowei ju*); and the Dongnan maoyi gongsi, a commercial branch of the Wang regime's Special Operations Headquarters (*Tegong zongbu*).³³

The Nationalist companies worked hand in glove with Dai Li's transport

comptrollers.³⁴ The Meifeng gongsi, for instance, was actually founded by Zhang Xingbai, the director of the Transport Goods Control Office for the Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui Border Zone (Su Zhe Wan bianqu huoyun guanli chu).³⁵ In 1943 Zhang, who was also head of the SACO administrative office in Chun'an, invested one million yuan of his own in a new Meifeng gongsi joint venture with the Zhenlie gongsi (managed by Wang Lieyan under the aegis of the Bank of Zhejiang), capitalized at eleven million yuan to monopolize the trade in ramie, rosin, and tung oil.³⁶

In the same fashion Zhao Shirui, director of the Eastern Zhejiang Transport Goods Control Office, together with his deputies in charge of local surveillance offices, organized the firm called Xinglong zhuang, which traded southern Zhejiang wood, rosin, hog bristles, husked rice, yellow beans, and tung oil, stored in Zhao's three major warehouses, for cigarettes, fine cloth, hardware, Western medicine, and rubber tires handled by puppet firms.³⁷ The products were smuggled in and out of Free China by units of the LPA and by Special Action Brigades in the Pudong area under Colonel Zhang Huifang and his elder brother Lieutenant Colonel Zhang Junliang, and along the eastern Zhejiang seacoast under Lu Anshi.³⁸

Zhao Shirui made a fortune from the Zhejiang smuggling trade until word of his undeclared profits was carried back to Dai Li by Juntong informants. General Dai was furious, and in 1945 he had Zhao seized and confined in the American military guesthouse in the Huilong Temple at Jianyang (Fujian). While fourteen Dodge trucks carted off Zhao's confiscated goods, worth more than forty million yuan at the time, a military court sentenced Zhao to five years in prison—a term he never served because Dai Li's successor, Mao Renfeng, had Zhao released from jail in 1946.³⁹

SMUGGLING PREVENTION

The Transport Goods Control Office was an army unit, answering ultimately to the Military Affairs Commission of Chiang Kai-shek's government. But what about the civilian organs charged with restricting and seizing contraband, which was, after all, potentially such a lucrative source of revenue for the Ministry of Finance? During 1940–41, British advisers had counseled the Generalissimo to increase the government's income by establishing better smuggling controls.⁴⁰

Chiang Kai-shek accordingly inaugurated a Smuggling Prevention Office (Jisi shu) under the Ministry of Finance employing sixty thousand men and directed by Dai Li himself.⁴¹ Offices to Control Smuggling were set up in each of the districts ruled by the Guomindang, and these offices in turn supervised inspection and control guard posts (*chaji suoshao*).⁴² For the time being this gave Dai Li complete control of the national government's clandestine smuggling apparatus.⁴³

Smuggling control in China (apart from levying of duties, which was done by the Customs) was vested in the secret police under Dai Li. In practice, Dai's organization came to "control" a large part of the growing trade with the enemy as its own monopoly, other operators only being allowed to participate if they paid a cut. While many Dai men got rich, the organization itself collected hundreds of millions of dollars, which it used to finance and extend its sinister network. The "trade" became its chief source of funds, which were so great that in 1944 it was estimated that Dai had 500,000 officers, agents, and informers on his payroll.⁴⁴

Dai Li's control over the Smuggling Prevention Office did not go unchallenged. His primary agent assigned to take over the office was Jin Runsheng, who was put in command of the Inspection Unit (Dianyan tuan) and of the Command Unit (Zongtuan) of the Tax Police (Shuijing). However, Sun Liren was unwilling to forfeit his own authority over this key office, and he maneuvered to have the unit placed under the Thirty-Eighth Army, which Sun led. Dai Li responded by establishing a countervailing organization in the first unit of the Tax Police, which was then garrisoned in Sichuan and which was expanded to form a new headquarters along with four separate major brigades (*zongtuan*) under Dai Li's appointees.⁴⁵

An even more telling—and, in the end, more damaging—challenge came from Chiang Kai-shek's in-laws, whose own private engagement in wartime smuggling was exposed to the Generalissimo by Dai Li's Smuggling Prevention Office. The revelation occurred in the course of pursuing what came to be known as the Lin Shiliang Case.⁴⁶

THE LIN SHILIANG CASE

Lin Shiliang was a confidential assistant of H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi), Chiang Kai-shek's brother-in-law and onetime minister of finance. Lin originally came to H. H. Kung via underworld contacts arranged through the Shanghai network of Green Gang social clubs.⁴⁷ Appointed head of the Office for Saving and Transportation (Zhongyang yinhang chuyun chu) in the Central Bank's Trust Bureau (Zhongyang yinhang xintuo ju), Lin Shiliang was assigned the task of purchasing military goods abroad and arranging for their importation via Hong Kong.⁴⁸ The manager of the Trust Bureau in the Crown Colony was Kong Lingkan (David Kung, H. H. Kung's eldest son), who used Lin Shiliang to "manage" the transportation of goods over the recently completed Burma Road.⁴⁹

The actual case involved a group of speculators and war profiteers affiliated with the Dacheng gongsi, which commissioned Lin Shiliang's assistant, Wang Jifang, to transport tires and hardware across the Burma Road to Chongqing. Part of the profits of this multimillion-yuan deal was assigned by Lin Shiliang to Kong Lingkan and his notorious sister, the transvestite



Figure 24. Kong Xiangxi (H. H. Kung), minister of finance. Kuo Jung-shen, *Min kuo Kung Yung-chih hsien sheng hsiang-hsi nien p'u*. Taipei: Taiwan shang-wu yin shu kuan ku fen you hsien kung ssu, 1988.

Miss Kong Lingjun. Also involved in the deal were H. H. Kung's eldest daughter, Kong Lingyi, and her husband, Chen Jisi. The shipment was divided into several lots, two of which were seized by agents of the Smuggling Prevention Office.⁵⁰

When Dai Li telephoned Chiang Kai-shek with news of the case, the Generalissimo was outraged, believing that Lin Shiliang had been using his brother-in-law's name to conduct the smuggling operation entirely on his own. Lin was subsequently arrested at Chiang's orders and sentenced to ten years in Chongqing's Tuqiao Prison.⁵¹ But Dai Li was implacable. His men continued to investigate the case and produced evidence that Lin had been spending vast amounts of money—public and private—on whoring, drinking, and gambling. The Generalissimo erupted when he was told of this debauchery and promptly changed Lin Shiliang's sentence to execution by firing squad.⁵²

Lin Shiliang refused to take the rap for H. H. Kung's family and openly attributed the smuggling scheme to David Kung, who took the entire matter—at his father's urging—to H. H. Kung's sister-in-law, Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Song Meiling), for arbitration. Dai Li thus found himself up against the entire array of Kongs and Songs, who insisted that the Generalissimo settle the episode in their favor.⁵³ Chiang Kai-shek was caught therefore between familial claims (the private interests of the "bureaucratic capitalists," represented in the public's eyes by the Four Great Families) and General Dai's representation of the issue as an affront to the authority of the

military regime that now oversaw what had originally been under the authority of T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung as Nationalist ministers of finance.⁵⁴

Chiang Kai-shek came down on the side of family, especially since the frequently estranged Songs and Kongs were now united by their common enemy, Dai Li. In addition to executing Lin Shiliang, the Generalissimo accused General Dai of overstepping his authority by acting out of resentment and a personal grudge. In July 1943 Dai was removed from his command of the Jisi shu (Smuggling Prevention Office), which was turned over to Xuan Tiewu, one of H. H. Kung's men and an "irreconcilable enemy" (*bugong dai-tian*) of Dai Li.⁵⁵ At the same time, the leadership of the office's provincial control bureaus was shifted and all Juntong personnel were dismissed.⁵⁶

Dai Li's removal from the directorship of the Jisi shu (Smuggling Prevention Office) was misinterpreted by China's American allies as a much broader attack against the excesses of the Military Statistics Bureau. The U.S. embassy in Chongqing reported to the secretary of state that it was widely believed that "the notorious Dai Li, head of the Generalissimo's principal secret political and military police and intelligence organization," had been relieved of his post as a result of 1) "the accumulative effect of arbitrary kidnappings, executions, etc., of agents and employees of highly placed persons, including the execution in the autumn of 1942 of Ling Hsu Liang [sic], head of the Transportation Department of the Central Trust, who instead of using his trucks to evacuate Government supplies from Burma to China, allegedly employed them to bring in 'luxury' goods for high placed persons"; 2) conflict with the "corrupt interests" of "high placed persons" arriving from the "organization's corrupt smuggling prevention activities"; 3) "bitter rivalry engendered in the Kuomintang's secret police, whose main function is the overlapping field of dangerous thoughts"; 4) the breakdown of Dai Li's intelligence organization in the occupied zone due to successful Japanese counterespionage; and 5) criticism of Dai Li and his "Gestapo," which Madame Chiang had heard on tour in the United States and which gave her the impression that "Americans believed that Dai Li rather than Generalissimo actually controlled China through his ruthless utilization of Nazi and Japanese political police methods."⁵⁷

DAI LI'S DEFENSIVE MEASURES

But the loss of control of the Smuggling Prevention Office to civilian authorities hardly crimped Dai Li's operations. To begin, he quickly made sure that his trump card—military exigency—would prevail over H. H. Kung's reliance upon civilian Ministry of Finance supervision of wartime smuggling. During that same month, July 1943, General Dai placed the headquarters of the Tax Police directly under the Military Affairs Commission and had it renamed the Special Operations Army (*Biedong jun*), which

formed eleven special services columns (*zongdui*) distributed among each of the war zones of the Guomindang-controlled areas of Free China and assigned especially to supervise all ground transportation.⁵⁸

Second, Dai Li reorganized the transportation and communications arms of the Nationalist military into a single unified command responsible for ground patrols, regional inspection stations, radio and postal links, and even aircraft communications. That same July the Military Affairs Commission's Inspection Division of the Bureau of Transport Control (Yunshu tongzhi ju jiancha chu) was first revamped as the Water and Land Communications Unified Inspection Office (Shuilu jiaotong tongyi jiancha chu), and then reorganized as the MAC's Communications Inspectorate (Jiaotong xuncha chu) under a Dai Li man, Lieutenant General Ji Zhangjian.⁵⁹ Later, in 1945, the Communications Inspectorate was expanded to cover telecommunications (the purview of the former Third Section of Dai Li's Juntong) and air traffic under a special Postal and Aviation Inspection Office (Youhang jiancha chu) directed by Lieutenant General Liu Fan.⁶⁰

Finally, Dai Li shored up his defenses against H. H. Kung and the civilians eager to take over the supervision of smuggling "prevention" by expanding the activities of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization *within* the Ministry of Finance. During 1944 the head of the transportation office in the Wartime Freight Transportation Bureau of the Ministry of Finance was Huang Ronghua. Huang, who had lived for many years in the United States, was also simultaneously head of the communications and transport section of SACO. His job was to look after the fleet of approximately one thousand trucks then in operation all over south China conveying weapons to the guerrillas at the front and returning loaded down with goods purchased from puppet firms in Occupied China.⁶¹

By 1944–45 the lading of these vehicles was completely at the discretion of Dai Li, who actually held the position of director of the Freight Transportation Bureau in the Ministry of Finance.⁶² As Miles explained it:

Every motor truck had to have a bill of lading showing exactly what was being carried, and, at every barrier, the bill of lading had to be shown and the truck inspected. Hitchhiking was such a prevalent form of graft for truck drivers that it was referred to as "transporting yellow fish"—an expensive delicacy—and General Dai himself was responsible for the controls that were supposed to prevent—and which certainly limited—smuggling and spying.⁶³

SACO's own American leader was thus aware, and even appreciative, of Dai Li's smuggling empire, which was by VJ Day constructed upon a unique foundation of prewar narcotics traffic and wartime U.S. supply and transportation sources. The momentary economic returns of this smuggling empire were enormous, but the social elements that fed off these revenues were either part of an inflationary process of elite corruption that befouled

the Nationalist regime or of an equally insidious program of secret service coercion that undermined the legitimacy of the government on the eve of civil war. Many years later historians were quick to recognize the linkage between contraband and clandestine operations, especially because of the connection between the United States' Central Intelligence Agency and illicit narcotics traffic during the Vietnam War. But the forces that forged this nexus in Southeast Asia existed well before American covert warriors supported Li Mi's 93rd Nationalist Division in the opium trade's Golden Triangle. They coalesced for the first time under Dai Li's aegis in China proper during the heyday of SACO's guerrilla war against Japan.

Chapter 24

Juntong in Wartime Chongqing

Unlike Hitler, who used his iron-tight control over the bureaucracy to monopolize the youth organizations, the trade unions, the church, and every other aspect of the people's economic and social life, and used the Gestapo to deal with occasional political dissidents, Chiang's regime during the war was reduced to almost total reliance on his secret service, because he could exert little organizational control over the society and the government.

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TAKING OVER SICHUAN

During the Nanjing decade Sichuan had remained apart from Nationalist rule, riven by warlord interests roughly allied under the banner of the province's most powerful militarist, Liu Xiang.¹ As war with Japan loomed during the mid-1930s, however, Chiang Kai-shek began to look toward the fortress province—the “Riverlands” of the *Three Kingdoms*—as a future bastion for the Guomindang regime. By September 1935, the Generalissimo had set up a new mobile garrison in Sichuan, renaming this “bandit extermination” (*jiaofei*) unit under Gu Zhutong the Chongqing Mobile Garrison (Chongqing xingying). Within it Chiang's spymaster, Dai Li, set up the Chongqing Number Three Class (Yusanke) of Juntong, nominally under his directorship but actually run by the deputy class director (*fukezhang*), Chen Shaoping, along with Inspector Ye Daoxin.² The Number Three Class, which was housed in the old military yamen on Citang Street, was charged with making preparations for taking over Chongqing proper in the event of a Nationalist retreat there.³

By the time the Nationalists had pulled back from Nanjing to Wuhan, Liu Xiang—the hegemon of Sichuan—realized that the province he and an assorted constellation of warlords controlled was now under Chiang Kai-shek's gun.⁴ Liu himself was recuperating from an acute case of gastritis in Hankou's Wanguo Hospital. It was from his hospital bed, consequently, that Liu Xiang tried to effect a tripartite alliance with First Army Group (Ji-tuanjun) commander Song Zheyuan, who controlled Xinxiang and Puyang in southern Henan; and Third Army Group commander Han Fujun, the former Shandong warlord who was garrisoned in Nanyang (Henan), Xiangyang (Hubei), and Hanzhong (Shaanxi). Liu's plan was to use this phalanx

to arrange a cordon around Sichuan, which, with Japanese military help, would be closed off to Chiang Kai-shek.

Already suspecting the worst of Liu Xiang, Dai Li had suborned one of the Sichuan warlord's army commanders, Fan Shaozeng, to spy on Liu. Fan reported that Liu had been sending coded instructions to his lieutenants, ordering them to bring troops to Yichang (Hubei) to link up with Han Fujun in opposition to Chiang Kai-shek. Liu was also in direct radio communication with Han himself, but Juntong had so far been unable to break their coded transmissions. Fan Shaozeng, however, supplied Dai Li's communications specialists with a copy of an earlier telegram that gave the code breakers the key they needed to decipher the message, which in turn provided Juntong with all the proof it needed to convince Chiang Kai-shek of the two warlords' perfidy. The Generalissimo struck quickly. On January 11, 1938, Chiang went to Kaifeng in person to hold a meeting of the Military Affairs Commission, thereby enticing General Han to Henan's capital, where he was arrested by Dai Li's men, taken to Hankou, court-martialed, and executed by shooting squad on January 24.⁵ At the same time, Juntong bribed Liu Xiang's nurse to replace the Sichuan warlord's gastritis medicine with a toxic potion. General Liu died by poison in his Wanguo Hospital bed shortly thereafter.⁶

It is important to realize what Dai Li managed to wreak in Sichuan during these first six months of the Sino-Japanese War. He and his organization rapidly seized control of local warlord garrisons at the orders of Chiang Kai-shek himself, who commanded that each post (*jingbei chu*) come under the jurisdiction of checkpoints (*jicha chu*) in the grip of his secret police. Every checkpoint had a superintendent (*duchazhang*) in charge of the inspection posts (*jiancha suo*) that were quickly established in every conceivable public facility: railroad stations, steamship wharves, bus stops, hotels, tea shops, restaurants, movie houses, public baths, and theaters. In principle, no one was to be spared from secret police observation.⁷

The very compass of Dai Li's clandestine dominion forces us to consider whether he was a prime centralizer in the Guomindang effort to exert more control over the national regime, or whether his secretive administration constituted a shadow government that eventually crippled formal consolidation of the Republic's twenty-two years of unified jurisdiction. For example, when Dai Li erected customs barriers answering to central command, was he reasserting Chinese authority over extraterritorial privileges? Or was it a simple looting of the national stand as long as it stood erect?

CHONGQING'S FORMAL JUNTONG APPARATUS

Juntong's main administrative headquarters was located in Luojiawan; No. Nineteen was the A (*jia*) Office of Dai Li's Confidential Secretariat (Jiyao-

shi), where he had his own private bureau. However, the “public” headquarters of the Chongqing MSB was housed in the Hunan Guildhall at Wanglongmen, where the MSB had its own Secretariat (Wenshuke), Archives Division (Dang’angu), and Secret Letter Division (Mihangu).⁸ The regular Secretariat oversaw most of the field (*waiqin*) units of Juntong, which were operationally responsible to the Investigations Department of the Chongqing Garrison Command (Weishu zongsiling bu jichachu).⁹

As far as control of Chongqing was concerned, the largest and most important special services organization was Juntong’s Investigations Department, which was in charge of thirteen districts.¹⁰ Although it had only a little more than five hundred men, each of its field agents had anywhere from twenty to several hundred people working for him.¹¹ Founded in 1939 by Juntong as part of the Wuhan Garrison Command, the department was transferred to Chongqing as a nominal unit of the latter’s garrison. Its authority actually emanated from Dai Li, and behind him the Generalissimo himself. Consequently, neither of the successive Chongqing Garrison commanders, Liu Zhi and Wang Zanzu, dared interfere with its activities.¹²

The Investigations Department was for Dai Li a place where his backbone cadres could be tested (*kaocha*) and steeled (*duanlian*).¹³ The department head was invariably a Juntong officer who had already served a term as deputy chief (*fuchuzhang*): Tao Yishan succeeding Zhao Shirui, Liao Gongshao succeeding Tao, Shen Zui succeeding Liao, He Longqing succeeding Shen.¹⁴ Since everyone knew that they were being tested by Dai Li for higher office, competition was keen among the various deputy inspectors-general and the unit’s work style was exceedingly intense. Investigations Department personnel would do anything they could to please Dai Li, including reporting their slightest accomplishments to him and trying always to be on hand if he had an inquiry to make, even if that meant staying off the banquet circuit and remaining at the office long after regular working hours were over. Shen Zui, who eventually served as head of the department, was especially aware of General Dai’s “nervous temperament” and took pains to commit the details of all pending cases to memory so that he could respond instantly to his superior’s midnight questions without having to consult a single dossier. It was perhaps for this reason that Shen Zui was chosen by Dai Li to become head of the General Affairs Department (Zongwuchu) when he was barely twenty years old.¹⁵

The Chongqing Investigations Department was divided into four sections (*ke*). Section One was in charge of general affairs: administration, personnel, and documents.¹⁶ Section Two was responsible for intelligence operations, detective work, and the inspection of airplanes.¹⁷ Section Three was in some senses the most important, being devoted to telecommunications. This department was staffed by more than forty specialists who had gone through Wei Daming’s central communications office.¹⁸ (Section

Three was also charged with managing all of the purchasing requests for the Chongqing military district, which took a tremendous amount of bureaucratic time, but their main task was much more manifold: to monitor all transmissions in and out of Chongqing. The Communists' transmitters at the CCP office and at *Xinhua ribao* were especially targeted.)¹⁹

Section Four was the Judiciary Section (Sifake) under Xu Zhongqi and Hu Zao. Xu was Dai Li's fellow townsman and hence reported directly to his leader, whatever the issue. This section was also in charge of the dreaded Juntong lockup in Chongqing.²⁰ The Chongqing station's lockup (*kanshou-suo*) at Wanglongmen was a notoriously cruel prison. Most of the political prisoners were detained on the flimsiest of charges, ranging from an overheard comment considered radical to a public complaint about low salaries and the high price of goods. These prisoners were also totally at the mercy of the old jail hands (*lao fanren*), who had formed three prison gangs under "bosses" (*toumu*) living off extortion euphemistically termed "filial piety and reverence" (*xiaojing*).²¹

Wanglongmen officers, needless to say, provoked fear wherever they went in wartime Chongqing. If a Juntong agent on external duty infringed upon the law and was challenged by the regular authorities, all he had to say with a sneer was "*Wanglongmen de*" (I'm with Wanglongmen). Once identified in that fashion, the agent no longer bought theater tickets, paid for train or boat passage, or settled his vice bills in the city's bordellos and opium dens.²²

Section Four's office, which was directly connected with Juntong's Political Intelligence Department (Dangzheng qinqbaochu), mainly directed a contingent of outside agents who infiltrated Chongqing student groups. But the major task of this group—which was directed by a Party and Political Investigation Group (Dangzheng shenchazu)—was to maintain surveillance over the Chinese Communist administrative offices of the Eighth Route Army office, *Xinhua ribao*, and Zhou Enlai's own residence.²³ At this they were less than totally successful.²⁴

The Foreign Affairs Investigation Group (Waishi zhencha zu), or FAIG, was ostensibly under the Garrison Command in Chongqing. It was actually under the direct control of Juntong, which determined its budget and activities. Its directors, Kong Jie and Wu Runsun, were more or less concurrently heads of the *waishi ke* (foreign affairs section) of the Chongqing police force, thanks to Dai Li's insistence that all foreign affairs work in the city be unified under a single command. At the same time it was terribly secretive: one could only get into the office through a back door that bypassed the police's regular investigation office.²⁵

The main job of the Foreign Affairs Investigation Group was to maintain surveillance over the Soviet embassy and Tass office, as well as the Soviet trade delegation in Chongqing.²⁶ Informants (*tongxunyuanyuan*) were directly

controlled by higher case officers and considered extremely valuable assets. They were also shared with the International Propaganda Office's Wei Jing-meng and with the head of the Juntong Passport Section, Zeng Guangxun.²⁷

The Investigations Department also had its own separate Group Three called the Social Investigation Group (*Shehui zhencha zu*), which was headed by Qi Yulin and which operated without much direct supervision from Juntong headquarters. Its mandate was to promote "social order" (*shehui zhian*) by dealing with felonies such as robbery. Unlike other sections, Group Three had its men on call at all times. Personnel consisted in part of "hooligan" (*liumang*) or "gang" (*banghui*) elements, many of whom had been recruited in Wuhan. Since a large contingent of Wuhan's pickpockets and thieves had migrated upriver with the Nationalist forces when they retreated to Chongqing, Group Three's own former gangsters were much more effective in dealing with this underworld element than the regular detective brigade (*zhenji dui*) of the police department, which had its own gangland contacts among Chongqing criminals. There consequently developed a typical wartime phenomenon: "upriver" crooks working closely with the regular detective squad while "downriver" criminals connived with the Social Investigation Group.²⁸

Finally, the Investigations Office Department oversaw more than ten investigation centers (*suo*) and more than thirty investigation posts (*shao*). Its "external" powers were considerable. Agents of the Jicha suo (Investigation Centers) could at their will search any residence or hotel, often just to go through a suspect's luggage.²⁹ And, although vehicle investigation was ostensibly consolidated under the Unified Inspection Department for Water and Land Communications (*Shuilu jiaotong tongyi jiancha chu*), they could also detain any car or boat they wished. This was a considerable source of illegal income to Jicha suo agents stationed at the Sugar Guild Hall (*Tangye gonghui lou*) near the Chaotian Gate. Being responsible for river traffic, they set up a checkpoint of their own to monitor lumber barges and other freight vessels coming downstream. It was obvious to each boat captain that if Jicha suo officers insisted, they would have to unload their entire cargo for inspection. Far better to pay a bribe that amounted to an illegal customs fee.³⁰

THE CHONGQING POLICE DETECTIVE BRIGADE

Although the Investigation Department competed with the Unified Inspection Department, its major rival was the Main Detective Brigade (*Zhenji dadui*) of the regular Chongqing police force.³¹ The post of chief of police rotated between Xu Zhongqi (who had a direct connection to Chiang Kai-shek and curried favor with H. H. Kung via his second daughter, Kong Ling-

jun) and Tang Yi (who, though not a member of Juntong, was close to Dai Li).³² When Dai Li wished to expand the regular detective brigade (*zhenji dui*) in October 1941, he simply sent a personal letter to Chief Tang urging the appointment of Shen Zui, who had been head of the Investigations Department of the Changde Garrison Command. Tang Yi promptly invited Shen to take over the squad; the appointment was formally approved by Feng Yukun, the former Berkeley student who was General Dai's agent in the Ministry of Interior; and Shen Zui took steps to transform the brigade (*dui*) into a major brigade (*dadui*).³³

The Main Brigade had a roster of 179 detectives. With the additional "runners" the brigade totaled more than one thousand people. There were only about ten basic cadres from Juntong among the regular agents, who were primarily criminal investigation detectives on easy terms with their informers and underworld perpetrators. Interrogations, which never involved torture, were conducted in gangster *neihang hua* (insiders' talk) that regular MSB secret servicemen could not comprehend; and many meetings took place in a teahouse just outside the squad headquarters in Lailong Lane at Fuzichi.³⁴ Overall, the regular detectives had a remarkable record of success when it came to dealing with the criminal elements of Chongqing.³⁵

From Shen Zui's perspective, however, the detectives were hopelessly incompetent when it came to clandestine surveillance and political policing. Leaving regular police duties in the hands of deputy brigade head Shen Xifeng, the new commander proceeded to transfer a small number of detectives with higher than average cultural backgrounds into a special brigade devoted solely to gathering political intelligence (*dangzheng qingbao*). This meant depriving the new members of their "grease" from various forms of extortion, but Shen Zui made up for it by providing the political intelligence agents with cash rewards for their special Juntong duties.³⁶

Ironically, it was the Main Detective Brigade's more familiar sphere of activities that led to Shen Zui's resignation from the post. When Chief Tang Yi had some of his goods stolen by thieves, he ordered Shen Zui to recover them at once. Since they were not to be found in the brigade's regular stolen property office, Shen lit a fire under his section chiefs, and within three days two thieves had confessed to the crime. The property was recovered, and Shen Zui somewhat perversely sent a formal notice to Chief Tang telling him to pick up his goods at the brigade headquarters like any other Chongqing citizen. Tang Yi, furious at the slight, sent one of his lieutenants to Shen Zui's office. When the underling reached into his pocket to pull out Chief Tang's calling card, Shen thought he was reaching for a gun. He drew his own pistol instead and beat the man senseless. Shen Zui then instantly went to Dai Li and told him what had happened. General Dai listened to the story and immediately ordered Shen Zui transferred out of the police de-

partment and into the Garrison Command's Investigations Department, a move the local newspapers mistook as a reward for the fine job Shen had done as head of the Zhenji dadui.³⁷

INFORMAL FRONTS AND "OUTER DUTIES"

Dai Li's informal Chongqing apparatus ranged from a chain of "grain stores to enrich the populace" (*yumin midian*), which were actually outlets for hoarded rice, to photo development shops such as the Flying Rainbow Photographic Studio (Feihong zhaoxiangguan) out at Shanhuba Airport, which also took clandestine photographs of travelers suspected of anti-Chiang activities.³⁸ Although most restaurant owners in the wartime capital had informal connections with Juntong, some of the largest establishments were actually owned and managed by MSB officers. The Huanghou fandan belonged to Agent Xu Zhongwu, who also operated a big dance hall on Datong street; the Xinweiyu on Zourong Road and the Weiyu canting on Minsheng Road were owned by Deputy Detective Brigade Commander Shen Xifeng; and the Kaigegui was operated by Whampoa graduate Li Yueyang, who turned the cafe into a Juntong hangout. In addition, most hotel staff members—and especially the servants working in Chongqing's major hostelry, the Shengli dasha—were Juntong *paoerpai* (runners) controlled by special agents.³⁹

These informal fronts and subagents fell under the auspices of the Chongqing Special Zone (Chongqing tequ, also known as the Yu tequ), which was in charge of "outer duties" (*waiqin*) and whose field staff reported directly to the Investigations Department. The Yu (the classical name for the city of Chongqing) Special Zone was commanded by Jiang Shaomo from his headquarters at 32 Old Street (Laojie), which had been the office of the Second Department of the Southwestern Military Headquarters before the war began and was now the center of the "hideous web," "the huge invisible network," of Juntong's local operations.⁴⁰ The office had forty to fifty high-level intelligence agents who ran Juntong's assets throughout the city, including members of the democratic parties and a few "renegades" (*pantu*) who had defected from the CCP. The zone itself was divided into five geographical groups, of which the most important was the western suburbs office in charge of surveillance over the Communists' Red Crag outpost and the offices of *Xinhua ribao*. Because of the western suburbs office's inability to gather information about the CCP at Red Crag, Zone Commander Jiang suggested to Shen Zui that his agents be issued side arms (normally, undercover *waiqin* personnel did not carry guns) in order to provoke the Communists into firing on them. After such a melee, he reasoned, MSB personnel could rush into the CCP outpost and search the premises.⁴¹

When Shen Zui broached the plan to his boss, Dai Li was incensed, calling Jiang a “fathead” and upbraiding Shen for subscribing to such a potentially embarrassing scheme. “You’re making trouble *Ni zai hunao*! If our struggle with the Communist Party depends upon these methods, will we be able to attain our goal? If somebody is shot to death, then it will be considered that he died in vain. If he’s wounded, then he deserves it! You are not permitted to make a decision along the lines you’ve just laid out.”⁴²

Thus, when it came to actual political surveillance by regular Juntong agents, Dai Li’s headquarters exercised relatively tight control. But the MSB displayed much less constraint where “peripheral elements” (*waiwei fenzi*) were active. This included almost the entire city of Chongqing, which was blanketed with informants and spies eager to uncover suspected “progressives” in order to protect their meager salaries as Juntong *paoerpai*. Not only did these utterly undisciplined monitors use their somewhat remote connections with the MSB for purposes of extortion; they also knew that unless they came up with at least one or two leads a year, then they would be dropped from the books. Consequently, ordinary citizens lived in constant fear of denunciation, knowing that they were frequently tailed the moment they left their homes and that, at the very least, nosy neighbors might finger them to higher secret police authorities when they visited friends and relatives. Meanwhile, letters, telegrams, and telephone calls were all monitored.⁴³

CHONGQING ASSASSINATIONS

Juntong’s assassination operations extended well beyond Chongqing, and they had an unintended impact on China’s war effort that Dai Li himself could not have foreseen. Perhaps the best example of this phenomenon was the botched effort to murder Wang Jingwei after he fled Chongqing and took asylum in Hanoi, which was then still under the French colonial authorities in Indochina.

The story is a familiar one to students of modern Chinese history. Assassins stole into the Hanoi residence of Wang Jingwei on the night of March 21, 1939. At first glance, the commando raid was successful. The Juntong agents broke into Wang’s bedroom, sprayed the room with submachine gun bullets that fatally punctured the inhabitant’s sleeping body, and fled. However, for unknown reasons that night Wang had traded rooms with his private secretary, Mr. Zeng Zhongming, who died in his place.

At the time Nationalist authorities denied any complicity in the act, and many years later Chiang loyalists continued to claim that the Generalissimo had no knowledge of the matter. Chen Lifu insisted, for example, that even Dai Li was not involved:

Who killed Zeng Zhongming? I don't know. People outside said that Dai Li killed him. I doubt this. If it was Dai Li, how could he have done such a thing on his own authority? He should not have! Who can tell who may have directed him. I doubt that it was Dai Li. Have I any proof? Mr. Chiang seldom—never—wanted to kill anyone. Never? I cannot recall that he ever did.⁴⁴

But Dai Li did command the operation.⁴⁵ And the effect of the botched murder was at the very least to drive Wang Jingwei into the arms of the Japanese, eventually leading to the formation of a puppet regime in Nanjing.

In Chongqing itself, assassination was part of a general pattern of “disappearance” that literally erased dissidence in China's wartime capital. Foreigners, even astute journalists like Israel Epstein, were hardly aware of this selective terrorism, though now and then they sought diplomatic intervention to save Chinese who came to them for protection from the secret police.⁴⁶ However, the foreign community, and especially General Wedemeyer and the U.S. State Department, were quite familiar with one of the most infamous cases of Juntong kidnapping: the disappearance of Fei Gong.⁴⁷

In the spring of 1944, Professor Fei Gong of Zhejiang University (which had relocated itself in Guizhou's Meitan during the war with Japan) accepted an invitation from Fudan University to teach in Chongqing. A historian educated in the United States, Fei had earlier endorsed a statement by Chinese intellectuals deploring the tyrannical dictatorship that ruled “Free China.” Now that he was in the wartime capital, just under the noses of the secret police, he came to fear for his own safety and lived virtually in seclusion. Early on the morning of March 5, 1945, however, Professor Fei left his home in the company of a Fudan student escort to attend a conference at Beipei Hot Springs, a short distance by boat from Chongqing. While they were waiting to board the ferry at Qiansimen, the student clambered up the wharf to buy some breakfast. When he returned, Professor Fei had disappeared.⁴⁸

After Fei Gong failed to show up at the conference, Fudan University authorities reported his disappearance to the Garrison Command, who responded by hauling in the hapless student for questioning. During the following week, rumors began to multiply about Fei's disappearance. Had he simply fallen off the dock by mistake or had he been kidnapped by Dai Li's agents and whisked off to a secret detention camp? Government spokesmen vehemently repudiated the latter, but both the general public and the American embassy discounted these denials.⁴⁹

In educational circles, Fei Gong's disappearance crystallized the insecurity that haunted many intellectuals who were fearful of their fate in the hands of Chiang Kai-shek's secret police. Forty other professors who had studied with Professor Fei in the United States signed a letter of protest ad-

dressed to General Wedemeyer, who consequently expressed official American concern to the Generalissimo himself.⁵⁰

Chiang had already asked Dai Li to look into the matter, and General Dai had subsequently held a meeting with Ye Xiufeng, the head of Zhongtong, and Zhang Zhen, the commander of the Military Police.⁵¹ Neither of them, Dai claimed, had arrested Fei Gong. In the meantime, Wedemeyer had ordered Milton Miles to investigate the case personally. Miles reported this assignment to Dai Li; and while Miles called upon Lieutenant Commander Clark, a former New York police detective, for help, Dai assigned Shen Zui (who was identified to the Americans as a well-known Shanghai detective) as Juntong liaison.⁵²

The investigation team followed a number of fruitless leads. Zhu Kezhen, the president of Zhejiang University, suggested they check the roster of all government jails and lockups. But when they did so, with Fei Gong's photograph in hand, they were told no such person had been seen. A survey of police records yielded the same negative result. Because a Zhejiang University student claimed to have seen Professor Fei in a Buddhist monk's attire in Wushan county, the detectives spent two weeks visiting twelve different mountain monasteries in that district, without finding a trace of the missing professor. Clark and Shen Zui even went downriver to examine ten "floaters" that had washed up on the tributary's banks, but none of the bloated corpses resembled Fei Gong in the slightest. In the end, rumor had it that Professor Fei had been killed at Chongqing's SACO prison and his body dissolved in a pool of nitric acid. Shen Zui never explicitly refuted this rumor. But, writing under a Communist regime that would have welcomed such a grisly indictment of the Nationalist secret police, he did maintain long after Fei Gong's disappearance that the mystery would remain forever unsolved.⁵³

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN SICHUAN

The range of Communist opposition to Nationalist rule was different from location to location. Chengdu, for example, was a much more active seat of CCP activities than Chongqing. During the fall of 1940 the Chengdu region endured poor harvests because of the previous spring's drought. The usual rice hoarding followed, along with attendant food riots. Whether the CCP instigated them or not, Dai Li promptly classified these as Communist disturbances, which gave him carte blanche to order his men in the Investigations Department of the Chengdu field headquarters to round up as many CCP members as they could.⁵⁴ This dragnet yielded Luo Shiwen, who was in charge of the Chengdu administrative branch of the Eighth Route Army and senior editor of *Xinhua ribao*, along with a key leader of the Chengdu branch of the Communist Party, Che Yaoxian. Both men were savagely tor-

tured but refused to submit. They were eventually remanded to Chongqing. The remaining captured Communist leaders, more than ten of them, were buried alive by Liu Chongpu, head of the Chuankang district brigade of Juntong.⁵⁵

The Chengdu roundup constituted an early coup for Juntong in Sichuan, supposedly manifesting MSB's far-reaching effectiveness throughout wartime China.⁵⁶ Yet in Chongqing proper, Dai Li's organization seemed to be less than entirely competent when it came to keeping track of underground Communists in the wartime Nationalist capital.⁵⁷ According to Shen Zui (who, for political reasons of his own, consistently deprecated Juntong's effectiveness vis-à-vis the ever-alert CCP), the Investigations Department of Juntong's Chongqing headquarters was hamstrung from the very beginning because all it had to rely upon for intelligence were "shady characters" from the lower reaches of society plus a few middle- or lower-level members of the various democratic parties. How was the MSB going to keep some sense of control over the activities of figures such as Guo Moruo, Tian Han, and Cao Yu? All that Juntong could really hope for was to mount competent surveillance operations and have their agents periodically check (*fucha*) on the public reports of these socially much higher-ranking figures.⁵⁸

This is not to say that there were no successes in Juntong's ongoing fight against the CCP, the Second United Front notwithstanding. As the head of the Chongqing Garrison detective squad (*zhenji dui*), Shen Zui was ever eager to capture Communist Party members; and when he did so, as happened during a raid on a small iron factory on the North River, his success was well rewarded.⁵⁹ But as often as not false rumors of purported Communist activity either ended in clumsy but vicious incriminations of innocent parties—as in the Qi River case during the winter of 1940, when Juntong interrogators mutilated or killed more than five hundred suspects under torture⁶⁰—or in a flurry of orders from the presidential palace that ended with the determination no subversion had taken place at all.⁶¹

The major target of Juntong scrutiny was CCP headquarters at Red Crag next to Hualongqiao. The MSB established a special investigations office nearby under Duan Chutian, but Dai Li's men found it difficult to sort out just who was visiting the Communist lair under their noses.⁶² Later the melodramatic novel and movie *Red Crag* (*Hong yan*) made much of the Nationalist secret service's ineptitude, while paradoxically portraying MSB (or its successor, the Bureau to Preserve Secrets) as a cruel and redoubtable enemy organization responsible for numerous victims' deaths.⁶³

Part of the message of *Red Crag* was the exposure of Juntong's U.S. backers, embodied in the ominous presence of the American "Special Advisor," who stood behind the scenes of torture as a figure determined "to squeeze fat out of human bones."⁶⁴ That anti-American message in turn blended

with a conviction of indomitable Communist victory, consonant with the Korean War fever of the early 1950s. As the novel's hero, Xu Yunfeng, tells Mao Renfeng, "Armed with Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the invincible Chinese people and the Communist Party will wipe out all reactionaries, including your pack of Yankee-nurtured secret agents!"⁶⁵

COMMUNIST SECURITY

The government-run arsenals were under special scrutiny by the MSB, which controlled the Guard and Investigation Department (Jingwei jichachu) of the army's ordnance section.⁶⁶ Consequently, underground Communist activists devised elaborate recognition devices and codes—similar to secret society cues—to maintain communication with one other. Triangular handkerchiefs, square pieces of cloth folded into three, white bands under wristwatches, and special greetings (clasping the left elbow with one hand while extending the right to form the symbol for eight, touching the nape of one's neck or the lobe of the ear, and so forth) were all used by CCP supporters to inspire each other to "fight to the death, never be taken prisoner . . . , not consider your parents, simply follow the public duty."⁶⁷

These were all weapons of the weak under Chiang's sprawling police state. But as much as CCP members conscientiously formed cells within the factories of Free China, the Communists' highest authorities were far more interested in targeting the state military and security services of the GMD regime. By January 1942, Zhou Enlai—with his Chongqing office open under the Second United Front—claimed to have placed more than five thousand secret agents in Sichuan, Yunnan, and Guizhou.⁶⁸ He and Kang Sheng had also managed to infiltrate Chiang's intelligence and counterespionage units at the highest level.⁶⁹ Nationalist lieutenant general Yan Baohang, at the head of his own espionage ring under Zhou and Kang, was a chief military strategist for Chiang Kai-shek.⁷⁰ General Yan provided Moscow with details of Hitler's Barbarossa Operation; he filmed the Chinese military's entire battle of order of the Japanese in Manchuria; and he informed Stalin of Japan's impending attack upon Pearl Harbor.⁷¹

In another stunning penetration, Zhang Luping's infiltration of Juntong communications exposed hundreds of radio stations and thousands of Juntong operators to the CCP—a debacle that at the time may even have propelled Dai Li toward an alliance with the Americans in search of better counterespionage measures.⁷² One of the most notable cases of infiltration occurred later, during the final stage of the Civil War. At the time of the Huaihai Campaign, the Anhui station of Juntong (now renamed the Baomiju) was directed by Tang Yukun.⁷³ One of the chief units under his command was the Juntong office at Zhengyangguan, where its supervisor,

Liu Huisheng, was engaged in bringing together local peace preservation corps and miscellaneous military units to form the 110th Army under the control of Liao Yunsheng, a Whampoa graduate.⁷⁴

Tang suspected Liao might be disloyal and so ordered Liu Huisheng to keep a close watch over him. Liu promptly informed Liao Yunsheng of Juntong's surveillance. At the same time, Liu Huisheng himself was approached by a Communist intelligence officer, Zhang Gongxia, who induced Liu to switch sides and persuade Liao Yunsheng to secretly defect.⁷⁵ Thereafter, Liu Huisheng regularly provided Juntong intelligence reports to CCP underground agents, transferred radio equipment to insurgent mountain guerrillas, and through Liao Yunsheng managed to keep the 110th Army out of armed conflict with Communist forces.⁷⁶

CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S DOMESTIC FOES

Dai Li and his men were thus wary of conspiracies within the regime itself. The most dramatic of these occurred in December 1943, when the Generalissimo was in Cairo. A group of young generals plotted not only to overthrow Chiang but to depose He Yingqin, Dai Li, H. H. Kung, the Chen brothers, and senior officials particularly known for their corruption and ineptitude. Dai Li's agents got wind of the scheme before the cabal could act. The collusion was said to involve between two and six hundred officers. Sixteen generals were consequently executed.⁷⁷

At the height of his power in 1944, Dai Li—in addition to being full director of the Military Statistics Bureau—controlled the following organs: the Second Department (Di'er ting) of the Garrison Command (Junling bu); the Sixth Group (Diliu zu) of the President's Escort Office (Shicongshi); the Guards Group (Jingwei zu); the Special Inspection Department (Tejianchu) of the Military Affairs Commission; the Unified Control Department of Water and Land Communications (Shuilu jiaotong tongyi jiancha chu) of the MAC; the Police Guards Control Department (Jingwei jicha chu) of the Ordnance Office (Bingong shu); the Special Operations Army (Biedong jun) of the MAC; the Loyal and Patriotic Army of the MAC; the police stations, police training units, and checkpoints of each province, city, and locale throughout "Free China"; the Southwestern Transport Police Department (Xi'nan yunshu jingwu chu) of the MAC; military attachés and assistant military attachés attached to each embassy; and the Chinese Police Study Association (Zhongguo jingcha xuehui).⁷⁸

By the spring of 1944 Dai Li was not only anticipating civil war with the Communists; he was actively making preparations to reassert central government authority in north China by recruiting puppet officials to fight against the CCP once the Japanese were defeated.⁷⁹ According to the U.S.

State Department, "General Dai is reliably quoted as stating that the communist question is of more importance than that of Japan insofar as China is concerned."⁸⁰

As far as the American military authorities were aware, the most worrisome aspect of Dai's determination was the possibility that Miles's SACO arms were being used against the Communists. This concern was supported by a growing awareness in Chongqing that Miles had coupled his personal feud against the OSS with Dai Li's claim that the Office of Strategic Services was collaborating with the CCP. In July, for example, Miles accused the OSS of air-dropping submachine guns to "Communist plainclothesmen" in Shanghai.⁸¹ He also insisted that a perusal of Dai Li's intelligence files proved that American Foreign Service officers such as John Carter Vincent "were sacrificing the Chinese Nationalists and were not acting in the best interests of . . . the United States."⁸²

This concern about SACO intervention in China's imminent civil war was also fueled by Yan'an's complaints that the Nationalists were turning lend-lease arms against them.

Before late summer 1944 [the Communists'] complaints [that the U.S. was turning lend-lease arms against them] were almost certainly pure invention intended to forestall any such diversion of lendlease. But by late summer 1944, Navy Group, China, benefitting by the increased flow of tonnage over the hump, began to receive several tons a month of hump tonnage. . . . Navy Group, China, worked closely with General Dai Li's secret police, and Wedemeyer believed they had issued supplies without accounting for them.⁸³

According to the official U.S. Army history of the war:

In June 1945 the Communists again complained about the misuse of lend-lease. Ambassador Hurley thought that Yan'an was mischievously trying to stir up civil war, but Wedemeyer's G5 believed otherwise, persuading their commander to investigate the possibility "that Navy Group, China, had joined in the emerging Chinese civil war."⁸⁴ General Wedemeyer subsequently appointed a board of representatives of G1, G2, G3, and Navy Group, China, under the chairmanship of G5.⁸⁵

The board reported on August 22 that there was no "satisfactory evidence" that Navy Group, China, personnel had been deployed alongside Nationalist or "loyal patriotic troops" against the Communists, though they "may [have been] used in engagements if the Communists interfered with operations of the units against the Japanese."⁸⁶ The board went on to note, however, that American equipment had been used "at least defensively" against the Communists, that equipment had been furnished to Dai Li under other than lend-lease procedures, and that no adequate record currently existed of the transfers made.⁸⁷

SECRET SERVICE REPRESSION IN SOUTHWESTERN CHINA

A series of demonstrations and riots erupted throughout February 1945 in Chongqing. Dai Li and the Chen brothers were determined to suppress them ruthlessly. Nationalist secret police forces raided CCP headquarters, disrupted meetings held to celebrate the work of the People's Political Consultative Conference, and physically assaulted members of the liberal Chinese Democratic League (*Zhongguo minzhu tongmeng*).⁸⁸

In the eyes of Democratic League leaders like Luo Longji, Dai Li's forces were pitted against the rising force of civil society. "The struggle of the Chinese people to free themselves of secret police, local corruption and oppression, and impositions on their right to freedom of speech, assembly, press, etc., will be a long and hard one. . . . Organizations for safeguarding civil liberties are now springing up in many of the large cities of China. . . . Organizations such as these will undoubtedly grow more widespread through the country as time goes on, but the secret police may simultaneously grow more daring and ruthless. The reactionaries and their secret police are now beginning their last stand, but in the end they will be swept away by the irresistible forces of history and the people's will."⁸⁹

One of the most prominent members of the Chinese Democratic League was Li Gongpu, who had been a passionate supporter of the "seven gentlemen" (*qi junzi*) arrested on November 22, 1936, for opposing Chiang Kai-shek's *annei rangwai* policy. Li had continued his anti-Chiang activities in Kunming during the war and was regarded by the right wing of the Guomindang as a "left-wing trouble-making element" (*zuoqing de daoluan fenzi*). Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province, was by 1945–46 a hotbed of radical student activism because warlord Long Yun refused to obey Chiang's directives to crack down on the liberals, because the Democratic League was unusually strong in Yunnan, and because there was an unusually large number of students attending the four universities in exile there that made up Southwest United University (*Xinan lianda*). The reaction of the liberals, therefore, was explosive when, on the evening of July 11, 1946, gunmen shot down Li Gongpu on the streets of Kunming.⁹⁰

CHIANG'S LOSS OF LEGITIMACY

As protests spread throughout the province, and indeed all over China, the regime prepared to transfer the Second Army from Dali to help Huo Kaizhang (commander of the Yunnan garrison) put down the movement. The wisest counsel would have been to attempt to assuage the liberal left, and Chiang Kai-shek may well have contemplated that course of action from his summer retreat on Lushan. But by now Dai Li would be dead, and the

various branches of his roguish secret services increasingly out of control. At one o'clock on the afternoon of July 15, a funeral ceremony was held for Li Gongpu in the main auditorium of Yunnan University. The major organizer of the mournful commemoration was Wen Yiduo, poet, professor, and deputy of the Democratic League. After the ceremony was over, Wen Yiduo held a press conference at the offices of *Minzhu zhouban* (Democratic Weekly). There he openly accused Chiang Kai-shek of plotting the assassination himself.⁹¹

A little after five Wen Yiduo and his son, Wen Lihe, left the press conference to return to their home in the Southwest University teachers' residential compound at Xicangpo. By the gateway to the complex four men lurking in ambush shot Wen Yiduo in the head. His son threw himself across the poet's body, and he too was hit by a bullet. The assailants fled in a jeep parked nearby.⁹²

The nation was shocked. Perhaps no other single postwar incident did more to galvanize elite public opinion against Chiang Kai-shek's regime than Wen Yiduo's heinous murder, the repercussions of which extended even to the U.S. Navy, which was accused of supplying Dai Li's onetime thugs with specially silenced weapons.⁹³ Even Chiang Kai-shek realized that his assassins had gone too far, which is why within days he began sending senior military figures into Kunming to conduct damage control.⁹⁴

The key investigators were Juntong officials themselves: Tang Zong, chief of the General Department of Police Affairs (Juntong ju jingcha zongshu shuzhang); and Cheng Yiming, head of the Investigation Department (Jichachu) of the Song-Hu Garrison Command's police division. From the very start of the investigation Tang Zong made it clear to Cheng Yiming that he was not to look into the assassination of Li Gongpu, which strongly suggests that Chiang Kai-shek had ordered that killing himself.⁹⁵

The key to the investigation was the jeep, which had left at the murder scene tire impressions and at least one witness who had noted the number of its license plate. Cheng Yiming quickly determined that the assassination had been perpetrated by four agents from the Investigation Department (Jichachu) of the Yunnan Garrison Command. The team chief was an agent named Xiong Guangfu, and he had been acting under the direct orders of the garrison commander, Huo Kuizhang.⁹⁶

Cheng Yiming dutifully reported his conclusions to Tang Zong in a meeting at the Juntong (now the Baomiju) guesthouse. Tang remained lost in thought for some time, then finally asked, "What do you think I ought to do about this case?" Cheng suggested two courses of action. First, the "old man" (*lao xiansheng*) should be told that the case had been broken, and that the four assassins were all soldiers. Hence the proceeding should be assigned to the military police for investigation and prosecution. Second, since Tang

Zong was both a fellow townsman and a Whampoa classmate of Huo Kuizhang, he should ask General Huo to report his involvement directly to Chiang via the Baomiju transmitting station.⁹⁷

Once the case was in the hands of the military police it fell under MP commander Zhang Zhen's purview. General Zhang agreed to assume full responsibility for the matter and suggested the following cover story. Two military policemen whose duty it was to protect the Generalissimo had attended Li Gongpu's funeral and the ensuing press conference. They were supposedly so outraged when they heard Wen Yiduo attack the *guojia yuan-shou* (head of state) in person that they followed Professor Wen home, drew their pistols, and shot him. Chief of Staff Gu Zhutong was asked to communicate with Chiang at Lushan and get his permission for this ruse. When the Generalissimo agreed, the military police released the names of two of their soldiers, Li Wenshan and Tang Shiliang, as the assassins, and called for their public trial.⁹⁸

This was the story that was released to the public by the Central News Agency on August 25 and that led to the execution of the two MPs for Wen Yiduo's murder. Ultimately, however, Chiang Kai-shek failed to be reassured by this deception, fearing that the conspiracy might ultimately unravel and unmask his role. To forestall exposure, the real murderers were placed under house arrest, Huo Kuizhang was dismissed as Yunnan garrison commander, and Kunming police chief Gong Shaoxia was forced to retire.⁹⁹ Yet all of this backing and filling failed to erase the public memory of Wen Yiduo's martyrdom by a cruel and tyrannical regime, illegitimately ruled by secret policemen whom the Generalissimo could barely restrain.¹⁰⁰

Chapter 25

Falling Star

*Seasoned plans and master moves;
All's divinely done.*

L O G A N ONG, Three Kingdoms, 11

FEAR AND PARANOIA

Diana Lary has singled out the ubiquitous sense of personal insecurity as a primary cause of political instability in Republican China.

In his fumbling way, Chiang Kai-shek identified internal insecurity as China's key problem, hence his insistence on going after the Communists. He failed, however, to identify the key cause of insecurity—not Communist agitation, but an uncontrolled and unpredictable military. His failure to change the climate of insecurity . . . kept much of the Chinese population hostages to fear.¹

The fascinating but chilling dread of wartime espionage, when added onto the many-layered foundation of covert conflict between the Nationalists and Communists during the Nanjing decade, created a legacy of fear and suspicion that approached paranoia. Indeed, it is difficult to comprehend how plausible the tales of Nationalist intrigue were during the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution of 1966–76—when so many were detained, beaten, and even killed as enemy “spies”—without visualizing the long background of espionage and counterespionage that engrossed the Chinese during the 1930s and 1940s.²

The police dog played a persistent role in the imaginary of terror and counterterror.³ It was Dai Li, a “hound and horse” himself, who first brought American-trained German shepherd police dogs into China, and the image of the snarling canine thereafter infiltrated cinema and television portrayals of the secret police. In a movie about the Communist underground in Jiangxi during the 1930s, the Ganzhou secret police chief uses an attack dog to try to track down two CCP agents responsible for killing a Guomindang stool pigeon. The police dog is allowed to sniff the dagger used in the murder before it is taken into a bathhouse where the Communist agent man-

ages to smother his scent by bathing in a steam room and later soaking himself in wine. And in a segment from “Four Generations under One Roof” (*Sì shì tong tang*), the Lao She television drama popular in the 1980s, the Japanese *kempeitai* (military police) in Beijing use a police dog to arrest a resistance hero. The dog is shown viciously attacking the patriotic resister.

To the Communists in Yan’an, the campaigns against subversion were both a legitimate response to Dai Li’s persecution and an effective vehicle for mass compliance and party unification within the CCP itself.⁴ Chairman Mao’s rectification campaign of 1942–43 was stimulated by the trauma of the case of Wang Shiwei, who was accused of being an enemy agent. As the campaign spread within the party’s lower ranks and eventually spilled over into the public, common citizens came to believe that they existed in a world peopled with spies and secret agents, including even themselves. That is, more than 90 percent of the individuals who initially confessed their guilt at mass counterespionage rallies during the Yan’an campaign were—and this is according to the Communists themselves—innocent of the charges.⁵

DAI LI AND THE DIXIE MISSION

Fear of conspiracies infected U.S. policies in wartime China as well. During the last year of the war the OSS submitted a plan to General Donovan to arm Yan’an’s Chinese Communist guerrillas to fight the Japanese.⁶ Colonel David Barrett was ordered to present the Army’s proposal to Mao.⁷ Richard Heppner, head of the OSS in China, assigned his deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Willis Bird, to take the plan to Yan’an, where he and Barrett arrived on December 15, 1944, as commanders of the “Dixie Mission.” Shortly afterwards Dai Li got wind of the plan, and Miles was ready to brief Hurley about this clandestine contact when the American ambassador visited Happy Valley in January 1945.⁸

During Hurley’s visit to SACO headquarters, where the ambassador was greeted with pomp and circumstance while being entertained at dinner by Dai Li, Miles persuaded the Oklahoma oilman that a massive conspiracy was being undertaken by U.S. State Department officers to send American troops and weapons to the Communists.⁹ Miles also offered the ambassador the use of SACO’s Navy radio communications link with Washington in order to bypass the American embassy in Chongqing, which was presumably infiltrated by fellow travelers determined to defeat Chiang Kai-shek. On January 15, 1945, Hurley reported to President Roosevelt that he had learned from SACO and Dai Li that there was a plan to use U.S. paratroopers to lead Communist guerrillas.¹⁰ In the ambassador’s opinion this amounted to recognition of the Communists and approval of their objective to destroy the Nationalist regime.¹¹ Hurley’s further denunciation of the Foreign Service “China hands” who argued for a more even-handed policy

toward the two sides thus presaged the Cold War to come.¹² According to Robert Smith, historian of the OSS:

The Generalissimo congratulated Hurley on having “purged the United States headquarters of the conspirators.” And a purge did follow. Colonel Barrett was denied a promotion to brigadier general. State Department officers John Davies and John Service were soon “Hurleyed” out of China. Only OSS emerged unscathed, perhaps because General Donovan reached the Chinese capital in time to mollify the angry Hurley.¹³

General Wedemeyer, in the meantime, ordered all officers in the China Theater not to assist, negotiate, or collaborate with Chinese political parties in any way whatsoever.¹⁴

AFTER THE JAPANESE SURRENDER

On the eve of the Japanese surrender Dai Li and Miles left Chongqing for Zhejiang, where they set up an advanced SACO headquarters at Chun'an under Mao Sen.¹⁵ Dai Li's practice in Zhejiang was to use puppet troops to maintain order in the province.¹⁶ He did this by employing the authority of the Military Affairs Commission to appoint former collaborators such as Ding Mocun (governor of Zhejiang under the Wang Jingwei regime), Zhou Fohai (vice president of the puppet executive yuan), and Li Junlong (mayor of Shanghai) officers responsible for maintaining “local law and order” (*difang zhian*) in the province.¹⁷ At the same time,

the American side agreed with the Military Statistics Bureau to move all of the special services armed military units to the southeastern region and then rush to seize major cities such as Hangzhou, Shanghai, and Nanjing. The students then in the special police training courses of SACO were to be concentrated in Beiping and Shanghai, and changed into special police units *tejingban* The special services armed military units belonging to SACO were divided up and redesignated communications police troops *jiaojing budui*, which later participated in the Civil War.¹⁸

SACO military elements under Wang Lepo, Chen Anglin, and Ruan Qingyuan were poised to enter Hangzhou and Shanghai the moment the enemy surrendered.¹⁹

Once Japan capitulated, these units, along with forces under the Chongming pirate Zhang Guifeng, moved into Shanghai to “sanitize” the city.²⁰ The advanced SACO headquarters was thereupon moved to 7 Avenue Doumer in the former French Concession and put under the nominal command of Dai Li and the actual control of his deputy Li Chongshi. This entrenchment took place just as Nationalist general Tang Enbo's Third Army consolidated its formal occupation of China's largest city.²¹

The same general pattern occurred in north China, where Dai Li moved quickly to prevent units of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army from accepting the surrender of Japanese troops.²² Juntong officials in the Huabei MSB such as Wen Qiang, Zhang Zhenwu, and Chen Xianzhou were given the power to appoint puppet military commanders to special positions to take over territory from the Japanese and preserve local order.²³ Dai Li also met the Nationalist minister of communications, banker Zhang Jia'ao, in Beiping on December 3–4, 1945, to plan for the reorganization of twenty-five thousand members of his Loyal and Patriotic Army into railroad police to monitor and control the communications network of the northeast.²⁴

THE NORTHEASTERN DEPARTMENT

Early in 1946 Wen Qiang was assigned to serve as chief of the Northeastern Administrative Department (Dongbei banshichu) of Juntong, which operated under the cover of the Northeastern Field Headquarters Inspectorate (Dongbei xingyuan duchachu).²⁵ As a core group, it worked closely with Li Zongren, who was then serving as chief of the Chinese Nationalist War Zone headquarters in Beiping.²⁶ The Northeastern Department's jurisdiction extended from Beiping and Shanhaiguan all the way to Jinzhou and Xincheng. This was a particularly critical post because both Nationalist and Communist military commanders were racing to seize Chengde in order to take over Shenyang.²⁷ The Guomindang won that particular contest, and once Shenyang was theirs Dai Li proceeded to set up a branch of the Northeastern Department under the public rubric of the Oriental Cultural Research Society, which was ostensibly headed by a former president of Northeastern Zhongzheng University but directly controlled by Wen Qiang.²⁸ All Japanese defectors to Juntong reported to this unit, which provided them with identity cards, passports, and travel documents.²⁹

The Shenyang branch office of the MSB also controlled a secret communications unit—the Special Research Society (Teyanhui)—that employed more than twenty Japanese cryptanalysts who had served in the Imperial Army's expeditionary headquarters monitoring Communist communications from Yan'an.³⁰ Captured in Beiping, they were transferred to Shenyang and housed behind the old East Asia Cigarette Factory (Dongya yancao gongchang) on Heping Road.³¹ Their radio antenna on the north side of Zhongshan Park was tuned to Yan'an, yet they were in the end unable to break the PLA codes, despite their interception of hundreds of wireless transmissions. Wen Qiang (who was temporarily recalled to Beiping in June 1946 after Dai Li's death) eventually ordered the unit closed down, and he sent the Japanese cryptographers back to their home islands.³²

Though a fair portion of the Northeast Department's energy was devoted

to countering the Communists, most of their effort was directed toward recruiting Japanese residents and prisoners of war in Manchuria as intelligence agents.³³ The Japanese Management (Ri guan) office, which was part of the Japanese and Korean Affairs Group (Ri-Han zu) within the Northeast Department, was ostensibly a repatriation office. However, it encompassed a secret service organ headed by Liu Zhize and Zhang Rui, who had managed to entice out of hiding the chief Japanese intelligence officer in Manchuria, Fukuda Tokujiro.³⁴

At the time, it was believed that as many as 100,000 members of the Kwantung Army were ensconced in the Changbai Mountains; and a special office, the Japanese Army Surrender Unit (Ri jun zhaoxiang zu), was opened in Baoan to repatriate them. Under its aegis General Fukuda organized a Japanese work team that actually went into the hills in search of errant Japanese military units whom they hoped to persuade to surrender. In October 1946 Wen Qiang also formed a vanguard military liaison group composed of intelligence teams from Juntong, Zhongtong, Sanqingtuan (Three People's Principles Youth Corps), and the Guoji wenti yanjiusuo (International Research Center). This liaison group not only supervised a Japanese special services team that supplemented General Fukuda's work in the Changbai Mountains; it also arranged for a number of Japanese war criminals to be released to work on the side of Nationalist intelligence.³⁵

A key figure in this arrangement was Niizato Ichiro, who was contacted by Zhang Rui in Shenyang. Niizato was the Manchurian representative of the Imperial Family Alliance, a royalist group dominated by the emperor's younger brother and claiming the allegiance of many members of the Kwantung Army who remained in hiding in the Changbai Mountains. Niizato not only made known to Wen Qiang some of the units' locations; he also entertained with him the possibility of using surrendered Japanese troops against the Communists in Manchuria.³⁶

A final element in the plan to establish close connections with the Japanese was to found a Tokyo branch of the Nationalist Party (Ribei Guomindang). In July 1946 Juntong sent a number of Japanese agents back to Tokyo to form an Oriental Cultural Research Association (Toho bunka kenkyujo) as a front for this operation. Ultimately, the MSB hoped to establish its own Chinese Liaison Office in Occupied Japan with Zhang Rui serving as its military attaché. Because of the Nationalist defeat in the Civil War, these plans came to naught.³⁷

EXONERATION

As early as January 1944 the Chongqing government hinted that "in extenuating circumstances" members of the Wang Jingwei regime might receive a pardon.³⁸ The most salient example of this clemency was Chiang Kai-shek's

sparing Zhou Fohai's life by changing his death sentence to life imprisonment on March 26, 1947. Zhou died less than a year later in Nanjing's Tiger Bridge (Laohuqiao) Prison, but he had earned those extra eleven months of existence by dint of having helped Dai Li during the war while also maintaining order in the lower Yangzi region once the Japanese surrendered.³⁹

During the initial settlement of wartime debts, Dai Li personally exonerated a number of prominent collaborators, including several notorious secret agents who had served the puppet intelligence service.⁴⁰ In some cases, such as the incarcerated Manchukuo movie star Li Xianglan, he simply treated them with "tenderness" by granting them special privileges.⁴¹ In other instances, he used SACO to fly them into exile in America.⁴² One of his most notorious interventions involved the Cantonese *hanjian* (traitors) associated with Wang Jingwei's widow, Chen Bijun. These collaborators, all local senators, had been incarcerated by He Yingqin at the behest of other Guangdong legislators who exposed their treachery.⁴³ Claiming that they were "underground heroes" (*dixia yingxiong*) who had made "signal contributions" (*feng gong weiji*) to the secret war of resistance, Dai Li transferred the *hanjian* to a Juntong guesthouse where they were "jailed" in luxurious surroundings and were neither tried nor punished.⁴⁴ In the end, about 2,720 civilian and military leaders of the Wang Jingwei regime were executed. Another 2,300 were sentenced to life imprisonment.⁴⁵

DAI LI, MILES, AND THE COLD WAR

SACO was formally dissolved on March 1, 1946, by an agreement between Pan Qiwu and the American chief of staff. All materiel was to be turned over to Juntong, while the Americans also promised to transport MSB armed units as quickly as possible to the southeastern station in order to occupy Shanghai and northern Zhejiang. The Americans also consented to ship three thousand tons of military equipment from Okinawa to Qinhuangdao while conveying graduates of SACO's police training units to staff the Nanjing, Tianjin, and Beiping police forces. As Miles supposedly said to Dai Li, "The Japanese enemy is finished, but we still want to help China win a victory over yet another vicious enemy," that is, the Communists.⁴⁶

Dai Li, meanwhile, was very jaundiced when it came to the peace talks being led by General Marshall. The crucial question in the end, he said, was relative military strength. Yan'an knew this as well as Chongqing, and the Americans were naive to believe otherwise. In that respect the Communists were at an advantage because they were better able to soft-soap their position vis-à-vis foreigners. "The Communist Party's soft skills *ruangongfu* are stronger than their hard skills *yinggongfu*," which meant that they were better able to influence foreign public opinion.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, the American public was coming increasingly to champion

Chiang Kai-shek as “Free China’s” last best hope, his domestic slippage notwithstanding. When the Cold War intensified, the participation of Navy Group, China in Dai Li’s anti-Communist activities became a badge of honor, and Milton Miles began to sound more and more like a character out of *Terry and the Pirates*.

Writing ten years after the Korean War truce, Roy Stratton described purported leaflets (none of which seems to have survived) circulated throughout Asia during the struggle with Japan offering “a million dollars—dead or alive” to officials, police, and underworld elements to track down SACO’s leaders, who were the enemies of both Communism and the Japanese:

The hunters were the Japanese Army and Chinese Communist forces. The hunted were Lieutenant General Dai Li, chief of Nationalist China’s secret police, and his Yankee deputy, Captain (later Vice Admiral, Retired) Milton E. Miles. . . . Between them with a hundred thousand guerrillas, twenty-five thousand pirates, and three thousand American technicians and instructors, the Chinese general and the American captain were giving the Japanese and Chinese Communists a rough time. Along with General Claire Chennault, they headed the list of those condemned to death by Tojo and Mao Zedong.⁴⁸

POSITIONING

During the spring of 1946 rumors of Dai Li’s plans abounded. Some believed that he would continue to be a loyal servitor of Chiang Kai-shek. Others thought he might retire to his home in Zhejiang to satisfy his mother. Yet a third rumor held that he would undertake his favorite extracareer interest by heading a project to dredge the Yellow River.⁴⁹ None of these rumors would ever be verified. What was certain, however, was that Chiang Kai-shek was planning to hold a conference of his secret service chiefs to sort out the postwar roles and functions of each of the government’s clandestine branches. Dai Li, who had on more than one occasion come close to being “allowed” to commit suicide by the Generalissimo, fell into a deep depression at this prospect.⁵⁰ Dai was convinced that Chiang meant to use the meeting to abolish Juntong.⁵¹ As Dai told one of his closest associates, *ban jun ru ban hu* (companying with a prince is like companying with a tiger).⁵²

Hence, in anticipation of this summit meeting of Chiang and his intelligence directors, Dai Li launched a hurried campaign to muster allies throughout the country and even abroad. On February 12, 1946, General Dai took off from Chongqing in a C-47 to fly to Shanghai, Suzhou, Nanjing, Beiping, Ji’nan, and Qingdao, ostensibly to “purge traitors” (*sujian*) but actually in order to drum up support from key military figures such as He Yingqin for the showdown to come.⁵³

The U.S. Navy constituted his main foreign support, of course.⁵⁴ In fact,

some of the Navy's leading staff officers wished to promote Dai Li's candidacy for the chief of the Chinese admiralty.⁵⁵ Admiral Cook of the Seventh Fleet more or less said as much when he was greeted by Dai Li in Beiping in March 1946.⁵⁶ Dai Li consequently expended a great deal of effort on Cook's visit, ordering his officers to arrange for special Chinese naval uniforms (dutifully turned out by Shanghai tailors), a guided tour of the Forbidden City, and parties hosted by attractive dancing partners fluent in English.⁵⁷

Yet even as these preparations were underway in early March, Dai Li received a telegram from Chiang Kai-shek, forwarded by Mao Renfeng, formally enclosing the guest list of the forthcoming meeting: Xuan Tiewu, Li Shizhen, Huang Zhenwu, Chen Zhuo, Ye Xiufeng, Zheng Jiemin, Tang Zong, and Dai Li himself. Of the seven other invitees, three—Xuan Tiewu, Li Shizhen, and Huang Zhenwu—were longtime rivals of General Dai.⁵⁸ Moreover, there was also a notation on the back of the telegram stating that during the Chongqing meeting, Xuan Tiewu, Li Shizhen, and Huang Zhenwu would “pummel the devil” (*daogui*). The note was signed “Yi Yan,” one of Mao Renfeng's noms de guerre.⁵⁹

Why was Li Shizhen's name listed before Dai Li's? Was not Xuan Tiewu an absolutely irreconcilable (*bugong daitian*) enemy of Dai's? And were not Li, Xuan, and Huang all “elder brothers” (*lao dage*), being graduates of the first or second class of Whampoa, whereas Dai was their junior as a member of the sixth class? These questions plagued Dai Li as he called for his aide, Wen Qiang, to join him at his Beiping residence for a special evening meeting.⁶⁰

Wen Qiang found his boss in a state of fury. Dai Li showed Wen the telegram and then, beating his breast, he shouted:

I have toiled and labored outside, hard and bitterly, with all my heart [devoted] to the country and to the *xiaozhang* [chancellor]. I never would have thought that there would be people taking advantage of this to pummel the devil out of me, dropping stones on me when I have fallen into a well, planning to cook my goose. Family members drawing swords on each other—this is really a hell of a bamboozle. Please prepare a cable in response from me. Tell [Chiang Kai-shek] I'm in the midst of settling cases of purging traitors in the [Bei]ping, [Tian]jin, and Ning-Hu [Nanjing and Shanghai] areas. The situation is critical and no one can do it in my stead. Please extend the time limit by half a month before our return to Yu [Chongqing].⁶¹

Calming down, Dai went on to tell Wen Qiang, “At the same time, it needs to convey the opinion that if Xuan Tiewu, Li Shizhen, and Huang Zhenwu are [conspiring to] pummel the devil they'll have to expose themselves [as conspirators to Chiang Kai-shek, who continually inveighed against factions]. But couch it in words that are tactful and mild. Don't reveal any trace

of the extent of our struggle with the others.”⁶² Then Dai Li asked Wen Qiang to show him a draft of the message before it was sent off, and ordered him not to tell anyone else in Juntong about these events.⁶³

As Wen Qiang took down Dai Li’s dictation he pondered the significance of the Generalissimo’s telegram. These were redoubtable enemies, not only of Dai Li but also potentially of Chiang himself. Was Chiang even capable of withstanding the three “elder brothers” along with Chen Zhuo, who had been more or less an equal of Chiang Kai-shek until the latter forged ahead after Sun Yat-sen’s death? And why were Zheng Jiemin and Tang Zong not informed about this matter of “pummeling the devil”? Was Mao Renfeng, Dai Li’s fellow townsman from Jiangshan, deliberately keeping them out of the loop so that he and Dai could draw together into a defensive circle?⁶⁴

Wen did not dare voice these thoughts to Dai, but he did feel emboldened to say that the only way to get through this kind of crisis was “to retreat in order to advance.” Dai Li asked him what he meant by this, and Wen Qiang answered by saying that the Generalissimo had thrice chosen this tactic when he “went into the wilds” (*xiaye*) by strategically retiring from office in order to weather a crisis (*nanguan*). There were various ways for Dai Li to accomplish the same goal, especially since a civil war was about to erupt. If Dai were to take a trip to the United States, and the Americans were to prove to be unreliable allies in the event of an armed struggle with the Communists, then Chiang would have to ask Dai Li back, his value to the regime having increased ten- or a hundredfold.⁶⁵

As Wen Qiang spoke, Dai Li gradually broke into a smile. When Wen had finished and was being escorted out of the general’s residence, Dai said, “My brother *laoxiong* has spoken well and this deserves to be taken into consideration, but don’t mention this to anyone else.” Wen answered by saying that if Dai Li did plan to leave the country, he hoped the general would not forget to take him along. Dai Li laughed loudly but did not answer.⁶⁶

THE DEATH OF DAI LI

Dai Li may well have taken Wen Qiang’s suggestion into consideration, but not only was there insufficient time for a trip to America before the projected meeting in Chongqing;⁶⁷ Dai was eager to hurry back to Shanghai to see if his mistress Hu Die’s divorce certificate had been filed so that he and the movie star could marry.⁶⁸ He also planned to fly from Shanghai to Chongqing to strip Li Shizhen of his power over the Central Police Officers Academy and to prepare to preside over the first postwar commemoration of the founding of Juntong on April 1. On March 16, Dai Li took Aero-nautics Commission Flight 222 from Beiping to Tianjin, where he spent the night.⁶⁹ The next day, however, the weather turned bad. Ignoring his pilot’s misgivings, Dai Li insisted they pump on extra fuel at Qingdao and take off

for Shanghai.⁷⁰ If the weather there was inclement they would proceed on to Nanjing and, if necessary, all the way to Chongqing. In addition to Dai Li and the crew there were eight other people aboard: Gong Xianhang, the head of Juntong's Personnel Department;⁷¹ Jin Yupo, a graduate of the General Staff School now assigned to the MSB; Ma Peiheng, a translator who had studied literature at Hong Kong University; three bodyguards; one code clerk; and a friend of Dai Li's named Huang Shunbo. Flight 222 took off from Qingdao at 9:45 the morning of March 17, 1946.⁷²

By the time they were airborne, the pilot, who was flying without radar, learned that Shanghai airport was socked in with a big rainstorm. He changed course for Nanjing, but the heavy rain and lightning front had reached there as well. The air force sent four planes up to try to guide him in, but the cloud cover was so low that the rescuers failed to locate Flight 222. The pilot managed to send two more messages that were picked up by the Aeronautical Commission's radio receiver: first, that Flight 222 was turning back, and second, that it was going to attempt a landing at Nanjing after all. At 1:13 the plane transmitted that they were commencing their descent. Then the radio went dead.⁷³

The village of Daishan nestles in the shadows of Ma'anshan (Horse Saddle Mountain) in Jiangning county about twenty *li* from Banqiao zhen, southwest of Nanjing. Early on the afternoon of March 17 the rain-streaked sky was bleak and gloomy, with dark clouds scudding across the forested hills. Shortly after lunch the villagers of Daishan heard the sound of an airplane flying much lower than usual across an area where the trees stood about ten meters (*san zhang*) tall. Moments later nearby inhabitants saw the aircraft crash into a tree, careen another two hundred meters, and explode against the top of the mountain with a huge boom as it burst into flames.⁷⁴

There was evidently no way for the Daishan villagers to report the accident immediately to Nanjing. Nevertheless, the authorities there suspected the worst. As soon as the weather began to clear, the Aeronautics Commission, China Airways, and the American Navy all sent up airplanes to make a coordinated search. It was the American aircraft that spotted the wreckage of Flight 222 near Daishan at 8 .⁷⁵ The Juntong team that arrived at Daishan later that evening easily found the remnants of the airplane at Horse Saddle Mountain, but there were no survivors.⁷⁶

News of the accident was hushed up for five days. Not until March 22, after Li Chongshi, Juntong's chief of staff, had a chance to investigate the scene of the crash, was Dai Li's possible death announced. *Dagongbao* was particularly cautious about drawing a definite conclusion:

In regard to the army plane which took off from Qingdao on the 17th instant and which was found to have been crashed near Nanjing, Li Chongshi, chief

of staff of the Investigation and Statistics Bureau of the National Military Council, arrived here [in Nanjing] from Shanghai yesterday [March 21] to investigate the condition regarding the doomed plane. It was learned that General Dai Li was also in that plane. Thus, a close concern is being felt among all quarters about his safety, but what happened to him has not yet been confirmed by concerned quarters.⁷⁷

Shenbao was less tentative:

As a result of an investigation conducted by a reporter, it was learned that aboard a plane bound for Shanghai from Beiping via Qingdao, which subsequently hit the top of the Ma'anshan hill on the southwestern outskirts of Nanjing and crashed, General Dai Li, director of the Investigation and Statistics Bureau of the National Military Council, was killed. His charred body was already identified and was coffined on the 22nd, it was learned.⁷⁸

In spite of this announcement of Dai Li's accidental death, rumors instantly began to spread to the contrary. There were those who believed, first of all, that his death was no accident.⁷⁹ *Central Daily (Zhongyang ribao)* reported on March 24 that "According to information released by concerned quarters, General Ye Ting, an important leader of the Communist Party who was released not long ago, was also in the plane." During the course of the flight, Ye Ting and Dai Li supposedly got into an argument, drew their pistols, and with the ensuing exchange of shots set the plane on fire.⁸⁰

Others claimed that the plane crash was a case of Communist sabotage.⁸¹ Yet another speculation was that the American OSS had planted a bomb aboard the aircraft.⁸² According to this theory a barometric fuse or "anemometer" was set to go off at five thousand feet of altitude.⁸³ Although he erred in such critical details as the place of origin of Flight 222, Stanley Lovell, inventor of many of the OSS's spy gadgets, firmly believed that Dai Li had been assassinated in this way.

The most hated man in Chiang Kai-shek's government was General Dai Li, the ruthless chief of the secret police, whom even the Chinese called "the Himmeler of China." Assassinations and executions were so common that his name was something to be whispered. When Japan surrendered Dai Li and his staff in Chongqing boarded his plane to fly to Beiping where a great purge of all Chinese who were even rumored to have collaborated with the Japanese was to be organized. Everyone felt this would be a bloodbath without justice. Dai Li's plane, I was later told, had risen about five thousand feet when the tail section exploded.⁸⁴

But by far the most common rumor was that Dai Li had never been aboard the plane at all that day, and thus had faked his own death in order to thwart his enemies.⁸⁵

Lester Walker, in an article in *Harper's* that introduced Dai Li as "China's master spy" to the American public, wrote about the accounts of Dai Li's death:

It was a good story, but no one believed it. The news dispatch was datelined April 1, All Fools' Day. Just ask any Chinese his opinion today and he just laughs. "There is no way," he says, meaning that the Chinese believe it is impossible—that the world's greatest spy master still bears a charmed life and cannot be killed.⁸⁶

But the evidence was overwhelming that the charred remains, missing the right hand and leg in the wreck, were the corpse of Dai Li. Juntong's own investigators confirmed their chief's identity through a distinctive dental plate, woolen underwear shreds, and the thirty-eight caliber snub-nosed automatic pistol that Miles had given him back in Chongqing four years earlier.⁸⁷ As Shen Zui advised General Hu Zongnan, who had suspiciously heeded the public rumors, "We told him that every angle had been investigated and that we had confirmed there hadn't been any kind of a murder plot carried out against him by anyone. It was all because of the weather and the pilot recklessly flying into the mountain and crashing."⁸⁸

AFTERMATH

Reactions to the death of Dai Li, "trusted lieutenant of Generalissimo Chiang," were mixed, though most responded with stunned alarm. Some felt that his passing was a great loss to China; others believed that the accident was heaven's revenge against a man who had established concentration camps (*jizhongying*) as harsh and cruel as Himmler's worst prisons.⁸⁹ While the Central Press Agency published a number of pieces extolling Dai Li's accomplishments on behalf of China during the War of Resistance, other editorial writers pointed out that Dai had extended his terrorist attacks upon the Communists to the people at large.⁹⁰

Chiang Kai-shek was said to have wept when he heard the news. But "liberal and left-wing circles, [while] regretting the death of the patriot and anti-Japanese fighter," hoped that the government would take advantage of this circumstance to abolish or liberalize Juntong, "which has generally been referred to as the Chinese Gestapo."⁹¹ As public demands to "overthrow the secret service" (*dadao tewu*) were trumpeted by the left, the Shanghai journal *Xin wenhua* (New Culture) celebrated a future in which China would return to the rule of the people and an era of peaceful democracy once Dai Li's surviving minions realized that the time had come to lay down their murderous swords and fulfill Buddhahood by glorifying individual freedom instead of suppressing it.⁹²



Figure 25. Zheng Jiemin, Dai Li's successor as director of Juntong. *Chung-Mei he tsuo suo chih* [Annals of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization]. N.p. [Taipei]: Kuo-fang pu ch'ing pao chü, 1970.

Such pious wishes notwithstanding, Dai Li's lieutenants were even then beginning to jockey with one another over the spoils of their master's clandestine empire.⁹³ There was a formal succession, of course. Chiang Kai-shek appointed Zheng Jiemin director of Juntong, with Mao Renfeng and Tang Zong serving as his deputy directors.⁹⁴ But Dai Li was virtually irreplaceable because he had been unwilling to delegate his authority, taking such a personal involvement in so many different areas of responsibility throughout the MSB that no single one of his deputies could step into his shoes. Moreover, Juntong had grown into such a sprawling conglomerate that its individual organizational components—and above all its economic units—had become so decentralized that even Dai Li, with his indefatigable energy, could barely hold them together by war's end.⁹⁵

The deterioration of Dai Li's domination of these armies of the night was manifested in his agents' abusive carpetbagging.⁹⁶ General Li Zongren described the occupation of Beiping in 1946:

One of the most intolerable injustices foisted upon the local populace was the terrorism purposely created by the secret servicemen through their free and casual use of the term "traitor." Their intention in doing this was to squeeze money out of innocent people. Any citizen, whether a shopkeeper or a university professor, could be arrested at a moment's notice merely by being charged with having been a "traitor" who had collaborated with either the Japanese or the puppet government.⁹⁷

After Dai's death other secret services such as Zhongtong rushed to increase their own strength and influence by taking over individual Juntong organs, especially in communications intelligence.⁹⁸ At the same time, the MSB found itself forced to disaggregate many of its commercial activities. Juntong continued directly to maintain public order (*zhian*) and to leash political activities (*minzheng*), but a special "self-support plan" (*ziji jihua*) assigned economic enterprises to a large number of new business firms that were set up by MSB officers. The officers hoped to exploit their secret police connections to cow competitors for personal profit or to confiscate the corporate assets of suspected wartime collaborators.⁹⁹

However, these profiteers, and even higher-up Juntong leaders with extensive field experience who claimed top-ranking perquisites, lacked the personal connections to reknit Dai Li's ties with the underworld allies who had always abetted the secret police's clandestine economic activities.¹⁰⁰ The racketeers in turn lost a powerful friend and patron.¹⁰¹ By the time Du Yuesheng attended Dai's memorial service as a representative of the Shanghai city council, land association, and chamber of commerce, the Green Gang chieftain had already forfeited his political underpinnings. When Du finally left Shanghai in 1949 for Hong Kong it was to save himself and not just "to recuperate his health."¹⁰²

THE BREAKUP OF JUNTONG

As victory over Japan had drawn near, Juntong had already begun to break down into factions.¹⁰³ One major line of cleavage was the old training camp division, especially between the Linxunban and everyone else. Former students of this first MSB class, the "special training unit" first established at Linli in Hunan, regarded themselves as the elite of the secret service ("god's favorite ones," *tian zhi jiaozhi*), and thus were prepared for even more important positions after the war was over.¹⁰⁴ But Dai Li's death in March 1946 left them vulnerable to attack by outsiders, who dropped a number of them from the ranks when Juntong was reduced in force just as postwar inflation was overheating.¹⁰⁵

In self-protection, Zhang Mingxuan, Wu Jusheng, and Li Baochu convened a group of twenty-odd Linxunban graduates that autumn in Chongqing and founded the Lakeside Alumni Club (*Binhu tongxue hui*). Liu Benqin and Deng Yifu recruited another two or three hundred alumni in Nanjing.¹⁰⁶ Although some funds were provided by Shen Zui, whom they wanted to head the club, the graduates' economic survival depended upon their secret police jobs. Shen Zui thus recommended Li Baochu to Mao Renfeng for a position as personnel section chief; Liu Benqin as head of personnel to Tang Zong, chief of the Ministry of Defense's Preserve the

Peace Bureau (Baoanju); and Liu Ziyong to the same position in the Communications Police.¹⁰⁷

Meanwhile, at the very top of what had been a unified Juntong, three provincial factions emerged: a Zhejiang clique headed by Mao Renfeng; a Guangdong faction under Zheng Jiemin, vice minister of defense; and a Hunanese group behind Tang Zong, chief of the Central Police Headquarters (Jingcha zongshu) of the Ministry of Interior.¹⁰⁸ The three competitors could at least agree upon the need to “get a grip on cadres” (*zhua ganbu*) by forbidding other training unit graduates from forming their own alumni clubs. But even though Mao Renfeng formally ordered that there be established a single “unified alumni association” (*tongyi tongxuehui*), he continued to serve as a “patron” (*kaoshan*) of the Lakeside Alumni Club by appointing former Linxunban students as provincial station chiefs: Qian Jilin for Guizhou, Lü Shikun for Chongqing, Dong Shili for Xikang, and so forth.¹⁰⁹

In any case, Juntong’s days were numbered. After losing the mainland, the Nationalist regime reshuffled the secret services. Chiang Kai-shek, after all, had substituted covert and clandestine controls for straightforward rule. Originally under the Military Affairs Commission, Zhongtong had already been renamed the Bureau of Investigation of the Ministry of the Interior (Neizhengbu diaochaju).¹¹⁰ Once on Taiwan, it was designated the Bureau of Investigation of the Judicial Administration (Sifa xingzhengbu diaochaju, or Sidiaoju for short), directed first by Zhang Qing’en and then later by Shen Zhiyue and Ruan Chengzhang. Juntong, on the other hand, was turned over to Mao Renfeng after VJ Day and in the summer of 1946 was renamed the Bureau to Preserve Secrets of the Ministry of Defense (Guofangbu baomiju).¹¹¹ Relocated in Taipei, it became the Bureau of Intelligence of the Ministry of Defense (Guofangbu qingbaoju), headed successively by Zhang Yanyuan, Ye Xiangzhi, Wang Jingxu, and Zhang Shiqi.¹¹²

FAMILY REMNANTS

Dai Li’s heirs fared worse. His brother, Yunlin (or Chunbang), had always been a problem sibling. A whoremaster and gambler with a vicious temper like their father, Yunlin worked as an apprentice, shop clerk, and bathhouse assistant in Jiangshan until his brother became a man of great influence. In 1936 Dai Li took Yunlin to Xi’an, where he introduced him to the chief of police, Ma Zhichao, who arranged for his appointment as head of the local tax collection bureau. At that time, Dai Yunlin routinely “requisitioned” comely woman from the female reformatory (*jiliangsuo*) to become his servants (*yatou*) and sexual playthings.¹¹³ After the Xi’an Incident, Dai Yunlin fled to Gansu, where he served for three months as the magistrate of Jingtai county before peasant rebels drove him out. Once again through his

brother, he managed to gain admission to the Central Military School's higher educational training unit, the Zhongyang junxiao gaojiaoban. Once graduated, he became head of the administrative office of Lanzhou's Juntong.

When war broke out with Japan that summer, Yunlin fled back to the family home in Baoan; once again, through his brother's influence, he was made a major in the Loyal and Patriotic Army. His service during the war was spotty, but he survived the turmoil handily enough to become a local police chief, style himself "Er Laoban" (Number Two Boss), and expropriate enough local land (five hundred *mu*) to create the Yunong nongchang (Yunong Farming Estates) and become a manorial landlord.¹¹⁴

Dai Li's only son, Zangyi, was said by many to resemble his father not only in mannerisms and as a calligrapher, but also as a young gambler, womanizer, and dandy (*huahua gongzi*). Perhaps this was why they got on so poorly together, even though Dai Zangyi depended heavily upon his father's support.¹¹⁵ The two of them had a grave falling-out over Zangyi's marriage.¹¹⁶ In order to strengthen his connections with the League of Ten, Dai Li wanted his son to wed the daughter of Wang Tianmu. When Zangyi refused, General Dai placed his son under house arrest in Nanjing and forced him to study English with Yuan Yunli, a teacher from the Hangzhou Police Academy. Madame Dai, the general's mother, interceded and tearfully persuaded Dai Li to let his son return to Baoan, where Zangyi married a young Quzhou (Wangcun) woman named Zheng Xiyang.¹¹⁷ Terrified by his father's temper, Zangyi dared not at first to leave Baoan, and he thereafter opened an elementary school (Shude xiaoxue, "Establishing Virtue Primary School"), of which he was the principal.¹¹⁸

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War slightly expanded Zangyi's horizon. Shanghai's Zhaohe Middle School was moved out of the zone of hostilities to a town called Sanqingkou, about twenty-eight Chinese *li* from Baoan. Soon thereafter the middle school invited him to run a theatrical troupe for its students, and Zangyi began to spend most of his time hanging around his opera company at Sanqingkou or consorting with faculty and students at the Jiangguo Vocational School in nearby Xiakou. For income he mainly relied upon sinecures acquired through his father's influence with the Jiangshan county consultative body (*canyihui*), the local communications police, and the board of directors of the Jiangshan Bank.¹¹⁹

Dai Zangyi joined in the unseemly family squabble over his father's estate after the plane crash outside Nanjing. Zangyi greatly coveted the Packard and Buick motorcars, along with the Western-style house and garden on Pé-tain Road that General Dai had owned in Shanghai's former French Concession. The Packard fell into the hands of the Nanjing MSB station chief, but Zangyi did manage to get the keys to the Buick and the title to his fa-

ther's villa, while preventing his maternal uncle, Colonel Mao Zongliang, from seizing one hundred gold bars that the collaborator Zhou Fohai had once presented to Dai Li as a bribe.¹²⁰

Meanwhile, a more dignified opportunity appeared in the form of a 10,000 gift by Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Soong, H. H. Kung, and Milton Miles to establish a Yunong middle school in Dai Li's honor in a former Nationalist air force dormitory at Quzhou. Miles, Hu Zongnan, Tang Enbo, Yang Hu, and Jiang Shaomo all joined the board of directors, while Dai Zangyi was appointed head of school affairs, a post he used to bilk an additional 50,000 yuan out of the manager of the Hangzhou branch of the Bank of China.¹²¹

Dai Zangyi not only wished to honor his father's memory but also to perpetuate his father's mission by organizing anti-Communist militia during the Civil War. For this he needed weapons. In 1946 Zangyi asked Zhang Weiham, commander of the Zhejiang branch of the Baomiju, to provide him with two hundred rifles and more than ten carbines to arm the Baoan special services brigade, which he led with his uncle Dai Yunlin and which was equipped with a wireless and several trucks. When the tide of battle turned and the People's Liberation Army began to move into Jiangshan, Dai Zangyi tried to escape into Fujian. The road was blocked by Communist forces, however, and he barely managed to make it back to Baoan, where he and his uncle organized a brigade of about one thousand men, many of them local bandits. The brigade divided into two forces that broke the blockade, but Dai Zangyi was run down and captured at Liujiashan near Daxitan xiang on September 9, 1949; Dai Yunlin was arrested on December 28 at Guangfeng Aofeng xiang in Jiangxi. Dai Li's brother and son were then brought back to Jiangshan's Sanqingkou, tried before a mass meeting, and executed.¹²²

DAI LI'S TOMB

In early August of 1946, Chiang Kai-shek came to pay his last respects to Dai Li at his temporary resting place, the Zizhi gongdian. The Generalissimo brought Song Meiling with him, and after asking Mao Renfeng if a suitable burial place had been found, he and his wife began to walk up to the Linggu Temple. Madame Chiang Kai-shek could not finish the walk because she was wearing high-heeled sandals, and so they turned back.

Chiang personally selected his follower's last resting place two weeks later, inspecting the Tomb of the Martyr (Lieshi gongmu) behind Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum outside Nanjing and then climbing down the mountain with Mao Renfeng to seek out the best possible site for Dai Li's burial. Mao and the accompanying retinue were astonished when Chiang, who was

thought to be a Bible-carrying Christian, stopped and with perfectly accurate geomantic knowledge explained why a particular niche east of Sun's tomb was most propitious for housing Dai Li's coffin.¹²³

Milton Miles requested permission to attend Dai Li's funeral, but General George C. Marshall, mindful of the looming civil war between the Nationalists and Communists, forbade him to do so in an official guise.¹²⁴ Instead, Miles took the train up from Shanghai to Nanjing in civilian clothes to witness his friend's entombment.¹²⁵ Afterwards, he wrote a letter to Dai Li's mother expressing the "deepest of sorrow" on hearing of the death of "my elder brother, General Dai Li":

He displayed in his writing, as well as in the hundreds of lectures I have heard him give to his colleagues, a combination of the leadership, firmness and advanced thinking that is essential in the truly great leaders of a democratic country. . . . He showed at all times to me a great reverence for three people: President Sun Yat-sen, the Generalissimo, and yourself. . . . He was an outstanding leader. . . . I, who was your son's younger brother [had wanted to attend the funeral in Baoan, but it was] impossible at this time from a practicable standpoint.¹²⁶

Miles concluded by offering, together with his wife Emma, to be responsible for the education of General Dai's adopted daughter Shuzhi in America.¹²⁷

Admiral Miles paid his last respects to his "elder brother" when he visited Dai Li's tomb on March 26, 1947. That day he solemnly planted two Meihua trees at the entrance to the massive mausoleum, but these were uprooted when the tomb was despoiled and Dai Li's remains were destroyed by Communist forces in 1949.¹²⁸ Four years later, Pan Qiwu, Dai Li's former lieutenant, wrote Miles from Taiwan that "to remember our late leader, we have a memorial hall set up on the hillside not far from Taipei. At its entrance I have planted two Meihua trees for you."¹²⁹

FINAL PLUMMET

In the spring of 1989—forty-three years to the day after Dai Li's airplane crashed outside Nanjing—several hundred of his former intelligence agents met in Taipei to form the San shiqi lianyihui (March 17 Joint Friendship Society). True to their master's memory, they declared the purpose of their "joint friendship" was to "attack all counterrevolutionary forces" (*daji fan'geming shili*). All of the society's members were men with security backgrounds who were convened by the former Taiwan director of intelligence, Ye Xiangzhi, and whose leader was General Dai's onetime chief inspector, Qiao Jiakai.¹³⁰

There were thus two entirely converse dimensions to the historical persona of the late Dai Li. For the Communists on the mainland of China he

was the very symbol of evil, a devil incarnate. For at least some of the Nationalists on Taiwan he remained a heroic figure, the spymaster who might have saved China from its worst enemies. A less bifurcated perspective might better expose his complexity, but, as a Chinese friend neutrally asked when this book was drawing near to a close, “was he after all a good or a bad man?”

Dai Li was far too smoky a rogue to be captured so handily. He was at once a simulacrum of fascist terrorism, an embodiment of the modern police state, an enforcer of stern Confucian ideals, and, in his restless dreams, the fiercely ambitious heir of storied medieval strategists who traditionally emerged when Chinese empires quivered and fell. In all these guises, Dai Li was much a man of his mixed times, poised tangentially on the political cusp of tradition and modernity, certain he could seize the day and hour, but ultimately prey to the caprice of destiny. Remembering Dai’s own adulation of Zhuge Liang, the central and most ambiguous subject of *Three Kingdoms*, one cannot help but recall Kongming’s ruminations when he died in 234 E, as he reflected upon his own efforts during an age of disorder to suppress the rebellion against Han. “Everything depends on what Heaven decrees,” Zhuge Liang resignedly said as the Northern Dipper slipped in the sky. “I have tried my best to return the heartland to Han rule. But Heaven’s wishes rule us all.”¹³¹ Kongming’s magical charms could not save him now, and as his guiding star toppled and the enemy armies of Wei stirred nearby, the Sleeping Dragon perished in his tent. Six centuries later the poet Du Fu wrote, “The star that dropped last night upon his camp / Announced to all the master fell this day.”¹³² Zhuge Liang was fifty-four, Dai Li but forty-nine.

Afterword

Daemons

I began this study of Dai Li and the Nationalist secret service more than a decade go. Off and on during those years, I could not help but ask myself why I was devoting so much effort to fathoming such a protean figure. For, if Dai Li was not wholly monstrous, then he was at best cunningly ambiguous. One could admire him for his courage and competence, or respect his ability to navigate the perilous shoals of Chiang Kai-shek's fractious court while commanding the awe and deference of his followers. But he forever remained morally equivocal, an enigma, perhaps, even to the Generalissimo himself.

Was it simple curiosity, then, that held my gaze so fixedly? Observing Dai Li through his contemporaries' eyes was like watching a cobra just a room away. Gradually, I was obliged to realize that I was indirectly in the presence of a force, a daemon, who, like some Daoist magician, was capable of harnessing the *luan* (disorder) endemic to Chinese society, past and present.

And that forced me in turn to recognize that so much of my attention to Chinese history has been directed toward exposing, and hence comprehending and resisting, the viper's hypnotic stare. "Social Disorder," "Conflict and Control," the reconstruction of imperial order, "Policing Shanghai," Chairman Mao's titanic will: the choice of those topics now makes perfect sense to me. In ways I still do not entirely understand, writing about the dragon's gaze affords me the illusion of countering it.

In the end, then, I fear I find myself one of Dai Li's unintended objects of prey. This safely distant conceit means also, of course, that by writing about Dai Li I can somehow imagine myself repulsing the daemon's indifferent glance. Thus do historians quell their remote nightmares and mute the horrors of the past. But do we sleep the better for it?

Organization of the General Unit of Special Training (later the Northwestern Youth Labor Camp) in Late 1939

Headquarters (<i>zongdui</i>)	Commander: Lieutenant General Xiao Zuolin. Headquarters were staffed by General Xiao's former subordinates from Henan. Ninety percent of those above the rank of lieutenant (<i>zhongwei</i>) were members of the Fuxingshe.
Regiment (<i>dadui</i>) (2)	Each regiment was staffed by captains (<i>duizhang</i>) and first lieutenants (<i>duifu</i>) responsible for political and military training. ¹
Company (<i>zhongdui</i>) (5)	The first, second, and third companies were under the First Regiment, the fourth and fifth companies under the Second Regiment. Each company was commanded by a captain, a political first lieutenant, and a military first lieutenant.
Platoon (<i>qudui</i>) (15)	There were three platoons under each company. The majority of platoon commanders (<i>quduizhang</i>) were graduates of the fourteenth class of the Central Military Academy.
Squad (<i>ban</i>) (45)	There were three squads under each platoon. Squad leaders (<i>banzhang</i>) were selected from among the students. These included "renegades" from Resistance University (Kangzhan daxue) in Yan'an, that is, former United Front "progressive" or Communist students who had filled out student investigation forms (<i>xue-sheng diaocha biao</i>) and "forms [showing] clues to fellow party members" (<i>tong dang xiansuo biao</i>) and who subscribed to the doctrine of "one party, one government, one leader." Members also included those with special political connections. The selection of squad leaders

was decided by the chief political instructor (*zhengzhi zong jiaoguan*) and the political first lieutenant.

There were also four reception centers (*zhaodai suo*) established to help with recruitment. The centers were located at Tongguan (Shanxi); in Nancun in Mianchi county (Henan), by the ferry across the Yellow River; in Lanzhou (Gansu); and in Luoyang (Henan). Each center was headed by one director (*zhuren*) and two secretaries (*ganshi*). Many of the latter were former Kangda students turned renegades. Students were also recruited in Xi'an, and by Guomindang provincial and district branches throughout Shanxi. More than five hundred students were enrolled between August 1939 and January 1940.

Organization of Juntong Headquarters, 1943–45

Director: Dai Li

Chief of Staff: Li Chongshi¹

Secretary: Pan Qiwu²

Total Personnel: About 1,500³

I. Section for Economic War against Japan (Dui Ri jingji zuozhan shi)

Director: Wang Fuzhou, and later Liu Qirui. Liu had been a reporter for the Datong Press Agency of Juntong. Articulate and personable, he was well regarded by Dai Li.

Secretary: Deng Baoguang (later promoted to director). This office was charged with economic warfare, including counterfeiting of currency to be used in the Japanese-occupied zones. It co-operated with counterfeiting experts from SACO. Its purview grew during the war, as it increasingly requested reports from field agents on economic conditions in Occupied China, including investigations of business and other enterprises, the data of which were entered onto file cards for future reference. One can only imagine the extent to which these reports were used in carpetbaggery after VJ Day.⁴

II. Medical Section (Yiwu shi)

Director: Dai Xiamin. Dr. Dai was a relative of Dai Li. He specialized in venereal diseases, and earlier he had a practice in Shanghai.⁵ A number of medical advisers and doctors served as Juntong agents, e.g., Doctors Zhang Jianzhai and Chen Xunzhai. Wei Guangcai, a resident oculist at the Nanjing Eye Clinic in Chongqing, was a voluntary intelligence agent (*yiwu qingbaoyuan*) who was licensed to carry his own gun.⁶

III. Separate Departments

A. Department One. Military Affairs Department (Junshi chu)

Director: Bao Zhihong⁷

Deputy Director: Du Kui, Hu Binghan

The duty of this department was to collect military intelligence by planting spies and intelligence agents, while also setting up training classes for military detectives (*chaji rennyuan*). These were actually military intelligence training units. Department One also accepted responsibility for maintaining control over the military headquarters and command structure of the Loyal and Patriotic Army (Zhongyi jiuguo jun) and of the Special Action Army (Biedong jun).⁸

B. Department Two. Political Department (Zhengzhi chu)

Director: Wang Xinheng

Deputy Directors: Ye Xiangzhi, Yang Huabo

The duty of this department was to collect party and political intelligence (*dangzheng qingbao*). Departments One and Two constituted the core of Juntong's "internal work" (*neiqin gongzuo*) departments. Their personnel together amounted to about three hundred people. The director of Department Two approved all airplane travel in and out of Chongqing. If a person wished to buy an airplane ticket, then a special application, including photograph, had to be submitted to the airport police, who turned it over to Juntong's Department Two. Director Wang had to approve the ticket personally if it were a domestic trip. If it entailed flying to Hong Kong or leaving the country, then the permit required Dai Li's and Chiang Kai-shek's approval.⁹

1. Chinese Communist Section (Zhonggong ke)

Chief: Ye Xiangzhi

The special mission of this section was to suppress the revolutionary movement. Duties included maintaining surveillance over suspected Communist Party members. The section chief had the right to order other units outside headquarters, such as the detective section, the police bureau, postal inspectors, communications police, and airport police, to investigate, seize mail, confiscate goods, and make arrests. Arrested parties were sent to Department Three for investigation. All important cases were reported to Dai Lai, and Chiang Kai-shek himself was supposed to be informed about the arrest of important figures via his aides-de-camp office (*shicong shi*). After the War of Resistance was over, Deputy Director Ye was made head of the Baomiju's special operations section, in charge of arresting underground Communist agents. He discovered that Hu Zongnan's confidential secretary

in Xi'an was a mole and so informed the Nationalist general who, in considerable embarrassment, privately took care of the matter after invoking Ye Xiangzhi's promise not to let Chiang Kai-shek know about this vital security breach.¹⁰

2. Political Parties Section (Dangzheng ke)

Chief: Wang Fangnan¹¹

The special mission of this section was to gather intelligence on the various democratic parties and to plant secret agents therein. The section chief had the same "external duty" rights and authority as the chief of the Chinese Communist Section.

3. International Section (Guoji ke)

Chief: Xie Yizheng; Wang Riding

The responsibility of this section was to investigate overseas Chinese (Huaqiao) and students returning from study abroad. It also collected material related to the Japanese and to the Wang Jingwei regime. It was directly in control of each locale's foreign affairs organization (*waishi zu*) and each military zone's foreign affairs department (*waishi chu*).

4. Special Research Institute (Tezhong wenti yanjiusuo)

Chair: Zhang Guotao¹²

C. Department Three. Operations Department (Xingdong chu)

Director: Xu Yedao; Ruan Qingyuan (1942); Shen Weihaan (1944)

The most important duty of this department was to conduct covert operations, including secret arrests on the part of the First and Second Departments, as well as political assassinations. All important operations were carried out under the aegis of two sections—*xingdong ke* (operations) and *sifa ke* (legal affairs)—and personally commanded by Dai Li.

D. Department Four. Telecommunications Department (Dianxunchu)

Director: Wei Daming

Deputy Director: Dong Yisan

Wei Daming was simultaneously chief of the Communications Department (Dianxun chu) of the Garrison Command (Junling bu), which meant that he was in charge of communications for Chiang Kai-shek's district.¹³ In February 1942 Dai Li had uncovered a Communist espionage ring in this department. The ring was composed of seven persons and led by Zhang Luping, an attractive young woman sent from Yan'an in the winter of 1939 by Kang Sheng's Social Affairs Department, which operated directly under General Ye Jianying in Chongqing. All of the department's personnel charts, and lists of Juntong's radio stations throughout China (including frequencies, wave lengths, and codebooks), made their way to Zhou Enlai's compound in Chongqing. The seven Communist spies were

arrested and tortured, but momentarily spared the death penalty by Chiang Kai-shek. They were eventually executed at Xifeng Prison in December 1944, when the Japanese were about to invade Guizhou.¹⁴

E. Department Five. Personnel Department (Renshi chu)

Director: Li Xiabo, Gong Xianfang

This was the main seat of power of the Hunan *bang* (clique) in Juntong. Since Juntong did not have a separate organization department (*zuzhi chu*), the Personnel Department took charge of organizational work and was correspondingly important.¹⁵

F. Department Six. Management Department (Jingli chu)

Director: Xu Renji (personally sent by Chiang Kai-shek)

Deputy Director: Guo Xu

This was the former Accounting Section (Kuaji ke) and the bank-rolling operation of Juntong. Its budget was usually in the red, partly because it bailed out other groups of Juntong when their resources dried up. It was also occasionally raided by Chiang Kai-shek for emergency funds for other bureaus. The total expenses of Juntong have been estimated as amounting to more than 30 percent of the national budget—a proportion that is hard to imagine.¹⁶

G. Department Seven. General Affairs Department (Zongwu chu)

Director: Yang Longhu, Guo Bin, and then Shen Zui (as of 1943)

Varied and voluminous responsibilities, including the oversight of an automobile brigade (*qiche dadui*) and of several arsenals (*canku*).¹⁷

1. Police Affairs Department (Jingwu chu)

Originally the Investigation and Police Section (Jijing ke) of Department Three.

2. Arrangements Office (Buzhi chu)

A group of different offices established to work in the occupied zones of China.

3. Special Committees

a. Planning Committee (Sheji weiyuanhui)

b. Discipline Committee (Chengjie weiyuanhui)

c. Defection Committee (Cefan weiyuanhui)

d. Personnel Assessment Committee (Kaohe weiyuanhui)

4. Special Offices

a. Research Office for Special Political Questions (Tezhong zhengzhi wenti yanjiu shi)

This was set up at the urging of Zhang Guotao.

b. Technical Research Office (Jishu yanjiu shi)

A group charged with conducting research on assassination techniques, incendiary devices, poisons, and so forth.

c. Economic Research Office (Jingji yanjiu shi)

Economic intelligence gathering and analysis. The deputy commander of the office, Fang Yuan, ran an auction house on Baoan Road that was a major source of information about people selling off their private goods for one reason or another.¹⁸

d. Sun Yat-sen Office (Zhongshan shi)

In charge of cultural activities (*wenyu huodong*).¹⁹

H. Department Eight. Training Department (Xunlian chu)

Director: Zheng Xilin

Terms of the Sino-American Special Technical Cooperation Agreement

(Washington, D.C., April 1943)

According to Article 2 of the SACO Agreement, "The executive office organization of the said cooperation is named Sino-American Special Cooperative Organization.' SACO' will hereafter be used as its short title." The English name was to be pronounced similar to the American word "socko," suggesting a "powerful or sudden attack." "With a view to facilitating their movements and their identification in carrying out their functions in China, the responsible persons and the whole staff of this organization shall be appointed by the Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek" (Article 7). Yet the director was to be appointed by the Chinese side, and the deputy director by the American side (Article 5).

SACO's purpose was straightforwardly cooperative: "For facilitating the progress of the work the United States government is willing to cooperate with China and to supply all materials gratis on the basis of friendship." The Chinese side was responsible for furnishing offices, residences, and laboratories for American personnel; it also promised to pay the salaries and working expenses of the Chinese. But all other costs were to be borne by the Americans, including SACO expenses in China as well as in Burma, Thailand, Indochina, Korea, and Formosa (Articles 22, 24).

All members of SACO were pledged to exert "their utmost effort to defeat Japan and to keep absolute secrecy" regarding the organization's activities (Article 4). Personnel from Burma, Siam, Korea, Formosa, and Indochina "who have completed suitable training in the United States, have proved their trustworthiness and have sworn loyalty to the Allied Nations" could undertake activities under SACO's direction after being proposed by the American side and agreed to by the Chinese side. The personnel, however, would be segregated and would "have no knowledge of the principal section of this organization. . . . All matters regarding the arrangements at the places of their assignments, and to the performance of their activities shall be so segregated" (Article 8).

According to Article 9 of the SACO Agreement, the organization would establish a long-range aerial reconnaissance squad with aircraft and personnel to photograph and interpret enemy activities in occupied territories in the Far East. "With the ex-

ception of the pilots, the photographers shall be in great part Chinese." Chinese personnel would also accompany all U.S. government-dispatched airplanes that surveyed ports and bays of China. But "in order to preserve secrecy, all maps and photographs taken shall be exclusively for the use of this organization" (Article 10). All Chinese information to go to the United States would be released by the director of SACO. All information from the United States to China would be released by the director of the OSS or the commander in chief, U.S. fleet (Article 12). All enemy codes intercepted by SACO would be kept within the organization proper. If there were a necessity to transmit information to the military authorities of both countries concerning these codes, then they would have to be jointly released by the director and deputy director (Article 18). SACO's wireless transmitting stations could communicate with wireless stations of the U.S. Navy outside China. "But use of all other wireless stations of this organization shall be restricted solely to activities of this organization" (Article 14).

The Americans agreed to deliver arms, ammunition, explosives, chemicals, printing equipment, medical equipment, and all the materials required for sabotage, wireless communications, photography, and meteorology. These materials were to be delivered to Chongqing by the Americans, while the Chinese would take care of transportation thereafter (Article 21). The Americans also agreed to provide all necessary equipment, including transmitters, cameras, printing machines, and so forth, for a propaganda section to carry out psychological warfare against the enemy. The United States would also train Chinese personnel to use that equipment (Article 11).

SACO's principal training center would be established in the vicinity of Chongqing. Subject to the approval of both parties, "training classes may also be established wherever units are working" (Article 15). "Personnel of this organization for all kinds of training shall be appointed and selected by the Chinese government with the exception of those instructors responsible for technical training, and of personnel for planning and directing the various types of technical training, who are appointed by the American side" (Article 16).

Advance stations or units for SACO were planned for Ganzhou, Zhenkai, Wenzhou, Chuzhou, Fuzhou, Zhongzhou, Bai's Bay, Hengyang, Luoyang, Kaizhou, Linqi, Lanzhou, Wuyan, Baoshan, Chuli, Anxi, Lhasa, and Dihua (Article 19). In addition, there would be SACO repair shops set up in the vicinity of Ganzhou and Xi'an to repair materiel for these various units. These shops would be directed by American technicians (Article 20).

According to Article 17 of the SACO Agreement, "If any Chinese members acquit themselves with such distinction in their work as to merit a course of study in the United States, they may be selected by this organization, and upon approval being obtained from Generalissimo Chiang, they will be sent to the United States for study." The U.S. government would in that event pay for the students' lodging, tuition, and travel expenses.¹

SACO Training Units

UNIT ONE. THE XIONGCUN BAN

Location: Xiongcun, Xi *xian*, Anhui. In the mountains five miles south of Hui-zhou (Shexian). About one hundred miles inland from Hangzhou and two hundred miles from Shanghai.

Quarters: Small rural temple and pagoda.¹

Mission: Train Loyal and Patriotic Army (LPA) personnel in use of small arms and gathering of military intelligence; sabotage in Shanghai; rescuing U.S. Marines who were prisoners of war.²

American personnel: Major John H. ("Bud") Masters, U.S. Marine Corps (commander), plus six to ten instructors, including Earle Dane.³

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Guo Lǔzhou (deputy director), plus Chinese instructors, including Yu Wanxuan, Wu Weisheng, and Ma Pengfei.⁴

Source of recruits: LPA units.

Number and duration of classes: Three months.

Curriculum: 1) Teachings bequeathed by the Chairman (*Zongli yijiao*), 2) Words and deeds of the Leader (*Lingxiu yanxing*), 3) China's destiny (*Zhongguo zhi mingyun*), 4) Analysis of parties and factions, 5) The study of intelligence, 6) Criminal investigation, 7) Cryptography, 8) Demolitions, 9) Pistol marksmanship, 10) Chinese boxing and jujitsu (*guoshu, qinna*).

Activities: Six months needed to set up classes. LPA units trained; some successful sabotage reported, including a raid on the Shanghai airport that resulted in the destruction of five fighter planes and several fuel tanks. In September 1943, Unit One sent out ninety-three saboteurs who reported wrecking a train and killing the puppet governor and chief of the secret service of Jiangsu. However, the Japanese moved the U.S. Marines prisoners of war before any rescue operation could be mounted.⁵

UNIT TWO. THE HONGJIANG (NANYUE) BAN

Location: First established in June 1943 in Nanyue, Hunan, it was later moved to Hongjiang, near Changsha and only forty miles from the Chinese airport at Hengyang, which made it easy to supply.⁶

Mission: Train guerrilla soldiers in the use of American small arms and demolitions. Train water raiders.

American personnel: U.S. Navy Lieutenant Merrill R. Stewart (commander), Lieutenant Junior Grade Claude I. Carroll (executive officer); U.S. Army Second Lieutenants L. J. Karwaski and J. E. Lazarsky. Fourteen enlisted men.⁷

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Tao Yishan and Fu Rong (deputy directors). Guo Zongyao and Xu Qiubin were heads of the instructors, who included Chen Dilan. Later, when it was transformed into a veterinarian training unit, Lin Kesheng became deputy director.

Source of recruits: He Ruanyuan's fourth column and Chen Shihu's seventh column of the Special Operations Army (Biedong jun or SOA, i.e., Chinese "commandos"). Later, veterinary recruits were graduates of the army medical corpsmen's course.⁸

Activities: Though the Hongjiang *ban* was SACO's most productive guerrilla training center, graduating three hundred men per class, it failed to train river raiders.⁹

Number of graduates: 2,200 trainees.

UNIT THREE. THE LINRU BAN

Location: Fengxue si, ten miles north of the county seat of Linru in Henan. Because of Japanese advance, forced to move in May 1944 to Hu county in Shaanxi, and then from there to a place called Ox Winter (Niudong). Graduates from these later classes referred to the unit as the Niudong *ban*.

Quarters: Mountain temple.

Mission: Train "armed special services units" (*wuzhuang tewu*) to destroy lines of communication between Pinghan, Longhai, Jinpu, and other places by blowing up bridges, railroads, and airfields.¹⁰

American personnel: Major Arden "Rowdy" Dow (commander), plus eighteen officers and men.¹¹

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director); Zhou Linxiang (deputy director while at Linru); Wen Qiang and Yang Wei (deputy directors while at Niudong). The chiefs of instruction were Jin Shuyun and Zhang Shuxun. Instructors included Xiao Ji and Chang Huiqing.¹²

Source of recruits: Two hundred students from the Southern Henan Juntong Brigade (an explosives unit); Fifth Brigade of the Special Operations Army (SOA); Number Six SOA; students from the occupied zones who had graduated from the Linqun training unit of the Shandong-Anhui-Henan-Jiangsu border area headquarters; units connected with Juntong.¹³ Later, at Niudong, students were drawn from the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Brigades of the SOA.¹⁴

Number and duration of classes: Five classes, each lasting three months. First class consisted of four hundred trainees.

Curriculum: “Thought education” (*sixiang jiaoyu*) taught by Chinese instructors on “spiritual lectures” (*jingshen jianghua*), “words and deeds of the Leader” (*lingxiu yanxing*), Three People’s Principles, and Guomindang party history.¹⁵

Activities: Unit Three left Chongqing by truck in August 1943, reaching its training site after about six weeks of travel. The graduated guerrillas did not see very much action against the Japanese because their equipment was so poor and they were unable to go into action until March 1944.¹⁶ The fifth class had not yet graduated by the time the Japanese surrendered in August 1945. The unit thereupon moved to Xuzhou and was made a Jiaojing zongdui (Traffic Police Brigade).¹⁷

UNIT FOUR. THE SHANBA BAN

Location: Shanba, Suiyuan.

Mission: To keep watch over Fu Zuoyi.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director); Gao Rong and Qiao Jiakai (deputy directors); heads of instruction were Rao Tieshan and Liu Renkui. The head of the educational affairs section was Lin Chunyun.¹⁸

Source of recruits: First class chosen from Gao Rong’s cavalry, and the second class chosen from Fu Zuoyi’s military group.

Number and duration of classes: Two classes.

Activities: “An especially colorful outfit.”¹⁹

UNIT FIVE. THE XIFENG BAN

Location: Xifeng, Guizhou.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Deng Kuangyuan, He Efang. Chief of instruction Lu Suichu.

Source of recruits: Third Main Brigade of the SOA under Xu Ying.²⁰

Activities: Graduates later assigned to the LPA under Song-Hu headquarters command. These units were clustered along the Qiantang River to keep the Communist Fourth Army under surveillance.²¹

UNIT SIX. THE HUAAN BAN (THE SHENGYUN CLASS)

Location: Huaan, Zhangzhou, Fujian.

Quarters: Peasant dwellings and local shrines (*citang*).

Mission: To train coastal troops and former pirates to support an American invasion.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Chen Dayuan (deputy director), Lei Zhenzhong (deputy director), Zhang Zhuofeng (chief of staff), Mao Jian (secretary), He Xiaode (head of instruction). The unit was mainly officered by Juntong agents or “peripheral officers” of the Military Statistics Bureau.²²

Source of recruits: Two thousand young recruits who joined to avoid conscription.²³ A portion were students, but most were village youth who were said by Communist writers to be progeny of local *fu hao shen* (rich and powerful gentry). Later recruits included pirates along the Guangdong-Fujian border led by Wu Wuluo.²⁴

Number and duration of classes: Initially there were four training units, plus a number of directly attached units (*liandui*): demolition, assault (*tuji*), transport, and communications. Altogether there were six hundred graduates. Later, pirates (see above) were trained and expanded into two big and two small land and sea brigades.²⁵

Activities: One of the SACO-trained groups later became the Special Operations Military Column (Biedongjun bianhui).²⁶ Many of these SACO brigades were wiped out by Communist troops later at the end of the Civil War. Some of the remainder, who were stationed in Amoy, went to Taiwan with their commander, Chen Dayuan.²⁷

UNIT SIX (A). THE XIUSHUI BAN

Location: Xiushui, Jiangxi.

Quarters: Wang Lingji's 30th Group Army (*jituan jun*) barracks.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Tang Xin (deputy director).

Source of recruits: Second SOA Unit of Yang Yuchun.

Activities: Posted to Wuhan when Wang Lingji moved his 30th Group Army there.²⁸

UNIT SEVEN. THE JIAN'OU BAN

Location: Jian'ou, Fujian.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Lin Chao (deputy director).

Number of graduates: 1,400 trainees.

UNIT EIGHT. THE YUHU BAN

Location: Qingtian youzhu, Zhejiang; after August 1944 moved to Ruian.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Zhao Shirui (deputy director), and Guo Lǔzhou (deputy director, head of the Wentai district group of the LPA); Chen Boang (English language secretary); Tao Fengwei (head of educational affairs); Wu Weisheng (co-head of educational affairs); Xia Guozhi (chief instructor).

Source of recruits: Pudong LPA operations troops under Zhang Huifang.

Activities: After formation the class was divided into "Training Unit Number One" (Jiaodao diyi ying), "Number Two," "Number Three," and "Number Four," commanded respectively by Li Zishen, Wu Gongda, Tao Fengwei, and Hong Zhuyun.²⁹

Number of graduates: 1,800 trainees.

UNIT NINE. THE DONGFENG BAN

Note: This is a different, "external" unit than the "Unit Nine" or "FBI Training Unit" located at SACO headquarters in Geleshan (Happy Valley). The central Unit Nine is described in the main text.

Location: Dongfeng, Jian'ou, Fujian.

Mission: Special assault team.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director); Lin Chao (deputy director); Wu Zhaowen (secretary); Yang Shutong (secretary); Cao Fengming (chief of instruction).

Activities: Completely wiped out when it attacked Fuzhou.³⁰

UNIT TEN. THE XIFENG BAN

Location: Xifeng, Guizhou.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Deng Kuangyuan (deputy director).

Number of graduates: More than 2,000 trainees.

UNIT ELEVEN. THE LINQUAN BAN

Location: Linquan, Anhui.

Mission: Train guerrillas for the Yu-Lu-Su-Wan border district and special operations troops for Zhou Linxiang.

Chinese personnel: Tang Enbo (director, deputy commander *fusiling* of First War Zone, and commander of the Yu-Lu-Su-Wan [Henan/Shandong/Jiangsu/Anhui] border district *bianqu*); Zhou Linxiang (deputy director); Wang Weigan (secretary); Wang Qingsheng (chief of instruction); Qian Mengqi (head of political training section).³¹

Number and duration of classes: The third class was named the *Yu-Lu-Su-Wan bianqu dang zheng gongzuo zongdui* and placed under Zhou Linxiang's command.

UNIT TWELVE. THE JIAOLING BAN

Location: Jiaoling, Guangzhou.³²

UNIT THIRTEEN. THE GANGKOU BAN

Location: Gangkou, Chun'an, Zhejiang.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Zhang Baochen (deputy director), Mao Sen (deputy director). One unit served under Yuan Mingding.

Source of recruits: Originally belonged to the Third War Zone, and its members were part of the Sino-British Cooperative Organization, which was later turned over to SACO.

Number and duration of classes: Seven *ying* were trained.

Activities: After graduation, the companies were sent to join SACO's "advance headquarters" (*qianjin*) under Mao Sen.³³ One unit served under Yuan Mingding.

UNIT FOURTEEN. THE MEIXIAN BAN

Location: Meixian, Guangdong.

Chinese personnel: Dai Li (director), Tang Sheng (deputy director).

Number of graduates: 1,200 trainees.³⁴

NOTES

PREFACE

1. Nor did he ever ride a horse at Whampoa, since the academy had no mounts. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 197.
2. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 5. Shen Zui served as head of Juntong's General Affairs Section (Zongwuchu). Shen Zui, "Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu," 213.
3. See, for backwater elites, Yeh, *Provincial Passages*, passim.
4. Dai Li lectured to his men. He did not interact with them. They were to be indoctrinated, not reformed. There was no conversion in the Communist sense.
5. Van de Ven, "Introduction," 25.

1. IMAGES OF DAI LI

1. Adeline Gray was stranded in Yitang along the Sino-Japanese front when General Dai came to her inn to arrange for military transport to Chongqing. "The door opened again and in walked a powerful looking man. He had an air of quiet authority and his penetrating dark eyes looked me over quickly." Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 3-3b.
2. Lovell, *Of Spies and Stratagems*, 51.
3. Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 5.
4. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 73.
5. These words, quoted by OSS official Turner McBaine in a report to General Donovan in June, 1944, were attributed to John S. Service. R. H. Smith, *OSS*, 245.
6. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 73. "As head of China's secret police, Dai Li was often dubbed a second Himmler. . . ." "News of the Week," *The China Weekly Review*, vol. 101, no. 5 (Mar. 30, 1946), p. 103.
7. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 163-64; Ford, *Donovan of OSS*, 267. In Wade-

- Giles transcription, Dai Li is written as Tai Li. I have routinely changed that spelling to the pinyin in the quotations used here and later in the text.
8. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 22–23. See also R. H. Smith, *OSS*, 245; Ford, *Donovan of OSS*, 267; Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 223. Dai Li's Juntong was usually called "China's Gestapo" by Americans ("News of the Week," *China Weekly Review* 101, no. 5 [Mar. 30, 1946]: 103). But see Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 11: "It is no Gestapo and it will be disbanded at the end of the war."
 9. Dobbins, "China's Mystery Man," 69. See also Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhisi*, 1.
 10. Cheng Yiming believed that Dai Li "had a knack without having to study" (*bu xue you shu*). His special advantage was his ability to anticipate what Chiang Kai-shek's intentions were. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 197–98.
 11. The name "Dai Li" also suggests having one's face half covered by a conical hat, which carries a notion of inconspicuousness, like the old men in Chinese river paintings wearing bamboo hats while they fish from their skiffs with their backs turned to the viewer. In that sense, "Dai Li" was meant to be a loner in ordinary garb, a person you would never notice, fading into the landscape.
 12. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158. The reciprocal quality of the relationship is more pronounced in the original lines from the *Taiping yulan*, j. 406, "Feng tu ji": "Although the noble rides in a cart and we wear rain hats, when we meet in the future he descends from the cart to bow. Although we walk on foot and the noble rides horseback, when we meet in the future the noble ought to dismount." Cited in Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Daily*, 24.
 13. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 5. In this account I rely heavily on the memoirs of Shen Zui, who was the highest-ranking official of Dai Li's secret police to remain in the People's Republic of China after 1949. Shen Zui wrote his memoirs at the urging of Zhou Enlai. These memoirs later earned him not only royalties, but also an immense reputation as a former Guomindang spy chief while furthering Zhou's own reputation and establishing Dai Li as a kind of dark "double" to the spymasters of the CCP itself. One, therefore, has to take everything that Shen Zui tells us with a dose of salt; and I have tried to do so in the tale that follows, especially given the lack of central Juntong documents, which were literally shredded in the early 1990s on Taiwan.
 14. *Ibid.*
 15. Luo, *Three Kingdoms*, 279.
 16. *Ibid.*, 291.
 17. *Ibid.*, 292–93.
 18. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 1. "He fawned upon and curried favor with people of use to him. To others he was cruel and vicious, making them afraid of him." Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 159.
 19. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 28–29.
 20. "Being head of a strong and secret organization and having the personal confidence of the Generalissimo gives Dai Li a position of influence' in the government and in the army of no mean proportions. His identification with the strong Whampoa' clique in the army strengthens his influence." John Carter Vincent, "Memorandum for the Ambassador. Subject: The Chinese National

- (Kuomintang) Government: Its Leadership and Influential Elements," July 11, 1942, in State Department Internal Affairs materials, p. 9, L13.
21. John Carter Vincent characterized Chiang Kai-shek's inner circle as being composed of five people: Dr. H. H. Kung, Dr. Chen Lifu, General Zhang Qun, General He Yingqin, and General Dai Li, "head of the powerful military secret police with the title of Director of the Statistic and Investigation Office of the Military Affairs Commission." May, *China Scapegoat*, 232. See also the memorandum in U.S. Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States and China, 1942*, 221, cited in Smith, *OSS*, 235; Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 22; and Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 131.
 22. "The functioning of the secret police at Beiping was under the personal direction of General Dai Li, who obeyed orders only from the Generalissimo." Tong and Li, *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen*, 450.
 23. On July 15, 1944, Maurice Votaw interviewed the Communist general Zhu De, who told him, "The Generalissimo is too autocratic and feudal minded. A sign of his weakness is his playing off the different spy organizations against each other, particularly those of Dai Li and Xu Enzeng." May, *China Scapegoat*, 114.
 24. Department of State (John Carter Vincent), "Influential Elements in the Kuomintang (and National Government)," in May, *China Scapegoat*, 239-40. Dai Li's efficiency was also stressed in a report by Everett Drumright, Second Secretary on Detail at Xi'an, of a conversation with Bishop Megan in March 1944: "Bishop Megan expressed the view that General Dai Li's influence and power are as great as ever, and that in fact the Generalissimo seems to lean increasingly on him to perform various tasks which must be executed with dispatch and efficiency. Bishop Megan, who has had numerous dealings with General Dai, expressed the view that the latter is one of the most capable and businesslike Chinese he had ever come into contact with, that he has relatively well-trained and efficient subordinates, and that General Dai's various organizations have some semblance of system to them." Dispatch No. 2494 of Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss to the Secretary of State, enclosing a dispatch of Mar. 28, 1944, from Everett Drumright; May, *China Scapegoat*, 473.
 25. "Dai Li as chief of the Statistical and Investigation Office of the Military Affairs Commission is chief of the secret military police. Operatives under his control are estimated to number at least 100,000 men. . . . He does the inside investigation jobs for the Generalissimo; he is in charge of the Generalissimo's personal bodyguard; he, with his organization, is the medium through which much unofficial 'business' is done both in China and abroad; and he is efficient." John Carter Vincent, "Memorandum for the Ambassador. Subject: The Chinese National (Kuomintang) Government: Its Leadership and Influential Elements." July 22, 1942, in State Department Internal Affairs materials, p. 9, L13. According to one knowledgeable historian, by mid-1944 Dai Li's agents in the regular military secret police and special forces numbered more than 300,000. Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 211.
 26. Cited in May, *China Scapegoat*, 265-66.
 27. Murphy, "Shanghai: Reopened under New Management," 223.
 28. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 1; Wang Zhi, "Dai Li zhi si yu Jiangning liang shan," 54.

29. "Even though he seldom allowed others to see his face, his name was one of the most terrifying names for a great number of Chinese." Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhisi*, 1.
30. MSB operatives were mistakenly thought by some to number in the millions. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 23.
31. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 162–63. See also Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhisi*, 1. Dai Li even had a U.S. network. Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China*, 234. Extravagant claims were made, namely, that Dai Li had seven million men and women under his command. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 55.
32. Two years earlier, OSS reported that Dai Li had 27,000 agents and 300 communications sets "throughout his network." Annex B, "The Organization of the M.O. Section Under SACO." Huang Kangyong, a senior MSB officer, wrote that the Special Services Department expanded from 700 people at the time of its founding to 30,000 agents and several hundred thousand "peripheral personnel" (*waiwei ren yuan*) before thirteen years had passed. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 161.
33. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 163.
34. For example, in Delhi a member of the Chinese Commissioner's office and the special correspondent of the *China Daily News* were both known to be Dai Li's spies. "Chinese Activities in India in 1941–1944," July 18, 1945, 4, Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Army, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division.
35. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 163. See also Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois*, 103. Dai Li boasted that he had agents in Japan. *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1943, China*, 113. Certainly, many believed that he had special secret contacts with the Japanese. Li Zongren wondered, "What kind of connections had Dai Li had with the Japanese during the war about which even the puppet government was kept in the dark?" Tong and Li, *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen*, 450.
36. "With a typically Chinese ability to master complexities Dai Li has charge of a staggering array of organizations. He combines the equivalent powers of the FBI, Army Intelligence, and Naval Intelligence." Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 1–2.
37. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 162. Dai Li was called *laoban* (boss) by his lower-ranking agents. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 197.
38. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 162. "Foreigners, showing him an awed though grudging respect, often develop Dai Li phobia; in Chungking during the war, many believed that every cook and houseboy was a Dai Li agent." Dobbins, "China's Mystery Man," 19. "It was the boast of the organization that there was not a single village in China in which there was not a Dai Li spy to report on subversive activities." Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 22.
39. John Keswick, head of the Special Operations Executive in China, described him as "uncultured, unscrupulous, cunning and capable. Would never hesitate to bump off anybody. A real blower-upper." Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 289.
40. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 164. During the 1927 purge in Shanghai, Dai Li supposedly lined up locomotives on a siding, stoked the fire boxes until they

- were red hot, then tossed in trussed up prisoners while the engine whistles drowned out their screams. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 21.
41. Tong and Li, *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen*, 450.
 42. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
 43. Dobbins, "China's Mystery Man," 19. See Part 14 ("Serving the Counterrevolution: Mary Miles and SACO") of Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 116–25. Deane was a close friend of Israel Epstein when he served in China as a war correspondent. He was also a founder of the U.S.-China People's Friendship Association.
 44. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 171.
 45. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 20.
 46. Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhisi*, 6. "The famous Dai Li, whom legend had built into a fabulously sinister figure, a blend of Himmler and the once popular movie villain, The Insidious Doctor Fu Manchu." Taylor, *Awakening from History*, 347.
 47. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 163.
 48. "He always moves and dresses inconspicuously. He makes it a practice to travel in disguise, move up to an active fighting area and contact his own men." .S. *Military Intelligence Reports, China, 1911–1941*, Report 9710, Jan. 8, 1939, 2A.
 49. "Dai has a retinue of plainclothesmen who are inconspicuously circled about him wherever he goes. Passing people see a forceful looking man of about forty going along in a businesslike way apparently alone. But always close to him, scattered through the crowd walking casually a few steps away, are the members of his secret bodyguard. When he is in an automobile other cars are close at hand." Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 12.
 50. Jia Jinnan, a native of Nanjing, had originally been Dai Li's batman (*qinwubing*). He took care of his personal needs until Dai Li's death. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 19.
 51. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 153.
 52. Dai Li had two of each model of Juntong automobile he used. This was designed to throw off pursuers.
 53. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 164. For security reasons he rarely carried papers when he traveled, relying instead upon his phenomenal memory. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 10. "Dai can take in a prodigious quantity of facts and details, organize them, and produce an efficient plan of action working all the time at high speed." Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 15.
 54. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
 55. "He was a short, heavily built man, rather swarthy for a Chinese. There were things about his face—its length, and the big, projecting jaw—that didn't look Chinese at all. He wore a plain blue Sun Yat-sen type of semi-military uniform without insignia. His manner was courteous but forceful, and during the conversation Miles knew that the intent black eyes were sizing him up." Dobbins, "China's Mystery Man," 65.
 56. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 168.
 57. In summer Dai Li always wore a khaki, or *palisi*, Sun Yat-sen jacket in dark blue or deep gray. In the autumn he changed to a black whipcord overcoat, and in the winter wore a heavy black woolen greatcoat. He seldom changed the style or

- look of his clothing, though he was fastidious about personal cleanliness, always washing himself at night and in the morning, when he changed into a fresh suit of clothes. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 163.
58. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 168.
 59. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 19.
 60. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 164.
 61. Drumwright report of Mar. 28, 1944, in May, *China Scapegoat*, 473.
 62. Dobbins, "China's Mystery Man," 19.
 63. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 164.
 64. His friends and professional contacts included people like Cheng Qian, Tang Enbo, Du Liming, Zeng Kuoqing, He Haoruo, Bei Songsun, Wu Renshuo, Lin Kesheng, Du Yuesheng, and Huang Jinrong. He also knew the heads of the "Gowned Brothers" (Pao ge) society in Sichuan: Tian Desheng, Feng Shizhu, Tang Shaowu, and Shi Xiaoxian. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 159, 162. See also Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 8.
 65. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 62, 159; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:108.
 66. Dai Li believed that Buddhist self-cultivation helped one live longer and delayed aging. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 162.
 67. But see the comment about Dai Li's lack of a "veneer of enlightened Christianity." Schaller, *The .S. Crusade in China*, 243-44.
 68. Two Italian priests (Lei Mingyuan and Lei Zhenyuan) headed this office in succession, and they reported intelligence to the MSB directly. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 162.
 69. Ibid.
 70. Tang Shengming, who eventually became the commander of public security of Jiangsu province under Wang Jingwei's puppet government, was Tang Shengzhi's younger brother. Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 355.
 71. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 163.
 72. Ibid., 153, 162-63. To keep her from feeling lonely, Dai Li actually had Hu Die stay with the Tangs at 11 Jiu jinshenfu Road in Shanghai. Yu Yiqi, "Hu Die yu Dai Li," 36. For Hu Die, see Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:174-75.
 73. Some authors, like the pseudonymous Fei Yunwen, who wrote *Dai Li de yi sheng*, clearly had access to internal information on the MSB in the hands of the post-war intelligence services on Taiwan. Liang Xiong's *Dai Li zhuan*, on the other hand, simply seems to be a hagiographic rearrangement of other more or less familiar material.
 74. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 8.
 75. Ibid., 12.
 76. Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:14-15.
 77. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 10-12. See also Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:14-15.
 78. "He wasted no time . . . on the traditional Chinese polite forms. Instead he was direct and curt. . . . His questions about local conditions were searching and he clicked through the work to be done with smooth military mechanics. . . . A

good deal of the time his answers were stripped to a firm 'yes' or 'no.'" Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 4-5.

79. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 182.
80. See Lieutenant John Crabtree's remarks in Lovell, *Of Spies and Stratagems*, 50-51.
81. Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhishi*, 5; "Death of Tai Li," 91.
82. Pfaff, "Secret Nature of Spies' Business Invites Folly," 21a.

2. LIVING OFF THE LAND

1. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 182. Chen Yingshi is Chen Qimei, who was Chiang Kai-shek's patron. Xu Xilin was Qiu Jin's coconspirator in the revolutionary Guangfuhui. The director of a police officers' academy, he was executed after leading an uprising at Anqing in July 1906, in which he killed the provincial governor, Enming.
2. Shen Yuan, *Jiangshan Dai Li*, 1. Jiangshan belonged to the "inner periphery" of Zhejiang. Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change*, 14-15.
3. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 3. This information, in a work devoted to "seeking truth through facts" (*shishi qiushi*) (ibid., i-ii), is taken from the *Xianxia Dai shi zongpu* (Genealogy of the Xianxia Dais). It was corroborated in a personal interview in Jiangshan with Dai Zhide, deputy chief of the People's Political Conference Working Group assigned the task of gathering materials on Dai Li and his family.
4. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 161; Zhengxie Zhejiang sheng Jiangshan shi wenshi ziliao weiyuanhui, comps., *Jiangshan minguo shigao*, frontispiece photograph. See also Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 16-17.
5. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 3.
6. See also Shen Yuan, *Jiangshan Dai Li*, 1; Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:9.
7. Xu Zongyao, "Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qianqian houhou," 131. The Dai family also operated an inn at Longjing village. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 1-2.
8. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 3-4. See also Shen Yuan, *Jiangshan Dai Li*, 1; and Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 15. Baoan cun was under the administrative authority of Xianxia xiang.
9. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 5-6, 8; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 3. Dai Shunwang's wife was a Longjing woman surnamed Chai. Several sources give the name of Dai Li's father as Dai Guanying and claim that he was adopted from a family named Zheng because Dai Shunwang had no heir. Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:10. Dai Shifu was said by some to have been a *xiangsheng* (holder of the first, or *xiuca*, degree) of the Qing dynasty. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 15. Dai Shifu did have a military *xiuca* degree, and contrary to some accounts was quite literate. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 27.
10. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 179. Dai Chunbang's *xiaoming* (child's name) is

- sometimes given as Chunlin. His other given name was Yunlin. His *zi* was Weiping, and his *hao* was Fanglan. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 79; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 277. Madame Dai—Lan Yuexi—was born in 1875 to Lan Bingkui, a *taixuesheng* (student of the imperial academy) who sired seven sons and five daughters. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 8–9, 154–55.
11. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 79; Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 40. The year of his birth is given as 1896 in Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 177, and in Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 2. See also Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 19–21.
 12. Dai Li failed at his first attempt to pass the Whampoa entrance exam. One of his friends (who had succeeded in passing) blamed the failure on his name “Zhenglan” (Gathering orchids), which was not a “martial name.” Dai thereupon decided to change his name, and—thinking of the *Odes*’ lines *jun cheng che, wo dai li*—took the name Dai Li. This time he gained admission to the sixth class. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 17–18.
 13. His new name presumably signaled his willingness to serve his *xiaozhang* (chancellor), Chiang Kai-shek. For the likelihood of this given the name’s textual provenance, see Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 17–18. Dai Li believed that the eight characters associated with his birth date and hour showed a deficiency of the water element according to the theory of the five agents. When he entered Whampoa he tried to remedy this defect by adopting a new *zi*, Yunong, which means “rain and agriculture” and which therefore embodied the missing water element. He also often chose aliases written with the water radical, so that his various *noms de guerre* as a secret agent included Jiang Hanqing, Jiang Haitao, Hong Miao, and Jin Shui. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 14. See also Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 152.
 14. Shen Yuan, *Jiangshan Dai Li*, 1; Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 16. According to Wen Qiang, who tested her abilities, Madame Dai was able to recite from memory the *San zi jing*, the *Nüer jing*, the *Bai jia xing*, and the *Zhu Bailu jiaxun*. His impression of her devotion to her child’s education was also confirmed by interviews with a Dai family servant named Zheng Zhaowu. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 177–79.
 15. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 21. The Confucian cast of Dai Li’s early education endured through his later years. When he was head of the secret police he spent considerable sums of money building a library of Chinese classics for his agents. Yu Maochun, “American Intelligence,” 36.
 16. The school was the *Xianxia xiaoxue*. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 15.
 17. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 79.
 18. Ibid.; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 2–3; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 277.
 19. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 155.
 20. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 177–78; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 2; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 551.
 21. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 179. Other words used to describe him as he grew

- into manhood were “unruly and unrestrained” (*jieao*), “unbridled” (*buxun*), “fond of competition” (*haosheng*), and always wanting “to come out ahead” (*chengqiang*).
22. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 153, 158.
 23. In so many ways, Dai Li then and later fit the profile of the proverbial “tough guy” (*haohan*) who observed “honor among mates” (*gemen’r yiqi*) and other values of the powerful *haohan* tradition that Jenner has astutely identified. See Jenner, “Tough Guys, Mateship and Honour.”
 24. Dai Li formed the association together with his fellow student Zhou Nianhang (whose queue Dai personally cut off at the time of the Wuchang Uprising in 1911) after the two of them observed several comely washerwomen tottering along on bound feet up the banks of the Wenqi River. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 4.
 25. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 15–16.
 26. Although very affable, Mao Xiucong did not get along with Dai Li, who was two years younger than she. After they moved to Nanjing to live next to the MSB headquarters, he ceased paying attention to her, and eventually forbade her to see him. Although her own brothers worked for the MSB (Colonel Mao Zongliang was a station chief, then head of the management office of SACO; Mao Xianming served as a Juntong agent), Mao Xiucong and Dai Li never ate together, nor would he let her into his office. She returned to Jiangshan in the early years of the War of Resistance and died in 1939, still cared for by Dai Li. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 11–12, 28. See also Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 3; Xu Zongyao, “Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qianqian houhou,” 147.
 27. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 96.
 28. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 16; Shen Yuan, *Jiangshan Dai Li*, 1. He had the help of his older cousin, Dai Chunyang, who was a provincial assemblyman for Zhejiang. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 81; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 279. However, the most important reason for his admission was the essay he wrote for the entrance examination, “On Setting Up One’s Goals” (*Wen li zhi*), in which he took as exemplars the sage (*sheng*), the worthy (*xian*), and the hero (*haojie*). Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:16.
 29. The baby’s birth name was Shanwu, *zi* Chaili. Because he was a fat, white-skinned baby, his nickname was Can’r, or “silkworm.” Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 9. In 1937 Dai Li and his wife adopted an infant girl who had been left on their doorstep. They named her Shuzhi. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 46.
 30. Some sources claim that he was expelled because he had left a set of pilfered barbells on the stairway, causing the dormitory proctor to fall and hurt himself. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 6–8; Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:16–17. The same source also insists that Dai Li worked in a paper mill, not a bean curd shop. Liang Xiong, *Dai Li zhuan*, 1:18.
 31. By then Dai Li had begun to run his own “numbers” game, that is, *huahui*. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 9.
 32. He was badly beaten up twice: first for accosting a young girl at a planchette ses-

- sion in Guangdu, and the second time by a kangaroo court in neighboring Hualongxi. He was rescued by kinsmen, but his broken nose resulted in the constant sniffing of nasosinusitis that plagued him later on. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 10.
33. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 16; Xu Zongyao, “Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qianqian houhou,” 131; Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 16; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 47–48. Some sources have Dai Li enrolling in the Third Division under Zhou Fengqi. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 153; Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 81; Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 279. But he was actually in the Zhejun diyi shi mo fanying (Zhejiang Number One Academy Model Battalion). Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 11. Zhou Fengqi would later be the first Zhejiang general, then subordinate to Sun Chuanfang, to defect to the revolutionaries during the Northern Expedition at the end of 1926. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:251.
 34. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 49.
 35. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 153.
 36. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 11.
 37. Ibid.
 38. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 16.
 39. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 154. Though Huang Jinrong was frequently identified as a Green Gang big shot, his membership was ambiguous. See Su Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, *Hai shang xiaoxiong*, 91–95.
 40. “Dai Li . . . was extremely thick with the filthiest dregs of lower class society and all of his life mixed quite readily with the Hongmen, Qingbang, Paoge and Hanliu.” Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 81.
 41. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 16; Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 12.
 42. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 6.
 43. Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 98.
 44. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 12.
 45. Mrs. Zhang later claimed that “since he didn’t have the money to stay in a hotel he usually slept on the floor in my living room.” Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 197.
 46. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 45.
 47. Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 98. When Dai Li went to Hong Kong to negotiate with Du Yuesheng, he tried to effect a reconciliation with Mrs. Zhang by inviting her to attend a party with them. She refused to see him. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 180.
 48. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 154; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 6; Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 180. Zhang Guanfu is sometimes referred to as Zhang Gunfu.
 49. Wan Molin, *Hushang wangshi* (Shanghai bygones) (Taipei: Zhongwai tushu chubanshe, 1973). Four volumes, cited in Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 21.

50. See, for Yang Hu's Green Gang connections, Brian G. Martin, "The Green Gang and 'Party Purification' in Shanghai," 58.
51. Ibid.
52. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 16–17. It was said that Dai Li frequently acted to protect his "third older brother." For example, Du Yuesheng's fourth concubine had an affair with a male cousin. Dai Li had his bodyguards take the young man out to the countryside, where they cut off his legs. The chauffeur who had driven the lovers to their rendezvous was blinded. The concubine was locked into a room in Du's mansion for the next twenty years, finally emerging in 1947 as an old lady to attend her adult son's wedding. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 18. Note that other accounts have Dai and Du swearing brotherhood in 1927 (see chapter 17).
53. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 96.
54. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 14.
55. The Jiang-Zhe war was started by Ji Xieyuan (Zhili clique), who was trying to wrest control of Shanghai from Lu Yongxiang (Anhui clique). Sun Chuanfang ordered Meng Zhaoyue to bring his army from Fujian up through the Xianxia Pass just above Baoan. The pass was turned over to General Meng by Zhang Guowei (head of the Fourth Infantry Brigade of Zhejiang's Second Army). Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 15.
56. Ibid.; Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 17; Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 179; Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 16.
57. Hu Zongnan (zi, Shounan; hao, Qinzhai) was originally from Zhenjiang. When he was 3 *sui*, he was taken by his father to Heluxi, 10 *li* west of Xiaofeng, which in turn is about 75 kilometers northwest of Hangzhou. After receiving a primary education in the Chinese classics, Hu graduated from the Xianghu shifan xueyuan (Xianghu Normal School) in Wuxing and became a primary school teacher. His social contacts were quite varied, however, because like Dai Li he loved to gamble. Zhang Xin, "Hu Zongnan qi ren," 171; Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 18; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:175; "The Chinese National (Kuomintang) Government: Its Leadership and Influential Elements," July 22, 1941, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China: Internal Affairs, 1940–44, 10.
58. Note that in one version of his biography, Dai Li does not meet Hu Zongnan until much later, in 1927, when he was assigned to serve as a liaison officer on the Beijing-Hankou Railway line under the command of Hu, who then led the Second Brigade of the First Division of the National Revolutionary Army. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 17.
59. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 180–81.
60. Yeh, *The Alienated Academy*, *passim*.
61. For the frustration of poorly paid primary school teachers, who earned twenty to thirty yuan per month less than skilled workers and whose social status was steadily declining, see Evelyn S. Rawski, "Education and Mobility in Republican China," 33–34.

62. Then and later, the two men could talk for hours about everything and anything, ranging from military strategy to clothes and women. Characteristically, they never completely finished a conversation. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 200–201.
63. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:201.
64. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 181–82. At that time Dai Li did not get along very well with Chen Guofu and felt that Chen was arrogantly putting on the airs of an old lord. Since Chen continued to call Dai *xiao biesan*, the younger man retaliated by calling him a “big tramp” (*da biesan*).
65. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 179–82.

3. TOUBEN

1. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 183. There are at least three different accounts of the way in which Dai Li managed to get admitted to the Whampoa Military Academy. They do not necessarily contradict each other, especially insofar as they stem from three different levels of encounter: random contacts in Dai Li’s native place, *guanxi* (personal relations) through gangster connections in the Jiangnan underworld, and Dai’s fleeting involvement with Chiang Kai-shek’s circle in Shanghai.
2. Mao Renfeng may have been a relative of Mao Xiucong, Dai Li’s wife. Wen-hsin Yeh, “The Liu Geqing Affair,” 20. But see Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps., *Dai Li jia shi*, 28.
3. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 17. Mao is said to have told Dai Li that “the vigor of the revolution is at Whampoa. This is because we have at Whampoa a great foundry to temper and create the heroes of our time.” Mao also gave Dai twenty yuan to help pay for the cost of his trip to Canton. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 16–17; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 95–102. Dai’s wife contributed her share of his expenses by giving Dai Li her golden hair brooch. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 22–23.
4. According to many journalistic accounts in the 1920s and 1930s, Chiang Kai-shek was a member of Huang’s Green Gang. See, for example, Burton, “Chiang’s Secret Blood Brothers,” 308.
5. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 154. Dai Li enrolled in the sixth cavalry class of Whampoa on October 7, 1926, two months after the Northern Expedition had begun and at a time when Chiang Kai-shek and other Guomindang military leaders were becoming concerned about operations involving cavalry on the Central Plain north of the Yellow River. Dai was enlisted in the Seventeenth Platoon of the Third Battalion, First Regiment. He was an executive member of the Platoon Party organization. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 17.
6. Dai, whose name had been publicly linked with the Western Hills Conference group in November 1925, had been called to serve as university president by the National government in Guangzhou after the Northern Expedition began in 1926. However, he was to leave Guangdong and join Chiang Kai-shek at Lushan in December 1926, after the political climate in Guangzhou turned

- sour for him as a result of the split between left and right wings in the Nationalist Party. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:202.
7. This referred to an incident in the *Shi ji* when a cleverly recruited follower crowed like a chicken in order to trick a night watchman into opening the gate and letting his master escape.
 8. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 183.
 9. Dai Jitao appreciated this willingness to “do” (*gan*) or “handle” matters for Chiang. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 25–26.
 10. Shen Zui has Dai Li handing these intelligence reports to Chiang Kai-shek in his automobile at this time. This appears to confuse Dai Li’s practice later, in 1928, with his role in 1926–27. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 6.
 11. At this time, Chiang’s preferred intelligence agent was Hu Jing’an. Zhang Shengji, “Hu Jing’an de fuchen lu,” 154; Zhong Jianhua, comp., *Jing’an xianzhi*, 768; Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 99.
 12. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 183–84. Although Walker mistakenly has Dai Li joining the CCP, he was correct about his undercover work for Chiang. “The student Dai Li worshiped his commandant with all his heart and became his secret investigator of Communism among the student body, joining the Communist Party in order to do so.” Walker, “China’s Master Spy,” 168.
 13. “Chiang faced the problem of warlord factionalism and wanted to wring that out of his forces. He wanted an army that was disciplined, organized, and national, and like the German and Japanese armies obeyed the will of the leadership. . . . He wanted it ‘blind’ rather than political, and he wanted it isolated from society.” Personal communication from Hans van de Ven.
 14. Landis, “Training and Indoctrination at the Whampoa Academy,” 93. For a good succinct discussion of this aspect of the curriculum, see Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*, 232–35.
 15. Landis, “Training and Indoctrination at the Whampoa Academy,” 85, 89.
 16. *Ibid.*, 81–82, 84.
 17. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 146. However, Hans van de Ven notes that “during the 1930s, Chiang worked hard on improving organization and administration, but the progress made was undone by the War of Resistance.” Personal communication.
 18. Landis, “Training and Indoctrination at the Whampoa Academy,” 90–91.
 19. *Ibid.*, 92–93; Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 55–56.
 20. Although people often spoke of a Whampoa clique, there were great divisions among them, either by class or by background. For example, students who had studied in European military or police schools, and who were admirers of fascist Germany and France later, formed a group apart from other Whampoa graduates, coming together under the leadership of Feng Ti and Tang Zong. Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 11.
 21. Zhang Xin, “Hu Zongnan qi ren,” 171; Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 184.
 22. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 114.
 23. Xu Zhenya told this to Wen Qiang in the spring of 1942 in Lanzhou, where he was organizing a cavalry brigade to patrol the Ningxia and Qinghai regions in order to catch smugglers on behalf of Dai Li’s Smuggling Prevention Service

- (Jisi zongshu), which was seeking to curb the rampant drug trafficking of General Ma Hongkui. Feng Meiquan, “Jiefang qian Juntong zai Xi’an he Yingchuan de zuzhi yu huodong,” 83; Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 185–86.
24. Because many accounts mention that Dai Li only became personally known to Chiang in September 1927 this version may be quite fanciful. One of the most authoritative narratives is Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 19.
 25. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 183–84; Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 18; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 118–19. Hu Jing’an, also known as Hu Naian, was a native of Jiangxi who graduated from the second class of Whampoa. After graduation he served as an aide-de-camp at the headquarters of the National Revolutionary Army. His duties included the safety of the commander in chief, and the gathering of military and political intelligence. He also had a tour of duty during the War of Resistance as head of education in the Jiangxi provincial military training corps. Chen Tingxiang, “Lun kangzhan shiqi Guomindang de zhengzhi jianshe,” 213; Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 17.
 26. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 20–21; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 6. Although Hu Jing’an later claimed that “there wasn’t anything special about Dai; he used to baby-sit for me,” Dai was one of the most valuable agents of all those working for Hu, including Wang Zhaohuai, Dong Fangbai, Cai Jingjun, and Qiao Jiakai. Qiao later wrote that “the person who gave the most intelligence information was Dai Li. Every day he gave us a very thick envelope of material. . . . If it had not been for his help, then Hu Jing’an’s daily report would simply have been problematical [and there would have been no way to complete the task].” Qiao Jiakai, “Wei Lishi zuo jian zheng,” in *Zhongwai zazhi* 32, no. 6 (Taipei), cited in Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 23. For Hu’s comment, see Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 197.
 27. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 184–85. Zhou Enlai was then in charge of political work in the First Army. He also served as Special Inspection Commissioner for Administration in the East River Special District (Dong jiang zhuan qu xing-zheng ducha zhuan yuan).
 28. Wilbur, “The Nationalist Revolution,” 573–74; Wu, “Chiang Kai-shek’s March Twentieth Coup d’Etat,” 591–92; Jordan, *The Northern Expedition*, 39.
 29. “Chiang’s unwavering conviction and consistency in his charges against the Communists may be based upon two factors: he had personal knowledge of the plot, and he has in his possession some written materials on the alleged conspiracy.” Wu, “Chiang Kai-shek’s March Twentieth Coup d’Etat,” 600.
 30. Shen Zhongyu, “Si yi er’ shibian zai Huangpu xuexiao,” 77–79. This is usually known as the “Siyiwu shibian” (April 15 Incident). Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 27. See, for the translation of the term *jizhong ying* as “concentration camp,” Kinkley, “A Bettelheimian Interpretation,” 85.
 31. Zheng Tingji, “Huangpu wu qi qing dang’ de huiyi,” 123–24. Because the commanding officer in this case was a man from Hainan Island, few could understand his poor Mandarin. Consequently, no one stood up at first. Obviously, the commanding officers had lists of names, and according to a number of Dai Li’s biographical accounts, Dai himself was one of the main informers—having spent all of that time as a student at Whampoa copying down the names of suspected Communists and left-wingers. According to one biographer, Dai Li

- turned over two dozen of his fellow students in the Cavalry Battalion as being Communist Party members or sympathizers. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 17.
32. These cadets were temporarily imprisoned in Rotten Stone (Lan shitou) jail. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 25-26.
 33. Zheng Tingji, "Huangpu wu qi qing dang' de huiyi," 124.
 34. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 168.
 35. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 27.
 36. A total of 7,795 Whampoa cadets participated in the Third Northern Expedition in 1926-1928. Seventy-six percent of them came from provinces either in the Yangzi Valley or in the south. Most had a middle school education and three-quarters were the sons of middle-sized landlords, middle-income peasants, or public officials. Landis, "Training and Indoctrination at the Whampoa Academy," 76.
 37. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 28.
 38. Carrying the rank of major, Dai Li was nominally attached to the Xuzhou garrison. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 25. His specific assignment was to travel well ahead of the main body of forces and report back military intelligence on the enemy's deployment. Dai Li passed through Xuzhou, Beiping, Tianjin, Taiyuan, Xi'an, Zhengzhou, and Kaifeng. He later claimed that it was easy to gather intelligence on the Beiyang warlords because they and their subordinates were careless and coarse, inattentive to details, illiterate, and readily corrupted. This statement may have reflected a certain contempt on Dai's part for northerners, but the fact was that he soon learned how easy it was to subvert another general's military organization from within. Since winning over his commander-in-chief's enemies was just as much a part of his mission as securing reliable intelligence, Dai Li was said to earn even more praise from Chiang Kai-shek after his mission was accomplished. Indeed, for his fieldwork in the Northern Expedition Dai was presented with a scroll in Chiang's own calligraphy that read "*Jianku zhuojue*" ("In extreme hardship, both eminent and surpassing"). Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 187.
 39. The reports were written in *mitang*, a kind of thin rice gruel that only becomes visible when iodine is applied to it. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 186-87.
 40. Su Ding, "Dai Li zhi likai Huangpu," 170. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 28-31. After Chiang Kai-shek resigned on August 13 and left for Japan, the Special Investigation Group was dissolved. Hu Jing'an himself took the last three months' worth of the SIG budget and withdrew to Jiangxi with his family. Dai Li had to turn to Du Yuesheng for financial help. *Ibid.*, 32-33.
 41. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 27. According to Zhang Weihai, Dai Li did not actually become known to Chiang Kai-shek until he began serving him as a bodyguard in Shanghai in September 1927. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 280.
 42. For the Special Investigation Group, see Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 96. Dai Li was said to have "cleared up" (*chaqing*) the cases of more than twenty Communist students in the first company (*lian*) of the Cavalry Corps at Whampoa. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 77.
 43. In July 1927, Zhang Zongchang recaptured Xuzhou and Sun Chuanfang launched a drive to recover the lower Yangzi. Within the Guomindang, Chiang

- was opposed by Li Zongren and Bai Chongxi of the Guangxi clique, who had not rejected Chiang's resignation when he tendered it to the Military Council on August 12, 1927. Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution," 682.
44. Apparently Chiang Kai-shek failed to recognize his former disciple, for Dai Li had to identify himself by saying, "I am a former Whampoa student who has come to look after his chancellor's safety." Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 82.
 45. At that very time anti-Japanese demonstrations were taking place under Zhang Zuolin's cautious but approving gaze, and the Nanjing government was loudly objecting to the plans of the National City Bank of New York and the J. P. Morgan Company to lend thirty million dollars to the Japanese-run South Manchuria Railway Company. McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China*, 239-41.
 46. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 280.
 47. Wilbur, "The Nationalist Revolution," 686-96.
 48. *Ibid.*, 697-99.
 49. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 82. Hu served directly under Liu Zhi, who had been an instructor at the Whampoa Academy, and who was now head of the First Group Army under Chiang Kai-shek with He Yingqin as chief of staff. General Liu went on to become governor of Henan in 1930, was head of the Chongqing Garrison Command from 1939 to 1945, and became field commander for the Huai-Hai battle of 1948 in which he was routed. In 1955-56 he was national security adviser to Chiang Kai-shek on Taiwan. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:323; 2:391-93. The basic strategic unit of the GMD armies was the division (*shi*). Three divisions made up an army (*jun*), and two to five armies made up a group army (*jituan jun*). Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 229.
 50. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 54.
 51. *Ibid.*
 52. "Training" (*xunlian*) recalls the long process of militarization that goes back to the gentry militia mobilization of the late eighteenth century and that culminated in the counterinsurgency campaigns against the Taipings in the 1850s and 1860s. See Kuhn, *Rebellion and its Enemies*, *passim*. By the Republican period, *xunlian* (typically institutionalized in six-month courses) was an ambiguous term. It referred on the one hand to the military professionalization and political indoctrination program that began with the Whampoa Academy, and on the other to "on-the-job acquisition of technical skills." Strauss, "The Evolution of Republican Government," 91.
 53. Chiang had to forestall the creation of cliques similar to his own faction of Whampoa alumni by preventing the chancellors (*xiaozhang*) of these units from maintaining strong teacher-disciple ties. Jiang Jianren, the head of the Airforce Academy at Hangzhou, commanded such loyalties, and he had to be called into Nanjing to be reprimanded and punished for seeking to turn his school's alumni association into a power base. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 9.
 54. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 82-83; Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 281.

55. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 154-55.
56. At this time Dai Li was especially eager to acquire a new image in Chiang's eyes, replacing the *xiao biesan* figure that Chiang must have remembered from Dai's earlier days of service in Shanghai. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 127.
57. The others were Zhang Yanyuan, Huang Yong, Zhou Weilong, Xu Liang, Ma Ce, Hu Tianqiu, Zheng Xilin, Liang Ganqiao, and Wang Tianmu. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 6; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 154-55; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 67-68. The date of the gathering of the League of Ten is not very clear. One source speaks of the group forming "after the Northern Expedition." Another says the men came together in 1930. Yet another claims that the League of Ten was organized by Dai Li during the January 28, 1932, crisis when the Japanese besieged Shanghai, and Chiang Kai-shek wanted Dai Li to investigate his enemies within the Chinese military. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 187; Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 82-83; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 12. Note that Huang Yong, who says that the group was organized in 1932, was one of the ten members himself. The most authoritative source has Dai Li summoning together Wang Tianmu, Tang Zong, Zhang Yanyuan, Xu Weibin, Zhou Weilong (who had been the head of Tang Shengzhi's military police), Huang Yong, Ma Ce, and Zheng Xilin in 1933 at a dinner to found the first *diao cha tongxun xiaozu* (investigation and communications unit). This was to be called the League of Eighteen (Shiba tuan), but Ma Ce and Zheng Xilin withdrew. In their place came Liu Huixian and Pei Xidu. This moment, according to some, is when Dai Li genuinely began his term as a "special agent," or *tewu*. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 281. The very term *tewu* was explained by one progressive critic as containing the word "special" because it ran counter to "regular" (*zhengchang*) societies with their fixed "order" (*zhixu*) and "moral behavior" (*daode xingwei*). Huang Jiqing et al., "Zhongguo faxisi tewu zhen xiang," 1. Ma Ce and Zheng Xilin later took up important posts in the MSB. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 6.
58. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 154-55.
59. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 185.
60. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 135-39.
61. The language is from a Beiping poster, put up about the time that Yan gave up his position of neutrality to join Feng Yuxiang in opposing Chiang Kai-shek. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord*, 264.
62. *Ibid.*, 264-65.
63. Gillin, *Warlord*, 113. Sun Lianzhong was actually one of Feng's officers. Later, like many other subordinates of Feng, he joined the Nationalist forces and become a major commander in the suppression campaigns in Jiangxi, pursuing the Red Army on the Long March. He served as Chiang's chief of staff in 1948. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3: 168-69.
64. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 83; Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 281.
65. Dai Li eventually became close to Madame Chiang, and he always had good relations with the servants in the commander-in-chief's household—both of

- which brought him closer to Chiang personally. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 159.
66. Such devout personal allegiance enhanced his image in American eyes. “He is said upon graduation to have pledged his allegiance” to Chiang; and this Dai Li pledge, in a political order where ambitious officials double-cross each other frequently and casually, stands out as a kind of shining miracle. It seems to have been scrupulously kept. His bitterest enemies have never, not even slightly, questioned Dai Li’s loyalty to Chiang.” Walker, “China’s Master Spy,” 168.
 67. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 159.
 68. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
 69. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 159.

4. THE LEAGUE OF TEN

1. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 187.
2. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 13.
3. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 83; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:238.
4. Dai Li, under the name of Jiang Hanqing, pretended to be a reporter for *Junshi zazhi* (Magazine of military affairs). Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 25–26.
5. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 151–52.
6. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 281. This is another one of the tales about Dai Li’s early encounters that reminds one of incidents from the *Shi ji*. Zhou Weilong later came over to Chiang Kai-shek and worked under Dai Li, serving as a station chief for Juntong in Hankou and Shanghai. He was also commander of the Special Operations Brigade (Biedongdui) and became chief of the MSB Secretariat. Zhou Weilong turned out to be very difficult to work with because of his arrogance, and Dai Li had to be extremely conciliatory toward him. Eventually the two men were “like fire and water” to each other. After Dai’s death in 1946, Zhou conspired to take over Chiang Kai-shek’s bodyguards. He was subsequently arrested by Mao Renfeng. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 17–18; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 83; Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 188; Shen Zui, “Jiefang qianxi Juntong tewu zai Changsha de zui e huodong,” 191–92.
7. Before then, Chen Guofu’s Shanghai recruiting agency had served as an intelligence service for Chiang. At the Second Party Congress in 1926, supported by Dai Jitao and Zhang Jingjiang—both of Zhejiang—Chen Guofu was made a member of the Party Central Supervisory Committee, and later that year he became head of the Organization Department. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 48. Chen was later appointed by Chiang to head a secret five-man team to keep Dai Li under surveillance.
8. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 63.
9. Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 16, 83.
10. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:207.
11. For this see Liu Gong, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong,” 59–60.
12. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 187; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, i; Liu Gong, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong,” 59; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 83; Xu Zhu-

- cheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 98. The unit operated under the cover of a foreign-language training group (*waiyu xunlianban*). Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 283–84.
13. See, for a description of the Chicken Goose Lane headquarters, Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 179–80.
 14. Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 16. See, for Xu Enzeng’s background, Zhu Yunya, “Zhongtong toumu Xu Enzeng,” 156–61.
 15. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 60. The term “mobile garrison” hardly does justice to the supreme civil and military authority seated in the Nanchang headquarters of the Chairman of the Military Affairs Commission (Junshi weiyuanhui weiyuanzhang Nanchang xingying), Chiang Kai-shek. Van de Ven, “New States of War,” 353.
 16. Deng Wenyi, *Congjun baoguo ji*, 1–6.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 70.
 19. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 60; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 70.
 20. The Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai areas each provided groups of fifty. Another forty or fifty students were recruited through Communist channels dominated by Borodin. The three hundred students, one-third of whom were Nationalists and two-thirds of whom were Communists, went to Moscow in two separate groups in the winter of 1925 and the fall of 1926. Most attended Sun Yat-sen University under the supervision, first, of Karl Radek, and then later of Pavel Mif. Chen Shaoyu was in charge of student affairs. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 79.
 21. Faculty members of the society included Wang Boling, Zhang Zhizhong, and Gu Zhutong. Their guiding principles were based on Dai Jitao’s two books: *Sun Wenzhuyi zhi zhexue jichu* (Philosophical foundations of Sun Yat-senism) and *Guomin geming yu Zhongguo Guomindang* (On the national revolution and the Guomindang of China). Hung-mao Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 54. Wang Boling, who had helped Chiang Kai-shek establish Whampoa in the first place, studied in the Beiyang Military College in Japan. “Blueshirts—Fascisti Movement in China,” appendix, 2. See also Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 185.
 22. For He’s anti-Communism, see Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 60–61.
 23. There were one hundred members of the delegation, including a small number of Russians and Japanese. Of the students thirty-seven were Communists and three were Nationalists. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 81–82.
 24. Ibid., 82.
 25. The Cheka grew out of the military-revolutionary committee of the Petrograd soviet that had organized the October Revolution. A special section on counterrevolutionary activities had been set up under Felix Dzerzhinsky, the military commander of Smolny. When the military-revolutionary committee was disbanded, this section remained and by a decree of December 1917 was reorganized as the “All-Russian Extraordinary Commission.” On February 8, 1922, the Cheka and its local commissions were abolished, and their functions were

- handed over to the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs in which a State Political Administration (GPU) was instituted and given special army detachments to combat crime in the army and on the railways during the New Economic Program. That same month, the newly formed GPU arrested forty-seven leading Social Revolutionaries on charges of conspiracy. After the constitution of the USSR in 1923, the GPU was replaced by OGPU (Ob'edinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, or Unified State Political Administration). Carr, *The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923*, 1:166-67, 188-89, 408-9.
26. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 65.
 27. The deputy chief of this Investigation Section was Li Houzheng. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85-86.
 28. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 65.
 29. Zhabei suffered thirty-four days of bombing. Wenxin-Xinwen bu, *Shanghai de fenghuo*, ed., 1. Boorman emphasizes the importance of the Manchurian railway incident of September 18, 1931, but I think he may have been mistaken. See Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:205. All other sources emphasize the Songhu War with Japan as being decisive.
 30. Moneys from all over the world poured into China in support of Cai and his men. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:291.
 31. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 12.
 32. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 7; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, i; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155.
 33. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 59-60.
 34. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14, 17. The membership of the League of Ten that comprised the nucleus of this group was slightly different from that drawn together two years earlier. It consisted of Dai Li himself, the unit's secretary (*shuji*) Tang Zong, Zhang Yanyuan, Huang Yong, Xu Weibin, Wang Tianmu, Liang Ganqiao, Wu Naixian, Ma Zhishao, and Yu Sadu. The last three men took the places of Hu Tianqiu, Zhou Weilong, Ma Ce, and Zheng Xilin. There were four sections under Tang Zong's charge, and the *kezhang* included Zhang Yanyuan, Xu Liang, Liang Ganqiao, Xu Yedao, and Yang Jirong.
 35. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 146. Kidnapping was an important weapon in the Shanghai station's repertoire because of the jurisdiction of the International Settlement. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 43.
 36. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, ii.
 37. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 18. Puyi was installed as chief executive of the Republic of Manchukuo on March 9 in Changchun. McAleavy, *A Dream of Tartary*, 216. See also Jansen, *Japan and China*, 379-85.
 38. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 18. The *si yi jinian ri* (April 1 anniversary) was attended annually by the "responsible persons" for each external work unit. They typically joined a *waiqin gongzuo huiyi*, or special work conference for those on field duty. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 191. For a fairly complete roster of section and zone chiefs of field units throughout China, see Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 291-94. According to Hans van de Ven, the terms "*waiqin*" (field staff) and "*neiqin*" (office staff) originated in the Maritime Customs Service.

39. There was a meeting, which will be described in chapter 5, of the Fuxingshe councilors at Lingyuan Villa near Sun's tomb in the last ten days of March 1932. At this meeting, Dai Li was named head of the Special Services Department (Tewuchu) of the Renaissance Society. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85.
40. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 19.
41. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 6; Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 95.
42. The original nucleus of this group, which was controlled by the "CC" clique, operated under the cover of a corporation called the *Zhengyuan shiyeshe* (Basic Origin Industrial Company), with branches entitled *Zhongguo gongchenghui* (Chinese Engineering Association). Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 114.
43. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 59-60.
44. Dai retained that rank until his death. He was posthumously promoted to lieutenant general (*zhongjiang*).
45. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 7; Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 59-60; Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 191.
46. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 6; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, ii. The third department was usually identified with the Wang Jingwei clique. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 189.
47. Later the headquarters was moved to Caodu Lane. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 89.
48. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 18-19.
49. Zheng was born in 1897 in Wenchang, Guangdong, to a "comfortable" peasant household whose head was a drunkard. The eldest of four sons, Zheng was an alert and watchful schemer. The dynasty fell when he was in secondary school, and he abandoned classes to take to the "rivers and lakes" (*jiang hu*), traveling abroad to Singapore, where he taught for two years before opening a small coffee shop. When it folded he went back to Guangzhou, where the Whampoa Academy was just beginning to recruit students. He joined the second class. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 71.
50. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 18-19. Qiu was born in 1903 in Jingdong county on the Burmese border. His father, Zhaonan, was a prominent local *ju ren* of considerable mercantile wealth. At the time that he was graduating from the provincial secondary school in Kunming, Qiu Kaiji and a dozen other fellow students were severely beaten by students from the local military academy. Qiu Kaiji almost lost his life, and he bore the warlords a deep hatred thereafter. On his way to university in Beijing via Hanoi and Hong Kong, he saw the Whampoa slogan, "Down with the Warlords" (*Dadao junfa*) and promptly joined the second class of the Academy. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 71.
51. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 17.
52. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 89.
53. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155.
54. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, ii; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 65. The political disgrace of Deng Wenyi was also partly the result of the struggle between the "CC" clique and the Renaissance Society in 1934 on Shanghai campuses, where the Renaissance Society's

- Zhongguo wenhua xuehui (see chapter 5) was attacking Chen Lifu's protégés. Chen Lifu accused Deng Wenyi in front of Chiang Kai-shek of using the Chinese Culture Study Society's name as a way of gathering followers for nefarious purposes of his own. Chiang simultaneously dismissed Deng Wenyi and ordered the Zhongguo wenhua xuehui dissolved. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 57.
55. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidaode Dai Li," 7.
 56. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 60.
 57. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85-86. Wang Xinheng and Xie Ligong were former Communists. Wang, in fact, had studied at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow and was closely related to the Shanghai underworld, having served as Du Yue-sheng's private secretary. Jiang Shao-zhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 42.
 58. Within each Peace Preservation Department there was an Investigative Division that was supposed to report directly to the Investigation Section of the Three Provinces Bandit Suppression Headquarters. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidaode Dai Li," 155; Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86.
 59. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yue-sheng zhengzhuan*, 98.
 60. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86.
 61. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidaode Dai Li," 155; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 17.
 62. "The system of parallel secret and non-secret organizations had always been employed inside the Military Investigation Bureau for the purpose of strengthening secret service activities through mutual coordination and supervision." Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-en, *Red Crag*, 109-10.
 63. Walker, as usual, was less than half right. "A few years later Dai Li could be found in what to some might seem a paradoxical position. He was both head of the National Police Training Academy, which was at Hangchow, and king of the Blue Shirts, which was an underworld group of Shanghai gangsters specializing in kidnappings and extortion." Walker, "China's Master Spy," 168.

5. "VIGOROUS PRACTICE"

1. James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, 1:407.
2. Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 7; "Blue Shirts," 1.
3. The core members of the brotherhood were members of the first four classes graduating from the Whampoa Military Academy who later studied in Japan. Gan Guoxun, "Minzu fuxing yundong ji," 40.
4. On the eve of this decision, Chiang called together his closest followers, including Dai Li, and told them that "our party's spirit has completely vanished and the revolution is soon going to be defeated." Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 282.
5. According to Chen Lifu, Hu Hanmin once said, "Chiang Kai-shek has the capability of coping with emergencies. He can quickly solve problems. However, after the solution of a problem, he also creates new problems." Cited in Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 56.
6. Hu Hanmin's arrest was ordered on March 1, in the middle of the second suppression campaign in Jiangxi. The Nineteenth Route Army promptly sus-

- pended military operations and considered returning to Guangdong. Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 45.
7. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:164-65; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 83.
 8. Henriot, "Le gouvernement municipal de Shanghai, 1927-1937," 102. The floods swelled the ranks of the Chinese Communists, whose Red Army doubled its size to almost 400,000. On November 17, 1931, the Communists installed a provisional government of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Jiangxi. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 55-56.
 9. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 33-34.
 10. *Ibid.*, 104.
 11. Teng Jie was born in 1905 in Kuogangzhuang. His father was one of the three landlords of that *zhuang* who together employed a classical tutor for their children. Between seven and twelve *sui*, Teng studied ancient texts at home. Then, after one year in an elementary school and two years in a *gaoxiao* (higher middle school), he attended the four-year English-language vocational school in Nantong, from which he graduated in three years. *Ibid.*, 64.
 12. *Ibid.*, 64-65.
 13. During a student protest at the labor confederation headquarters, Teng Jie was in the front lines when police and soldiers opposed the protesters with guns and bayonets. After he reflected on the incident back at school, Teng Jie realized that all of those who had faced the bayonets with their chests were members of the Nationalist Party, while those in the back who were the first to sneak away were CCP members. Interview with Teng Jie, July 4, 1972, in *ibid.*, 65-66.
 14. Future Lixingshe members among this group included He Zhonghan, Xiao Zanyu, Gan Guoxun, Ren Juewu, Ye Wei, Pan Youqiang, Du Xinru, Qiu Kaiji, Peng Mengji, Li Yimin, Zhou Fu, Yi Demin, Ge Wuqi, Ran Zhai, Yan Denghan, Chen Jingxian, Hu Jingxian, Li Shizhen, Li Guojun, and Yue Gan. *Ibid.*, 83.
 15. Chinese students at Meiji were not required to attend lectures. Teng Jie's Japanese was weak, so he spent part of his time every day on linguistic training, after mornings in Ueno Library, where he ate lunch in the basement. Of his monthly 120-yuan government subsidy he spent only 40 yuan on living expenses. The rest of the money went for books on political organizations and ideologies. *Ibid.*, 84-85, 104.
 16. On July 3, 1931, the Japanese intervened in a land dispute between Korean and Chinese farmers in Wanbaoshan, a locale of Changchun *xian* in northeastern Kirin. On the pretext of protecting the Koreans from the Chinese, the Japanese occupied Wanbaoshan and forced the Chinese out. Viewing this as a prelude to a full-scale invasion of Manchuria, twenty or so Whampoa graduates meeting in Tokyo decided that some of them should return to China to "save the nation." Teng Jie was influenced by two members of this group, Xiao Zanyu and Chen Qiyu. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 55-56.
 17. Teng Jie shared these feelings with the two other Whampoa graduates who had returned with him, Xiao Zanyu and Chen Qiyu. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 104.
 18. *Ibid.*, 105, 127. See also Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 223.

19. Teng Jie initially consulted his brother-in-law, Chen Qiyu, who told him that this was not the sort of activity a private person could sponsor and suggested he submit the plan to the authorities for consideration. Another friend, Hu Gui, an inspector in the Jiangsu provincial government, expressed skepticism because he believed that everyone had lost confidence in organizational solutions to the national crisis. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 105.
20. The guests included Feng Ti, Deng Wenyi, Cai Jingjun, Lou Shaokai, Li Bingzhong, Zhou Fu, and Zhang Benqing. *Ibid.*, 106. But see Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 283, which places Gan Guoxun, Hu Zongnan, and Pan Youqiang on the guest list.
21. Feng Ti, born in 1906, came from a poor family. When his father died, he left elementary school to become an apprentice in a silk and satin store in Xiangyin. The work bored him and, after a fight with the shop owner, he went to live with an uncle in Guangzhou, where he found work as a scribe (*lushi*) before enrolling in the first class of the Whampoa Academy. During the Northern Expedition Feng Ti was the director of the political department of the First Army. He served two terms as secretary of the Whampoa Alumni Association. In 1928 he succeeded Zhou Fohai as director of the political department of the Central Military Academy, a post that carried the rank of major general. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” *zhong*, 71; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 70. Deng Wenyi was a graduate of the first class of Whampoa and of Moscow’s Zhongshan University. Later, in 1938, he was to serve as the Chinese military attaché in Moscow; during the War of Resistance, he became chief of the political department of the president’s office. Robert Parkinson to Edwin Martin, 30/6/52, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1940–44; Lestz, “The Meaning of Revival,” 189–90.
22. Deng Wenyi, *Congjun baoguo ji*, 195.
23. One of the reasons for the “failure” of the Lixingshe was the perception of others that the Hunanese had formed their own clique (*paixi*) within the group. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 63.
24. *Ibid.*, 106–7.
25. *Ibid.*, 322.
26. He’s father was a landlord and merchant.
27. Xu Kehuang, a classmate of his, remembered seeing He Zhonghan in 1915, standing on a desk and protesting loudly against Japan’s Twenty-One Demands. *Ibid.*, 67.
28. The school was the Lǔ’e zhongxue.
29. The secretary of Gregory Voitinsky, the Comintern representative, helped Dong and Chen establish the Communist group. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* 1:239, 3:342.
30. The Chinese delegates assembled, together with Japanese and Korean delegates, in a railway car just beyond Manzhouli on the Russian side of the border, and were then taken to Chita, the capital of the Soviet Far Eastern Republic. Chang, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 1:179–81.
31. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 67; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:64.

32. He also administered the Changsha qingnian fuwu she (Changsha Youth Service Center).
33. The two labor leaders were shot in January 1921 in connection with the strike at the Huashi Cotton Mill in Changsha. The tract was called *Huang Ai Pang Renquan zhi zhenxiang* (The true facts about Huang Ai and Pang Renquan). For Huang and Pang, see Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:94.
34. He went to Guangzhou with Jiang Fusheng. On the ship they met Hu Zongnan. By the time they reached Guangzhou the final entrance exam had already been given, but they wrote to Liao Zhongkai, stressing that they were revolutionary students. Liao gave special permission for them to take the exam, saying they were exactly the kind of students Whampoa wanted to attract. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 67–68.
35. Miao Bin, who was from Wuxi, later came to control all *xian* magistrates and police chiefs in Jiangsu briefly in 1928 before being dismissed for corruption. He returned to his native place, where he married the niece of Rong Zongjing, and became chief manager of the magnate's flour mills. In 1937, Miao Bin joined the puppet regime in Beijing and organized the pro-Japanese New People's Society (Xinminhui). In 1940 he became president of Wang Jingwei's Examination Yuan and a vice-director of the East Asia League, which promoted the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Soon he was in contact with Dai Li's intelligence organs, passing funds and information to Nationalist agents in Shanghai. In March 1945, Miao Bin went to Tokyo to hold talks with Premier Koiso Kuniaki, passing himself off as a representative of the Nationalist government. Because he was so readily duped, Koiso was overthrown in April 1945, and Miao returned to China. After VJ Day, Miao was not treated as an ordinary war criminal, but rather was placed in protective custody. Suddenly, in the early summer of 1946, he was taken to Suzhou, rushed to trial, and executed as a traitor. Wakeman, "Hanjian (Traitor!)," 323–24; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:36–37.
36. Xiao Zanyu graduated with the first class at Whampoa. Appointed to the third class as an instructor, he quieted students who complained about being assigned to join the 1925 Eastern Expedition against Chen Jiongming by volunteering to go to the front himself. He was badly wounded in the Mianhu engagement along with Deng Wenyi and Huang Linzheng, later the defender of the Great Wall shortly before the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 73. The Nationalists' Hangzhou Military Academy was first known as the Zhengzhi baowei xuexiao, or Political Security School, that is, a training unit for guards and bodyguards. Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 330. Chen Gongshu, originally from Hebei, graduated with the fifth class at Whampoa. Chiang Kai-shek personally chose him to enter the "special research unit" (*tebie yanjiuban*) of the Central Military Academy, an elite group that consisted of fourteen cadets personally pledged to Chiang and dedicated to studying the works of their Generalissimo, Zeng Guofan, Wang Yangming, Qi Jiguang, and Sun Yat-sen. Twelve of the fourteen "survived" the training and became Chiang's special intelligence agents. When they were assigned to work for Dai Li, they were called "amateur performers" (*ke-*

- chuan*), that is, admired “guest singers” at a Beijing opera performance. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 58.
37. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 83; Huang Yong, “Huangpu xue-sheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 14. He Zhonghan was very eager to become a field commander, believing that he could emulate Chiang Kai-shek in this respect, but the *xiaozhang* knew full well that He Zhonghan was a hopeless horseman and therefore preferred that he be given a political assignment. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 60–61.
 38. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:161. Chiang’s audiences with the students, to whom he compared himself to the Song patriot Yue Fei, are described in Israel, *Student Nationalism in China*, 59–63.
 39. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 108.
 40. *Ibid.* Kang was born in Anyue in 1903. His father died when he was three, and he had to work at home before and after school, where he was considered an exceptionally bright student. During winter he constantly had sores on his hands from the cold because he had to wash vegetables in the creek near his house. At the age of twelve he earned money for pencils and paper by writing and selling New Year’s couplets to paste beside the door. After graduating from secondary school he enrolled at Whampoa, where his cousin, Li Yueyang, was already a member of the first class. *Ibid.*, 68.
 41. Feng Ti and Pan Youqiang also sent secret requests to Chiang Kai-shek that he form some sort of core organization of his most loyal supporters. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 73.
 42. Coble, “Superpatriots and Secret Agents,” 13.
 43. To be sure, Chiang was also trying—perhaps not altogether successfully—to counter the public fervor of mass organizations determined to oppose his decision to “pacify the interior” (*annei*) before driving out the invaders.
 44. Wakeman, “A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism,” 172–76. For pictorial evidence of Nazi influence, see the coverage of the 1936 Olympics in the *China Press*, Jan. 30, 1936, supplement, 1. Dooeum Chung strongly emphasizes the influence of Japanese fascism on these right-wing elements in China. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 3.
 45. Cited in Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 55–56. In 1934 Chiang Kai-shek authorized the publication of ten thousand copies of a translation of the biography of Benito Mussolini. Godley, “Fascismo e nazionalismo Cinese,” 746. See also Lestz, “Gli intellettuali del Fuxingshe,” 276.
 46. Perhaps only one of the seven characteristics isolated by Robert Paxton as “mobilizing passions” of a fascist movement—the primacy of the group, the belief that one’s group is a victim, dread of the group’s decadence under the effect of individualism and liberalism, closer integration of the community within a brotherhood forged by common conviction or by exclusionary violence, enhanced sense of belonging and identity, authority of natural leaders (always male), and the beauty of violence and of will—were present in the Whampoa-led assembly. The last of these was not a salient attribute. Paxton, “The Five Stages of Fascism,” 6–7.
 47. Jiang Jingguo, Chiang Kai-shek’s son, is credited with founding a National Con-

- struction Club (Jianguoshe) during this period as well. Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 43.
48. The president of the society was Chiang Kai-shek. Actual responsibility rested in the hands of the secretary, Zeng Kuoqing. He was succeeded by Feng Ti and He Zhonghan. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 78.
 49. The Society for German-Chinese Translation (Zhong-De bianyi xueshe) was established within the Lizhishe headquarters. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shu-lue," 35.
 50. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 62. Those who came to the office of the *choubeichu* on a regular basis were Teng Jie and his wife, Kang Ze, He Zhonghan, Gui Yongqing, Pan Yongqiang, Du Xinru, Xiao Zanyu, Zhou Fu, Ye Wei, Lou Shaokai, Gan Guoxun, and Zhao Fangchen. *Ibid.*, 109. See also Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 3-4.
 51. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 62.
 52. *Ibid.*, 79.
 53. *Ibid.*, 109.
 54. Whampoa students in Tokyo organized a street protest in the name of the GMD branch, which was run by Ren Juwu. He was arrested as a result, and then harassed by the Japanese police and military after his release from jail. He went back to China in November 1931. He and other Whampoa graduates contacted Teng Jie after they returned. *Ibid.*, 110.
 55. These other students, who were not Whampoa graduates, included Huang Musing, Lei Zhen, and Chen Haicheng. Xiao Zanyu was the *zongganshi* (principal administrative person). *Ibid.*, 110.
 56. *Ibid.*, 110. Chiang actually declared domestic pacification the priority in a speech on July 23, 1931, after the Guangdong-Guangxi clique denounced Party Center. *Ibid.*, 126-27.
 57. Henriot, "Le gouvernement municipal de Shanghai, 1927-1937," 105-6.
 58. Israel, *Student Nationalism in China*, 71-75; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:328-29.
 59. Dai Li, Liu Yizhou, and Lai Yunzhang did go to Qikou to pay their respects to Chiang and to announce the determination of his Whampoa stalwarts to support him, whatever the cost. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 20.
 60. Zhang Weihai claims that on the eve of his resignation Chiang Kai-shek convened a private meeting of a handful of former Whampoa students: He Zhonghan, Deng Wenyi, Kang Ze, Gui Yongqing, Xiao Zanyu, Zhou Fu, Teng Jie, Zheng Jiemin, Qiu Kaiji, and Dai Li. He supposedly told them that they faced a situation in which the revolution was about to be lost, either to the Japanese or the Communists inside the country, and that something had to be done to redeem their cause. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 84.
 61. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 111-12. Chen Lifu was planning to reorganize the Central Committee of the party, and Feng Ti presented a proposal to Chiang to form a Club to Save the Country from Extinction (Jiuwang-she). Chiang rejected the latter. *Ibid.*, 113.
 62. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 23.

6. THE FOUNDING OF THE LIXINGSHE

1. This is Teng Jie's paraphrased recollection of the speech. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 117.
2. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 25, 112; Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 188; British Foreign Office Records. London: Her Majesty's Public Record Office, 4; Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 283.
3. The longer title of the *choubeichu* is given in Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 35.
4. According to later left-wing criticisms of the "fascist secret service," fascism itself was no more than a modern form of despotic tyranny (*baojun zhuanzhi zhuyi*), in which the "Leader" (*lingxiu*) adopted totalitarian guise and gathered around him a secret body of dedicated and enslaved followers. Huang Jiqing, *Zhongguo faxisi tewu wang nali qu* 6-7.
5. Interview with Deng Wenyi and Teng Jie, cited in Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 113. Shortly after this meeting, Chiang also called in Pan Youqiang for an interview.
6. Chiang's official residence was in the MAC compound in downtown Nanjing.
7. Gan Guoxun says that the meeting took place on March 4, 1932. His dates are consistently a week later than Deng Yuanzhong's, and Gan sets the date for the founding meeting of the Lixingshe as March 7, 1932. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 35-36. Deng Yuanzhong dates the meeting in the week before February 28 because Chiang was in Luoyang (the temporary Nationalist capital) and Xuzhou (where he met with Feng Yuxiang and Wang Jingwei) between late January and mid-February. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 114. Maria Chang gives February 19, 1932, as the day of the meeting. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 56.
8. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 130.
9. This claim was made by Dai Li in a speech at 8 A on March 10, 1946, seven days before he died. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji, shang*, 417. See also Wei Daming, "Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong," *xia*, 98. Note that Chen Lifu was not informed of this secret commitment until he asked Chiang Kai-shek about the matter directly. Chen Lifu, interview by the author, June 23, 1987.
10. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji, shang*, 417.
11. Before he finally selected Dai Li, Chiang Kai-shek was considering five others for the position of SSD *chuzhang* (department chief) as well. Tang Liangxiong, "Dai Li yu Lixingshe," 99.
12. *Ibid.*, 417; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14; Liu Jianqun, *Yinhe yiwang*, 206. Zheng Jiemin was also head of the second *ting* (bureau) of the Army's General Staff Office (*Canmoubu*). In this capacity he made sure that staff officers (*canmou ren yuan*) in the three services or those sent abroad as military attachés first underwent a special training course administered by the Special Services Department. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 191, 195. This attempt to *dadao*, or "overthrow," Dai Li is

- referred to in the colloquial accounts by Shen Zui and Wen Qiang as a case of *duanguo*—a housewife having her pot of rice taken away.
13. A secondhand and less authoritative account claims the meeting was held at the Wanhua caiguan in Nanjing with Chiang and the original League of Ten, plus Gan Guoxun, Hu Zongnan, Pan Youqiang, and Feng Ti. Feng Ti put before the assembly a proposal that Chiang should strengthen his power as their leader by implementing “a philosophy of practicing with vigor” (*lixing zhexue*). Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 12.
 14. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 35. Ye Wei and Ren Juewu were close friends. Both came from Sichuan, and both were students at Beiyang University, transferring together to Southeastern University in Nanjing in 1924 because of involvement in the student movement. As activists they went to Shanghai to see Dai Jitao, and they enlisted for Whampoa in the summer of 1925, entering the fourth class. They both joined the Sun Yat-sen Study Society and frequently engaged in fisticuffs, and even bayonet fights, with members of the Communist-dominated Qingnian junren lianhehui. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 76.
 15. *Ibid.*, 35.
 16. Even though Deng Wenyi was of the first class, he did not speak because he was taking notes.
 17. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 35.
 18. *Ibid.*
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. *Ibid.*, 36.
 22. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 84; Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 38. Cast as an imperative, this called for his followers to *juedui yonghu yige dang yige lingxiu* (absolutely support one party and one Leader).
 23. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 36.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.* Teng Jie’s paraphrase reads: “Once you reach a decision, you must devote yourself wholeheartedly to it. You must have the spirit of doing it in a tough way, doing it quickly and doing it solidly *ying gan, kuai gan, shi gan*, so as to achieve thoroughness. In order to improve the results of your efforts, you must all strive to be anonymous heroes *wuming yingxiong*. You must have the resolution not to care for personal honor, humiliation, gain, loss. You must dedicate yourself to the salvation of the country wholeheartedly. If you can do that then you will have success.” Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 117. See, for the new hero worship of the “fascist era,” Max Ascoli, *Atlantic Monthly*, Nov. 1933, 581, cited in Lu Yen-ying, “Can China Become Fascist?” *China Critic*, June 14, 1934, 560.
 26. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 36. See also Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 171.
 27. *Ibid.*; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 118.
 28. We are taking Deng Yuanzhong’s date, based upon his reconstruction of the event plus interviews with his father, Deng Wenyi. Gan Guoxun has the meeting

- more than a week later on March 7. Details of the meeting come from both accounts.
29. Secondhand accounts that refer to this as the founding meeting of the Fuxingshe incorrectly have Kang Ze and Hu Zongnan present. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Liyu Juntong ju,” 84–85.
 30. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suwei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 36; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 118.
 31. Chiang Kai-shek said that Wang Yangming had stressed the unity of knowledge and action. The *zongli* (chairman) had emphasized that it is hard to acquire knowledge, but easy to carry it out. All we have to do is to strive hard (*nuli*) to practice vigorously fairness and rectitude (*lixing gong zheng*), which is what the *Doctrine of the Mean* means when it says, “Even the stupid can be enlightened. Even the weak can be strengthened.” Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 119.
 32. This is “society” in the sense of a club or association.
 33. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suwei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 36; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 118.
 34. This date, February 29, is corroborated as the day of the formal founding by Maria Chang, who was able to consult Chiang’s handwritten diary on the Lixingshe at the Guomindang archives on Yangmingshan in Taiwan. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 57.
 35. Yi Deming was therefore given only an “expectant” (*houbu*) post in the Lixingshe.
 36. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 118–19; Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suwei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 37.
 37. There was also a charter either five or six chapters long. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 130.
 38. This notion of race, insofar as it was defined by Sun Yat-sen, was based upon kinship relationships. Sun argued that there were probably about four hundred clans in China, united through “blood relationships” by intermarriage. This biological homogeneity, based upon the prime virtue of *zhong* (loyalty), could be extended to the nation, “the one great indivisible nationality group,” or *guozu* (nation-race). Chang argues that this is similar to the French notion of *ethnie*, “a breeding community that shares a cultural distinctiveness and is generally co-extensive with long-established political boundaries.” Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 41.
 39. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suwei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 37.
 40. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 119.
 41. Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 43; Hu Menghua, “CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo,” 147; Kang Ze, “Fuxingshe’ de yuanqi,” 135–36; Xu Youwei, “Guanyu lanyishe’ de jidian bianxi,” 71. Japanese reports referred to three concentric circles, with the Lixingshe at the core and the Fuxingshe at the periphery. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 97–98.
 42. “Except for the organizations of the party itself, all organizations and parties were targets of penetration and control. The hope was to turn all these organs and organizations into instruments for the implementation of their policies.

- For example, in 1936, they formed an eight-person cell within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.” Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 129.
43. *Ibid.*, 128.
 44. One of the best sources for the study of the Blue Shirts Society and its relationship with the “CC” clique is Iwai Eiichi (Hidakusu), *Ranisha nikansuru chosa* (An investigation of the Blue Shirts Society), Research Division of the Foreign Ministry of Japan, 1937. This secret document was translated into English by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on March 30, 1945, as *The Chinese Lanyi Society*. See U.S. State Department, Confidential Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945–49, 893.00/3–3045.
 45. All Lixingshe activities proceeded under other cover. To recruit students and train cadres, the Lixingshe set up units under the political training department of the Military Affairs Commission. These units cultivated cadres at various levels under the cover of training political workers. “In order to develop intelligence work speedily, they used the rubric of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (Diaocha tongji ju) of the Military Affairs Commission. They appeared in the guise of government intelligence agents (*qingbao renyu*), while in reality they were carrying out designated intelligence assignments of their own.” Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 129.
 46. Hu Menghua, “CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo,” 147. Blue-green and white were the colors of the GMD flag, hence the name of the squad. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 57.
 47. Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 43.
 48. I will explore one instance of this, the case of Liu Jianqun, in the following chapter.
 49. The Lixingshe was folded into the Three People’s Principles Youth Corps, it is said, because Chiang Kai-shek was furious to find names of members of the Society for Vigorous Practice among those who signed petitions in support of an all-out attack on Xi’an when he was being held prisoner there. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 13.
 50. *Ibid.*, 325.
 51. The four movements were the New Life Movement, the National Military Training Movement, the National Economic Construction Movement, and the Pacification and Resistance Movement. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” *xia*, 81–83.
 52. *Ibid.*, 84. Gan is explicitly criticizing the account of Xu Guihua (a.k.a. Gu Seng), entitled *Dai Li jiangjun yu kang Ri zhanzheng* (General Dai Li and the War of Resistance), which makes the founding of the Lixingshe secondary to the rise of Dai Li.
 53. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 13.

7. THE LIXINGSHE AND THE BLUE SHIRTS

1. Quoted in Burton, “Chiang’s Secret Blood Brothers,” 309.
2. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 28. The date is from Deng Yuanzhong’s account. Gan says this meeting was held on March 9.

3. The *ganshi* were Hu Zongnan, Sun Changjun, Deng Wenyi, Du Xinru, Xiao Zanyu, Ge Wuqi, Zhou Fu, Han Lunhuan, Li Yimin, Zeng Kuoqing, Feng Ti, and Huang Zhongxiang. The expectant staff officers (*houbu ganshi*) were Cai Jingjun, Qiu Kaiji, Lou Derong, Ye Wei, Gan Guoxun, Peng Mengji, Yi Deming, Dai Li, Liu Chengzhi, and Chen Qi. See also Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 5.
4. He was assisted by Hou Zhimin, and later by Lin Peichen. The other standing staff officers were He Zhonghan, Gui Yongqing, Pan Youqiang, and Kang Ze.
5. The secretary-general was selected from a list of candidates nominated by the annual member's congress (*sheyuan daibiao dahui*). The list was presented to Chiang Kai-shek, who would circle the name of the person he wanted to be secretary-general. Later secretary-generals were Feng Ti, Liu Jianqun (who served a second term after Feng Ti was fired over the Wang Jingwei affair), Deng Wenyi, Zheng Jiemin, and Kang Ze. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 71.
6. He was assisted by He Rigang.
7. His aides were Hu Gui and Li Xinjun.
8. Liang Ganqiao was his assistant.
9. His assistant, who probably reported directly to Chiang Kai-shek, was Zheng Jiemin. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 37. See also Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 23–24.
10. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 72.
11. Iwai Eiichi, "An Investigation of the Blue Shirts Society," 8.
12. The standing staff officer for organization was Du Xinru, and for training Lou Shaokai. Other regular and attendant *ganshi* included Yi Deming (assistant secretary), Sun Changjun, Han Wenhuan, Peng Mengji, Ye Wei, and Luo Derong.
13. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 322.
14. Chiang Kai-shek refused to allow them to extend the Revolutionary Army Comrades Association within the army, "because this would sever the unity *tuanjie* of regular military organization." Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 37.
15. His assistants were Sun Changjun, Bao Lie, and Li Guogang. Ibid.
16. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 13. The RYCA was also sometimes called the Chinese Revolutionary Comrades Association (Zhongguo geming tongzhi hui). Its name was also occasionally shortened to Qing hui, or "Green Association." Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 56.
17. Gui Yongqing, Feng Ti, Cai Tingjun, and Zhao Fansheng were regular or attendant *ganshi*.
18. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 23–24. The society "was a fascist special operations center organization under the control of the members of the Lixingshe." Ibid., 24. See also Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 43.
19. The Central Military Academy was viewed as the successor to the Whampoa Academy. It enrolled about three thousand new cadets per year. Sih, ed., *The Strenuous Decade*, 50.
20. These membership figures are rather hesitantly put forward in Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 26. Xiao was secretary of the Henan provincial *fenhui* and he bases his estimate upon figures he saw while in office.

21. The same was true, incidentally, for the Renaissance Society. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 24–27.
22. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” *zhong*, 70.
23. The Chief Brigade was set up in January 1932 under the command of Xu Peigen. The brigade commanders were Gui Yongqing, Pan Youqiang, Du Xinru, and Ruan Qi, all members of the Lixingshe. Graduates of the course were later made directors or upper-level cadres of numerous other training units. *Ibid.*, 68. See, for Gui Yongqing’s plans to set up a separate party-army, Cai Jicai, “Fuxingshe de junshichu ji huweidui,” 134–35.
24. The lyrics were written by Gui Yongqing, commander of the training program, and by Gan Guoxun, head of indoctrination; and the melody was composed by Dai Yiqing, who was a music instructor at the military academy. “Chiang Kai-shek” is actually “Lord Jiang Zhongzheng” in the Chinese original. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” *zhong*, 69.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 37.
27. *Ibid.*, 38.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 16.
30. Chiang essentially approved membership lists. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” 37.
31. *Ibid.*, 38.
32. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 26.
33. The standing staff officers were He Zhonghan, Teng Jie, and Feng Ti, and the standing supervisor (*changwu jianshi*) was Tian Zailong. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” “85.
34. Another source mentions nine standing councilors: the staff officers, plus Zhou Fu, Kang Ze, Gui Yongqing, Pan Youqiang, Zheng Jiemin, and Qiu Kaiji. There were three additional expectant councilors: Hou Zhiming, Zhao Fansheng, and Dai Li. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, i–ii; Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 13.
35. When Zhou Fu was promoted to standing supervisor in the Supervision Committee (Jianshihui), he was succeeded by Yi Deming. Huang Yong, “Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian,” 14.
36. Chiang also appointed the staff officers, as well as the secretaries of each of the branch offices (*fenhui*). Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 25.
37. “All authority is from above: not even in Germany is the ‘leader principle’ more pronounced. The head of each group passes on orders, trains neophytes, and investigates the daily work and thinking—insofar as he can—of all members in his charge.” Burton, “Chiang’s Secret Blood Brothers,” 310.
38. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 24–25.
39. Xiao claimed that all basic-level cadres in the Fuxingshe were members of the RYCA. *Ibid.*, 24.
40. *Ibid.*, 25–26.
41. *Ibid.*, 24.
42. *Ibid.*, 26.
43. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 4.

44. "In terms of the organizational structure, there were altogether four levels from the center to the base. The headquarters was in the center, and there were provincial level offices and county-level branches *zhishe*. Under the branches there were cells *xiaozu* at the district *qu* level. These organizations also existed at four levels within special professions and sectors such as schools and the postal service. Each organization had a member from every one of the departments. They all used code names *daihao*." Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 129.
45. The figure of 500,000 members comes from *ibid.*, 61. In general, members of the Loyal and Patriotic Society (discussed below) did not know of the Renaissance Society; members of the Renaissance Society were ignorant of the existence of the Society of Chinese Revolutionary Comrades (SCRC); and those who belonged to the SCRC did not know about the Lixingshe. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 24. Informants in the People's Republic of China who have had access to detailed information on former Fuxingshe members report that they seldom knew the "inner" details of the entire organization's top tiers. See also Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 4–5.
46. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 61; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xue-sheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 12–13. Huang gives fifty or sixty members as the core. Deng Yuanzhong mentions three hundred, although his own father says that the society did not expand beyond eighty or so members.
47. A secret Shanghai Municipal Police Special Branch report on the Blue Shirts, with information—according to the Special Branch chief—"from a very confidential source," claims that Liu Wendao (whose wife was French) was sent to Germany "to combine with" the fascists "and promote the [sic] friendship with them." "Blueshirts—Fascisti Movement in China," 4. See also Godley, "Fascismo e nazionalismo Cinese," 758; Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 59.
48. He Yingqin came from a family of cattle dealers in southwestern Guizhou. He attended both the Shinbu gakko (Military Preparatory Academy) and the Shikan gakko (Military Academy), serving as a student recruit in the 59th Infantry Company of the Japanese Army. During the 1911 Revolution he was a member of Chen Qimei's headquarters. In 1924 Chiang appointed him acting director of the training department of the Whampoa Military Academy. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:79–80. See also Wei, *Counter-revolution in China*, 35–36.
49. Liu was born in 1902 in Zunyi. During his childhood in bandit-infested Guizhou, one of the poorest provinces of China, he saw a "picture of blood and tears." Even after growing up, whenever he remembered his childhood, he experienced a "lingering fear" of civil war and his thoughts turned to the importance of political unification: "With a unified country there will be peace." After graduating from a law school in Guizhou, he joined the "national revolution" by becoming a follower of He Yingqin. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 69.
50. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 35.
51. See Wakeman, *Shanghai Badlands*, *passim*. Deng Yuanzhong, who is the son of Deng Wenyi, argues that the term Blue Shirts "does not reflect the real situa-

- tion." Seeking to disassociate his father's activities from fascist movements, Deng argues that foreigners confused organizations like the Lixingshe with the Blue Shirts in Ireland and the black-uniformed fascists in Japan. He asserts that it was mainly Japanese news agencies like Domei tsushinsha that identified all of these activities with the supposedly ubiquitous Blue Shirts. This claim is self-serving, though not without merit. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 13-14.
52. "The first person connected with the Lixingshe to raise the name of the Lanyishe was Liu Jianqun. . . . Blue cotton clothing was a sign then of *zili gengsheng* [self-sufficiency]. Liu Jianqun did not intend to promote a fascist-style organization." Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 16-17.
 53. "The Blue Shirt Society," 2. See also Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 131. According to Hatano Ken'ichi's *Chugoku Kokuminto tsushi*, 465, and his *Gendai Shina*, 179-88, cited in Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 55-56, this proposal was initially cast in the form of an essay called "Dui wo dang gage de jidian yijian" (Some suggestions for the reform of our party). For the claim that the pamphlet was distributed at the Central Executive Committee meeting, see Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 309. The pamphlet also circulated under the titles "Gongxian yidian zhengli dang de yijian" (Contributing a little opinion on reorganizing the party) and "Zhongguo Guomindang Lanyishe" (The Chinese Nationalist Blue Shirts Society). It may have been printed as early as 1929. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 16-17.
 54. In her attack upon Lloyd Eastman for typifying the Blue Shirts as fascists, Maria Chang echoes Gan Guoxun in arguing that they were actually *buyi tuan*, i.e., a group that wore *tubu* (locally produced coarse cloth), which could be fashioned into a Sun Yat-sen jacket. Chang, "Fascism' and Modern China," 564-65. But see also the refutation in Eastman, "Fascism and Modern China: A Rejoinder," 842.
 55. "The Blue Shirt Society," 2-3.
 56. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 135.
 57. The academic use of the term "Blue Shirts" is also testily questioned by scholars who sharply differentiate between Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary nationalism and modern fascism. "Academics, for reasons of their own, have chosen to adopt the term Blue Shirts—a term that implies an endorsement of a foreign ideology and an abandonment of the doctrine of Sun Yat-sen." Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 53.
 58. Gan Guoxun, born in 1907 in Guangxi, was the son of a hired hand (*gunong*) prey to "local bullies and evil gentry" (*tuhao lieshen*). In later years Gan could remember getting up at night and seeing his father at the kitchen table, sitting in front of a tea-seed oil lamp, weeping privately at their plight. His father sent him to school just to learn accounting and how to write receipts so that the family would not be hoodwinked by the "local bullies." At the district agricultural school Gan Guoxun turned out to be a prodigy, but instead of becoming a scholar, he decided to satisfy his family's outrage by joining the army. He missed the examination deadline for a military academy in Henan and joined the Whampoa Academy instead. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 71.
 59. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 84. Accord-

- ing to Gan the people who really knew how the structure worked included Jiang Renjian, Zhang Zongliang, Bai Yu, and Li Shizhen; and especially Zheng Binggeng, Xiao Sa, Xu Zhongyue, and Shen Zunhui, who served as provincial leaders.
60. "This became powerful evidence for those who wished to describe the Lixingshe as Blue Shirts. But this evidence does not have historical veracity." Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 17.
 61. These principles are enumerated in Hatano Ken'ichi's studies cited in Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 55–56.
 62. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," "84; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 12.
 63. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 13. Chang pointedly argues that "what the Blue Shirts found so admirable in Fascist Italy and National Socialist Germany was their ability to overcome certain problems that also afflicted China: economic underdevelopment, political disunity, and threats from without by hostile and powerful enemies. The Blue Shirts admired the fascists not for their ideology but because they were successful." Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 23–24.
 64. The most authoritative Japanese document on the Blue Shirts was called "Ranisha no kaiso shugi no tenko nara ni saikin no doko" (The shift of Blue Shirts reorganizationist thought and most recent trends). It appeared in a collection called *Ranisha ni kansuru shiryō* (Materials on the Blue Shirts). See Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 15. The Japanese consul general in Shanghai had managed to get a copy of the Blue Shirts' regulations. See the English translation of these by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, "(Confidential) Rules and Regulations Pertaining to the Lan-I-She," published February 1938 by Section Three, Investigation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan. In State Department Internal Papers. For Japanese portrayals of the Lixingshe as the most reactionary element in the GMD, see Xu Youwei, "Rikkosha no Nihonkan kenkyū," 37.
 65. Chen Gongshu also published a book under this title.
 66. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 17. There is a chicken-and-egg question here. Deng claims that Fu adopted the term "Blue Shirts" because that was what the Japanese—whom he wanted to please—called members of the Lixingshe. For a skeptical account of the Blue Shirts' terrorist activities, which the author thinks were often concocted by agents provocateurs—the Japanese with pretexts for military intervention—see Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," *passim*.
 67. "The Blue Shirt Society," 3.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 3.
 70. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 56.
 71. "The Blue Shirt Society," 1–2.
 72. *Ibid.*, 2.
 73. See, for example, "The Blue Shirt Society," 1. The Japanese who called the Blue Shirts "fascists" had in mind, of course, right-wing figures of their own like Kita

- Ikki, Okawa Shumei, Takabatake Motoyuki, and Akao Bin. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 16.
74. Jing was principal of Hangzhou First Normal. His daughter married Liao Chengzhi. By 1917, forty-eight of Jiangsu's sixty counties had Boy Scout organizations, and Shanghai had more than six hundred scouts organized into eleven troops. Culp, "Re-conceptualizing the Guomindang as an Activist Party," 6.
 75. In 1928-29 the Guomindang's Central Training Department (Zhongyang xunlianbu) organized a central command (*silingbu*), and in 1934 a general association (*zonghui*) for the Boy Scouts, which by then numbered eighty-five thousand nationwide. *Ibid.*, 6-7, 9.
 76. Zhao and Brigade Commander Yang Tao were graduates of the Military Academy's fifth class. Hu Pingzhang, the deputy director, had received subaltern training in Japan.
 77. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 69.
 78. Gan Guoxun was in charge of the Lijinshe's executive committee, while Zhao Fansheng, Yang Kejing, Chen Chaozhong, Jiang Wushi, Chuan Qiyu, and Wu Xuqing (female) were committee members (*weiyuan*). *Ibid.*, 38.
 79. Gan Guoxun was chairman; committee members were Gui Yongqing, Zheng Jiemin, Ye Wei, Ren Juewu, Huang Shaomei, and Zhao Fansheng.
 80. The person who aided him was a Korean, Kim Won-bong, also known as Kim Paek-són. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 38.
 81. The first classes were held at the league headquarters just outside Nanjing's Qiling Gate, but the Japanese got wind of the program and the Koreans moved to Mao shan, about twenty *li* outside Tangshan. Kim Ku was then in Luoyang, and he made an effort to get in touch with Chin Kuk-pin by sending an envoy south.
 82. Their Chinese adviser was Gan Guoxun. Teng Jie and Kang Ze occasionally lectured to them.
 83. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 38.
 84. For references to these secret services, see Wakeman, *The Great Enterprise*, 1: 88-90. For a comparison of Dai Li's secret service with the Eastern Depot and Embroidered Uniform Guard, see Huang Jiqing, *Zhongguo faxisi tewu wang nali qu* 2.
 85. The name given in the text is Chen Yingshi, who was Chen Qimei.
 86. Wei Daming, "Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong," 41.
 87. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14. Note that Huang Yong dates the Tewuchu establishment to the last ten days of March, well after the founding of the Lixingshe.
 88. The cover for this training class was that it was a language course to "train basic cadres for special services" (*peixun tewu jiguan*). Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85.
 89. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 68.
 90. The class was also called the Staff Officers and Special Services Garrison Personnel Training Class (Canmoubenbu tewu jingyuan xunlianbian). It was informally known as the "Honggong Temple training class" (*Honggong citang xunlianban*).

91. This is according to Chen Gongshu's recollection. Dai Li, of course, was chief of the training class and frequently came to lecture. Chiang visited the class several times at the very beginning and at the very end. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 327; Wei Daming, "Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong," 41.
92. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 327.
93. There was also discord among leading cadres because of differences in personality and point of view, with "each carrying out his own policies" (*gezi wei zheng*). Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 322.
94. "Conceited" and "arrogant" are Deng Yuanzhong's words. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 324.
95. Teng Jie recalled that there were so many documents being forwarded to the Lixingshe in those days that Chiang Kai-shek had a special stamp that read, "Pass this on to Teng Jie to be implemented." *Ibid.*, 325.
96. *Ibid.*, 324.
97. *Ibid.*, 325.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Ibid.*, 326–27.
100. *Ibid.*, 327.
101. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 27.
102. The chairman was Dai Li, and the executive members were Zhao Longwen, Wang Zhaohuai, Qiu Kaiji, Zheng Jiemin, Zhou Weilong, and Wang Xinheng.
103. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 38.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 85.
106. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 27.
107. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14; Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 63.
108. Active Blue Shirts reportedly received subsidies ranging from a few dollars a month to as much as two hundred dollars in Chinese currency.
109. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 63–64.
110. "Memorandum on Mr. Tu Yueh-sung," 6.
111. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 143.
112. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 37; Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 6.
113. Teng raised four points: 1) The notion of comradeship ought to be placed above all else. He Zhonghan ought not to keep fellow Hunanese close to him, lest others think that coprovinciality was more important to him than shared brotherhood. 2) The secretary-general ought not hold other positions, because this might be misconstrued as careerism by Lixingshe members. 3) Policies ought to be determined by the executive committee and not by the secretary-general alone. 4) The Lixingshe under the new secretary-general should improve its relations with the central headquarters of the GMD. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 327–28.
114. *Ibid.*
115. Tang Enbo, a native of Zhejiang and a fellow graduate of Chiang Kai-shek from the Shikan gakko, eighteenth class, began to develop a relationship with

Chiang when his own patron, Chen Yi, allied himself to the Generalissimo in 1927. Tang came to Chiang's personal attention after he served as commander of the cadet corps of the Central Military Academy's sixth class and compiled a manual for training infantry companies. During the war against the northern coalition he served as commander of the First Training Division. Later, during the Fifth Encirclement Campaign, he was to serve as executive officer of the Second Route Army. Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 43.

116. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 63.

117. Ibid.

8. THE BLUE SHIRTS' "FASCISM"

1. "Ruhe zuo geming dangyuan," 11:564. Speech delivered on Sept. 20, 1933.
2. "The Blue Shirt Society," 1. Deng Yuanzhong blames the currency of the term in English on the *New York Times*, which he claims quoted Japanese newspapers on November 12, 1936, p. A-6, as saying that the Blue Shirts were a terrorist, fascist, anti-Japanese organization. Deng also faults Edgar Snow's *The Battle for Asia* (1941) for describing the Blue Shirts as a secret service. Deng Yuanzhong, *San-minzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 17–18. Obviously, the term was widely used in the press and official documents long before then, in 1932–33. See Rissov, *Le dragon enchaîné*, 151.
3. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 26/8/33. Israel Epstein recalls that the term became well known around Chinese campuses in 1933. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
4. "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 1–2.
5. "No Blue Shirts, No List; It's All Wrong, Says Fang," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, July 20, 1933, n.p., in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 21/7/33. Fang Zhi was deputy chief of the Central Propaganda Department of the GMD.
6. *Asia Magazine* published an apology in order to have its issues readmitted to China, where the periodical was under a ban for this piece. "Asia Magazine Back in China," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, July 18, 1936.
7. These SMP informants may also have parroted popular views at the time.
8. "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 3; "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party in China," 1–2.
9. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685(C), 3/10/40.
10. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 82. This movement was responsible for "huge mass projects that seemed to anticipate Maoist China." In February 1937 sixty thousand people were mobilized to clear the Qinhuai River in two months. In August 1937 twenty thousand were mobilized to construct a defense line 107 miles long in an effort to resist the Japanese attack on Nanjing. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 5.
11. "Blueshirts—Fascisti Movement in China," 2. Another description of the Blue Shirts' program emphasizes 1) a drive to organize a security system and intelligence network, along with mass organizations, in provinces where the Communists were active; 2) an effort to undermine the militarists' authority by infiltrating their armies and spreading propaganda; and 3) an attempt to secure the

- provinces of north China for Chiang Kai-shek's government. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 58, 64. See also Xu Youwei, "Guanyu lanyishe' de jidian bianxi," 71.
12. This economic development program is extensively analyzed in Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 68–81.
 13. Every alumnus was supposed to pay twenty percent of his salary to the association.
 14. The loans were quite modest: three to ten yuan to pay for plows, rakes, hoes, and so forth. No interest was charged, and the loans were to be repaid in installments.
 15. Chiang Kai-shek secured 1,000,000 from a school endowment in Fenghua. Li Jihong, director of financial administration for Henan and Hubei, contributed 1,000,000, as did Guo Waifeng, the general manager of the China Steam Merchants Navigation Company.
 16. The trustees included Li Jihong, Guo Waifeng, Xiao Zanyu, and Liu Yongyao.
 17. "Two Sources of Anti-Japanism," 29.
 18. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 30.
 19. *Ibid.*, 43.
 20. Sih Kwong Chin [Xue Guangqian], writing in the summer of 1937, was to say that "We well know that the fundamental motive of the National Revolution in China is similar to that of the Fascist Revolution in Italy. . . . The main conception of the National Economic Reconstruction Movement . . . under the leadership of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, coincides with the ideas of Mussolini." *China Quarterly* 2 (Summer 1937): 488, cited in Gourlay, "Yellow' Unionism in Shanghai," 106.
 21. The Americans, who sometimes called the Blue Shirts "the young officers group," noted a similarity among them and members of both the young officers' faction in Japan and leaders of the Chinese Communist Party "in respective average age of members and their rather socialistic leanings." This was the opinion of Thomas Chao, the Reuters representative in Nanjing, expressed to Willys R. Peck in the U.S. Legation there. "Blue Shirts Organization," 4.
 22. In early 1928 the *North China Standard* of Tianjin said that "China needs . . . a Chinese Mussolini." In 1929 the *China Truth* (Guangzhou) referred to Mussolini as "a hero out of Carlyle." Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 22.
 23. These Blue Shirts were supposedly supported with funds from Nanchang and Nanjing. New recruits were paid about 30 per month: "Many unemployed but ambitious youths in South China have joined this faction." "Blue Shirts for China," *North China Daily News*, June 20, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 8/7/33.
 24. Feng Ti was sent to Germany in 1936 to work with War Minister von Blomberg. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 137.
 25. Tang Zong was to become the "first among the top three heads" (*san tou zhi yi*) of the Military Statistics Bureau after Dai Li's death (the other two "heads" being Zheng Jiemin and Mao Renfeng), and went on to serve as chief of the national police in 1947, as vice-minister of the interior in 1950–52, and as secretary-general of the Taiwan provincial government in 1957–58. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 232.

26. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 11. Many others found Hitler and Mussolini attractive models as well. Zhang Xueliang returned from Europe in the early 1930s full of enthusiasm for fascism. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 22.
27. "The Blue Shirt Society," 7. The other three leaders most often mentioned were Deng Wenyi, Kang Ze, and Dai Li. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 58. According to Japanese reports, the 14,000 members were mostly to be found in Nanjing (5,099 members), in the Beiping-Tianjin-Baoding triangle (1,173 members), and in Jiangxi (946 members). Jiangsu had 540 members. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 58. The Shanghai Municipal Police did not think that it was possible to make an accurate estimate of the Blue Shirts' membership because of the secrecy of the organization, plus the government's denial of its existence. "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 4. According to Japanese Shanghai dailies, an order issued by the Blue Shirts stressed the necessity of maintaining the strictest secrecy by assigning cover names to each branch. "Blue Shirts' to Suspend Anti-Japanese Activities," n.p.
28. "The term Whampoa Clique essentially denotes a loose group that possessed neither an institutional framework nor an articulate ideology in the conduct of military and political affairs. Men affiliated with Whampoa achieved importance as an organized group through the Blue Shirt Society." Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 53.
29. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 130.
30. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 46–47.
31. As the commanders of his praetorian guard, Generals Chen Cheng and Hu Zongnan also held a kind of special imperial status. They, together with Dai Li, were sometimes called Chiang's *san ding jia* (the three top graduates under the old palace examination system). Zhang Xin, "Hu Zongnan qi ren," 172–73.
32. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 54–55. The term *minglingzi* literally means "son of a corn ear worm" or "son of a mulberry insect," and refers to the lines in the *Book of Odes* that read: "The mulberry insect has young ones, / The sphex [or solitary wasp] carries them away." It was believed in ancient times that the caterpillar that the wasp stung and left as food for her larvae actually transmogrified into a wasp itself after the sphex entreated: "Resemble me, resemble me." The *minglingzi* thus came to stand for an adopted child of a different surname who was not permitted to participate in the ancestral sacrifices of the adopting family. Waltner, "The Adoption of Children in Ming and Early Ch'ing China," 15, 80–81. Yang Yongtai was the head of the civil section of the Nanchang Headquarters and a major force behind Chiang's policy of *rang wai bi xian an nei* (to resist foreign aggression you must first pacify the interior).
33. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 54–55. See also Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 63. At this time Yang Yongtai was chief secretary in Chiang's headquarters at the Military Affairs Commission, where he was director of the Political Department. He was very active in promoting the New Life Movement before being assassinated in 1936 by a supporter of Hu Hanmin. Zhang Qun, Chiang Kai-shek's sworn brother, was in charge of the political section of Chiang's field headquarters after serving as mayor of Shanghai from 1929 to 1931. Other members of the Political Study Group included Xiong Shihui,

- chairman of the Jiangxi provincial government, and Huang Fu, chairman of the Beiping political council. "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party in China," 2; "The Blue Shirt Society and the Arrest of Yuan Hsueh Yi," 1; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:48-49, 4:18.
34. "CC" stood for either the two Chens or the Central Club, which was the inner circle of the GMD central headquarters at the time of the Northern Expedition. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 47.
 35. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:164-65; Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*, 44.
 36. Papp, "General Chiang Kai-shek," 1-2. The "dare to die brigades" were largely composed of Green and Red Gang members, under their leader Liu Fubiao. Martin, "The Green Gang and 'Party Purification' in Shanghai," 10.
 37. Papp, "General Chiang Kai-shek," 2. After the April 1927 purge, which the Chen brothers masterminded, Chen Qimei was placed in the Guomindang revolutionary pantheon and memorial services were held for him throughout Chinese Shanghai on May 18, 1927. See *North China Herald*, May 21 and June 4, 1927, cited in Martin, "The Green Gang and 'Party Purification' in Shanghai," 47; Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 87-89.
 38. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 47. All of the key Guomindang figures active in Shanghai during the period 1926-27 had been closely associated with Chen Qimei between 1911 and 1916. These included Niu Yongjian, Wang Boling, Yang Hu, and Huang Fu. Martin, "The Green Gang and 'Party Purification' in Shanghai," 47.
 39. Chen Guofu was a broker on the exchange, where Chiang reputedly worked as a runner and lost considerable money of his own. Directors of the exchange included Yu Xiaqing. Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*, 116; Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 48.
 40. Chen provided four thousand recruits from the three provinces, and they made up the major part of the first and second classes of Whampoa. Other recruiters then included Mao Zedong in Hunan, Ding Huaifen in Shandong, and Yu Youren in Shaanxi. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 48.
 41. Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 44; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:206-7.
 42. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 49.
 43. The "Stickers" were led by Xie Yingzhou, right-wing dean of Zhongshan University Law School. Ibid. Actually, Xie never served as a dean of Zhongshan University's Law Department, although he is incorrectly identified as such in the primary document used by Professor Tian. Xie Yingzhou was a professor at the Guangdong University Law School, and he later became dean of the Beijing University Law School.
 44. The Organization Department was composed of three sections for confidential investigations of civilian personnel, military personnel, and other matters. These sections were headed, respectively, by Xu Enzeng, Dai Li, and Ding Mocun. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:207.
 45. Chen Guofu, "Shiwu nian zhi shiqi nian jian congshi dangwu gongzuo de huiyi," 84-89.

46. "Chen Li-fu has been responsible for the arrest of thousands of Communists in Kiangsu and other provinces during the past few years, and hundreds of thousands of dollars appropriated for this work has passed through his hands." Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 25/10/35.
47. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 50-52.
48. *Ibid.*, 49-51.
49. Henriot, "Municipal Power and Local Elites," 1.
50. "Blueshirts—Fascisti Movement in China," 1. "The association [of Blue Shirts] tried to remodel the Educational Council at first and established a new committee in the Education Ministry, General Chen Kuo-fu being the chairman. Among the members of this committee . . . Messrs. Yang Kung-teh [Yang Gongda] and Hou Hao-juo [He Haoruo] are affiliated with the association [of Blue Shirts]. These fascists believe that Social Science Departments in various universities are hotbeds for dangerous and reactionary ideas. Hence their abolition has been taken up as the preliminary task." *Ibid.*, 3-4.
51. "The CC Corps men regard General Chiang Kai-shek as the only revolutionary leader—the same as the Blue Shirts. Their professed object is to assist General Chiang to attain the dictatorship and to oppose all the anti-Chiang campaigns as well as any anti-Kuomintang organizations. In their international activities they are absolutely anti-Japanese." "Two Sources of Anti-Japanism," 32.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*
54. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 16.
55. Some of the major agents dispatched by the Chen brothers included Miao Peicheng to Shanxi and Suiyuan, Mei Gongren to the northeast, Cheng Tianfang to Jiangxi and Anhui, Ye Xiufeng to Nanjing and Sichuan, Zhang Daofan to Guizhou, Yu Jingtang to Jiangsu, Hong Ludong to Zhejiang, and Chen Zhao-ying to Fujian. Hu Menghua, "CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo," 147-48.
56. Zhang Lisheng and the "CC" group had a fairly good relationship at that time with Renaissance Society members who were clustered in Beiping in the Military Indoctrination Department (Zhengxun chu). This was mainly because the Renaissance Society group was represented by Zeng Kuoqing, head of the Zhengxun chu in Beiping, who had served as a secretary together with Zhang Lisheng in the Organization Department under Chen Guofu. In fact, Zeng had been made a member of the Fourth People's National Congress Central Committee mainly thanks to the support of Zhang Lisheng and the Chen brothers. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 137-38.
57. Hu Menghua, "CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo," 147-50. These meetings were usually devoted to the relation between education and politics, and they often concluded with attacks on Wang Shijie, the minister of education, and Jiang Menglin, the president of Beida.
58. Hu Menghua had been appointed an investigative member of the Hebei party branch and given the task of overseeing provincial artistic and literary circles. He had attracted Zhang Lingshi's attention both because of his staunchly anti-Japanese editorials in *Geming xiangdao* (Revolutionary Guide) and because of

- his professorship at Beida, which led Zhang to think that he could “pass fish eyes off as pearls” by casting Hu as a progressive. Hu Menghua, “CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo,” 148.
59. The journal received a monthly subsidy of seven hundred yuan. Hu was told that he should advocate policies such as: “One ism, one party, one leader”; “single party dictatorship, single leader autocracy”; “no party outside the party, no factions within the party”; and “to resist foreign aggression you must first pacify the interior.” Hu Menghua, “CC waiwei zuzhi Chengshe shimo,” 143.
 60. The cadres, who included Zhao Zaitian and Li Baoqian, were mainly from north China. There were also students from Qinghua, Zhongguo daxue, Furen daxue, Zhongfa daxue, Chaoyang daxue, and the Pingda medical, art and agricultural schools. *Ibid.*, 148–49.
 61. The names of the thirteen *taibao* varied, although they usually included He Zhonghan, Liu Jianqun, Pan Youqiang, Gui Yongqing, Deng Wenyi, Zheng Jie-min, Ge Wuqi, Liang Ganqiao, Xiao Zanyu, Teng Jie, Kang Ze, Du Xinru, and Hu Zongnan. Dai Li’s name was often mentioned because he controlled the Special Services Department throughout the “Blue Shirts” organization of the Lixingshe-Fuxingshe. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 58; Zhang Xin, “Hu Zongnan qi ren,” 171.
 62. “The Blue Shirt Society,” 2. According to a contemporary Japanese account, the Blue Shirts were under the presidency of Chiang Kai-shek. The executive committee was supposed to consist of He Zhonghan, Gui Yongqing, Ye Wei, Kang Ze, Xiao Zanyu, Zhou Fu, Zheng Kaimin, and Liu Jianqun. “Two Sources of Anti-Japanism,” 32.
 63. Extract from French Police Daily Intelligence Report, August 12, 1933. In Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 26/8/33.
 64. “Blue Shirts for China,” *North China Daily News*, June 20, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 8/7/33. See also Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 54.
 65. There later was formed a Chinese National Socialist Party, which was identified in the foreign press as a “Chinese Nazi” group,” but this was an entirely different organization than the Blue Shirts. *Shanghai Times*, Jan. 7, 1935, quoted in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4040, 8/7/35. For Nazi activities in China at this time, see Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4724, 12/6/33; Oakes, *White Man’s Folly*, 257, 351; Godley, “Fascismo e nazionalismo Cinese,” 751–52; Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 27–28.
 66. “The Blue Shirt Society,” 7. For a characterization of the Blue Shirts as “a party within a party,” see “Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society,” 3. Japanese sources mentioned the standard three principles adopted by the society at the time of its founding: “1. Chiang Kai-shek shall be for life the highest advisor to this society. 2. Men of the Whampoa Military Academy faction shall be [the] nucleus of this society, and their influence shall be enlarged and strengthened. 3. Members shall follow the San-min’ principles of the Kuomintang, with the communists’ organization and the fascists’ spirit adopted and assimilated.” “Two Sources of Anti-Japanism,” 29.
 67. “Asian Fascism may be characterized as the increasing imposition of military values on political and civilian life. In China, where there was no Fascist party, the

- ideas of Fascism continued to be propagated from within the military wing of the Guomindang." Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 28.
68. "Xiandi junren xu zhi" (What a modern soldier must know), in Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui, Dangshi weiyuanhui, ed., *Xian zongtong Jiang gong sixiang yanlun zongji*, 11:321–22. See, for other references by Chiang to the success of Turkey, Italy, and Germany in nation building by adhering to social discipline and organizational rules, Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 26.
 69. Joseph R. Levenson would have made much of Chiang's relativistic willingness to recognize that universalistic claims to cultural superiority were made by any number of "fascist" nations about their own culture. This certainly represented a new assertion of equivalence that contrasts quite strikingly with the Communist claims explored in Levenson's *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*.
 70. Chiang Kai-shek, "Ruhe zuo geming dangyuan," 565–66.
 71. According to the most recent study of this so-called "elitist fascism," Chiang Kai-shek's effort to balance the Blue Shirts' violence with neo-Confucian elements of the New Life Movement was "classically Fascist." Admitting that China neither possessed a disgruntled lower-middle class nor business leaders "eager to embrace an ideology of delayed industrialization," Chung Dooem argues that the Blue Shirts were not deeply engaged in ideological debates about fascism as a political philosophy. Rather, taking Japanese militarists instead of German Brown Shirts as their model, Chiang's freemasonry pursued activities—"anti-Communist purges, anti-Japanese populism and the assassination of political opponents"—that were imitatively fascist in style. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 169. For thoughtful comments on fascism as a political phenomenon, see Paxton, "The Five Stages of Fascism," *passim*.
 72. Chiang Kai-shek, "Ruhe zuo geming dangyuan," 566.
 73. Wakeman, "A Revisionist View of the Nanking Decade," 175–78.
 74. Speech quoted in Iwai Eiichi, "Confidential Investigation Pertaining to the Lan-I-She," 15–16. Iwai was the Japanese consul general in Chengdu before 1937.
 75. Germany was also less threatening geopolitically. Gan Guoxun, seeking as always to disassociate the Lixingshe from fascism, explained why the Training Class for Army Officers Attached to the Military Academy had adopted German training methods, taught by three German officers. "This sort of German-style military training was adopted because after Germany's defeat in World War I Germany lost all its special privileges in China and so treated China as an equal. The military skills *jishu* of the Germans were still of premier rank in the world. They were able to help us improve upon the combat skills of our units, and to make preparation for resistance against the modernized Japanese army. Our choosing Germany had nothing to do with the nature of their politics." Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 69. For the identification of the Chinese with the misfortunes experienced by the Germans after World War I, see the articles from *Qiantu* cited in Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 24.
 76. "The Chiang Kai-shek of the Whampoa years . . . reveals himself in his speeches as a prickly martinet. He is the kind of officer likely to be found on odd hours of the day on watch for unbuttoned uniform blouses or sloppy quarters. There

is no pity for sleeping guards or the faint of heart. He constantly drifts into self-congratulatory comparisons which compare his own rugged training at the Baoding Military Academy where the cadets ate only turnips, salted fish, and rice, with the plush conditions of Whampoa.” Lestz, “The Meaning of Revival,” 203.

77. The Nanjing government decided in 1934 that August 27 would be a day to commemorate Confucius. In Shanghai, all organs and agencies were ordered to send people to participate in the Confucian ceremonies at the Confucian Temple (Wenmiao) in Nanshi. This was timed to coincide with celebrations in Qufu, Confucius’s birthplace. Shanghai tongshe, eds., *Shanghai yanjiu ziliao*, 184.
78. The department was headed successively by He Zhonghan, Pan Youqiang, and Du Xinru. All schools of senior high school level and above were assigned from one to five military training officers who held ranks of colonel, lieutenant colonel, and major.
79. Gan Guoxun, “Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe’ de zhenqing shikuang,” *xia*, 82.

9. IDEOLOGICAL RIVALRIES

1. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 35.
2. “Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society,” 2. “The Secret Military Police of China was frankly modeled after the Gestapo.” Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 23. Many former members of the Blue Shirts describe the Fuxingshe as being a “fascist organization,” but they do so in works published in the People’s Republic of China. See, for example, Ai Jingwu, “Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi,” 108.
3. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 15; Elkins, “Fascism’ in China,” 426. On April 22 *Shenbao* carried an advertisement for two new translations, Cheng Shaozong’s *Wartime Diary of Mussolini* (*Zhan shi riji*) and Yang Caiguang’s *Hitler*. *Chenbao* announced that as of July 16 it would serialize articles translated by Bai Hua entitled “The Political Theory of Fascism” (*Faxisidi zhi zhengzhi lilun*) and “The Economic Theory of Fascism” (*Faxisidi zhi jingji lilun*). On October 3, *Guoji yibao* (International Translations) announced a book called “Is America Ready for Fascism?”
4. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 35; Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 16. But see Xu, “German Fascism in Chinese Eyes,” 237.
5. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 22–23. See also Xu, “German Fascism in Chinese Eyes,” 248.
6. Dai Li stated, during the ninth anniversary meeting of Juntong on April 1, 1941, that “our organization will never adopt the methods of the Soviet KGB and the German Gestapo to gain order and control. China has its own unique history, culture, and traditional spirit, as embodied in the notions of loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, humanitarian love, integrity, righteousness, fairness, and harmony as taught by Sun Yat-sen, and the notions of ritual appropriateness, righteousness, integrity and self-discipline as taught by Chiang Kai-shek. . . . We followed this spirit in organizing our group and utilizing its collective power.” Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 14.

7. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 35. *The Chinese Revolution* was an amalgamation of two other magazines: *Our Road (Women de lu)* and *The Youth Trimensual*. The two merged in January 1933.
8. For Liu Bingli, see also Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 17.
9. However, Chang argues that the notion of the corporative state ("the functional representation of occupational and productive categories in the national legislature, which Mussolini identified as one of the defining attributes of Fascism") is absent from the thought of Sun Yat-sen, which she and James Gregor compare to Nazionalfascismo of the prefascist Italian Nationalist tradition. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 33-34. See also Wong, "Fascism and China," 138; Eastman, "New Insights into the Nature of the Nationalist Regime," 11-15.
10. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 35-36. Some of the other Blue Shirt ideologues were professors Ni Wenya and Zhang Yunfu. See also Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 63.
11. Eastman, "Fascism and Modern China: A Rejoinder," 841. See also Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 64-65.
12. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 130; Matossian, "Ideologies of Delayed Industrialization," 252-64.
13. Fewsmith, *Party, State, and Local Elites in Republican China*, 178.
14. Gourlay, "Yellow' Unionism in Shanghai," 128-29.
15. This manual, called *Women de xunlian*, is cited in Eastman, "Fascism and Modern China: A Rejoinder," 839.
16. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 84. "Because this was an organization under the guidance of the National Revolution endeavoring to carry out *lixing* the Three People's Principles, to cure chaos and maintain the situation in a time of crisis, to pacify the country domestically and resist external foes, Mr. Chiang at that time strictly required that his disciples be anonymous heroes; that they maintain absolute secrecy; that they go about doing things in a solid way, a tough way, a quick way, and endure hardship in order to recover the prestige and the credibility of the party. Yet the Lixingshe was slandered by its enemies as fascists, as Blue Shirts, and as a secret service organization." *Ibid.*, 81.
17. Chen Dunzheng, "Fuxingshe, Lanyishe, Qingbaishe," 6.
18. Chen Dunzheng, *Yuanxiage suibi*, quoted in Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 84.
19. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 84.
20. The term "proto-fascist," or "fascistoid," was used by the late Richard Webster to describe abortive fascist movements like the Iron Cross. Personal communication from Richard Webster. It could be extended to Falangist and Peronist movements, perhaps, and certainly does seem to fit what commentators in the People's Republic of China sometimes call "the fascist wing" of the GMD.
21. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 40-41.
22. Tang Liangxiong, "Dai Li yu Lixingshe," 98.
23. During the Fujian Incident, for instance, many Lixingshe members joined Dai Li's cadres in their efforts to subvert the conspiracy. *Ibid.*, 100.
24. Chang argues that the cult of the Duce was different from the notion of the

- lingxiu* or *zongli*, in that fascism had a concept of personal leadership that was influenced by the thought of Michels and Pareto, which conceived of the charismatic leader as the linchpin of a system of charismatic rule. Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 50.
25. Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310. Burton claimed that the nearest Western prototype of the Blue Shirts was the OGPU (Ob'edinennoe Gosudarstvennoe Politicheskoe Upravlenie, or Unified State Political Administration) of "Semi-Asiatic Russia." "In its Cheka form, this existed before Stalin, but he has used it as much against opposition elements within the Communist Party as against opponents outside—which is precisely how General Chiang has used the Blue Shirts." *Ibid.*, 308–9.
 26. Shepherd-Paxton Talk, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930–39, No. D130, 00/14127. For Italy's role in training Chinese military pilots, see Godley, "Fascismo e nazionalismo Cinese," 754–55.
 27. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 55.
 28. *Ibid.*, 55; "Blue Shirt Society," 1.
 29. According to Deng Yuanzhong, the newspaper was originally called the *Jianye ribao* (Jianye being the name for Nanjing during the Three Kingdoms), and it belonged to Chen Diannan. The Whampoa Cadets Association wanted Deng Wenyi to take over the paper and make it their organ, but Deng was then Chiang Kai-shek's personal secretary and did not have the time. Kang Ze was recommended instead, and he inaugurated the new paper, which became the main Lixingshe mouthpiece, on January 1, 1932. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 110.
 30. In 1932 Kang Ze frequently suggested forming a Southwestern Youth Comrades Association (Xi'nan qingnian tongzhi hui). This was vetoed by He Zhonghan and Teng Jie. *Ibid.*, 323.
 31. Wang Roude, "Guomindang junweihui biedongdui zui'e shi," 56–59; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 35, 67; Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 59–60; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 17; Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 79. Shortly after the founding of the political training class, the director of the *zhengxun ban* (political indoctrination unit), Liu Jianqun, discussed with Teng Jie ways of keeping Kang Ze from asserting influence on personnel matters of the training unit. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 323.
 32. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixinghe shi*, 110.
 33. These included *Beifang ribao* (Northern Daily), published in Beiping under the editorship of Yu Sadu; *Kaoshi hua* (Straight Talk), edited by Liu Jianqun in Beiping beginning in August 1933 (more like a newsletter than a regular journal, this broadsheet featured scandalous or amusing stories about contemporary politicians, as well as scurrilous attacks on the Communists); *Renmin zhoubao* (People's Weekly), edited by Jiang Jianren in Hangzhou; *Qingnian yu zhanzheng* (Youth and War), put out by Xiao Zuolin in Nanchang (at first devoted to publishing articles about "bandit extermination" and designed to stimulate the young, this publication was merged with *Zhongguo geming* in July 1934). Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 36–37.

34. These included *Nanfang ribao* (Fuzhou), *Henan wanbao* (Kaifeng), *Guomin xinwen bao* (Hangzhou), *Xin Qingdao bao* (Qingdao), *Xin Zhonghua ribao* (Hankou), *Zhonghua zhoubao* (Nanjing), *Guoji yi bao* (Nanjing), *Zhongguo yu Su'e* (Nanjing), *Guoji zhoubao* (Nanjing), *Xin shehui* (Shanghai), *Sixiang* (Shanghai), *Minzu wenyi* (Shanghai), *Xiandai shehui* (Tianjin), and *Xibei pinglun* (Xi'an). *Ibid.*, 37. Other newspapers mentioned at the time as being under the influence of the Blue Shirts were *Pingmin wanbao*, *Minmin wanbao*, *Wenhua ribao*, *Wenhua zhoubao*, and *Zhengzhi pinglun*. "Blueshirts—Fascisti Movement in China," 3. See also Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310.
35. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 141–42. Zeng, by his own account, often tried to put pressure on newspaper publishers, such as the editor of *Dagong bao* in Tianjin, to run items that favored the Fuxingshe "cause." In Shanghai, however, most papers refused to publish according to the Blue Shirts' wishes; and newspapers under their influence—such as *Chenbao* (Morning Post, circulation approximately 20,000) under Pan Gongzhan's editorship, and *Minbao* (Citizen's News, circulation approximately 10,000)—had nothing near the readership of the big independent dailies, *Shenbao* (100,000) and *Xin wanbao* (120,000). "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party of China," 3.
36. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 38.
37. *Ibid.*, 41. Xiao points out that a fair number of Fuxingshe members had originally been engaged in cultural and educational work. For them, working in a sphere assigned to the "CC" clique was extremely difficult, and "a way out had to be found" (*zhao chulu*) for them to express their identity as Blue Shirts. This was the significance of the founding of the new society. *Ibid.*, 56. See also Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 38.
38. Deng Wenyi, *Congjun baoguo ji*, 138.
39. *Ibid.*, 138–39.
40. Deng Wenyi's bookstores handled materials printed in the main office in Nanjing. The organization began publishing on a fairly large scale in 1932, bringing out about thirty titles of new and translated works, including more of the writings and talks of Chiang Kai-shek. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 37.
41. Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 76. Xiong Shihui and members of the Rehabilitation Planning Commission drew up a proposal for the movement on the evening of February 15. After it was endorsed by Yang Yongtai, Chiang supported the movement at a meeting of the commission in Nanchang; and on February 19, at a rally of more than 100,000 people representing 142 organizations, Chiang Kai-shek gave a speech launching the effort. *Ibid.*, 76–78.
42. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 81.
43. Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310. The Jiangxi provincial government decreed on June 7, 1934, that no part of a woman's legs could be exposed. In Guangdong, where the movement was inaugurated on September 1, 1934, the police stopped thousands of men and women, ordering them to button their garments in spite of the heat. They also ordered people to put their hats straight on the head, stop spitting, and throw away their cigarettes. They even went into restaurants and teahouses, telling people to stop sipping their tea so noisily. Men and women were forbidden to swim together, travel in the same ve-

- hicle, eat in the same taverns, stay in the same hotel, be photographed together, go to the same pleasure parks together, or walk together in the street. Sues, *Shark Fins and Millet*, 47-48; Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers," 270.
44. "Shortly after the movement was launched by the Generalissimo, a group of Whampoa Fascists (Blue Shirts') tried to use the movement for subversive political purposes, and it was they, not the Generalissimo, who endowed the movement with such trappings as the restrictions on smoking, dancing, dress, bobbed hair, etc." In that respect, G. W. Shepherd, the American-educated missionary from New Zealand, was seen as "rescuing the Movement from Fascist domination" at a time when Chiang Kai-shek was believed by American diplomats to be suffering from a serious spinal injury incurred at the time of the Xi'an Incident. "Political Implications of 'The New Life Movement' in China," Nanking dispatch no. 473, May 21, 1937, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930-39, No. 00/14127, June 19, 1937. See also Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 77.
 45. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 39.
 46. He was to make some progress with the help of Sun Boyu, a political scientist teaching in one of the colleges. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 111-12.
 47. The meeting was held on January 7, 1934.
 48. "Two Sources of Anti-Japanism," 29.
 49. Ibid. It was claimed in some reports that around this time there were eighteen Blue Shirts organizations in provinces and important cities around China, including Nanjing, Beiping, Hankou, and Shanghai. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 57; Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D4685(C), Oct. 3, 1940.
 50. French police report, "Activities of the Blue Shirts," dated Aug. 3, 1933. In Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, Aug. 26, 1933. As the following remark shows, this was a mistaken identification. Wu Xingya was the leader of the "CC" clique in charge of GMD newspapers in Shanghai. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 112.
 51. "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party of China," 1.
 52. See, for Wu Xingya's connections with the "CC" clique, "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 6-7.
 53. There were more than one hundred university professors, plus a number of middle school and primary school principals, teachers, and administrators. A few writers and reporters joined as well. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 39-40.
 54. Ibid., 42-43.
 55. Ibid., 38. There was in addition the Future Bookstore (Qiantu shudian), which was run by Liu Bingli and which published the *National Revolutionary Literary Anthology* (*Minzu geming wenxuan*), but it never was much of a success. Xiao Zuolin, meanwhile, moved the editorial offices of *Youth and War* (*Qingnian yu zhanzheng*) to Shanghai, along with the "official" newspaper of the Fuxingshe, the *Chinese Revolution*. The Chinese Culture Study Society supported as well an arts monthly, *Chinese Literature* (*Zhongguo wenxue*), and a literary magazine called *Cul-*

- tural intelligence (*Wenhua qingbao*). *Zhongguo wenxue* was originally published in Nanjing as *Liulu*. Ibid., 39-40.
56. The special issue (*zhuanhao*), published in 1934, was the eighth *qi* (installment) of the second *juan* (fascicle) of the monthly.
 57. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 41-42.
 58. Ibid., 56; "Blue Shirt Society," 2; "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party of China," 3. "The Blue Shirt Society began to exercise control of and gain a foothold in the local educational circles, the press, and other public organizations by installing instructors in schools and universities, editors and associate editors in newspaper offices, and secretaries in public bodies." "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 7.
 59. "Blue Shirt Society," 2.
 60. Wang, who was a native of Zhejiang, formerly had been professor of journalism at the China Public School, Wusong.
 61. He Bingsong had been a professor of history at Guanghua University and Great China University.
 62. Wu, formerly a professor of political science at Ji'nan, had served as an adviser to the Shanghai City Government Council.
 63. Sun was also chief editor of the Liming Bookstore at 254 Fuzhou Road.
 64. Huang Wenshan, from Jiangsu, was formerly a professor of social sciences at Guanghua University.
 65. Fan, a native of Jiangsu, was formerly a dean of the China Public School.
 66. Sa had earlier been professor of political science at Fudan University. "Blue Shirt Society, 2-4.
 67. According to a Shanghai police report, "In 1933 the Blue Shirt Society organized a student association known as the Cultural Promotion Society with the object of affording more direct control over the students and at the same time concealing its own connection with the student movement." Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 27/1/36.
 68. The director of Ji'nan, Zheng Hongnian, was said to have joined the "Fascist Party" in the beginning of 1933. Extract from French Police Daily Intelligence Report, Aug. 12, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 26/8/33.
 69. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 56. Police intelligence reports associated the influence of the "fascisti" on campus with the dismissal of faculty of liberal persuasion by the Ministry of Education during the 1933 "partification" (*danghua*) movement at universities such as Ji'nan—where the reports claimed that more than one-fourth of the professors lost their jobs. "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party in China," 3.
 70. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 56.
 71. Ibid., 40-41.
 72. Ibid., 42. A joint meeting of various precincts and stations of the Shanghai Public Safety Bureau was held on the afternoon of June 29, 1934, at the Zhonghua Road Public Safety Bureau in Nandao. It was decided that a PSB branch office of the New Life Movement Acceleration Association should be formed, with sections in the district police stations, no later than July 1. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5729, 30/7/34.
 73. Student military training in Shanghai was carried out through the Eighty-

- seventh Army at Wuxi, whose head, Wang Jingjiu, took titular charge of the program. Responsibility for actual political instruction was delegated to Gu Xiping. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 15. The Zhongfengshe, with offices in the Zhongwei Bank Building on Rue de la Porte du Nord, issued a bimonthly magazine directed at middle school students. Its two hundred young male members reported to a committee of seven professors and teachers from Ji'nan University and Great China University, as well as from middle and normal schools. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 21/1/37.
74. The Chinese military police had ample opportunity to learn about Yuan's activities by interrogating his mistress, a movie actress named Wang Ying, who was held in custody for nearly two weeks. "The Blue Shirt Society and the Arrest of Yuan Hsueh Yi," report prepared by Detective Inspector Sih Tse-liang, 29/6/35, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 3. Yuan Xueyi later served the puppet government as chief of education of Jiangsu province, when he was supposed by some to be a Juntong secret agent. After 1949 he revealed his CCP identity and went on to serve as a department head of the PRC Ministry of Education in 1953-54. Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 355.
75. "The intelligence, both political and military, secured by the members of this organ [i.e., the Blue Shirts] was of paramount importance to General Chiang Kai-shek in his efforts to consolidate and strengthen his influence in this country and up to the outbreak of the current Sino-Japanese hostilities in 1937. Members of this organ were active in almost all of the big cities and coastal ports in China." "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 2.
76. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 42.

10. THE BLUE SHIRTS IN THE PROVINCES

1. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 11.
2. There were altogether twenty-one special party headquarters units established. Eleven of these were within Chiang's First Army Corps. Because the *tebie dangbu* were mainly concerned with counterespionage, indoctrination became the responsibility of propaganda brigades (*xuanchuan dadui*) that were added to each division. Propaganda brigade members were comparatively well paid—a brigade leader receiving 200 while a colonel in the regular army was paid 240. Documents clerks got roughly the same salary as a second lieutenant. Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 25-26.
3. The decision to mobilize about 100,000 men in three separate—and poorly coordinated—army corps to attack the Jiangxi Soviet was made at the fourth plenary session of the Guomindang in Nanjing during November 12-18, 1930. *Ibid.*, 23.
4. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69.
5. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 67; Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 17; Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69. Lixingshe member Yang Wenlian was deputy director, and Yuan Yongfu was made secretary.
6. Fang Zhou, "Guomindang Xingzi texunban gaikuang," 64-74; Wang Roude, "Guomindang junwei hui biedongdui zui'e shi," 230-31; Gan Guoxun,

- "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69; Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois*, 191.
7. Madame Chiang Kai-shek presented them to the Anglophone public as local public affairs officers who organized cooperatives to acquire seeds, tools, and building materials, as well as to lend the peasants funds at special low interest rates. According to her, they were mainly intended to win the people's support in the campaigns against the Communists. Madame Chiang Kai-shek, "Madame Chiang Kai-shek Traces Ideals and Growth during Past Two Years of New Life Movement; Success Achieved," *China Press Double Tenth Supplement*, Shanghai, 1935, 18-19. See also Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 139.
 8. According to a French intelligence report on the Biedongdui in the Deuxième Bureau archives, "When Reds are captured or surrender, they are not executed but rather placed in concentration camps called 'Repentance Camps,' where they are shown the error of their ways." Cited in Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois*, 191.
 9. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 70.
 10. *Ibid.*
 11. Tien argues that Kang Ze's success in bringing some local "bandit suppression" areas under central control, coupled with the way in which the Blue Shirts headed virtually every administrative bureau of the MAC, amounted to a major effort by the right wing of the Whampoa group "to create an integrated military system under its control." Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 61. However, it is also argued that the "counterrevolutionary activities of the early 1930s" in Jiangxi "gave rise to the dark side" of the GMD and "made it incapable of vanquishing the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) during the civil war of 1946-49." Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 1-2.
 12. For the contemporary identification of political training departments with the Blue Shirts, see Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310.
 13. Nanchang eventually came to oversee Hubei.
 14. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 61.
 15. Jiang Fusheng was the director and Teng Jie was in charge of indoctrination. The brigade commanders were all Lixingshe members.
 16. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69.
 17. *Ibid.*, 61-62.
 18. For Fuxingshe factionalism, see Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14.
 19. *Ibid.*, 15.
 20. Xiao Zuolin succeeded He as head of the Hubei branch of the Renaissance Society even though Xiao had only been a member of the sixth class at Whampoa and was thought by many to be too young. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 50. Deng Wenyi served as Feng's first replacement, but in the end He Zhonghan prevailed because he could conciliate the faction of students returned from the Soviet Union and the Japan clique. He had a strong regional identity, of course, being thought of as the head of the *Hunan pai*, which also included Deng Wenyi. *Ibid.*, 61.
 21. *Ibid.*, 46.
 22. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 68.

23. The political officer was Lin Ying, also a member of the first class and of the Lishe.
24. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 68.
25. Each military police regiment (*tuan*) had a special services group (*tegaozu*), which was exclusively concerned with individuals and organizations inimical to Chiang's political power. The entire structure was under the assistant commander of the military police, Zhang Zhen. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 16-17. For the role of the military police under General Gu Zhenglun ("Butcher Gu"), see Zhuo Jian'an, "Gu Zhenglun yu Guomindang xianbing," 225-29; Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 187.
26. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 44-46. Political Indoctrination Departments were first set up in Chongqing, Xi'an, Fuzhou, Yichang, and Beiping; there were also branches in the major military schools. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 59-62. The tasks assigned the Political Indoctrination Department did not differ very much from the tasks that were given to the Fuxingshe: 1) to attend to the youth movement by attacking the Communist Party and conducting organizational work among young people; 2) to extend the power of Chiang Kai-shek into north China by striking at or subverting "miscellaneous forces" (*zapai budui*); and 3) to maintain surveillance over CCP special services units. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14.
27. Hu Zongnan's connections with the Renaissance Society seem to have been fairly tenuous, although he had ambitions later to take it over in order to expand his base in north China. In the meantime, he had formed his own organization at Kaifeng in 1930, the League of Great Knights of the Three People's Principles (Sanminzhuyi daxia tuan). Zhang Xin, "Hu Zongnan qi ren," 171. In 1939 Xiao Zuolin had a conversation with Hu Zongnan in Xi'an in which it was clear that Hu was comparing himself to Li Shimin, son of the founder of the Tang dynasty. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 68-69.
28. *Ibid.*, 44.
29. Gittings, *The Role of the Chinese Army*, 99-118.
30. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 44.
31. *Ibid.*, 44-45.
32. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:42.
33. *Ibid.*, 4:49. Yan had returned to Shanxi at the time of the Manchurian Incident with the help of the Japanese. Constituting a threat to Chiang's flank, Yan's forces made it unlikely that the Generalissimo would attack the Japanese through Hebei.
34. Song Zheyuan, who had originally served under Feng Yuxiang, was at this time governor of Chahar. He and his Twenty-ninth Army had conducted a heroic defense against the Japanese at Xifengkou from February to April 1933. *Ibid.*, 3:190-91.
35. The following month, Zhang Xueliang went abroad for nine months, completing his recovery from addiction to opium and Pavemal, a morphine derivative. *Ibid.*, 1:66.
36. Gan Guoxun proposed that they form a Society of Concentrated Loyalty to Save

- the Nation (Jing zhong jiuguo she), composed primarily of northerners. After the Lixingshe endorsed the proposal, Chiang Kai-shek ordered Gan Guoxun to come to Nanjing and use the Lixingshe to organize propaganda and special service teams to work in the north. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 343.
37. The group included Qian Dajun, along with the entire staff of Chiang Kai-shek's confidential secretariat (*bangongting*), which came north from Nanchang by steamship. *Ibid.*, 343–44.
 38. The area, which was called Qifenglou, may have been a bordello district.
 39. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 345.
 40. "Blueshirts Organization," report from Nelson Trusler Johnson, Nanking Legation, to Secretary of State, May 8, 1937, 1–2, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930–39, no. 00/14121 (June 10, 1937).
 41. The chief brigade commander was Ruan Qi, and his deputy Cao Jingyun. He Haoruo was in charge of academic affairs; Liang Ganqiao, and then Yu Sadu, were in charge of political training. The advisers (*zhidaoyuan*) were Teng Jie, Kang Ze, Xiao Zanyu, Gan Guoxun, Zhao Fansheng, He Deyong, Yuan Qining, Shen Zunhui, Yang Xiaoyi, Li Bingzhong, and Wang Dazhong. The secretary was Kuang Zhengyu. Instructors included Sun Mujia, Gao Xin, Xiang Lirun, Sun Boqian, Bai Yu (trained at Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow), "Buhalin" (a Russian who taught intelligence work), Gui Yongqing, and Peng Mengji.
 42. There were spartan consequences to such an adherence. Teachers and students were exhorted to cease smoking, dancing, and drinking altogether. Wei, *Counterrevolution in China*, 78.
 43. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69.
 44. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14.
 45. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *shang*, 69.
 46. Some of the other brigade commanders were Yu Sadu, Zhang Dong, and Chen Chunlin. The Japanese soon ordered them to leave Beiping.
 47. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 345.
 48. There were four others: Gui Yongqing, Yuan Qi, Fang Juehui, and Gan Guoxun (Yuan Qi may be Ruan Qi). Fang was not a Lixingshe member. *Ibid.*, 346. This team seems to have overlapped with the secret "political warfare cell" (*zhengzhi zuozhan xiaozu*) that Gan Guoxun joined. "During the most dangerous period between 1933 and 1934, five people set up a secret political warfare unit in north China. Those five people were Fang Juehui [the Central Committee's appointee to north China on party affairs], Liu Jianqun, Gui Yongqing, Zheng Jiemin, and Gan Guoxun. This was called the political warfare cell. They met regularly, studied proposals, and led movements. They sent reports to the Center and also to He Yingqin." Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 83.
 49. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 140.
 50. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 137.
 51. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 83.
 52. Huang Fu was also Chen Qimei's chief of staff when Chiang Kai-shek was a regimental commander during the capture of Nanjing in December 1911. He had

- joined the Nationalists at Chiang's invitation during the Northern Expedition and had helped take over Shanghai on March 22, 1927.
53. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:188-91.
 54. Feng denounced Chiang Kai-shek's government for failing to resist the Japanese. *Ibid.*, 2, 42.
 55. Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 18.
 56. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:82, 191, and 3:190-91.
 57. Local Renaissance Society cells of three to ten members coordinated their activities with the military police unit in their area, reporting to it information on Communists and "progressives" who thereby became liable to arrest and interrogation. Members of the third *tuan* in Beiping were responsible for most of the "disappeared" (*shizongzhe*) in the city, seizing people at their whim. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 142-43.
 58. *Ibid.*, 132-34.
 59. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 15.
 60. *Ibid.*; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 47.
 61. See, for the interest in Italian fascism, De Felice, *I fascismo e l'Oriente*, 9.
 62. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 15; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 45-46, 48.
 63. During that same summer a training camp for one thousand students was held in Baoding under the aegis of the local garrison commander. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 141.
 64. Members of the Renaissance Society later claimed to have harbored strong anti-Japanese feelings at that same time, and even the most anti-Communist of the backbone cadres—including men like Gui Yongqing—supposedly felt that their main goal ultimately was to *rangwai* (resist the external enemy). Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 46.
 65. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 131, 141.
 66. The CCP, through the Autumn Water Bookstore and the New Trend Education Society, dominated the patriotic student movement in Kaifeng after the Battle of Shanghai forced the Nationalists temporarily to relocate their government in Luoyang. They were especially strong at Henan University, Kaifeng Girls' Normal School, Beicang Girls' High School, and Kaifeng High School—all of which produced many active participants in the December 9th Movement of 1935-36. Wou, "Student Activism in Henan," 6.
 67. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 140.
 68. *Ibid.*, 132.
 69. *Ibid.*, 135.
 70. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:188-91; Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 18.
 71. *Who's Who in China*, fifth edition, 286.
 72. *Ibid.*, supplement to the fifth edition, 80. Yu later became mayor of Beiping himself. For the Luda Company, see Wright, "Sino-Japanese Business in China," *passim*.
 73. For Jiang, see Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 15-16.

74. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 138.
75. Liao Huaping had been a Communist before defecting to Dai Li.
76. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 139.
77. But see Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 22.
78. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 134, 140.
79. Ibid., 143; "Anti-Japanese Activity," 1; Morley, ed., *The China Quagmire*, 108-25; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:82 and 4:62-63. Yu Xuezhong had been Zhang Xueliang's military affairs counselor. One pretext for the Japanese demands that culminated in the He-Umezu Agreement was the assassination in Tianjin on May 2 of two pro-Japanese Chinese newsmen. The Japanese accused the Blue Shirts of the murders, and although Taiwanese sources later credited Dai Li's agents with one of the killings, some Japanese authorities and even General He saw them as having been engineered by Japanese secret servicemen in order to extract further concessions from the Nationalists in north China. Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 19-23. See also Chang, *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society*, 15.
80. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 146. Gan Guoxun argued that the Blue Shirts still accomplished their goal, "even though the Japanese made tough demands," forcing the Nanjing government to replace Yu Xuezhong as governor of Hebei. "All that [the Japanese] were able to accomplish was merely to set up rebel Yin Rugeng in Eastern Hebei as a puppet organization without mass foundation. His puppet Peace Preservation Chief Brigade commander, Zhang Yantian, secretly sent money to General Song Zheyuan, but he was brought under restraint. At the battle of Bailingmiao, the banner princes of Inner Mongolia were able to defeat puppet Prince De with the support of Fu Zuoyi and Song Zheyuan. As a result, north China and Inner Mongolia remained stable until July 1937." Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suwei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 83.
81. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 108, 110-11. Liu Zhi, who had served directly under Xu Chongzhi (formerly commander in chief of Sun Yat-sen's military forces), had led troops into battle against Chiang Kai-shek's enemies in most of the major campaigns of the period. He was later the chief field commander of the half-million Nationalist troops that were defeated in the Huai-Hai campaign of the winter of 1948-49. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:124-26, 391-93.
82. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 109.
83. Ibid., 107.
84. Foreign journalists thought that the Blue Shirts were in charge of censoring news dispatches coming in and out of China. Perhaps this was because of their connections with the Tongxunshe in various party branches. Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310.
85. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 114-15. There were relatively few members of the Society of Chinese Revolutionary Comrades in Henan. Many Fuxingshe members did not even know that the organization existed. Those that did belong to the SCRC were backbone cadres in party and army schools. The statement attributed to Chiang was echoed in contemporary

- journalists' mention of the slogan "Once a Blue Shirt, always a Blue Shirt." Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310.
86. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 112.
 87. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 57.
 88. According to the 1933 *xian zuzhi fa* (*xian* organization law), the mutual security system placed one hundred households under a *bao*. In *xiang* consisting of three or more *bao*, there was to be a *baozhang lianhe banshichu* (joint office for *bao* heads), which was also known as the *lianbao*.
 89. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 109. The society's name was sometimes shortened to Zhongyi hui (Loyal and Patriotic Society).
 90. Ibid., 108. The Zhongyi jiuguo hui had its own branch offices and cells, but it had no administrative organs of its own and only a modest budget. The cadres who ran the organization were either Renaissance Society or Chinese Revolutionary Comrades Society members. Members of the front group were often not aware of this fact. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 24-26.
 91. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 53.
 92. Ibid.
 93. Ibid., 54.
 94. After Liu took over, many of the higher-level cadres appointed to run SSS activities were not even members of the Fuxingshe. Ibid., 27-28.
 95. Needless to say, it was in the interest of Xiao Zuolin, the source of this information, to emphasize the distance between him and SSS personnel when he wrote about the Henan Fuxingshe for a Communist audience.
 96. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 28.
 97. Ibid., 28.
 98. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 53-54.
 99. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 27.
 100. Ibid., 53.
 101. Wang Xinheng was at one time secretary-general of the entire Special Services Department and later served as the liaison between Dai Li and Du Yuesheng. Ibid., 29.
 102. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 53.
 103. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 51-53.
 104. Ai Jingwu, "Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de pianduan huiyi," 112.
 105. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 51-53.
 106. Ibid., 61-62.
 107. Tien, *The Sian Incident*, passim; Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends*, 75-85.
 108. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 14; Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 62.
 109. By July 1937, Chiang Kai-shek had already convened a meeting of "CC" clique and Blue Shirts leaders, including the Chen brothers and Dai Li. Thereafter the "CC" clique was supposed to limit itself to activities concerning party organization and the civil administration, while the Blue Shirts were to direct their efforts to military and security matters. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 113.
 110. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 223.
 111. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 70.
 112. Ibid., 71.

113. This also occurred at a time when Chiang was trying to reconstruct the National government and broaden his own base by setting up the Political Consultative Conference.
114. *Ibid.*, 67.

11. THE SHANGHAI STATION, 1932-35

1. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 37. There were at first more than thirty "communications agents under direct control" (*zhishu tongxunyuan*) who all had regular jobs and were in positions where they had especially numerous public contacts. At first hired as part-time spies, many of them eventually became full-time field agents (*zuyuan*) working directly under the station chief and maintaining their own separate communications links with SSD headquarters. The term *tongxun* can also refer to press agents, and many of these spies indeed worked in journalism and the media. *Ibid.*, 39.
2. The field organizations of Juntong were originally divided into four major regional sections: Huadong (east China), Huanan (south China), Huazhong (central China), and Huabei (north China). At that time each province also had its own station (*shengzhan*). Each provincial organ reported directly to headquarters (*zongchu*) through its own wireless transmission set or in documents using a kind of invisible ink (*yaoshui*). Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 18.
3. His was only one among many counterintelligence units in the city then. See Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai 1927-1937*, 132-61.
4. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 37-38, 44. The fourth group was called the Huxi zu. See also Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 113.
5. Regular payments to "communications agents under direct control" and rent, including the cost of meeting rooms, came to a little over one hundred yuan. The remainder was spent on photographic equipment. The annual formal budget was spent within several months. (Since a full-time agent earned up to one hundred yuan per month, this formal budget obviously had to be supplemented by irregular sources of funding.) Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 42-43.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Gradually the inks used became more complex and the flow of information more copious. By 1934 Nanjing headquarters was sending a courier to Shanghai every day to pick up intelligence reports, and it was no longer necessary to use special juices and solutions to prepare missives to Chicken Goose Lane. *Ibid.*, 38-39.
8. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 18.
9. See chapter 16.
10. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 41.
11. Zhao Lijun (Dazu, Sichuan), who changed his name from Cao Lijun, was a graduate of the fifth class of Whampoa. During the war against Japan he came into conflict with members of the "CC" clique in Henan and was killed by Liu Zilong. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 132.
12. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 38, 147. At the same time Zhongtong was carrying out its own program of illegal kidnapping, thickening the cloud of fear that hung over the city. Meng Zhen, "Zhongtong yu wo," 122.

13. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 44.
14. Ibid., 48-49.
15. Wen-hsin Yeh, "The Liu Geping Affair," 19.
16. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 41.
17. Ibid., 44. Shen Zui did not give up his communications position until 1935, when he became an inspector (*ducha*) in the operations section of the main detective brigade (*zhencha dadui*) of the Song-Hu Garrison Command. Nanjing headquarters then sent Wang Xiangsun to replace him as regional communications officer. Ibid., 37, 42.
18. Ibid., 50.
19. Whenever Shen Zhui had any surveillance or investigative work to do in the International Settlement or in Hongkew, he always went to Wang Changyu first for introductions to his contacts. Ibid., 49-50.
20. Ibid., 50.
21. According to Chen Lifu, "Dai Li's organ did not have a name. At first Mr. Chiang [Kai-shek] told him to do some work. At the time, Dai Li was at his side in the capacity of a personal adjutant or staff officer. Then Mr. Chiang told him to organize the police academy in Hangzhou. Dai Li's organ became more concrete with the organization of the police academy. Graduates of the Central Military Academy were sent to this academy. Dai Li used them following graduation. Thus, he gradually assembled a group of cadres. It was then that I discovered that Dai Li was doing special investigative work." Chen Lifu, "The Board of Organization, 1932-1935," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 76.
22. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 50.
23. Ibid., 40. Tao served as the head of the investigation department (*jichachu*) of the Song-Hu Garrison Command after the Nationalists took Shanghai back from the Japanese. Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 250.
24. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 50.
25. Ibid., 44. See also Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 14.
26. Nearly every Shanghai field agent had to carry out surveillance over progressive or anti-Chiang elements at one time or another. Very seldom was the agent entirely clear as to why the suspect was being watched. The targets of surveillance were simply tagged as being "counterrevolutionaries" (*fan'geming*) or members of a "reactionary clique" (*fandong pai*). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 78.
27. Ibid., 50-51.
28. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 13.
29. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 54.
30. Dai Li himself was never thought to be corrupt, at least in the monetary sense. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
31. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 54. Agents were paid roughly as much as government officers in other agencies. During the War of Resistance, when military officers had to take a 10 percent deduction for *guonanxin* (national hardship), Juntong agents continued to receive their full wages. In addition, headquarters agents received overtime pay, and thus enjoyed 40 to 50 percent higher wages than regular officials. Field agents also received "action fees" (*huodongfei*) and special bonuses (*jiangjin*) for successful kidnapping and assassination missions. "As long

- as you were willing to sell your personal character and conscience, then you were never out of a job." Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 18-19. In addition to receiving special subsidies, talented young Juntong agents were promised rapid promotions. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 161.
32. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 55.
 33. Ibid., 50.
 34. "At that time several of the progressive assemblies or meetings in Shanghai had these reporters mixed among them carrying out special services activities." Ibid., 45.
 35. *Torch* was the supplement of *Great Evening News (Dawanbao)*. Ibid., 42; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 15.
 36. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 48. This is not surprising since Shen Zui was capable of fooling his own mother. One time he was carrying out a kidnapping with a special operations group and the car that they were using pulled up alongside a ricksha. Although Shen Zui was disguised in worker's clothing, his mother spotted him and called to him by his child's name. Shen Zui instantly shouted back at her in Shanghai dialect, rudely insulting her. Later, after he returned home, his mother told him that she had seen a worker who bore a striking resemblance to her son, but who had called her foul names. When Dai Li heard of this incident he praised Shen Zui for his ability to dupe even his mother.
 37. Ibid., 81.
 38. Ibid.
 39. Ibid., 80-81.
 40. Ibid., 80. The agents were originally told that a special operation would be carried out against Xue Dubi, but later the orders were changed to simple surveillance. As a lawyer, Xue Dubi was often approached by relatives of victims of Shanghai Station kidnappings, and his house on Jinshenfu Road in Jingucun, along with his office on Aiduoya Street in the French Concession, were both carefully watched.
 41. Ibid., 40-41; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 15.
 42. Zhou is sometimes identified as Xunyu.
 43. Dai Li, as we shall note later, used Zhou Xunyu's own wife as his informant. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 46-47.
 44. Ibid., 45.
 45. During the Cultural Revolution Cui, who by then was in Hong Kong, published articles about his days in Shanghai, mentioning his relationship with "Dick" and with Lan Ping. Shen Zui, then in jail, was asked to tell all that he knew about Cui by interrogators who were obviously troubled about the connection with Madame Mao. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 15.
 46. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 41.
 47. The principal of the school, Guang Suzhi, occasionally carried out secret missions for the Shanghai Station. Ibid., 52.
 48. Ibid., 53.
 49. One of Yang Hu's concubines introduced a dozen of these overseas Chinese, including Su Zhentong and Liu Guoqing, to Dai Li, who sent them to the special agents class in the Hangzhou Police Academy. Ibid., 40.
 50. Ibid., 48. Much later, in 1936, the university president's office expelled sixty

- left-wing students. According to a *Nichi Nichi* release (September 9, 1936), this put the institution “under the influence of the Fascist Blue Shirts Society.” One of the dismissed students, a young woman whose father was a high official in Shanghai, committed suicide—an act mourned by Zou Taofen in a front-page article in *Shenghuo*, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-7332, 9/9/36.
51. Chen Shaozong was eventually charged with keeping track of several other educational institutions in the Jiangwan district, including the local Women’s School of Physical Education, and a law school. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 40; Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 41.
 52. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 41.
 53. The inspector was Chen Ci, who later served as an ambassador under Chiang Kai-shek. The monthly budget was increased from two hundred to three hundred yuan. *Ibid.*, 43.
 54. *Ibid.*
 55. Zhang Shi may not have managed to penetrate the CCP, but he had excellent ideas about managing the intelligence that they did get on Communist activity. Dai Li took a liking to him and transferred Zhang to Nanjing to become secretary of the general central headquarters. His post as regional secretary was successively filled by Xu Yin, Yao Zechong, and Zheng Xiuyuan. *Ibid.*
 56. Dai Li tried many times to recruit Lu Ying into Juntong in order to gain control of the *zhenji zongdui*, but Lu was always unwilling to join. *Ibid.*, 49.
 57. *Ibid.*
 58. The two counselors were Yang Huabo and Huang Jiachi. *Ibid.*
 59. *Ibid.*
 60. *Ibid.*, 45–46.
 61. *Ibid.*
 62. By then, the original headquarters at No. 53 had been expanded to several new buildings at Lane Four. Field agents were not allowed to go to these new facilities, but had to report in at the old address, where personnel phoned over to Lane Four requesting the presence of a case officer. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhida de Dai Li,” 18.
 63. Ruan himself “didn’t have any social relations” (*meiyou shemma shehui guanxi*), so Fan’s connections “all became Ruan’s connections” (*dou bianchengle Ruan de guanxi le*). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 46.
 64. *Ibid.*
 65. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 249–50.
 66. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 43.
 67. *Ibid.* Shanghai natives called the Baiyunguan “Maoshandian.” *Ibid.*, 43, 71. See also Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 237.
 68. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 51–52.
 69. Yang was succeeded as head of Group One by Shen Zui. The head of Group Two, Xu Pengfei, was also attached to the Main Detective Brigade at this point. *Ibid.*
 70. Their own crime detection suffered as a result, but when Shen Zui reported that they needed to pay more attention to solving felonies, Dai Li said offhandedly, “Do you think we took control over this organization just in order to grab petty crooks and pickpockets on behalf of others?” *Ibid.*, 117.

71. Ibid., 43, 52, 74; Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shihui*, 99.
72. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 43. Qin Chengzhi became regional secretary for Juntong. Dai Li may have transferred Wu Naixian because he was impatient with the Huadongqu station's inability to penetrate Communist front groups. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 41-42.
73. The head of the Suzhou section of the railroad police, Han Shangying, was given responsibility for coordinating the transport of prisoners from the Shanghai regional office of Juntong. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 43-44, 52.
74. Wang Xinheng later took charge of Dai Li's operations in Hong Kong. Personal communication from Wen-hsin Yeh.
75. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 44. Wang Xinheng remained head of the Shanghai regional office until the very eve of the war with Japan, when he was succeeded by Zhou Weilong.
76. Later, during the war, Cheng Yiming served as chief of Juntong's northwestern district office, and he eventually became, in May 1945, head of Juntong's Third Department. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 223.
77. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 279-88.
78. Su was from Xinhua in Hunan.
79. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 44-45.
80. Chen Geng had made his way to Shanghai via Swatow and Hong Kong. Niu Huilin, who was a graduate of St. John's, suspected Chen Geng's identity but in the end did not turn him in. Mu Xin, *Chen Geng tongzhi zai Shanghai*, 34-35.
81. Wu was given the case because it was thought he might be able to recognize his former classmate. There were no photographs of Chen Geng available to the Shanghai Station. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 81.
82. Even though Group Two concentrated its forces in the Xiaoyouli area of Xujiahui and Dapuoqiao in Nanshi, they failed to keep track of CCP suspects because of the Communists' extraordinary attention to security procedures. Ibid.
83. Juntong managed to arrest three Communist agents near the *zhencha dadui*. Ibid., 71.
84. Mu Xin, *Chen Geng tongzhi zai Shanghai*, passim.
85. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 51.
86. Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 142-43.
87. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 51.
88. Ibid. In April 1933 Shen Zui led a group that was planning to kidnap a suspected Communist Party member in the French Concession. His informant, however, fingered the wrong person, who turned out to be a jockey. Because they could not admit their mistake, Juntong officers kept the poor man in prison in Nanjing until war broke out with Japan and they had to evacuate the city. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 10.
89. See Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 154; Xu, *The invisible Con ict*, 84-89.
90. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 63.
91. Ibid., 63-64.
92. Ibid., 64.
93. See Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 147-51; and Litten, "The Noulens Affair," passim.

94. This was parallel to the Political Department under Gerhart Eisler, and it was responsible for Communist activities in Asia outside the Red-occupied zones of China. The Shanghai Organization Department functioned like a massive switching operation, channeling funds and agents through the city and throughout Asia, and using safe houses and cutouts to maintain security. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 317.
95. Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 502–3.
96. *Ibid.*, 503, 508.
97. *Ibid.*, 493.
98. Standard book codes were used, with certain sentences serving as keys. The two books were discovered by cryptographers to be the *Holy Bible* and Sun Yat-sen's *Three People's Principles*. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 318.
99. The official from Nanjing was named Zhou Yanghao.
100. When Shen Zui grabbed him Lu Haifang sunk his teeth into his wrist. Shen had to use the butt of his pistol to knock out Lu's front teeth in order to get his hand loose. Then he cuffed himself to the suspect and held on until help came along. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 64.
101. *Ibid.*, 64–65.
102. *Ibid.*
103. Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 494. The date of Noulens's arrest is given as June 17 in Li Helin, "Lu Xun and Soong Ching Ling," 107–16.
104. Shen Zui took Lu home to see his wife, and when they walked in they found her burning documents. She turned upon her husband in anger and scorn: "Didn't you die? You may have the cheek to come and see me, but I haven't got the face to see you, you *pantu*!" Lu asked her to come along with him, but she glared at Shen Zui and said that she would only come along if she were arrested. Shen stopped trying to reason with her and took Lu back to headquarters where he told Dai Li that he thought they had better wait for a couple of days until she had calmed down and could be more reasonable. Dai Li immediately ordered her arrest. When Shen Zui went back she was gone and all of the documents were burned. Dai Li was not terribly upset by this, because that day they had captured a big fish—as he put it—and it was permissible to let a small fish get away. Also, he felt it was a good lesson for Shen Zui, who learned that relationships between father and son or husband and wife were not the same in the Communist Party as they were in the Guomindang. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 67.
105. The writer's name was Yuan Shu. He was arrested and his works were confiscated. The actress was also arrested and held in the Main Detective Brigade's headquarters. She was given preferential treatment, and Station Chief Wang Xinheng and Brigade Commander Wang Zhaohuai paid calls on her. Dai Li wanted to come and see her too, but when he learned that she had performed songs for his lieutenants Dai jealously insisted that his men henceforth watch out for "Communist tricks" by keeping their distance from the pretty young woman. Hei Mudan, whose surname was Cheng, was from Wanxian (Sichuan), and she was a close friend of a fellow townswoman who was the concubine of the Sichuanese warlord Wang Lingji. When orders went out for her arrest,

- she hid out in Wang's household. Later she escaped to Suzhou, where she was eventually captured. *Ibid.*
106. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 9; Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 494.
 107. Noulens, always the professional agent, told one of his arresting officers, "I know you've got your duty to perform, but you must remember I've got mine, and that is to make your job as difficult as possible." Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 317.
 108. *Ibid.*, 319; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 68. The Noulenses left behind a son, Jimmy, who was put in the nominal care of Agnes Smedley and Madame Sun Yat-sen. After 1936 he grew up in Soviet orphanages. During the 1960s, as Dimitri Yakovlevitch Moiseenko, he liaised between the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Communist parties of Switzerland and Belgium. Litten, "The Noulens Affair," 510.
 109. Li Helin, "Lu Xun and Soong Ching Ling," 107-16.
 110. Lu Xun wrote in "Two or Three Things Chinese," a 1934 essay for the Japanese magazine *Reform*, "Mr. and Mrs. Noulens, who were thrown into jail in Nanjing as Communist agitators, staged three or four hunger strikes—to no effect. They did not understand the spirit of Chinese prisons. One official said in surprise: If they don't eat, what business is it of ours? This has nothing to do with benevolent government, and saving a little grain is good for the prison. If Gandhi had not chosen a good place [for his fast], he would have failed completely." *Ibid.*, 109.
 111. The Communists' resistance under torture was legendary among inmates of Nationalist jail cells. Tata and McLaclan, *Shanghai 1949*, 36.
 112. Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-en, *Red Crag*, 172.
 113. In Juntong training courses later, instructors advised students not to be content with the address alone, but to continue the interrogation by asking detailed questions about the nature of the dwelling, warning systems, and so on, and then send special agents into the place disguised as utility repairmen or municipal plumbers. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 22.
 114. Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers," 248-49.
 115. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 68-69.
 116. *Ibid.*, 71.
 117. The Communist, who was seized when he ran out of ammunition, supposedly told Shen, "Sooner or later we were able to shoot you, running dog. I should have given you a couple of more shots." *Ibid.*, 69-70.
 118. *Ibid.*, 70-71.
 119. *Ibid.*, 42. This seems unlikely to be true.
 120. Every time he came to Shanghai he would "have a big tantrum" (*fa da piqui*) over Juntong's inability to penetrate the Communists' organization.
 121. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 42.
 122. These included the collaboration of Li Zushen and Sheng Zhongliang, the leading members of the Shanghai Bureau of the Comintern. "Arrested and threatened with execution, they joined the KMT secret police. Everything that was known and confided to them was betrayed. This resulted in the seizure of many leading cadres in the White areas, the collapse of central and local Party

organizations, and the loss of important documents.” Otto Braun, *A Comintern Agent in China*, 79.

123. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 37-38. Presumably some CCP-CC members remained behind, but the Politburo, at least, took to the hills.
124. Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 156.
125. Braun, *A Comintern Agent in China*, 79. But note that there was radio contact with Zhang Guotao, and of course there were couriers.

12. DEATH SQUADS

1. Even before the Lixingshe was established, Dai Li had already sent Weng Guanghui, Chen Zhiqiang, and Wang Changyu to establish district offices in Shanghai. They were later joined by their Whampoa classmate Xu Zhaojun. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 40.
2. Zhao Lijun, alias Tao Shineng, was a Sichuanese who had graduated in the fifth class at Whampoa. During the Anti-Japanese War he became head of the Operations Section of Juntong's central headquarters in Chongqing. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 147. This action group included Wang Kequan, Li Ada, and Guo Decheng, all of who had criminal backgrounds of one sort or another. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 41.
3. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 23.
4. *Ibid.*, 23.
5. It is quite telling that the first car bought for the Shanghai Station was assigned to the kidnapping unit. *Ibid.*, 60.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*, 58-59.
8. *Ibid.*, 60.
9. *Ibid.*, 61. Three persons were flawlessly kidnapped in this way on the eve of the Sino-Japanese War.
10. *Ibid.*, 60.
11. *Ibid.*, 62. In one case that occurred along a boundary road, what began as a clandestine kidnapping of a suspected Communist changed into an open arrest the moment the victim stepped onto Chinese territory. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 10.
12. On the other hand, illicit kidnappings risked angering the French and International Settlement police authorities. When Blue Shirts tried to abduct one of Hu Hanmin's followers, the French police were so angry that they sought to set Red Gang members among their Chinese detective force against Green Gang members who were said to support the Blue Shirts. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 8/7/33.
13. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 58; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 10.
14. The seizure was arranged by SSD agent Chen Qihun (Mao Shaowu or Shi Jimei), a former member of the Communist special services who had defected to the Nationalists at the behest of Gu Shunzhang. Mao was executed by Communist assassins a month later at La Maison Dingxiang in the French Concession. Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois (1927-1987)*, 104-5.

15. Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-Wing Writers," 249-50. See, for a moving account of Ding Ling's arrest, Spence, *The Gate of Heavenly Peace*, 208-9. Yang Quan was murdered on the morning of June 18, 1933, by Zhao Lijun. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 204.
16. "Political Study Clique—Assassination of Yang Yung-tai," 6, in Ch'en Lifu Materials.
17. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 13.
18. "Political Study Clique—Assassination of Yang Yung-tai," 5, in Ch'en Lifu Materials. Chen Lifu believed that there was a simultaneous assassination plot directed against himself. The killers were supposed to strike while he attended Hu Hanmin's funeral in Guangzhou. *Ibid.*, 6. See also Dispatch No. 441 from Consul-General Josselyn, Hankou, May 17, 1937, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930-39, 1930-39, 00/14131, June 25, 1937; "Blue Shirt Society," report prepared by D. I. Sih Tse-liang, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 18/7/35. Other sources report that Wang Yaqiao was the assassin. Wang directed a group of much-feared political executioners during those years. After the Fujian People's Government was defeated, Wang allied himself with Li Chen and Chen Mingshu to form the National Revolutionary Alliance (Minzu geming tongmeng), with its attendant newspaper organ *Dazhong ribao* (Masses Daily), directed against Chiang Kai-shek. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 137-38.
19. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 13-14; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 61. For the trial and sentencing, see Dispatch No. 451 from Consul-General Josselyn, Hankou, June 7, 1937, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930-39, 00/14140, July 31, 1937.
20. "Secret arrests" were often carried out in connivance with one of the factory leaders or with one of the yellow union officials to whom they would show photographs of the intended victim. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 61. Students were similarly treated, being lured off campus (where their classmates might shield them from arrest) to answer a bogus telephone call from a relative or friend. *Ibid.*, 61-62.
21. This may be standard operating procedure the world over. The Greek Military Police (Elliniki Stratiotiki Astynomia, or ESA) under the Colonels always favored nighttime arrests, when the detainee was already disoriented. "Arrests appear to have been carried out usually at night without a warrant by a carload of ESA men under the command of an officer from the prosecution section, and were often accompanied by a beating. On arrival at headquarters, the detainee would usually be taken to the commanding officer and verbally threatened with imminent and severe violence. In order to intimidate him, he might be shut into a guard room where there were clubs, whips, and canes hanging on the wall." *Torture in Greece*, 16.
22. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 55.
23. In 1932 Isaacs summarized the Guomindang methods of torture as follows: beating; pouring kerosene, urine, and feces through the nose of the victim and having the guards drive their knees into the stomach of the victim; strapping prisoners to chairs and giving them intermittent electric charges; placing pieces of bamboo between the fingers, which were then crushed; burning; intermittent

- dislocation of bone joints; "tiger's bench," an ancient Chinese method of torture "by which the ligaments beneath the knee are pulled out"; imprisonment in cages where the prisoner must crouch like an animal for weeks or months; single or double pairs of shackles; and mutilating the reproductive organs of both sexes. Isaacs, ed., *Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction*, 14.
24. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 74-75. See also Rissov, *Le dragon enchaîné*, 152.
 25. "In 1964 the novel *Red Crag*, written by Luo Guangbin and Yang Yiyang, appeared and created a sensation throughout the country. . . . The negative figures in the novel, Xu Pengfei, Shen Yangzhai, and Yan Zui, were modelled on Xu Yuanju, Zhou Yanghao, and me. Although the authors had added some artistic touches to their descriptions of these three characters, their features, personalities, functions, and behaviour corresponded basically with facts." Shen Zui, *A KMT War Criminal in New China*, 161-62.
 26. Lo Kuang-pin and Yang Yi-en, *Red Crag*, 176.
 27. See, for example, *ibid.*, 114.
 28. *Ibid.*, 108.
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. The procedure for handling political cases during the Chongqing period required, first, that the section leader of the Second Department declare his intention, which could be "secret arrest" (*mibu*), "open arrest" (*gongkai daibu*), or "sanction" (*zhicai*, which meant *ansha* [assassinate]). Then, after the Third Department (operations) received the signed order from the Second Department, it had to get Dai Li's permission to proceed. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 151.
 31. Goleman, "The Torturer's Mind: A Complex View Emerges," 16. According to this detailed study of twenty-five Greek men who were members of the military police during the rule of the junta, these torturers were selected during their first few months of military training because they displayed "total obedience to the authorities even when an order seemed illogical." See also Haritos-Fatouros, "The Official Torturer," 16-19.
 32. *Torture in Greece*, 39.
 33. *Ibid.*, 14. The torturers wanted to present EAT/ESA—in the words of the prosecutor at the close of their trial after the regime of the Colonels was overthrown—"not as a place of torture but as a national reformatory. Modestly reserving to themselves infallibility of judgement, they have tried to follow in the footsteps of the holy inquisition." *Ibid.*, 13-14.
 34. *Ibid.*, 38.
 35. Haritos-Fatouros, "The Official Torturer," 19.
 36. *Torture in Greece*, 38. KESA stands for Kentron Ekpaidevseos Stratiotikis Astynomias, the training center for the Greek military police.
 37. *Ibid.*, 37.
 38. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 58.
 39. "Torture consists of a primary physical act, the infliction of pain, and a primary verbal act, the interrogation. . . . The idea that the need for information is the motive for the physical cruelty arises from the tone and form of the questioning rather than from its content: questions, no matter how contemptuously irrele-

- vant their content, are announced, deliberately, *as though* they motivated the cruelty, *as if* the answers to them are crucial.” Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 28–29.
40. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 75.
 41. The study of Greek torturers showed that they had become a “closely-knit clique” with a “special language for the devices and techniques of torture.” They had nicknames that they used only among themselves, and spoke of those not in their group as being “of a different world.” Goleman, “The Torturer’s Mind,” 16. See also Haritos-Fatouros, “The Official Torturer,” 13.
 42. One young Communist agent who preferred to die had kicked one of his interrogators during the questioning. “Of course, this person was beaten to death afterward.” Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 75.
 43. *Ibid.*
 44. This is a paraphrase of Ervin Staub’s description of the process in “Social Evil: Perpetrators and Bystanders of Cruelty.” According to Robert Lifton, Nazi doctors saw themselves as curing a sick Aryan race of infection. “They had a medical ideology that in their eyes made sense of their cruelty in the name of biology.” See Goleman, “The Torturer’s Mind,” 16.
 45. Goleman, “The Torturer’s Mind,” 16.
 46. ESA guards were thought by some prisoners to have been drugged because of their glazed eyes; they seemed “deprived of their personalities.” One wing commander said that they had a vocabulary of little more than 130 words, almost all of it abusive. *Torture in Greece*, 39. The prisoner was made to suffer the sensation that he had been utterly forgotten, or that all of his friends had been arrested and there was no one “outside” to help him. Also, he was told, and then shown by having limbs broken or teeth pulled, that he would suffer irreparable physical deformation. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
 47. The nomenclature for torture is typically drawn from three spheres of civilization: contortions mimetic of a particular technological invention (the telephone, the plane ride, the Victrola), of cultural events (the dance, the birthday party, the tea party), and of nature civilized (the little hare, the parrot’s perch, the dragon’s chair)—to take examples from Argentina, Brazil, Greece, the Philippines, Uruguay, and Vietnam. Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 44.
 48. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 76.
 49. *Ibid.*, 121.
 50. Goleman, “The Torturer’s Mind,” 16.
 51. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 58.
 52. *Ibid.*
 53. *Torture in Greece*, 32.
 54. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 76.
 55. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 12; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 12.
 56. Shen Zui, *A KMT War Criminal in New China*, 163.
 57. *Ibid.* See also Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 76.
 58. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 56.
 59. When the secret service killed Luo Shiwen, the party secretary of the CCP Sichuan Committee, they burned the body to conceal its identity. *Ibid.*

60. Shen Zui, while serving in the communications section of the Shanghai Station, had occasion to deliver a message to Zhao Lijun at the operations section, which outsiders rarely visited. When he arrived there he found Zhao and his agents bustling about, carrying out an "experiment" with the corpse of a suspected Communist who had cried out and shouted so loudly during interrogation that the secret servicemen were afraid he would alert the neighbors. They had therefore decided to kill him and dispose of the body with acid (*huagushui*). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 56-57.
61. *Ibid.*, 57-58.
62. *Ibid.*, 58. Harold Isaacs, who was of course partisan, estimated that the numbers of "direct victims" of police terror between 1927 and 1932 reached at least one million, and he says that between January and August of 1928, 27,699 people were formally condemned to death. Isaacs, *Five Years of Kuomintang Reaction*, 4. See also Gourlay, "Yellow' Unionism in Shanghai," 111-12.

13. ASSASSINATIONS

1. After joining Sun Yat-sen's group, Shi—who was from Panyu—made three attempts to blow Deshou up. He was caught and executed on the third try. Krebs, "Assassination in the Republican Revolutionary Movement," 49-50. "Political assassination is a form of death that occurs suddenly to an individual who is involved in politics as the result of *covert* planning by one or more individuals." Tretiak, "Political Assassinations in China," 637.
2. Yang, who wrote *Xin Hunan* (New Hunan), the chief manifesto of Huang Xing's China Revival Society (Huaxing hui), believed that, "In reconstructing society, we cannot simply reorganize the old society. We must destroy the old society and cleanse it." Krebs, "Assassination in the Republican Revolutionary Movement," 53-54.
3. *Ibid.*, 45, 55.
4. See, for a discussion of these exemplary influences, Wen-hsin Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," *passim*.
5. Tretiak, "Political Assassinations in China," 644. Although rumor had it that Wang Jingwei was spared execution because his handsome looks captivated Dowager Empress Longyu (Longyu huangtaihou), a likelier explanation is that the Japanese secretly intervened to prevent his death. As far as the public knew, Prince Su, president of the Board of Civil Administration, was moved by Wang's passionate statement of his motives to reduce the sentence to life imprisonment. Prince Su subsequently visited the prisoner in his cell. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 17-18; Brooks, "Spies and Adventurers: Kawashima Yoshiko," 2-3.
6. Some of these leaders formed private intelligence units such as the Guangxi clique's Lequnshe (Rejoice in the Group Society). Pang Dunzhi, *Kongsu Guixi tewu*, 11-13.
7. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 1. See also "Notorious Gang Chief Shot Down."
8. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 13-14; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 196-98; Yang Zhesheng, *Tegong wang*, 18-19.
9. In March 1923 the military governor of Anhui sent a telegram to the provincial

authorities in Zhejiang warning them that Wang Yaqiao was recruiting soldiers in Huzhou. Although Wang Yaqiao sent a telegram back to the governor, General Ma [Li Kyih], saying that he had been confined to Shanghai for the past few months with illness, this alibi was not confirmed by the Shanghai Municipal Police. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 2. Wang was often identified in the press as the leader of "an assassination corps" and "notorious secret society" called the Hongshunhui (usually translated by foreign journalists as the "Abundance of Luck Society"). He was believed to be the "brains" behind a number of assassinations, having "directed the activities of various gangs in South China and along the Yangtze valley." "Notorious Gang Chief Shot Down." Wang was supposedly born in 1883 in Guangxi province. (But see "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 3; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 11; and Cai Shaoqing, *Zhongguo mimi shehui*, 337, which claims that he was from Anhui.) See also letter from J. W. Platt, Asiatic Petroleum Company to Director of Criminal Intelligence, Police Headquarters, Hong Kong, December 28, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 28/12/36.

10. "Notorious Gang Chief Shot Down."
11. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 14/11/23.
12. Ibid.; "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 1.
13. Confidential report, 9/4/24, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 9/4/24.
14. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 1.
15. Confidential report, 9/4/24, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 9/4/24. General He also was afraid that Xu Guoliang would prove to be a security risk in case war broke out between the warlord armies of Zhejiang and Jiangsu.
16. Clipping in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 9/4/24.
17. Confidential report, 9/11/24, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 9/4/24.
18. Major military officers in Lu Yongxiang's opium trafficking operations included Yu Yefeng, former commander of the smuggling suppression squad; Ma Honglie, the nephew of the commander of Lu's guards regiment, Ma Baosheng; Lu Xiaojia, Lu Yongxiang's son; Zhou Fengqi, commander of the Second Zhejiang Division; and Pan Guogang, a warlord from Zhejiang. Martin, "Warlords and Gangsters," 24.
19. Confidential report, 9/4/24, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374.
20. Xu nearly came to blows with the officer, a man named Wang, in a quarrel in a brothel. Ibid.
21. Ibid.
22. One report placed Wang in Huzhou with the first battalion bodyguards attached to the defense commissioner of Jiaying and Wuzhou. Ibid.; Report from the Director of Criminal Intelligence, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 14/4/23.
23. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegong wang*, 20-21.
24. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 2.
25. Ibid. See also the article in *Hua-Mei wan bao*, dated November 25, 1936, and clipped in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-5374, 26/11/36.

26. This was borne out in statements made by certain prisoners arrested by the SMP in 1933. "Summary of Wang Yao Jiao," 3.
27. *Ibid.*, 1.
28. Wang Yaqiao had formed connections with Chen Mingshu during the January 1932 hostilities in Shanghai, when he founded a volunteer unit of his own to assist the Nineteenth Route Army against the Japanese. "Summary of Wang Yao Jiao," 3.
29. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 13.
30. Wang Yaqiao was later suspected of the murder of Kayo Kosaku, a Japanese salesman, on Qimei Road in Zhabei in the summer of 1936. "Notorious Gang Chief Shot Down."
31. A newspaper printed an instruction from the Blue Shirts dated June 14, 1932, that listed fifty-six of Chiang's opponents who were supposed to be assassinated. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 61. According to Cheng Yiming, who worked for Juntong for thirty-one years and was chief of the department of police operations (*jingwu xingdongchu*), all political assassinations had to be cleared with Chiang Kai-shek. Even Dai Li was required to seek the Generalissimo's permission when a political figure was about to be killed. Cheng Yiming, "Wen Yiduo bei ansha de neimu," 198.
32. The association was formed by secret order of the GMD Central Executive Committee in May 1934. It was supposed to consist of ninety sections, each containing five members. The governing committee was composed of Wu Kaixian, Yang Hu, and Peng Gongzhe. "Rules and Regulations of the Shanghai Municipality Comrades Association for the Elimination of Communists," 1-3.
33. However, an important part of the operations cadres' training was the study of successful operations carried out in the past. In discussing assassination, for example, instructors in the Linli training unit liked to emphasize the methods used to assassinate Yang Xingfo and Shi Liangcai. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 23.
34. Mao's key cadres, such as Huang Bingyan, Yuan Mingding, Ji Zhongpeng, and Li Renzhang, were all Linli graduates. Other Linli alumni such as Zhang Mingxuan (chief of the criminal police department *xingjingchu* of Chongqing), Zhou Wanfu (head of the Chongqing police inspectorate), and Lei Tianyuan (director of the judiciary police office *sifake* who was in charge of the massacre at Dregs Cave [Zhazidong]) were assigned to Juntong's assassination operations in the wartime capital. *Ibid.*, 34-35.
35. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8; Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 135. For the critical role of Bai Shiwei as the nucleus of Chen Gongshu's Beiping operations, see Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 59.
36. Feng Meiquan, "Jiefang qian Juntong zai Xi'an he Yingchuan de zuzhi yu huodong," 74; Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li de bu-chong, dingzheng," 239-40; Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 63, 66-67; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8.
37. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 212-13. See the list of supposed Blue Shirts assassinations in north China and the northeast given in Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 10.
38. Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 137; Qiao Jiakai, *Haoran ji*, 1:55.
39. Qiao Jiakai, *Haoran ji*, 1:55.

40. Ibid., 55-56.
41. Ibid.
42. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 203-4.
43. Qiao Jiakai, *Haoran ji*, 1:56-57; Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 137.
44. General Ji had led the Second Army of Feng Yuxiang's confederation against the Japanese outside Zhangjiakou (Kalgan). General Ji's victory at Duolun, which he retook from the Japanese, electrified the nation. Chiang Kai-shek, however, took this as an attack on his policy of compromise with the Japanese and therefore sent his own "household troops" to surround Ji's 200,000 men and to secure Ji's arrest. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 204-5.
45. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 135. Ji Hongchang was on the Blue Shirts' death list because he was suspected of having ties with the Communists. He has recently been praised in China for having been an outstanding CCP member. Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 20.
46. Chen Gongshu was a native of Tianjin who graduated from the Whampoa Academy. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 135. The Tianjin Special Services Station was in some disarray at this time owing to Wang Tianmu's imprisonment by Dai Li. His successor as station chief was mysteriously poisoned. Chen Gongshu, *Yingxiang wuming: Beiguo chujian*, 152.
47. Chen Gongshu, as the responsible agent, knew that he would be punished by Dai Li the next time anything went wrong. Shortly afterward an informer being held in an SSD safe house escaped and told the Beiping police that he had been kidnapped by the secret service. When this got into the press Dai Li sent agents to arrest Chen, who fled to Inner Mongolia to hide with his brother. Knowing he could not hide from Dai Li forever, Chen put a coded advertisement in the paper promising to turn himself in if Dai would not kill him. Dai Li promised leniency in a response ad, and Chen came back "out of the cold." His chief told Chen to present himself to the warden in command of one of his prisons in Nanjing. Chen reported to the warden and was thrown in jail for a period of time.
48. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 135; Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 205-6.
49. However, it was followed by a botched attempt by Chen Gongshu and Wang Wen to assassinate Shi Yousan, who had close ties to the Japanese special services, in the French Concession in Tianjin. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 70-71; Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 20.
50. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 147; "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 8.
51. Deng Yanda's secretary was secretly captured and jailed by Dai Li's men as well. Eight years later the Russian prisoner Constantin Rissov met this person, who was called "Professor Wen," in the Juntong prison at Xifeng in Guizhou. Wen ended up running the prison's classes on Confucius. Rissov, *Le Dragon enchaîné*, 177-78, 190. For the concentration camp itself, see Li Renfu, "Juntong tewu jiguan Xifeng jizhongying heimu," 110-14. In order to "beautify himself," Dai Li had his concentration camp prisons renamed as "schools" (*xuexiao*) and his prisoners as "self-cultivators" (*xiuyangren*) who addressed each other as "fellow students" (*tongxue*). When the captives were released they were said to have

- "graduated" (*biye*). Major camps like Xifeng were called "universities" (*daxue*). Pan Jiazhao et al., *Jiang Jieshi tegong midang ji qita*, 37; Li Renfu, "Juntong tewu jiguan Xifeng jizhongying heimou," 14.
52. Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 132.
 53. Yang was from Linjiang, Jiangxi.
 54. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 56. For Dai Li's "episodic" employment of terror, see Chang, "Fascism' and Modern China," 567.
 55. The announcement was drafted by Song Qingling and circulated by Shi Liangcai.
 56. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 147; Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 132.
 57. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 147.
 58. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 222-223.
 59. Guo Decheng was taken to the Guangci Hospital. Dai Li was afraid that he would reveal details of the conspiracy and secretly ordered Fan Guangzhen, the chief of the Chinese detective bureau in the French police, to poison Guo. Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 132.
 60. Ibid.; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 9.
 61. Li, "Lu Xun and Soong Ching Ling," 111.
 62. Ibid., 111-12.
 63. Lu Xun left home that day without taking his door key in order to show his willingness to risk his life. Ibid., 112.
 64. The plan was for Shen Zui to ram Song Qingling's car when it stopped for a traffic light. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 78-80.
 65. "Mysterious Document Marks 55 Chinese Leaders on Death List for Assassination by Fascists," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, July 19, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 25/7/33.
 66. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 320-21.
 67. Wu, "K.C. Wu Calls Chou Twenty Times a Murderer," 1, 6.
 68. Gu had been a labor leader during the May Thirtieth Movement, and had served as head of the picket corps during the three uprisings of Shanghai workers in 1927. Chang, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 2:174; Stranahan, *nderground*, 105-7. See, for the CCP's "secret section" and Teke (Special Committee), Liang, "The *Te Ke* in Shanghai," 30.
 69. For an example of Gu's tradecraft, see Zhang Guotao's description of his trip to the Ou-Yu-Wan Soviet area from Shanghai in the spring of 1931. At that time Gu "was actually in charge of the communications network between the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and the soviets at various places." Chang, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, 2:174-75.
 70. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 2:307. The covers of Communists already in GMD hands, like Yun Daiying (secretary of a district party committee in Shanghai), who had managed to conceal his identity, were blown by Gu's defection, and they were subsequently executed. Ibid., 4:94.
 71. See, for more details of this case, Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 152.
 72. "The Fascist or 'Blue Shirt' Party in China," 1-2.
 73. According to some accounts, Zhou Enlai had killed his student Huang Jinghun, a graduate of the first class of Whampoa, in the spring of 1931 after Huang

- began making plans to leave the Communist Party. Xu, "The Tragedy within China's Communist Palace," 15.
74. Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zuzhi bu diaocha ke, eds., *Zhongguo gongchandang de toushi*, 316; Li Tianmin, *Zhou Enlai pingzhuan*, 106-8; Xu, "The Tragedy within China's Communist Palace," 15.
75. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 321-23.
76. Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois*, 93.
77. Xu, "The Tragedy within China's Communist Palace," 15.
78. Even though Zhongtong agents pretended to prefer subtle to heavy-handed methods, they agreed that in Shanghai in particular their "white terror" called for strong-arm tactics that frequently included kidnapping and assassination. Chen Weiru, "Wo de tewu shengya," 133-34. See also Snow, *The Long Revolution*, 185-86.
79. "Publication of Baseless Reports Against Chiang Kai-shek," *Minbao*, July 7, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 21/7/33.
80. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 1/8/33. In a public statement Wu said that these comments were "absolutely without foundation" and designed to impair relations between the central government and key Guomindang leaders. *Ibid.*, 21/7/33.
81. "Blue Shirts Preparing to Assassinate Opponents," *Xiao gongbao*, Aug. 12, 1933, in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 14/8/33.
82. Zhao Yongxing may be an alias of Zhao Lijun. The street location of each corps was given: Lafayette Terrace, Joffre Terrace, Garden Terrace, Route P re Robert, Rue Tourane, and so forth in the French Concession; Bubbling Well Road, Yuyuan Road, Connaught Road, Sinza Road, etc., in the International Settlement; and Longhua, Nandao, and Gaochongmiao in the Chinese city. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 133.
85. Qian Zhisheng, "Shi Liangcai bei ansha an zhenxiang," 70-71.
86. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 206. According to Shanghai Municipal Police files, Shi was also marked for eradication because he was "alleged to have refused to accede to the requests of the Blue Shirt Society for installing its members in the newspaper office." "Memorandum on the Blue Shirt Society," 8-9.
87. Journalists accused the garrison command in Shanghai during the 1932 incident of actually helping the Japanese imperialists kill Chinese patriots who were "strictly forbidden to cause disturbances." In a tract from the times, a photograph shows thirty students in long gowns being herded along by Nationalist soldiers with bayonets. The caption reads: "The government does not allow us to resist." Wenxin-Xinwen bu, ed., *Shanghai de fenghuo*, frontispiece; see also p. 2.
88. Vincent to Gauss, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers, 1942, China*, 218; Wen-hsin Yeh, "This Alien Place," chapter 5.
89. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 133.
90. Qian Zhisheng, "Shi Liangcai bei ansha an zhenxiang," 76-77. There may have been another set of reasons for the assassination. In November 1934, Green Gang leader Du Yuesheng discovered that Chiang Kai-shek, T. V. Song, and H. H. Kung had accumulated a huge stock of silver, which they planned to sell

secretly in Great Britain. After Du told Shi Liangcai of this plot, Chiang tried to buy the editor's silence but failed. Second, after several waterfront brawls between Blue Shirts and Green Gang members over Shanghai opium revenues, Du supported Shi Liangcai in his efforts to resist a Blue Shirts takeover of *Shenbao*. Du Yuesheng promised to protect Shi from retaliation, but the Blue Shirts carried out the assassination anyway. Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 207.

91. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 150.
92. Zhao Lijun is given as Cao Lijun by Zhang Weihan. Wang Kequan later became commander of the detective unit (*zhenji dui*, investigation and apprehension brigade) of the Chongqing garrison during the War of Resistance. He eventually committed suicide to escape punishment for killing Xie Zhipan. Other members of the assassination team included Li Ada, Shi Yunfei, and Xu Jianye. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 134. According to another account, Wang Kequan killed himself because he was illicitly trading in firearms. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 12.
93. Zhang Bingwu, from Hebei, served as head of the Special Services Department automobile brigade during the War of Resistance. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 134.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 9.
96. Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 16.
97. Henriot, "Le gouvernement municipal de Shanghai," 90-91.
98. Zhao also represented China at the meeting of the International Police Commission. His followers hoped that he would take over the National Police Academy after he returned to China. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letters from Frank Yee, Bancroft Library (CB-403), May 14, 1937.
99. Zhang Weihan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 134.
100. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 11.
101. "Assassination Attempt Versus Wang Ching-wei," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 1.
102. The gun is described as being *san hao*, which I take to be .30 caliber. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 12.
103. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:19.
104. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 12. Chiang also ordered Chen Lifu to break the case within a week by cooperating with Dai Li in the investigation. "Assassination Attempt Versus Wang Ching-wei," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 2.
105. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 71.
106. The men were disgruntled former followers of Wang Jingwei, who was unable to find them employment. "Assassination Attempt Versus Wang Ching-wei," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 7.
107. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 11-12.
108. The mistress, Wang Wengui, was arrested in Pudong after secret service agents found her address among some partly burned papers in the press agency. "Assassination Attempt Versus Wang Ching-wei," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 5.
109. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 11-12.
110. Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 26/12/36. Suspects arrested in connection with the Kayo murder, which took place on Chi Mei Road on July 10, 1936, told the International Settlement police that they were hired by Hua

- Kezhi, who had received instructions from Wang Yaqiao to carry out the scheme. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 3-4.
111. Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-6312, 1/12/34.
 112. "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 4. See also letter from J. W. Platt to Director of Criminal Intelligence, Hong Kong Police, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 28/12/36. According to an article in the *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, Wang Yaqiao—identified as a brigadier general—was suspected by the Nanjing authorities of being the "chief instigator" of the killing who had eluded arrest by hiding in Hong Kong and Macao. "General Shot for Plotting," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, Dec. 2, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-7045, 3/12/36.
 113. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 12.
 114. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 71.
 115. "The Notorious Wong Yah Zao," *Shehui ribao*, n.d., in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 1937.
 116. Letter from J. W. Platt, Asiatic Petroleum Company, to Director of Criminal Intelligence, Hong Kong Police, Dec. 28, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374; "The Notorious Wong Yah Zao," *Shehui ribao*, n.d., in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 1937. According to an organizational chart of the Military Affairs Commission for 1937, the Special Service Corps comprised intelligence, commercial, public safety, smuggling, investigation, and "warning" sections. *Ibid.*, D-8039A/25, 23/9/37.
 117. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 138.
 118. Confidential report from the Asiatic Petroleum Company agent in Wuzhou, Feb. 23, 1937, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 3/3/37.
 119. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 13. Chen Zhiping came to the United States after 1950 and settled in the San Francisco Bay Area. He died in Berkeley's Alta Bates hospital around February 1984.
 120. The presence of the Guangxi officers led to speculation that Wang Yaqiao was blackmailing Li Jishen (who was afraid that his role in the Wang Jingwei case would be revealed to Chiang's men), and that Li therefore arranged for Wang's murder. Letter from J. W. Platt, Asiatic Petroleum Company, to Director of Criminal Intelligence, Hong Kong Police, Dec. 28, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374.
 121. Jin Shixin later turned up in Chongqing, working for Dai Li's organization under Chen Zhiping. Her beauty and charm were legendary. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 162.
 122. "Wang A Chiao Murdered at Wuchow," *Nichi Nichi*, Nov. 26, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-7065; "Leader of an Assassination Corps Assassinated," *Hua-Mei wan bao*, in *ibid.*, D-5374, 26/11/36; "General Shot for Plotting," *Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury*, Dec. 2, 1936, in *ibid.*, D-7045; "Notorious Gang Chief Shot Down," *Shanghai Times*, Nov. 26, 1936, in *ibid.*, D-7045; "Summary of Wang Yao Jao," 4. Zheng Jiemin's pistoleer, Shi Kesi, was said by SSD sources to be the killer. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu juntong ju," 138.
 123. Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 26/12/36.
 124. Letter from J. W. Platt, Asiatic Petroleum Company, to Director of Criminal

Intelligence, Hong Kong Police, Dec. 28, 1936, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374; Confidential report from the Asiatic Petroleum Company agent in Wuzhou, Feb. 23, 1937, in Shanghai Municipal Police files, D-5374, 3/3/37.

14. POLICE ACADEMIES

1. "Talk before the Conference of the New York State Association of Police Chiefs," Schenectady, July 24, 1957, in Milton E. Miles, Personal Papers, Hoover Archives.
2. The story of SACO was originally told to American audiences by Miles himself. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*. The larger historical context is provided in Schaller's excellent work, *The .S. Crusade in China*. Shen Zui, who has written so many best-selling books about Dai Li, his former boss, has a particularly revealing piece on SACO: "Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu."
3. Caldwell, *A Secret War*.
4. See, for insiders' details of the training units, Tang Tao, "Zhong-Mei hezuosuo diliu tezhong jishu xunlian ban neimu"; and Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban." Miles wanted only young men "absolutely unacquainted with the Orient" to go to China. George K. Bowden, memo to Colonel W. J. Donovan, Feb. 22, 1943, OSS Papers, 2.
5. See, for the Nationalists' version, Guofang bu qingbao ju [Intelligence Office of the Ministry of National Defense], eds., *Zhong-Mei hezuo suo zhi*. A contrasting mainland perspective can be found in Tian Shengji, "Meidi zhijie zhihui de Zhong-Mei hezuo suo." For a recent PRC perspective, see Deng Youping, "Jianxi Zhong-Mei hezuo suo jizhongying."
6. Westley, *Violence and the Police*, 155.
7. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 15-16. Dai Li's special services training section was set up in the Honggong Shrine in Nanjing. It was called the Staff Headquarters Intelligence Staff Officer Training Group (Canmou benbu diebao canmou xunlianban), and it was administered by Shen Tingchan. Its students, who were Whampoa graduates, included Xu Yuanju, He Longqing, Chen Gongshu, Tian Dongyun, Liao Zongze, and Chen Shanzhou. Chen Gongshu was put in charge of the "special service police training unit" (*tewu jingyuan xunlianban*) and reported thrice a week on his classmates' political reliability to Dai Li. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 59; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8.
8. Although it has been argued that a sharp distinction should be drawn between regular police reform and the creation of a clandestine secret police training system, I believe that the two were closely linked after 1932. See, for the former point, MacKinnon, "A Late Qing-GMD-PRC Connection," 6.
9. See, for a survey of police modernization in China, Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 16-24; Li, "The Development of the Chinese Police during the Late Ch'ing and Early Republican Years," 25-26.
10. As an exception, the Japanese established military police stations of their own.
11. Li, "The Development of the Chinese Police during the Late Ch'ing and Early

- Republican Years." Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai*, 27-28, 32. Police—Chinese patrolmen under European officers—were established in the diplomatic quarters of Beijing after 1901.
12. "From the evidence, it is clear that Yuan saw the police as a means of penetration beyond the magistrate's yamen, of working around gentry interests and making direct contact with the populace." MacKinnon, "A Late Qing-GMD-PRC Connection," 4; MacKinnon, "Police Reform in Late Ch'ing Chihli," 82-83.
 13. The term does occur in traditional Chinese literature, but not in the sense of "police." Li, "The Development of the Chinese Police," 6, 14-15.
 14. *Ibid.*, 6-7.
 15. *Ibid.*, 33.
 16. *Ibid.*, 33-34, 47.
 17. *Ibid.*, 6, 38-39; Yee, "Police in Modern China," 29. In 1942 the police system in the special municipalities was directly subordinate to the Ministry of the Interior, by then under Wang Jingwei's regime. Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, *Survey of China R A*, No. 746, 19 June 1943 (reprint of May 15, 1942 edition), 74.
 18. Its quality was maintained after the dynasty was overthrown. In August 1914 Yuan Shikai issued a decree placing the department under a commissioner appointed at the recommendation of the Ministry of the Interior and increasing its manpower to ten thousand. Li, "The Development of the Chinese Police," 39-42.
 19. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 31-32.
 20. *Ibid.*, 30. Under the Nanjing regime, provincial police corps (*sheng jingcha dui*) were also established to fight bandits.
 21. *Ibid.*; Chang Zhaoru, "Guomindang tongzhi shiqi de jingcha zhidu," 338.
 22. "Neizhengbu cheng Xingzhengyuan zhengdun jingguan gaodeng xuexiao fang'an" (Ministry of the Interior submits a plan to the Executive Yuan for the reorganization of police officers' higher level schools), Jan. 28, 1929, in Zhu Huisen, comp., *Jingzheng shiliao*, 1:488-90. Many of these training institutes were forced to close because of financial difficulties after the Manchurian Incident in 1931.
 23. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 33.
 24. *Ibid.*, 33-34.
 25. *Ibid.*, 35.
 26. *Ibid.* Muck recommended forming a special foreign affairs police. He also suggested that the Shanghai authorities recruit five hundred policemen from Beijing. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-3433, 1/4/32. For the sending of the ten best graduates of the Zhejiang Police Academy to Vienna, see August Vollmer, Correspondence, letters from Frank Yee, Bancroft Library (CB-403), July 25, 1934.
 27. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 35; Gan Guoxun. "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," 70. Feng Ti was appointed Chinese military attaché in Berlin in 1936. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, 137.
 28. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 36.
 29. Carte and Carte, *Police Reform in the nited States*, 3.

30. Parker, *Crime Fighter: August Vollmer*, 1-22.
31. *Ibid.*, 23-37.
32. *Ibid.*, 35-60.
33. *Ibid.*, 168.
34. *Ibid.*, 170.
35. Carte and Carte, *Police Reform in the United States*, 68-70. Frank Yee recommended Captain Woods as an adviser to the Guangdong Ministry of the Interior, which was planning on setting up a police academy. August Vollmer, Correspondence, Bancroft Library (CB-403), July 25, 1934.
36. *Ibid.*, letter from Feng Yukon, Nov. 23, 1930.
37. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1933.
38. *Ibid.*, Aug. 2, 1932.
39. *Ibid.*, Sept. 12, 1933.
40. In November 1933, for example, Feng lectured at Jinling University, passing around a photograph of August Vollmer. *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1933.
41. *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1934.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86. Zhu Jiahua also nominally headed the Central Statistics Bureau in the 1930s.
44. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 37-38. Liang Fan is variously identified as Long Fang and Lung Fan. "He is a very able detective too because he has all along [been] serving as a secret service man when he was in Lyon." August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Bancroft Library (CB-403), Jan. 22, 1935. See also letter dated Apr. 27, 1936.
45. Frank Yee told Vollmer that "Dr. Lung has failed me," and he asked that one of the Berkeley students, a Mr. Poon, be given special laboratory training so that he could take over the forensic science training courses when he joined the academy's staff. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1935.
46. For Frank Yee's fame in the Chinese community of San Francisco, see the article on him in the *Chinese Times (Yuandan congkan)*, Jan. 1, 1934.
47. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Feng Yukon, Mar. 25, 1934; *ibid.*, letter from Frank Yee, May 25, 1934.
48. *Ibid.*, letters from Frank Yee, July 25, 1934, and Nov. 13, 1934.
49. Report by Superintendent Tan Shao-liang, Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-7675A, 2/4/37.
50. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Feng Yukon, Aug. 2, 1932.
51. The "commissars" were political training officers (*zhengzhi zhidaoyuan*) who were actually Dai Li's agents, as we shall see below. Some of the staff were returned students from the Viennese Police Academy. *Ibid.*, letters from Frank Yee, June 30, 1934 and Sept. 10, 1934.
52. *Ibid.*, Nov. 13, 1934, and Dec. 18, 1934.
53. *Ibid.*, letter from Feng Yukon, Dec. 18, 1934. See also Yee, "Police in Modern China," 39-40.
54. Frank Yee described the "storm of criticism" aroused by the plan in August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Jan. 22, 1934. For the success of the beat system, see *ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1935.

55. Frank Yee asked Vollmer to convey this message to Berkeley police chief Orlando Wilson. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1934.
56. *Ibid.*
57. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1934, and Sept. 10, 1934.
58. "When I arrived [in] Hangzhou I was [filled] with a crusad[ing] spirit, swear-[ing] to make a right start for police education in China. Because of his English training, Yukon is rather conservative, [to] say nothing of the old instructors." *Ibid.*, Jan. 2, 1935.
59. *Ibid.*, Sept. 10, 1934. In the first year students also had to study municipal administration, Chinese composition, public speaking, two foreign languages (chosen from English, French, German, Japanese, and Russian), social problems, social investigation, psychology, public health, law, police organization, "political police (men from Russia)," physics, chemistry, and fingerprinting.
60. The syllabus for this course of study is included as an appendix in *ibid.*
61. *Ibid.*
62. *Ibid.*
63. *Ibid.*, Jan. 22, 1935. "Police Lantern" is probably the quarterly journal *Jing guang* (Police Light). Yee, "Police in Modern China," 38.
64. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Jan. 2, 1935.
65. *Ibid.*, July 25, 1934.
66. The military officers training program was originally designed for former officers from northern warlord armies, and it was intended to give them the same kind of teacher-student (*shi-sheng*) relationship with Chiang Kai-shek that Whampoa cadets enjoyed. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 10; Zeng Kuoqing, "He Mei xieding qian Fuxingshe zai Huabei de huodong," 134; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8; Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shihui*, 100–101.
67. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 39–41.
68. "It's too bad," Yee wrote Vollmer, "that we don't have a lie detector here for the suspects lie like hell." August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Aug. 1, 1935.
69. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1934, and Apr. 6, 1935.
70. Deng Yuanzhong, "Sanminzhuyi lixingshe shi chugao," 65. See also Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 60.
71. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86.
72. *Ibid.*, 86; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8.
73. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155. See also Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8.
74. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86–87.
75. Zhang, a male, was aided by Dai Xuenan, a policewoman. *Ibid.*, 88.
76. *Ibid.*
77. *Ibid.*, 87–88.
78. Wang Xinheng became chief of operations of Juntong's Hong Kong branch and worked closely with Du Yuesheng during the war.
79. After war broke out with Japan in 1937, Stalin and Chiang Kai-shek agreed to a joint Soviet (GRU)–Chinese (MSB) intelligence project, which involved send-

- ing hundreds of Russian military advisers to China. Eventually a Sino-Soviet Special Technical Cooperative Unit (Zhong-Su tezhong jishu hezuo suo) was set up in Chongqing under Zheng Jiemin's command. Yu, "American Intelligence," 127; Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 242.
80. "Xiao mie gongfei hongdui an chi jingyan jianshu" [A concise account of the experience of the case of the elimination of the Communist bandits' Red Brigade], in Zhongyang diaocha tongji ju [Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics], comp., "You guan Gu Shunzhang deng po an jingguo" [The whole process of solving the case concerning Gu Shunzhang and others], Bureau of Investigation Archives, 276/7435/59400.
 81. Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zuzhi bu diaocha ke, eds., *Zhongguo gongchandang zhi toudi*, 316.
 82. Chen Lifu, interview by the author, Taipei, Sept. 1988. See, for an account by one former MSB agent, Zhang Weihang, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 87-88. Although many scholars in the PRC believe that Gu Shunzhang was assassinated by a squad sent by Zhou Enlai, the Guomindang Bureau of Investigation records on Taiwan show that Gu Shunzhang was executed in 1936 for planning to re-join the Communists. Xu Enzeng, "Wo he gongdang douzheng de huiyi" [Recollection of my struggles with the Communist Party], Document in the Bureau of Investigation Archives, Hsin-tien (Xindian), document no. 6002. Also listed as Sifa Xingzheng Bu, Diaochaju, 1953, No. 276.07/3777/C, 21b; Zhongyang diaocha tongji ju [Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics], comps., "Zhonggong tewubu buzhang Gu Shunzhang zhi zishou ji qi yu zhonggong zhi daji" [The surrender of the director of the Department of Special Services of the Chinese Communist Party, Gu Shunzhang, and his attack upon the Chinese Communist (Party)], Bureau of Investigation Archives, No. 276/7435a/19930, 24. But see also Faligot and Kauffer, *Kang Sheng et les services secrets chinois (1927-1987)*, 104.
 83. Number Two National Archives, Nanjing, 12/157/1939 (Zhongyang jingcha guan xuexiao ji ge shengshi jingcha xunliansuo gaiyao [A general outline of the Central Police Officers Academy and each province and municipality's police training units]), p1-3a.
 84. Zhang Weihang, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 86; Yee, "Police in Modern China," 41.
 85. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 36.
 86. Guangxi provincial leaders especially favored the organization of local militia to serve both as police and paramilitary units, and as local officials. Chen, "The Militia of Kwangsi," 59.
 87. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Aug. 6, 1936.
 88. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 41-42.
 89. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, May 14, 1937. Six weeks earlier Yee wrote that "plans have already drown [*sic*] up to transform all the peace-preserving units in the various parts of the country into police, and the central police academy is hurriedly making preparation to give them the necessary supplementary police training in a large scale for a period of three years." *Ibid.*, Mar. 24, 1937.

90. "The Police Officers Training School has ceased to exist, since the work has been taken up by the Ministry of Interior at Nanking." Report by Superintendent Tan Shao-liang, Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-7675A, 2/4/37.
91. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155.
92. Liu Chengzhi was head of academic affairs (*jiaoyu chuzhang*). Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *zhong*, 70. Li Shizhen probably owed some thanks for his appointment to Chen Lifu, who regarded him as an ally.
93. During the Anti-Japanese War, the school moved to the southern bank of Chongqing, at a place called Danzishi. Ibid.
94. Ibid.
95. *Dagongbao*, Feb. 11, 1943, 3.
96. See, for the impact of Li Shizhen's influence on nationwide police training, Number Two National Archives, Nanjing, 12/158/1938 (*Jingcha buxi ji jingzhang jingshi jiaoyu guicheng* [Regulations for the education of police chiefs and police officers and the supplementary training of policemen]).
97. The book was published by the Commercial Press in 1937. *Who's Who in China*, sixth edition, 129.
98. Chen Yunwen, *Zhongguo de jingcha*, 3-6.
99. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Sept. 10, 1936.
100. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155.
101. Li Shizhen had his own special services organization in the police system, designed to carry out "countersedition and counterespionage" (*jangjian fangdie*). Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 17.
102. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 89.
103. See, for Vollmer's questionnaires, Number Two National Archives, Nanjing, 12(5)/719/31-3-1936 (*Jingcha yuekan* [Police Monthly]), 11-18.
104. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Feng Yukon, Nov. 7, 1936.
105. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 89. The functions of the Department of Police Administration included overseeing fire prevention, the training of militia (*mintuan*), and the suppression of banditry. After he assumed his new post, Feng Yukun began "working for the revision of the enlisting organization of various police forces, the revision of the police ordinance dealing with the acts of misdemeanor, and the devising of a brand new police uniform." August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Feng Yukon, Nov. 7, 1936.
106. Zheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 195.
107. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Sept. 10, 1936.
108. Ibid., Aug. 6, 1936.
109. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 8. See also Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 60.
110. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 108.
111. Ibid.
112. The more important person in Liu Xiang's intelligence section was Leng Kaitai, a leading member of the Gelaohui. Stapleton, "Government and the Gelaohui in Chengdu during the Republic," 14-15.
113. Xiong Zhuoyun, "Fandong tongzhi shiqi de Chengdu jingcha," 120.

114. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Sept. 10, 1936. See also the letter dated Oct. 27, 1936, for plans to train the deans of police schools all around China.
115. Ibid., Jan. 5, 1937.
116. Ibid., letter from Feng Yukon, Mar. 23, 1937.
117. Yee, "Police in Modern China," 38–39. Chiang usually held many different posts at once. A contemporary compared him to Frederick the Great in that respect. "Like the tyrannical Prussian ruler who embodied in himself so many state functions and handled so many minor details that travelers had to apply to him personally for good seats at military reviews, Chiang, in the midst of World War II, insisted on scrutinizing the Chungking airline passenger lists." Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 178. After Chiang agreed to serve as *xiaozhang*, the Central Police Academy had its building and equipment budget tripled to 1.5 million. August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Feb. 4, 1937.
118. Needless to say, this echoed Kawashima's manifesto of thirty-five years earlier.
119. MacKinnon, "A Late Qing–GMD–PRC Connection," 6–7.
120. A vigorous contest broke out between Juntong and the "CC" clique over the appointment of postal examiners and inspectors that lasted until Dai Li was able to form a special inspection department (*tejianchu*) within the postal system. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 89.

15. SLEEPING IN THEIR COFFINS

1. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 73.
2. The claim was made by Cai Mengjian, who was police chief of Wuhan in the 1930s. See Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 60. In 1930 Chiang Kai-shek established a detective bureau (*zhenji chu*) in the Wuhan traveling garrison. The squad was directed by Yang Qingshan, who was the chief of the Triad "gangsters" (*liumang*) in the three-cities area. Xia Zhonggao, "Yang Qingshan yu Wuhan zhenji chu," 106.
3. Chen Lifu's power increased dramatically during this period. At the Third National Party Congress in March 1929 he was elected to membership on the Central Executive Committee while serving also as secretary general of the central headquarters of the GMD in Nanjing. In December 1931 he was made deputy director of the Organization Department, and in 1932, when his brother was named acting chairman of the Huai River Conservation Commission, Chen Lifu became full director of the Organization Department in his place. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:207.
4. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zhengzhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 16. "The clique is in control of the Party police, a secret organization which investigates the conduct of party officials in the national and provincial governments and also maintains a close supervision over educational institutions and teaching throughout the country." Vincent's report to Gauss in 1942, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: 1942, China, 217. During the War of Resistance Zhongtong had a special prison for young dissenters that was located in the air raid shelter at Chongqing's Eastern Sichuan Normal School. Yun Yiqun, *Sanshi nian jianwen zaji*, 45.

5. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 62-63. Xu and Chen spent many days together during their time in the United States, traveling to Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Niagara Falls, and so forth. Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 24.
6. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 70-74.
7. Vincent to Gauss in 1942, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: 1942, China, 222.
8. "The Board of Organization, 1932-1935," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 82. One of the impediments to Dai Li's advancement as Chiang's most trusted personal security aide was Wang Shihe, head of the bodyguard unit. Wang blocked access to Chiang until Dai was able to prove his intelligence was invariably correct. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 24-25.
9. "The Board of Organization, 1932-1935," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 76.
10. Ibid., 77.
11. Ibid., 87.
12. Ibid., 77. This was also corroborated by Chen Lifu in an interview at his home in Tianmu, Taiwan, on June 23, 1987.
13. "The Board of Organization, 1932-1935," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 78-79.
14. Ibid., 82.
15. Ibid., 79.
16. See the discussion of the Michazu in chapter 4.
17. "During the Northern Expedition, he had been chief of the Plans and Operations Division at commander-in-chief's headquarters." He was not experienced in investigative work. Ibid., 85.
18. Ibid., 85. Chen Zhuo took care of the special funds for the joint organization, which had a small budget of its own allocated by the "special fund" of the Military Affairs Commission. This actually helped Dai Li, according to Chen Lifu: "Our bureau had always enjoyed legal status, but Dai Li's organ had not. Establishment of the joint organ thus gave Dai Li's outfit a more concrete and systematic form." Ibid., 86.
19. Ibid., 77-78.
20. Ibid., 86.
21. Ibid., 86-87. About seven or eight people attended each meeting.
22. "You know, intelligence reports were carefully screened. Of ten reports, only three might be sent on to Nanking. After we saw the three, we might decide that two were inaccurate, and only one would be submitted to Mr. Chiang." Ibid., 83.
23. Vincent to Gauss in 1942, Foreign Relations of the United States, Diplomatic Papers: 1942, China, 222.
24. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 296-97.
25. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 7-8.
26. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 64-65; Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 59.
27. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 200; Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 224-25.
28. This was another special services group founded at the same time as the SSD within the Fuxingshe. Its formal name was the Military Affairs Commission Chief's Nanchang Traveling Garrison Investigation Section (Junshi weiyuanhui

- weiyuanzhang Nanchang xingying diaochake). Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 191; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 284-85; Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 33.
29. Chiang used aircraft for bombing, which was somewhat ineffectual in Gannan because of the terrain, as well as for battlefield intelligence and courier services.
 30. Deng Wenyi, *Congjun baoguo ji*, 227-30.
 31. In favor once again by 1935, Deng Wenyi was appointed military attaché to the Chinese embassy in Moscow. Reporting back to Nanjing that fall, he was suddenly ordered by Chiang Kai-shek to return to Moscow in December and serve as liaison to Pan Hannian and the Chinese Communist Party. Zhang Yun, *Pan Hannian chuanqi*, 137.
 32. Enclosure in "Blue Shirts Organization," 2; Deng Wenyi, *Congjun baoguo ji*, 180, 227; Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 202; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 7. The Tewuchu had fewer than three hundred men in early 1934. After the merger of the Tewuchu and the Diaochake, the number of personnel under Dai Li's command doubled. By the time war broke out with Japan, headquarters and field agents had grown to number about three thousand personnel. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 18.
 33. The *zhan* were usually located in provincial capitals. Special units (*tebie zu*) were set up for smaller important cities, such as Suzhou, where the unit's scope additionally included Wuxi, Kunshan, Changshu, and Wujin counties. Each of these units had intelligence, operations, and communications sections. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 194-95.
 34. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 34. See also Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," 310.
 35. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 190-93. The salaries of special service personnel within the military police organs were paid by the local MP unit or investigative section of the army, but they were controlled and reported to Dai Li himself. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 35.
 36. For example, provincial station chiefs Xie Juecheng (Jiangxi), Cai Shenchu (Anhui), Weng Guanghui (Zhejiang), Liu Yizhou (Henan), Zhang Chao (Fujian), Gui Yunchang (Guizhou), and Liao Shudong (Hubei) were also PPD intelligence heads. At the same time, Dai Li managed to place Jian Pu as head of the Number Three Department of the Wuhan Traveling Garrison, Wang Kong'an head of the Sichuan garrison's Number Three Department, and Zhang Yanfo head of Number Four Department of the Xi'an garrison, which put each of them in charge of their respective provincial military intelligence networks. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 35.
 37. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 7. Leading Juntong agents in the provincial police apparatus included Ma Zhichao, Shi Ming, Zhao Longwen, Yang Wei, and Wang Gupan (chief of the Nanjing police). Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 34-35.
 38. Xiao Zuolin, "Fuxingshe shulüe," 66. For Dai Li as a student of Himmler's methods, see the hostile account in Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhisi*, 6.
 39. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 167.
 40. These ethics were even implemented in the Juntong prison system, wherein

- convicts were classified according to traditional civil service examination ranks. These titles were granted as rewards to those who effectively functioned as trustees. For the connections between the traditional Chinese penal system and Confucian ethics, see Dutton, *Policing and Punishment in China*, 104–5, 120–21.
41. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 11. These were probably taken from the Fuxingshe oath.
 42. “This practice was started by a former official in the Wuhan garrison command who later served the Wang Jingwei government in Hubei. His name was Ye Peng.” Ma Wu xiansheng, *Zheng hai yiwen yu majiang yishu*, 180. Members of the Lixingshe were supposed to stand at attention and salute whenever the word *lingxiu* (leader) was spoken. Wei Daming, “Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong,” 43–44.
 43. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 159.
 44. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 18.
 45. Ibid., 19.
 46. For the term “muscular Confucianism,” see Schwartz, *A Search of Wealth and Power*, 15–16.
 47. “You must use my own spirit as a model, in total sincerity and dedication, using me as a paragon for your own thoughts and deeds.” Chiang Kai-shek’s speech to the Lushan junguan tuan, in Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui, Dangshi weiyuanhui, eds., *Xian zongtong Jiang gong sixiang yanlun zongji*, 11:577.
 48. See also Pang Jingtang, *Jiang jia tianxia Chen jia dang*, 92–96, 156–65.
 49. The term is *xianneng*, which is from the *Li ji*.
 50. Jiang Jieshi, “Ruhe zuo geming dangyuan—shizai wei geming dangyuan diyi yaoyi” (How to be a member of the revolutionary party—solidity as the primary essence of being a revolutionary party member), in Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui, Dangshi weiyuanhui, eds., *Xian zongtong Jiang gong sixiang yanlun zongji*, 11:566.
 51. Ibid., 567.
 52. Ibid.
 53. For Chiang Kai-shek’s fascination with special operations, see Li, “Lu Xun and Soong Ching Ling,” 3–76.
 54. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 14.
 55. Dai Li, “Tuanti jishi geming jiating,” 314–23. See also Liu Peichu, *Fusheng lueying ji*, 58–59; and Wei Daming, “Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong,” 58–59.
 56. Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 12–13.
 57. Shen Zui tells the story of the Juntong officer who supplied the wrong set of furniture for an honored guest. Dai Li was just about to strike him when Miles entered the room. Checking himself, General Dai spoke in a polite tone of voice to the officer, saying, “If tonight you don’t prepare for me a complete set of [furniture], then tomorrow you’re not going to finish any conversations.” He added, “If you don’t do this, then I want your life tomorrow.” The proper furniture was supplied. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 269–70.
 58. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 160.
 59. A singular exception was the marriage of one of Dai Li’s station chiefs to the sis-

- ter of John Leighton Stewart's secretary. The bride, a Miss Fu, had formerly been a CCP member. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 100.
60. It is hard to say whether his objection to marriage was because of his jealousy of the influence of woman or because it compromised the service's security. One likely explanation is that Dai Li was so adept at using "skirts" to get at his opponents that he was afraid similar tactics might be adopted by his enemies to subvert his own followers in Juntong.
 61. This may have been related to Dai Li's own *de jure* celibacy after his wife died of illness in Shanghai in 1939, though during the war he was intimately involved with the actress Hu Die. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji, shang*, 278. The ban on marriage was imposed in 1940 and not lifted until 1945. Still, "many of our women comrades spent their time falling in love," noted Dai Li. *Ibid.*, 390–91, 411, 478–79. Violation was punishable by imprisonment from five to ten years. Shen Zui believed that between fifty and sixty couples were imprisoned between 1940 and 1945 for such an offense. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 123. Huang Kangyong puts the number at one hundred. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 160.
 62. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 37–38. Qiao Jiakai, a Whampoa graduate who had joined Juntong in Taiyuan, served as the chief enforcer of internal discipline in the bureau's headquarters in Chongqing from 1940 to 1941. Qiao Jiakai, "Dai Li xiansheng de renqingwei," 14–15; Shen Zui, "Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu," 22.
 63. See Yang Shunren, *Zhishi yu lianyu*.
 64. We should remember, however, that there was never any clear sense of legal rights for Whampoa students, especially vis-à-vis their own chancellor or his surrogate.
 65. Report of Edgar Ansel Mowper to Col. Wm. Donovan, autumn 1941, 36, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents. But see the utterly rosy description of Hu Zongnan's concentration camp by Lin Yutang, who compares its neat and tidy grounds to an American college campus. Lin, *The igil of a Nation*, 135–40.
 66. Epstein, *The unfinished Revolution in China*, 130. This camp, one of the most infamous, contained hundreds of students arrested for trying to reach the Red zones. En route to Yan'an, Epstein, Votaw, and other journalists were taken to a "reeducation camp" (*laodong ying*) under Hu Zongnan's jurisdiction outside Xi'an. Epstein later said that they were not fooled by the claims of inmates that they were only serving two-year sentences, and that these suspicions were confirmed in interviews with former camp inmates who had escaped to Yan'an. Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985. Progressive Chinese writers of the time claimed that the inmates included tens of thousands of "patriotic youths" (*aiguo qingnian*). Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Daili zhishi*, 5. For Hu Zongnan's military strength in the northwest, see "Influential Elements in the Kuomintang (and National Government)," *China Records*, Jan. 1943, 19.
 67. "The Board of Organization, 1932–1935," 70, in Ch'en Lifu Materials.
 68. Gui Yunchang, assistant head of Juntong's Southeastern Training Unit, was incarcerated in Xifeng Yanglang Ba jail. After he was released, he could not hear

- the name of the prison without breaking into a sweat. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 160.
69. Lin Zhiguang, "Fujian qingnian xundao ying (jizhong ying) de neimu," 47-49; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 119; Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 22-23. There was also an infamous concentration camp outside Chongqing near Beipei Hot Springs. In addition to attending lectures on the Sanminzhuyi and the speeches of Chiang Kai-shek, the inmates studied Chinese political structure, Guomindang history, and the "evils of Communism"; they also received practical training in accounting and other clerical skills. Altogether there were about three hundred inmates between the ages of fifteen and fifty. Detention customarily lasted for one year. Punishment consisted of three hundred strokes with a thin bamboo strip, as well as confinement to a wooden box in a lightless room for weeks at a time. "Concentration Camp System in China."
 70. Lixingshe founder Gan Guoxun insisted that the concentration camps never existed. Gan Guoxun, "Guanyu suowei Fuxingshe' de zhenqing shikuang," *xia*, 35, no. 5:83.
 71. Other personnel included Associate Deans (*fu jianyu zhang*) Qiu Shiyang and Tu Kechao; Chief Secretary (*zhuren mishu*) Qiu Liangxun; Financial Affairs Section Chief (*zongwu zu*) Xia Wei; Political Training Section Chief (*zhengxun zu*) Liu Ruxin; Education Section Chief (*jiaoyu zu*) Ping Dehe; and a number of political training instructors and editors of periodicals such as *Kangzhan yu Wenhua* (The War of Resistance and Culture) and *Huang he* (Yellow River). Qu Yunzhang, "Guomindang Junweihui xibei qingnian laodong ying de zhenxiang," 124, 128.
 72. The prisoners also included adolescent soldiers from the original fourth *tuan* who were considered ideologically unreliable.
 73. Qu Yunzhang, "Guomindang Junweihui xibei qingnian laodong ying de zhenxiang," 127-29, 138.
 74. The prison was run by a fifth-class Whampoa graduate, Su Zi'gu, ironically nicknamed "Gu Rendao" (Looking after humanitarian aspects). It was expanded and subdivided into two facilities after 1934. Shen Zui. "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 11. By 1937 there were three prisons: "A" (*jiadi*), a relatively open facility within the military prison at Jiangdong Gate; "B" (*yidi*), a traditional square building at Goatskin (Yangpi) Lane where prisoners were severely treated; and "C" (*bingdi*), a jail for serious criminals located within the model penitentiary at Old Tiger Bridge (Laohu qiao). Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 38-39.
 75. Shen Zui reports delivering fifty to sixty prisoners in this fashion. Of them, twenty were Juntong agents. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 76-77.
 76. Often they were incarcerated using a "subtle method" (*miaofa*). That is, each MSB officer carried a sealed letter to be turned over to the prison authorities once he arrived in Nanjing. That letter might indicate that he was the one actually to be incarcerated. *Ibid.*, 77.
 77. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 160.
 78. One gets a sense of this pervasive insecurity from the diary of Ge Mingda, which describes the author's ordeal of being sentenced to death for a dress infraction at the Linli training camp. Ge Mingda, "Juntong bairiji," 170-73.
 79. In the previous year twenty-six field-grade MSB officers were executed by Dai

- Li's order alone. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 13–14. On April 1, 1941, the total number of MSB members was given as "several tens of thousands," a figure that included men enlisted in the guerrilla units behind enemy lines. The size of Juntong increased significantly in 1940, growing—by Dai Li's estimate—by nearly one quarter. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yuntong xiansheng quanji*, 265–66, 311–12, 319–20.
80. Dai Li had a carrot-and-stick policy, which he called "mercy and authority, meted together" (*en wei bing ji*). After a Juntong officer was released from jail, he was usually promoted. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 198.
 81. They also, at least at higher levels, recognized that Juntong executions had to be cleared by Chiang Kai-shek. Chen Da, "Yi sha ren wei erji—Dai Li qianfa de liang feng dianbao," 80.
 82. Xianggang qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Dai Li zhishi*, 1.
 83. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 251–53.
 84. Wang Tianmu, also known as Wang Renqiang and often operating under the alias of Zheng Shisong, had graduated from the Northeastern Military Academy (Dongbei jiangwutang) and from the law faculty of Meiji University. He had originally served as an intelligence officer in Zhejiang and was a member of the original League of Ten. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 59.
 85. "As for how a homicide case in Beiping was linked to Brother Wang and his men, there was a long time ago a piece of fiction called "The Corpse in the Suitcase" *Xiang shi an*, which was based on a real case and was published in Beiping. The case that was alluded to in the story was precisely this one. However, the case broken' by the Beiping Investigation and Apprehension Brigade was a fake one." Chen Gongshu, *Yingxiong wuming: Beiguo chujian*, 126.
 86. *Ibid.*, 124–26.
 87. This may also have been related to Wang and Chen Gongshu's authorship of the *Lanyishe neimu* (Inside story of the Blue Shirts), which was shown in manuscript form to Dai Li. (The work was published later in Japanese-occupied Shanghai.) For this disclosure Chen Gongshu was imprisoned until General Dai appointed him number 3 Shanghai Station chief, charged with gathering intelligence on and planting agents within the CCP. Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhi-dao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 244; Xu Youwei, "Guanyu lanyishe' de jidian bianxi," 72; Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 555–56.
 88. Chen Gongshu, *Yingxiong wuming: Beiguo chujian*, 126.
 89. *Ibid.*, 127.
 90. Soldiers of the Loyal and Patriotic Army had to take an oath of lifelong allegiance to Dai Li. Those wanting to quit either had to serve a five-year prison sentence before being released, or be personally guaranteed by one of approximately one hundred politically powerful figures in China. Strategic Services Unit, War Department, CIDXL 36249, OSS Archives RG 226.
 91. This was why the work of Juntong's Inspectorate (Duchagu) was so important. Agents knew that they were under constant surveillance, both by MSB's inspectors and by their fellow officers, who were encouraged to *da xiao baogao* (make a little report) on their colleagues. Any forewarning of withdrawal from the service was quickly detected. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 195.

92. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 161. Another version of this phrase was *huo de jinlai, si de chuqu*. Yuan Baotai, "Dai Li yu Lanxunban," 162. (The Mafia oath of initiation, incidentally, is, "I enter alive and I will have to get out dead." Edmund Mahony, "F.B.I. Tapes of Mafia Initiation Played in Court," A4; Fox Butterfield, "Twenty-one Indicted in New England as Core of Organized Crime," A8.) Surely, Juntong was not the only clandestine service to hold that "once a secret agent, always a secret agent." Then, too, voluntary withdrawal may have been emotionally difficult. "Veteran agents say they are people who cannot part with the unspeakable thrill of a chase and the mystery of entering hidden worlds. More important, perhaps, they realize that only agents and their informers truly understand what life is like inside a case. Once they have left this fraternity, they know, in some strange way, they will always be alone." Kerr, "Chasing the Heroin," B2.

16. SKIRTS AND SASHES

1. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 190.
2. The martyrs' sacrifices were conscientiously mourned. During the ceremonies their orphans wept loudly, and Juntong officers would dedicate poetry to their memory. Tang Zong wrote in 1941, "With fixed will the body kills, / Entering the tiger's lair to trap the tiger's cub. / When the vanguard falls the rear lines carry on, / Preserving virtue intact to succeed in the end." Tang Zong, "Cong jieshi Dai Li dao renzhi shicong shi—Tang Zong shiluo zai dalu de riji," 1:109.
3. Dai Li, "Geming jingshen yu geming jishu," 397-405.
4. Jiang Jieshi, "Housizhe de zeren," 11:160-62. For Dai Li's virtually identical wording, see Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, "Housizhe de zeren," 309-14.
5. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 164-65. See also Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 14; and Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, 265-66, 311-12, 319-20.
6. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 165-67; Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, shang, 399-401.
7. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 165-67. See also Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, shang, 399-401. For the ideal of the "anonymous hero," see Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," 46-47.
8. Dai Li's classical references—he especially liked *ku qi xin zhi* from Mencius—were recorded by his scribes in Juntong's *Jiafeng* (Family manners) and *Qingbai* (Unsullied name) and printed in publications each agent was required to read. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158-59.
9. See, for example, his practical advice on analyzing one's environment by understanding others in Tang Zong, "Cong jieshi Dai Li dao renzhi shicong shi—Tang Zong shiluo zai dalu de riji," 1:109.
10. I am grateful to Wen-hsin Yeh for this observation.
11. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 189.
12. "Without intelligence, how could one not go through a hundred engagements without grief?" Ibid.
13. Roberts, "Afterword," 976.

14. Luo Guanzhong, *Three Kingdoms*, 780–81.
15. The Mao edition, which is attributed to Mao Lun and Mao Zonggang, dates from the mid-1660s. Roberts, “Afterword,” 939–41.
16. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 189–90.
17. Open recruitment of secret service personnel was ruled out in the “prevailing political environment and social atmosphere” of the early 1930s. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, shang, 22.
18. Liu Peichu, *Fusheng lueying ji*, 61–62. Liu Peichu headed an in-house inspection team that spent two months in 1933 visiting the Special Services Department’s stations in fourteen provinces.
19. See Yeh, *Provincial Passages*, 95–97, 100–101.
20. Deng Yuanzhong, *Sanminzhuyi Lixingshe shi*, 62.
21. For a discussion of that lifestyle, see Yeh, “The Alienated Academy,” chapter 6.
22. Wei Daming, “Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong,” 42. The phrase *ji ming gou dao* comes from the biography of Mengchang Jun in *Shi ji*. Mengchang Jun was a lord of Qi during the Warring States period. He was sent as an emissary to the powerful Qin. The king of Qin, knowing that he was a very capable man, wanted to kill him. Mengchang Jun sent his retainers to plead for help from the favorite concubine of the Qin king. She requested, as the price of her assistance, a silver fox fur coat, which Mengchang Jun had earlier presented to the king of Qin as a gift. One of Mengchang Jun’s attendants disguised himself as a dog, sneaked into the royal palace’s treasure vault during the night, and got hold of the coat. The concubine persuaded the king to release Mengchang Jun. The king, however, regretted his decision shortly after and sent men to go after the noble, who had already departed for the borders of Qin. Mengchang Jun and his retinue reached the frontier station of Qin before dawn. The rules of the border post stipulated that the exit gates not open until the first cockcrow. One of Mengchang Jun’s attendants simulated a rooster’s crow. It sounded so real that all the roosters thought daybreak was coming and responded. Mengchang Jun and his retinue were thus able to leave early. By the time the king’s men reached the border, Mengchang Jun was already out of Qin territory. Sima Qian, *Shi ji*, 75:2354–55.
23. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 132–33. *Jianghu qixia zhuan* was written by Xiang Kairang and published under the pen name Pingjiang Buxiao Sheng. The real-life model for the hero of the novel, Liu Chi, was a man by the name of Liu Tiyi, who was recommended to Dai Li by his agent in Hunan, Li Xiaobai.
24. See the case of Xiang Qiangwei in Zhang Jungu, “Dai Li de gushi,” 12.
25. Wei Daming, “Pingshu Dai Yunong xiansheng de shigong,” 41–42.
26. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 190.
27. The term “skirt and sash relations” does not connote illicit sexual behavior. Rather, it describes the networks of relations that are created by marriage through a man’s in-laws. A classic “skirt and sash relation” is the connection between a ruler and his consort’s family. To use such a relationship is to try to get at an important man through his wife or concubine’s relatives and friends.
28. Another aphorism of Dai Li’s organization was *bimi lingdao gonghai*, *gonghai yanhu bimi* (the secret leads the public, the public covers the secret). Zhang Weihuan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 119.

29. This is an allusion to the phrase *guo guan zhan jiang, shi ru po zhu* (crossing the pass and beheading the generals, the momentum is like breaking bamboo). It refers to the escape of Guan Gong from Cao Cao's capital in *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. As Guan Gong went over the pass, he beheaded each general along the way, like chopping down one bamboo after the other. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 190–91.
30. One thinks of the classical phrase *ti zhong ying you zhi yi* (the meaning that ought to be [there for that] subject). Sensational references to sex, torture, and perversity may well have satisfied a certain audience demand. There was also a long Chinese political tradition of ad hominem attacks by accusations of sexual perversion.
31. Dai seduced Zou in 1938, and then had her incarcerated at the Xifeng lockup after physically abusing her. In 1942 he debauched the thirty-year-old wife of one of his cadres. When the cadre shaved his mate's head, General Dai bought off the cuckolded officer with a special expense account and a paid three-month vacation. Dai Li had a special private secretary, Wang Hanguang, to look after such matters. Yu Yiqi, "Hu Die yu Dai Li," 36; Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 164.
32. Another example was the girl scout Yang Huimin, who held aloft the Nationalist flag during the Japanese attack on Zhabei on August 13, 1937. Dai Li recruited her as a Juntong agent. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 162.
33. For a discussion of such heroines in contemporary fiction, see Wakeman and Yue, "Women in Recent Chinese Fiction," 879–88.
34. The former station chief of Beiping writes, "One account has it that Shi Jianqiao was an agent of the Military Statistics Bureau, and had acted under orders. This writer worked in Tianjin in those days and had no knowledge of such a matter. Recently I inquired of all my former colleagues of those days, and none had any knowledge [of this]." Chen Gongshu, *Yingxiang wuming: Beiguo chujian*, 110.
35. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 162. Kawashima was made famous in the 1930s by Muramatsu Shofu in a best-selling novel entitled *Danso no reijin* (Beautiful woman in male clothing). Brooks, "Spies and Adventurers: Kawashima Yoshihiko," 10.
36. Needless to say, this hypersexuality, particularly vis- -vis his own female agents, may not have served Dai Li well in his capacity as a master spy.
37. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 164.
38. Zhang Jungu, "Dai Li de gushi," 16; Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 178.
39. During the Pacific War, Dai Li assigned special agents abroad to purchase women's underwear, negligees, nylon stockings, makeup, eyebrow pencils, and perfumes for his mistresses. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 163.
40. *Ibid.*, 164–65.
41. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 24.
42. *Ibid.*, 19–20; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 261–65.
43. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 24.
44. Yu was a graduate of the foreign languages department of Nanjing Central University as well as of an MSB training course. After they became lovers, Dai brought her mother, brother, and sister to Chongqing, where they lived to-

- gether in Juntong's Ciqikou saosichang compound. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 4; Yu Yiqi, "Hu Die yu Dai Li," 36.
45. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 164.
 46. In the popular media of the time, Hu Die was also amorously linked with Zhang Xueliang, the Young Marshal whose reputation as a bravo (*yingxiong*) practically demanded that he have a movie star beauty (*jiaren*) as a lover. Huang Ren, "Hu Die de hun wai qing," 37.
 47. Pan Yousheng ("Eugene Penn") was famous throughout China for manufacturing enamelware branded with his wife's name. The two of them fled Hong Kong when the Japanese took over the island. In Chongqing, Dai Li's agents terrified Pan into silence while the general had his way with his wife. Dai also bought off Pan with a position as special consultant to the Wartime Bureau for Transporting Goods (Zhanshi huowu yunshuju), which kept him in Kunming supervising a vast smuggling network. Huang Ren, "Hu Die de hun wai qing," 37; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 4-5.
 48. Yu Yiqi, "Hu Die yu Dai Li," 36.
 49. The Shanghai district (Shanghaiqu) station was enlarged to comprise east China and renamed the Huadongqu station, and Weng was replaced by Yu Lexiong. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 40.
 50. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 15-16.
 51. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 72.
 52. The murder attempt may have been related to the struggle between Soong and Du Yuesheng to control Shanghai's drug trade. See Jonathan Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 33; and Sues, *Shark Fins and Millet*, 70.
 53. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 71-72; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 111; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 12-13. Dai Li later gifted Shen Zui and Cheng Muyi with rewards of five hundred yuan apiece. For Soong's reputation as a man who courageously risked assassination, see Oakes, *White Man's Folly*, 77. There are a few private missives from Dai Li to Soong, bespeaking their personal relationship, in the T. V. Soong Papers.
 54. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 228-33.
 55. Jian'ou is where Unit Six of SACO later made its headquarters.
 56. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 92-93; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 16; Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 188. Dai Li also bought over a number of local militia commanders, who were enrolled in an "army to punish the rebels" (*tao ni jun*).
 57. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 298-310.
 58. The dean was Zhang Yuan.
 59. Huang Peizhen, who changed her name to Lu Liwu, had been an entertainer in Shanghai's Enuo dance hall. She later married Wang Zheng, the social affairs deputy (*jiaoji fuguan*) of Yang Hu.
 60. The wing commander, Huang Zhigang, was subverted by friends, including the former hundred-meter national swimming champion, contacted by Dai Li's agents.
 61. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 295-96.

62. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li qi ren," 188; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 93; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhida de Dai Li," 13. Bei Zuyi (*zi*, Songsun) was named acting general manager of the Bank of China in 1941. He accompanied Kong Xiangxi to the UN Monetary and Financial Conference at Bretton Woods in 1944. The father of I. M. Pei, he died in New York in 1982. Boorman et al., eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* 3:65-67.
63. Frank Yee, who had arrived in Xi'an on December 11 with the minister of the interior, was rounded up with the rest of the Generalissimo's entourage and nearly killed. He wrote to Vollmer, "Thank god the generalissimo was not killed in the attempt to capture him. Otherwise the whole city would be bombed to the ground; for thirty planes came and [were] scouting around just above the roof three hours after the event." August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Jan. 5, 1937.
64. He Yingqin, minister of military affairs, was in favor of mobilizing troops. Madame Chiang and T. V. Soong were opposed. Chen Lifu's response to the Xi'an Incident was to contact Pan Hannian in an effort to get the Communists to exert a "moderating influence" on Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng. He was supposed to accompany the Soongs to the negotiations, but was prevented from doing so by illness. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China* 1:208-9.
65. He also knew that if he did not join Chiang in Xi'an he faced a possible death sentence if the Generalissimo survived. Fortunately, Zhang Xueliang wrote to Dai, inviting him to intervene. Xu Youwei and Philip Billingsley, "Behind the Scenes at the Xi'an Incident: The Case of the *Lixingshe*," 290-93; Xiao Zuolin, "Xi'an shibian shi Fuxingshe Henan fenshe de huodong," *passim*; Wen Qiang, Shen Zui, and Huang Jiaju, "Fuxingshe zai Xi'an shibian zhong fencheng he zhan liang pai," 281-85; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 318-28.
66. Jiang, "Sorrow and Devotion Flow on Rainflower Terrace," 4.
67. Yuan Baotai, "Dai Li yu Lanxunban," 162.
68. Chen Jiongming's troops attacked Sun Yat-sen in the presidential palace in Canton on June 16, 1922. Chiang Kai-shek, who was then in Shanghai, went to Guangdong as soon as he heard the news and joined Sun aboard the warship *Yongfeng*, to which Sun had fled. Sun subsequently told Chiang that he had less than a decade of life ahead of himself, but that Chiang had another half-century: "I hope that you will fight for our beliefs and will take good care of yourself for the sake of the Revolution." Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui, Dangshi weiyuanhui, ed., *Xian zongtong Jiang gong sixiang yanlun zongji* 1:10.
69. Guofang bu qingbao ju, ed., *Dai Yunong xiansheng quanji*, shang, 46-48. Frank Yee wrote four days after returning from Xi'an that the incident was "an acid test of the unanimous support for the generalissimo and the stability of [the] Nationalist Government." August Vollmer, Correspondence, letter from Frank Yee, Jan. 5, 1937. It was also, needless to say, the result of a huge intelligence failure, from which Dai Li had to do his best to rescue himself.
70. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 94.
71. Of course, Zhang could never be sure that Chiang or Dai would feel bound

- by promises given under duress. Personal communication from Hans van de Ven.
72. “Blue Shirts Organization,” 2–3; Shen Zui, “Yang Hucheng jiangjun bei qiujin he bei ansha de jingguo,” 87–92.
 73. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 16.
 74. After Dai Li returned from Xi’an on December 25, he made a point of going after officers who had apparently failed in their line of duty. Wang Xinheng, the district regional chief of the northwestern district of Juntong, and Liu Weiming, the deputy bureau chief of the SSD intelligence section, were accused of failing to recognize the importance of the incident (they had simply written “seen”—*yue*—on telegrams from the northwest). Both were dismissed and imprisoned as a result. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 94.
 75. Xiao Zuolin, “Fuxingshe shulüe,” 66.
 76. Wakeman, *Shanghai Badlands*, 62.
 77. Shen Zui, who headed the team of bodyguards that sat around the hospital room, smoking cigarettes and flirting with the nurses, reported that General Yang Hu came to see Dai Li daily. Yang’s concubines brought fine foods every day as well. Hu Zongnan and T. V. Soong also visited, but more perfunctorily. *Ibid.*, 16–17.
 78. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 159.
 79. Yeh, “The Liu Geqing Affair,” 8; Yeh, “Dai Li and the Liu Geqing Affair,” 548.
 80. Tien, *Government and Politics in Kuomintang China*, 60.
 81. Xu Zhaoming, “Hanjian Zhou Fohai goujie Juntong jiqi xiachang,” 19.

17. WAR AND THE SPECIAL MOVEMENT CORPS

1. Interrogation of Lin Defu, Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 28/9/37.
2. *Guo nan dang tou, da jiao hong yun*. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 20.
3. “Opium is the chief prop of all power in China, both civil and military.” Joseph Stilwell, quoted in Marshall, “Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China,” 25. See, for a detailed account of the arrest of a group of double agents and narcotics dealers among Juntong officers conniving with the Japanese at Hancheng (near Xi’an), “Discovery of Japanese Agents among High Officers of the First War Zone,” dispatch from Edward Rice, second secretary on detail at Sian, to George C. Atcheson, Nanking, July 4, 1945; “Allegations That High Officials in Shensi Are Engaged in Espionage for the Japanese,” report from Edward Rice to Patrick J. Hurley, OSS report XL-12387, 5/6/45, Office of Strategic Services Archives, War Department, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division.
4. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yueheng zhengzhuan*, 98; Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shihui*, 99.
5. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 294–95.
6. Sues, *Shark Fins and Millet*, 70–72. In 1930, for instance, Finance Minister T. V. Soong arranged to deliver seven hundred cases of Persian opium to Du Yueheng in Shanghai. The shipment enjoyed military protection, and the Finance Ministry and the Navy received commensurate fees in return. Marshall, “Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China,” 32.

7. This policy was called *yidu gongdu*. Huang Yong, "Huangpu xuesheng de zheng-zhi zuzhi ji qi yanbian," 15-16. Dai Li also formed connections with other gang leaders like Liu Zhilu and Xiang Songpo, who manufactured "red pills" (*hong wan*) and morphine in factories in the Nanshi. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 19. Note that, as explained in chapter 2, Dai Li is portrayed in other accounts as having sworn brotherhood with Du in 1928.
8. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 20, 27.
9. The largest of these morphine factories was situated in Du Yuesheng's ancestral temple in Gaoqiao village, across the river in Pudong. *Ibid.*, 32.
10. *Ibid.*, 34.
11. *Ibid.*, 33.
12. T. V. Soong actually resigned in mid-June 1931 because he could not raise enough money to pay for the campaign. He suggested that he might resume office if new sources of revenue could be found. *Ibid.*, 21.
13. *Ibid.*
14. "Memorandum on Mr. Tu Yueh-sung," 5. Under the terms of this agreement opium from Sichuan, Guizhou, and Yunnan was shipped down the Yangzi under government protection. When the opium reached Hankou it was picked up by Green Gang representatives, who distributed it to Shanghai and other places. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 23-24.
15. Memorandum on Mr. Tu Yueh-sung," 5-6.
16. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 92.
17. T. V. Soong's reappointment as minister of finance may have marked a partial reconciliation between him and Du Yuesheng. During that campaign, Soong was supported by the Shanghai labor unions, the Chinese Ratepayers' Association, and the Shanghai Citizens' Federation, which Du controlled. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 46.
18. The combined income of all opium tax bureaus under Nationalist control in 1933 was estimated at 30 million per month. *Ibid.*, 21.
19. In 1933 Nanjing forces seized several hundred tons of Persian opium from the Nineteenth Route Army. Most of this was given to Du Yuesheng, who converted it to heroin. *Ibid.*, 33.
20. "Memorandum on Mr. Tu Yueh-sung," 6.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 34. Shen Zui accuses Dai Li of having had a hand in the death of Wen Jian'gang. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 19.
23. "Memorandum on Mr. Tu Yueh-sung," 7.
24. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 22.
25. One wonders what role Chen Lifu played in this particular intrigue. Chen later quietly said of Du Yuesheng, "Whenever I was in Shanghai, he always treated me with great courtesy." Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 99.
26. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 34.
27. Shanghai shi nianjian weiyuanhui, comps., *Shanghai shi nianjian*, x-25. The last of these titles came to him after Dai Li's men assassinated the publisher of these newspapers, Shi Liangcai.

28. Stillwell is quoted in Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 25. For the dependence of the Guangxi administration (and its modernization effort) upon the opium trade, see Bianco, "The Responses of Opium Growers to Eradication Campaigns and Poppy Tax," 8.
29. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 22, 34.
30. *Ibid.*, 26–27.
31. *Ibid.*, 24–25.
32. The Communists were engaged in the opium trade as well. "List of Unlawful Activities of the Chinese Communists since the Outbreak of the War of Resistance with the Object of Undermining the Very Existence of the Nation," compiled in Aug. 1943 by the Nationalist government, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945–49, 9.
33. One of the most important figures in the secret world of opium and espionage in which Du Yuesheng operated was Ye Qinghe, a.k.a. Paul Yi. Ye was head of the Fujian drug monopoly and a major supplier for the Ezra ring. Although supposedly executed by the Nationalists for his narcotics dealings with the Japanese, he was actually pardoned secretly by Nanjing in the fall of 1937 after Du Yuesheng handed over enormous sums to the Nationalist military to secure his release. Ye was an important link to the Japanese and the Taiwanese *ronin* engaged in the Fuzhou-Amoy traffic. Ye's brother, Ye Qianshun, worked for the Japanese secret service in Hong Kong. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 39.
34. Finch later likened Du's underground resistance activities to Lucky Luciano's contributions to the Allies' invasion of Mussolini's Italy. Finch, *Shanghai and Beyond*, 303.
35. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:329; Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 38; Scott, *Actors Are Madmen*, 61.
36. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 95; Pan, *Tracing t Home*, 70.
37. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 99; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 331–32.
38. At this time Shen Zui specifically asked Dai Li if they should continue to pay attention to CCP suspects, ten of whom had been arrested as "traitors" (*hanjian*) by the detective brigade in Shiliupu and Pudong in recent days. Dai Li answered that they should no longer concentrate solely on apprehending Communists, but that the work should not be altogether neglected either. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 82. See also "Blue Shirts to Suspend Anti-Japan Activities," *Shanghai Times*, Jan. 21, 1936, n.p. For the concept of *hanjian*, see Wakeman, "Hanjian (Traitor)!" 298–341.
39. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 20.
40. *Ibid.*, 20–21.
41. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 82.
42. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 335–39.
43. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 22–23.
44. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 95.
45. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-3648, 27/7/32.

46. Ibid., D-8039A, 10/9/37. For the connection of the officers training unit with the SSD, see Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 100.
47. "Emergency Period Service Group Report," 1. I have used pinyin romanization instead of the original spelling of the intelligence report, e.g., Ong Chin-chiu, Loh Ching-dz, and so forth.
48. Ibid., 1-2.
49. Ibid., 2; Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 10/9/37. General Cai was identified by Japanese intelligence in 1938 as being responsible for the Blue Shirts' assassination operations. Naimusho keihokyoku, *Gaiji keisatsu gaikyo* 193.29 (Aug. 1938): 32-33. For reports of Blue Shirts' terrorism, including the extermination of *hanjian*, see *ibid.*, 186.39-41 (Jan. 1938), 189.24-26 (Apr. 1938), and 190.59-61 (May 1938).
50. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 10/9/37.
51. The officer was identified as Shen Xinfu.
52. "Emergency Period Service Group Report," 3-4.
53. On September 11, 1937, the SMP received information from the French police that the headquarters of the SSD was at 545 Hwa Ngoh Fang on Jiujiang Road. This was the address of the Dagong News Agency, closely connected with the Shanghai General Labor Union, headed by Zhu Xuefan. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 12/9/37.
54. Zhang Guoquan, who had worked for the China General Omnibus Company, lived in the Great West Gate area of South City with a police inspector identified as Chen Bailong, and who probably was the same person as the Chen Bannong mentioned in the text. Zhang was arrested by the SMP on August 25, 1937, on a charge of agitation. He was later handed over to the Chinese authorities, who released him. "Emergency Period Service Group Report," 2-3; Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 28/9/37.
55. "Emergency Period Service Group Report," 3-4.
56. Fu Duoma, twenty-seven years old and a native of Dinghai, joined the SAC on August 20, 1937. After hostilities broke out on August 13, he moved into the closed-down Xinguang Primary School (of which he was the former principal) at Changxingli in Zhabei. Fu was arrested by the SMP on September 16, 1937. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 10/9/37.
57. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 99; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 21.
58. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 21-22.
59. Zhang Xuanlie, "Wo suo zhidao de Juntong Qingpu texunban," 180-85.
60. Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 100.
61. "Shanghai Special Service Corps Arrest," 3.
62. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 100-101. Liu Zhilu had been in command of Chaomeizhen under Chen Jiongming. After Chen was defeated in 1925, Liu had taken the remnants of his forces by boat to Shandong, where he threw himself upon the mercy of warlord Zhang Zongchang. Then, when the armies of the Northern Expedition defeated Zhang, Liu tried to negotiate with Chiang Kai-shek, who held this small band of defeated men in contempt. Before long Liu Zhennian, the warlord who had been cordoning off Shandong in

- the east, attacked Liu Zhilu, who fled south and joined the “officials in exile in Shanghai” (*haishang yu gong*), becoming a representative for Du Yuesheng in the latter’s negotiations with warlord representatives. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 99.
63. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 100–101. Dai Li set up a special operations section, Group Four (Disizu), for Yu Lexing. It was composed of agents who had graduated from the *jia* class of the Hangzhou Special Training Unit, including Zhang Renyou, Cheng Mui, and Ni Yongchao. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 41.
 64. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 99–100; “Shanghai Special Service Corps Arrest,” 2; Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 341–42.
 65. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 100–101. A Shanghai “merchants’ militia” (*shangtuan*) had been formed as early as February 1937. Wakeman, *The Shanghai Badlands*, 22.
 66. “Shanghai Special Service Corps Arrest,” 1; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 101; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 21–22. Tao Yishan served as a Juntong police officer in Shanghai after the Japanese were defeated. Eddie Liu to Miles, 7/1/48, Miles Personal Papers, Box 2.
 67. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 10/9/37.
 68. This detachment was divided into two sections with six subsections, each containing twenty members. Five of Section Two’s six subsections operated in Nanshi, and one in Zhabei. The latter was stationed at Changleli under the command of Wang Yingming, an officer of the Eighty-Seventh Division. *Ibid.*
 69. Wakeman, *The Shanghai Badlands*, 22–23.
 70. “Shanghai Special Service Corps Arrest,” 2.
 71. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 21–22.
 72. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 103.
 73. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 100.
 74. *Ibid.*, 101.
 75. Commander Xie had led four hundred men from the Nineteenth Route Army in a last-ditch defense of the Sihang cangku against the Japanese. The story of their heroism, which was epitomized in the saga of a schoolgirl bringing them a Chinese flag that they hoisted over their bunker, is still taught to schoolchildren on Taiwan as an example of heroic martyrdom.
 76. This was formally designated the Number Two Zone of the Shanghai Special Zone (Shanghai tequ dier qu).
 77. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 25. From time to time Dai Li sent in additional teams of agents familiar with the Shanghai situation, including groups led by Zhou Xiliang, Bi Gaokui, and Zhu Shanyuan. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 29.
 78. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 95.
 79. In December 1937 Du went to Wuhan to see Chiang Kai-shek, who made him head of the Ninth Relief District (Hong Kong) of the China Central Relief Committee (Zhongyang zhenji weiyuanhui). Using that position along with the Red Cross office he sent up in Hong Kong as a cover, Du Yuesheng received 500,000 a month from the Nationalist government to bribe potential collaborators to prevent them from joining the Japanese. In addition to setting up se-

cret peace talks between Dai Li and Wang Xinheng, and the Japanese, Du Yuesheng was also responsible for stealing the documents that revealed Wang Jingwei's agreement with the Japanese. He also arranged the escape of George Yeh from Japanese territory. Yeh later became foreign minister of the Republic of China. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 147; Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 38; Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 5-8.

80. "Massive smuggling between the ostensibly blockaded sectors of Free' and Occupied' China was one of the salient characteristics of the Sino-Japanese War. . . . Using opium supplies from vast poppy fields in Manchuria, Japanese-controlled factories in Tientsin flooded the Chinese market with heroin. The Japanese financed a large part of their war effort this way." Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 41.
81. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 22-23.
82. "Woosung-Shanghai Special Chinese Corps Leaves Shanghai," *Da mei wanbao*, Feb. 1. Translated in Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8039A, 4/2/38. The newspaper commented that "the death of most of the Chinese traitors may have been the work of the corps."
83. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 101.

18. THE TRAINING CAMPS

1. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 15.
2. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 25.
3. The following analysis is based upon Zhou Zhendong, "Dai Li tewu Yu san ke,' Rong zu,' ji Xi Kang zu' zai junshi fangmian de huodong (1935 nian-1936 nian)," 281-82. Units on "external duty" were divided into secret and public organizations, with the former directing the latter through vertical relationships. No horizontal connections were permitted, and information was only provided on a need-to-know basis. Any leak, even to close family members, was punished with prison sentences, torture, or death. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 194.
4. If the case at hand were urgent, a senior staff officer (*canmou*) would be sent out by headquarters on a "tour of inspection" (*xuncha*) to the regional "headquarters for exterminating the bandits" (*jiaofei zongbu*) to investigate first-hand. His reports would be sent by wireless or telegraph to Dai Li to be handed over to Chiang Kai-shek.
5. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 23.
6. There were quite a few Nationalist units fighting around Shanghai that were not Chiang's "family" (*dixi*) forces. Their commanders would have resisted Shen Zui's intrusion no matter what.
7. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 24.
8. His residence was a mansion at No. 8 Paris Street. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 361.
9. In Shanghai, Qian's whereabouts may have been betrayed to the Japanese by some of his lieutenants. According to later rumor, he either died in prison or was shot dead on the spot. Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 26-27.

10. Ibid., 25. Shen Zui, who often tried to show that Dai Li was quite ineffective in spite of his reputation as an efficient chief of the secret service, may be overemphasizing Dai Li's concern about personal loss of face at a time of national disaster, when hundreds of agents were being rounded up and tortured or killed.
11. "KMT Wartime Organization Problems, Youth Corps, etc.," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 70.
12. After the beginning of the war, officers were required to join the Guomintang.
13. According to Chen Lifu, if Chiang had not been elected *zongcai*, "military rule would prevail, and the Party would be increasingly half-dead." It was necessary to make the person who held power, Mr. Chiang, the Party Leader." "KMT Wartime Organization Problems, Youth Corps, etc.," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 90. Chiang's election automatically relegated Wang Jingwei to a junior position. Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 207.
14. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 59; Zhang Wen, "Zhongtong ershi nian," 1.
15. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 60. The author was probably a senior member of Zhongtong's personnel section (*renshike*).
16. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, ii; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 28.
17. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 155. As for Zhongtong, whoever was acting as secretary-general of the Central Executive Committee of the Guomintang would automatically become the bureau chief of the Central Statistics Bureau. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 60.
18. Qian Dajun was the most prominent of these men. He had been on the staff of the Whampoa Academy, as well as dean of the Wuhan branch of the Central Military Academy. He was with Chiang Kai-shek at Xi'an and was wounded and taken prisoner when his bodyguards resisted the rebels. After the Pacific War, Qian became mayor of Shanghai. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 1:374-75. He Yaozu was also president of the Blue Shirts. Naimusho keihokyoku, eds., *Gaiji keisatsu gaikyo*, 5:57. See also "Blue Shirts Organization."
19. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, ii-iii; Zhang Wei-han. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 96.
20. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, iii.
21. "The Nationalist Youth Party," 55.
22. "The Board of Organization, 1932-1935," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 81.
23. "If we did and one of our men was discovered by the Military Bureau, it would have been terrible." Ibid., 83.
24. Ibid., 81.
25. Ibid., 80.
26. Ibid., 79-80.
27. Yun Yiqun, *San shi nian jianwen zaji*, 46.
28. Ding Mocun later became a commander of Wang Jingwei's puppet secret service.
29. The office had by then been charged with the task of counterespionage (*fangdie*). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 128.
30. Liu Gong, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongtong," 60.
31. Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 211.
32. The formal territorial hierarchy was, in descending order, *qu* (region), *zhan*

- (station) or *tebiezu* (special organization), and *zu* (group). What we would call case officers were *zhishu qingbaoyuan* (directly attached intelligence agents), who were assigned to each level but often reported to Dai Li himself. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 194.
33. There were *qu* for large cities (Nanjing, Shanghai, Hong Kong) as well. Ibid.
 34. Deng Baoguang, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong,” 153–54.
 35. The three zones were Shanghai, founded in 1941; Overseas (Hawaii), founded in 1942 under Huang Tianmai; and north China (Huabei), founded in 1943 under Ma Hansan. Ibid., 153.
 36. Mao Renfeng is contemptuously characterized in *Red Crag* as being “insignificant.” “His shining black knee-length boots had special built-up heels to increase his height.” Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 204.
 37. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, iii–iv.
 38. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 259.
 39. Circuit inspectors met every Saturday to compile a single weekly report to Dai Li, who used this information as the basis for his Monday harangues, as well as to assess the political thought of each cadre and to direct overall organizational planning. Deng Baoguang, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong,” 154. Field agents resented this “internal meddling.” “If you try to spur bravoes into the fray, then fettering the bridle is a relatively contradictory way of carrying that out.” Cited in Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 38.
 40. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 83. Shen Zui maintained that “Dai Li believed that the more special agents the better.” According to Shen, in addition to the 1,400 agents concentrated in the main Chongqing headquarters at Luojiawan and the offices at Ciqikou, there were another 50,000 regular agents running assets (*yunyong ren yuan*) amounting to about 500,000 spies and informers, making Juntong the world’s largest espionage organization at that time. Ibid., iv. Official sources claim that Dai Li had as many as 100,000 agents in the field by 1945. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 3:205.
 41. “Military Attaché Report: China (373). From American Embassy Chungking to Military Intelligence Division War Department. Subject: Organization of the High Command of the Chinese Army,” in Gary May, *China Scapegoat*, 262.
 42. Zhang Weihuan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 121. There were other intelligence training schools, such as the Central Military Academy special training class, held in the Longyun Temple on Lushan. That unit was directed by Pan Youqiang and later came under Kang Ze’s leadership. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 89; Zhang Weihuan, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 289–90; Cheng Yiming, “Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li de buchong, dingzheng,” 239.
 43. The first of these Hangzhou *texunban* was opened in the summer of 1932. Zhang Weihuan, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 285. For rosters of succeeding classes, see *ibid.*, 286–88. See also Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 184–85.
 44. Dai Li was the principal (*zhuren*), Yu Lexing his deputy, and Wang Kongan the party secretary. Wang Fangnan, “Wo zai Juntong shisi nian de qinli he jianwen,” 140.
 45. Ge Mingda, “Juntong bairiji,” 167.
 46. The head of the fourth brigade, which was located at Xiongzheng lou near the

- police academy, was Wang Delong, the political officer was Dong Yisan, and the instructors included Xie Ligong, Liang Hanfen, Yu Xiuhao (Frank Yee), and Wang Zuhua. *Ibid.*, 140–41.
47. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 29.
 48. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 96; Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 155–56. In Chongqing alone there were more than thirty special services training units (*tewu xunlian ban*). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 11, 83–84.
 49. This and the following account are based upon Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 25–26.
 50. Many inductees in these new training units at first thought that they were being trained solely as ordinary officers or policemen. It was a considerable shock when they discovered that they would be subject to the iron discipline of the secret service. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 210. For a list of training units, see *ibid.*, 212–15.
 51. Hu Zongnan had his own special services unit that competed with Juntong in the northwest. Feng Meiquan, “Jiefang qian Juntong zai Xi’an he Yingchuan de zuzhi yu huodong,” 75–77.
 52. It was also called the Lintong training class. See, for example, Ge Mingda, “Juntong bairiji,” 166.
 53. Dai Li had sent Yu Lexing to Etang in Changsha in late 1937 with instructions to set up the training camp. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 121.
 54. Yang Zhesheng, *Tegongwang Dai Li*, 226; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 10.
 55. The first half of their indoctrination typically consisted of basic military training, the second half entirely of classes devoted to secret agent training. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 211.
 56. See, for curricular details of the *lanxunban*, Yuan Baotai, “Dai Li yu Lanxunban,” 160–62.
 57. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 14. Special operatives like Li Renshi, Hunan station chief, and Yang Jirong, head of Department One of the MSB, also came in to give one or two lectures.
 58. Ge Mingda, “Juntong bairiji,” 167.
 59. Yu Lexing also suggested that Zhuge Liang’s loyalty to Liu Bei was conditional, and he urged his students to be farsighted and canny when it came to political choices of their own. *Ibid.*, 168.
 60. *Ibid.*, 28. Food only cost three or four yuan a month.
 61. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 11.
 62. *Ibid.*, 10.
 63. The chief instructional officers were Liu Shaofu and Liao Huaping. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 121.
 64. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 10, 16.
 65. For the training of women agents, see Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 260–61.
 66. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 12, 15–16.
 67. *Ibid.*, 16.
 68. *Ibid.*, 11–12. In almost all of the classes in the Linli program, the examples chosen by the instructors to illustrate secret work invariably involved Communist opponents.

69. Wang Zuhua was well known inside Juntong as an “anti-Communist propaganda expert” (*fangong xuanchuanjia*). Ibid., 11.
70. Ibid., 18. See also 16, 21–22.
71. Ibid., 17.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid., 24.
74. Ibid., 25.
75. Ibid., 25–26.
76. At the same time Dai Li established a Superintendent’s Administrative Office, which was staffed by Ding Ruoping, and he made Xie Ligong head of the Education Department. These were both supposed to act as a counterbalance to Yu Lexing. Ibid., 11, 25–26. See also Zhong Xiangbai, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban,” 133.
77. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 20–21.
78. Kim was the instructor of jujitsu, or *qinna*. Ibid., 13.
79. Ibid., 27–28.
80. The basic theoretical work they used was *Sunzi’s Art of War* (*Sunzi bingfa*), especially the section *yong jian pian*. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 211.
81. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 13, 17.
82. Ibid., 12, 24–25. The techniques were “stolen” by two of Dai Li’s men, Chen Zhendong and Wang Baigang, who had managed to get admitted to the Nanyue school (which was ostensibly a Nationalist academy under the United Front) as students. Later Wang Baigang was caught by Dai Li taking money from one of the Juntong training units, and Dai Li had him taken out and shot.
83. Ibid., 13–14.
84. Ibid., 13.
85. Ibid., 20–22. In another instance, a student suspected of selling fake medicine to his classmates was publicly interrogated in the school auditorium as a “practice object” (*shixipin*) by Linli instructors. When he stubbornly maintained his innocence, the questioners felt that their skill as interrogators was being cast into doubt. Before a shocked audience of students they gradually degenerated from interrogators to torturers. “This kind of behavior that went against the laws of mankind and of heaven gave this group of training students a very deep and definite impression after they graduated. It let them feel that this organization was completely equipped with its own special powers and paid absolutely no attention at all to the law.” Ibid., 21.
86. Ibid., 18, 21. It was also good security practice, because the makers of explosives never knew the precise use to which their bombs would be put.
87. Ibid., 23–24.
88. Ibid., 28–29.
89. Ibid.; Zhong Xiangbai, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlianban,” 133.
90. See, for the linkages between the Communist Party and Guomindang’s intelligence activities via the Special Operations Committee, Stranahan, *nderground*, 219.

91. Qiu Yuping, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhongyi jiuguo jun,” 124; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 101–2.
92. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 101.
93. A Ying, ed., *Wenxian*, vol. 3, 10/12/38, G6; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 22; “Chung Yee Guerrilla Band,” 1. “It had to depend upon setting up blockades to collect taxes, plundering and looting, and squeezing and extorting money from the people in order to keep alive this anti-Communist and anti-popular special services armed force. It spread out all along the shores of Lake Tai in Hang, Jia, Hu, Cheng, Xi, and Yu counties, robbing traveling merchants, raping women, and doing the most evil things imaginable.” Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 101. See also Wakeman, *The Shanghai Badlands*, 128.
94. Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930–39, 893.00 R. Shanghai/122 (Nov. 1938). See also Shanghai/117 (July 1938), 10–11, and Shanghai/121 (Oct. 1938), 14.
95. His residence was at No. 151 Central Fourth Road (Zhongsilu). Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 27.
96. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 29.
97. At this time they were already starting to recruit a second class of Linli students, and a brigade had already been formed. These students would later refer to themselves as the *linxunban*, but they were really graduates of the Qianyang class. *Ibid.*, 26–27.
98. This was only the first of many such ceremonies, which were treated with considerable solemnity throughout the wartime years. Banners were put up, *pailou* (memorial arches) were erected, walls were painted, and the roads were repaired going to and from the training unit. Zhong Xiangbai, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlianban,” 132.
99. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 14–15.
100. *Ibid.*, 30. Their starting salaries were forty yuan a month.
101. *Ibid.*, 28–30.
102. In spring 1938 Zhang Guotao fled from Yan’an and joined Juntong’s northwestern bureau as the person in charge of the Current Events Research Section (Shishi yanjiushi), which was completely devoted to collecting intelligence on the CCP in the Yan’an area. Other units located in Shaanxi’s Yulin and Hanzhong focused their attention on “progressive” youth and intellectuals. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 226.
103. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 156.
104. *Ibid.*, 163–64.
105. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 32–33. Later, after Dai Li’s death, when the Nationalists were losing the civil war, Mao Renfeng received a secret report that Yu Lexing had defected to the Communists. Mao subsequently tried to persuade Yu Lexing to go to Taiwan, but the latter was unwilling to leave the mainland. As a result, Mao ordered the Shanghai office of his organization to arrest Yu, but one of his former students in the secret police tipped off Yu, who escaped into the arms of the Communists.
106. *Ibid.*, 31.
107. *Ibid.*, 30.

108. The information that the Linli graduates provided to Dai Li showed up in Dai Li's criticism of older agents during the annual meeting of Juntong, which made the old guard feel intensely uncomfortable. *Ibid.*, 31.
109. *Ibid.*, 30-31.
110. *Ibid.*, 31-32. Ma Bufang, the warlord controlling Qinghai, repeatedly refused to permit Chiang Kai-shek's secret services to operate in his domain. Consequently, apart from small and totally covert units, in Qinghai Juntong could only establish a Xining Intelligence Unit (Xining qingbao zu) outside Ma's zone. That unit came under the supervision of Cheng Yiming, the MSB officer in charge of the Juntongju xibei qu (Northwestern Regional Office) of Juntong in Lanzhou. Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 241.
111. In May 1945, Cheng Yiming was transferred from Lanzhou to Chongqing to run the Third Department (Disan chu) of MSB's central headquarters. This was the department in charge of police operations, consisting of three sections: police administration (*jingzheng*), purging traitors (*sujian*), and operations (*xingdong*). *Ibid.*, 240.
112. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 35-36. See, for a list of later training units, including the Military of Defense Intelligence Bureau training units and the Baomiju training classes, Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 215-18.

19. CODES

1. William Pfaff, "Secret Nature of Spies' Business Invites Folly," *Miami Herald*, Dec. 16, 1986, 21a. It has become something of a fashion to deride the importance of wartime espionage except in the realm of signals intelligence and cartography. For a countervailing point of view, see Persico, "The Kremlin Connection."
2. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 288.
3. Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," 22. As far as we know, Dai Li's service never adopted the one-time code pad system favored by the KGB. The safest form of encipherment known, because only the sender and receiver have copies of the pad and because every sheet is used only once, the cipher is first determined by a code book. For example, "defense" might be 3765. That number is then added to the first group on the one-time pad, say 1196, using the Fibonacci system ("Chinese arithmetic," in which numbers greater than nine are not carried forward in order to create random distribution) to make a double enciphered total of 4851. Wright, *Spycatcher*, 227.
4. The first group of students may have numbered only twelve, of which ten were graduates of the Hangzhou Police Academy. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 36.
5. This more effective unit began to operate as of March 18, 1933. *Ibid.*, 37.
6. Zhang Weihuan. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 88. After the first class, the training unit was moved to 30 Xiongzheng lou. The course originally ran for six months, but after the third class it was extended to one year.
7. The decisive event that persuaded the Nationalist leadership of the importance of shortwave radio communication was the attack by Sun Chuanfang on Nanjing on August 26, 1927. He Yingqin and Bai Chongxi won the battle of Long-

- tan thanks to their use of radios. Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 108-9.
8. This network may have included the transmitter being used by Loi Chong (Zheng Lai) to transmit banking intelligence from Shanghai in 1928, attracting the attention of British police and intelligence officers. Shanghai Municipal Police Files, 9686, 22/10/28, 7/11/28.
 9. Commercial stations operated by the Ministry of Communications were crowded with shipping and trading messages. Moreover, coded messages were unprotected. Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," 21.
 10. Xu, *The invisible Con ict*, 56-64.
 11. Zhou Enlai began developing his own secret radio network in January 1930. Luo Qingchang, "Zhou Enlai shi wo dang wo jun dianxun, jiyao he qingbao gongzuo de chuangjianzhe he lingdao zhe," 72-73. During World War II Li Kenong was number two man of the CCP intelligence apparatus, serving as deputy director of the Social Affairs Department under Kang Sheng. Qian Zhuangfei, the other Communist mole involved in the Gu Shunzhang affair, was liquidated by the CCP during the Long March because of his knowledge of the intelligence scene. Yu, "American Intelligence," 116. See also Mei, "Police System Under the Chinese Communist Regime," 31; Richelson, *A Century of Spies*, 241-43.
 12. Yu, "American Intelligence," 114-16. Wen Yuqing was an excellent choice. Holding a Harvard doctorate, he had taught at Qinghua University before working for the Ministry of Finance's tariff division.
 13. Zhang Weihuan. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 128.
 14. Dai Li had ordered Wei Daming to send twenty of his agents to work with Wen Yuqing. These included Chen Zushun, Zhu Limin, Zhao Shikang, and Yang Shilun. Later, Wei Daming had Chen Zushun work in the monitoring station (*zhencha tai*) Wen Yuqing set up first in Changsha and then, after war broke out, in Guilin and Kunming. Zhang Weihuan. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 128-29.
 15. Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," 21-22; Qiao Jiakai. *Dai Li jiangjun he tade tongzhi*, 1:76.
 16. His original name was Wei Jinsheng. He was a native of Pinghu (Zhejiang). Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 128.
 17. Qiao Jiakai, *Dai Li jiangjun he tade tongzhi: kangri qingbao zhao di*, 1:76-83, cited in Yeh, "The Liu Geqing Affair," 22.
 18. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 37.
 19. This did not mean that Wei Daming was fond of Dai Li. See Coble, "Superpatriots and Secret Agents," 17.
 20. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 128; Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 241-42; Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi," 296. Most British secret information came from signal intercepts. Before 1939 the main Secret Intelligence Service intercept station was in a dilapidated area on Stonecutter's Island in Hong Kong harbor. Aldrich, "Britain's Secret Intelligence Service in Asia during the Second World War," 186-87. For Hong Kong special service operations in general see *Erci dazhan Xianggang Huaren tewu jingcha dui te kan*.

21. T. V. Soong Archives (Hoover Institution), cited in Yu, "American Intelligence," 112; see also 119-20.
22. Yu, "American Intelligence," 120.
23. The office intercepted two to three hundred radio transmissions a day and deciphered 60 to 80 percent of them. *Ibid.*, 119. There was some coordination of this code-breaking operation with other units. Yuan Baotai, "Dai Li yu Lanxunban," 162.
24. Yu, "American Intelligence," 120-21. Wang Pengsheng was China's leading Japanologist. Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:391-93; *Minguo renwu da cidian*, 56.
25. Zhang Weihai. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 128.
26. Japanese authorities were infuriated by the book, in which Yardley revealed that the Americans had read thousands of Tokyo's official messages before the Washington Naval Conference of 1921. A secret memorandum within the Gaimusho denounced the book's publication as "a flagrant act of bad faith," because Yardley had been paid 7,000 to give the Japanese ambassador copies of the Black Chamber's cables along with the stipulation that he would not publicly reveal how the Americans used the intercepted intelligence to get the Japanese to accept naval inferiority at the conference. Layton, *And Was There : Pearl Harbor and Midway*, 30, 41.
27. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 221; Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 241.
28. Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace*, 22-23.
29. *Ibid.*, 23.
30. This law was enacted after the United States signed the International Radio Telegraph Convention of July 8, 1912.
31. What did apply was the 1910 Act to Create a Commerce Court, which defined cable companies as common carriers and prohibited them from disclosing any information entrusted to them (36:1; Statutes at Large, 544-45, 553). This act was confirmed by the 1920 Transportation Act (41:1; *ibid.*, 474). Personal communication from David Kahn.
32. Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace*, 24-28. The company did fashion a profitable commercial code, which was marketed successfully as the Universal Trade Code.
33. *Ibid.*, 29.
34. Yardley decoded the cipher on December 12, 1919.
35. Bamford, *The Puzzle Palace*, 25-27.
36. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, xiv-xv. He also earned some money as a real estate speculator in Queens, but he badly needed additional funds to support his wife (with whom he formally split in 1935) and five-year-old son, Jack.
37. *Ibid.*, xv-xvi.
38. "The all-powerful Hatchet Man had thoughtfully provided for our entertainment during our enforced wait [in Haiphong]. His agent led us to a taxi-dance dive and plied us with champagne, and there a pretty Annamite with blackened teeth danced divinely with me until 2 A M" *Ibid.*, 6.
39. Chongqing—in Barbara Tuchman's words—"occupied a rocky promontory jut-

- ting into the junction of the Yangtze and Chialing rivers.” Tuchman, *Stikwell and the American Experience in China*, 261.
40. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, 7–8.
 41. *Ibid.*, 15. The name of the street, spelled in Yardley’s romanization, was Shien Tung Gai. *Ibid.*, 31.
 42. *Ibid.*, 14.
 43. *Ibid.*, 14–16.
 44. *Ibid.*, 16.
 45. For entertainment Yardley repaired to the Chongqing Hostel, a government-run hotel for foreigners, where he drank and played poker with the likes of Theodore White, who was then working as a propagandist for the Nationalist government. *Ibid.*, xvi–xvii, 16.
 46. *Ibid.*, 18, 26–28, 34.
 47. The actual “black chamber” was a supersecret unit attached to the mansion and called “the bright hut” (*huolu*; *huo* is a term that also suggests the “breaking” of a code). It operated directly under Dai Li, and its members were kept from all communication with the outside. Zhang Chengxin, “Dai Li yu Chongqing huolu,” 158–59.
 48. Zhang Weihai. “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 128.
 49. The unit was located at No. 30 Pingyue Road. Dai Li was nominal head, and Wei Daming was his deputy and actual director. There were about thirty people in each class. *Ibid.*, 126.
 50. *Ibid.*
 51. Shu Jiheng, “Guomindang Juntong ju zai Tianjin de tewu huodong gaikuang,” 169–76; Yeh, “The Liu Geqing Affair,” 20, 22–23; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 126.
 52. Yu, “American Intelligence,” 121–23.
 53. According to Miles, whose knowledge was based on hearsay, Yardley mainly “played around with girls” during this period. Miles, *Personal Papers*, “Notes,” Box 3.
 54. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, xviii.
 55. *Ibid.*, xviii–xx.
 56. The first message in “Purple” was not read until September 1940. The Americans began sharing the cipher with the British in the spring of 1941. Hinsley, *British Intelligence in the Second World War*, 115.
 57. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, xviii–xxiii.
 58. Yardley was supposedly dismissed by the Canadian government at the insistence of Winston Churchill. Smith, *OSS*, 246.
 59. Yardley, *The Chinese Black Chamber*, xxiii–xxiv.
 60. Y. C. Wen remained in Hong Kong until December 1941, when he fled to the United States, where he worked as an assistant in T. V. Soong’s China Defense Supply Office in Washington, D.C. Yu, “American Intelligence,” 124.
 61. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 130; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 27–28.
 62. The British were especially concerned about Juntong’s secret radio transmitting stations and Du Yuesheng’s espionage activity in Hong Kong, which further aroused their antipathy to Dai Li, whom they suspected of preparing to oust them once Japan was defeated. In that regard John Paton Davies later wrote

- in a memo to Stilwell in December 1943 that, by pushing Japan out of Burma and Malaya, the United States was inadvertently assisting the British to restore their empire there. “Why should American boys die to repossess colonies for the British and their French and Dutch satellites?” Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 5. See also Chan, *China, Britain and Hong Kong, 1895–1945*, 266; British Foreign Office Records, F8767/G, 3/9/41, in FO371–27710.
63. Tang Zong, “Cong jieshi Dai Li dao renzhi shicong shi—Tang Zong shiluo zai dalu de riji,” 113–14; Miles, Personal Papers, “Notes,” Box 3.
 64. Qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Jiang bang tewu zuixing lu*, 1; Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 104. Aldrich utterly dismisses the notion of an advanced warning, including the “betrayal thesis” with regard to Churchill and Roosevelt. A central argument of this thesis is that both Britain and the United States were reading not only the Japanese diplomatic cipher Purple, but also the naval operational code JN-25. It is true that both countries had made some progress in deciphering JN-25, but the code was superseded in December 1940 by JN-25b, and then in 1941 by JN-2b7 and JN-2b8. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 60–72. See also Stafford, *Roosevelt and Churchill*, 116–24.
 65. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 168; Shen Zui, “Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu,” 214.
 66. In 1942 Wei Daming did, however, set up a southeastern telecommunications training branch at Jian’ou (Jingqi, Fujian). The branch was under his direct supervision, but day-to-day control was managed by Zhu Dingbang, the deputy director. Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 126.
 67. Yu, “American Intelligence,” 124–26.
 68. Smith, OSS, 65.
 69. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 231.

20. DAI LI, MILTON MILES, AND THE FOUNDATION OF SACO

1. Miles enlisted in the Navy in 1917 and was appointed to the U.S. Naval Academy, from which he graduated in 1922. “Milton Miles, 60, Admiral, is Dead,” *New York Times*, Mar. 26, 1961, 93; “Admiral Miles Retires,” *New York Times*, Jan. 15, 1958, 14.
2. “Minutes of Meeting with General Tai Li.”
3. “Donovan to President re: OSS position in China, SACO, and Tai Li,” June 11, 1944, 1–2, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents.
4. After Xiao Bo’s proposal reached Chongqing, Dai Li and Admiral Yang Xuan-cheng (head of G-2 [Di er ting] of the National Military Council [Junling bu]) held a meeting with Zheng Jiemin (deputy chief of the MSB), Zhou Zhirou (head of the Airforce Committee [Hangkong weiyuanhui]), He Shili, and Wu Renshuo. The meeting was also attended by one of the U.S. embassy military attachés. This group secured the Generalissimo’s approval and then contacted the Americans, granting approval for Miles to come to China to establish a co-operative organization. Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 105; Qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Jiang bang tewu zuixing lu*, 1.
5. Sol Adler later described McHugh as one of the brightest of the U.S. Embassy

- attachés, who always “seemed to have something going for himself on the side” in the realm of intelligence gathering. Sol Adler, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 9, 1985.
6. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 25–28.
 7. Ibid., 28–29. General Donovan’s OSS representative in Chongqing in 1942 was Esson Gale, a middle-aged American professor who had served in the Nationalist Salt Revenue Administration. His idea of “espionage” was to have lunch with H. H. Kung and treat the table talk as intelligence information. His second in command was Alghan Lusey, formerly a United Press International correspondent in Shanghai. (Miles first met Lusey in Calcutta in April 1942, securing his agreement not to cooperate with the British.) John Fairbank, meanwhile, was used by Donovan to set up a separate intelligence group through the U.S. embassy in Chongqing. Smith, *OSS*, 244–45; Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 265–66.
 8. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 30–31.
 9. “In fact, he carried [the automatic pistol] from then to the time of his death, when it proved to be one means of his identification.” Ibid., 31–32.
 10. The tangled history of British and American intelligence rivalries in wartime China deserves a study of its own. Some measure of this relationship can be acquired by reading Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 131–34; Smith, *OSS*, 247–48; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 106; and Yu, *OSS in China*, 44–45, 164–66, 203–8.
 11. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 32–33. Both Miles and McHugh were surprised when Dai Li suggested that Miles assume an alias and wear civilian clothes.
 12. Ibid., 33–35. Edison C. F. (“Eddie”) Liu was Dai Li’s English interpreter. Miles had an additional translator, named Peter Pan, assigned to him. “Lieut. Comdr. Charles S. Johnston, War Diaries Relating to Police and Investigation Unit,” OSS Papers, Aug. 15, 1943, 9.
 13. Colonel McHugh and some of the other American embassy personnel were very skeptical about this trip, especially since British Intelligence officers had been promised access to the coast but in the end had returned to India without ever seeing the shoreline. “No foreigner can work with the Chinese Secret Service,” McHugh said, “because it insists on operational control.” Miles’s response was, “Well, it’s their country and it’s their secret service too.” Ibid., 39–40.
 14. Between 1939 and 1942 Dai Li was also head of the police guards group (*jingwei zu*) of the central training *tuan*. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 156. “Americans learned that Dai Li controlled police everywhere, in Jap-held China as well as in Free China. Whenever the Japs advanced into a city they had to have Chinese police, and always Dai Li men were at hand to take the jobs. Even in the big occupied cities—Hankou, Shanghai, Nanjing—the long arm of Dai Li somehow held on to police power.” Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 66. See also Xu Zhaoming, “Hanjian Zhou Fohai goujie Juntong jiqi xiachang,” 214–15; Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-8088, 17/9/37.
 15. In most towns outside Shanghai, puppet and central government troops commonly fraternized, eating in the same restaurants, going to the same bath-houses, and frequenting the same theaters. “Interview with Mao Tsu-p’ei,” 4.
 16. Miles was usually called Mei Lesi (literally, “enjoy this place”), but Dai Li chose

- Mei Shendong because the winter plum blossom was one of China's national flowers, "a flower that appears on the dead, hopeless looking sticks of winter trees that promises better things to come." Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 36.
17. *Ibid.*, 51.
 18. Lusey told Washington that the Dai Li organization was "very efficient and we can use it to great advantage—it is also considered utterly ruthless and the inner circle impressed me as being a bunch of cutthroats." Smith, *OSS*, 246.
 19. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 51–53.
 20. *Ibid.*, 92; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 231–32, 268. Ciqikou was by Saosichang (Filature Plant) in Yangjiashan, where SACO headquarters was established; Miles had his official residence between there and Zhongjiashan. In December 1942 Chiang Kai-shek made Dai Li commander of what was to become SACO. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 156.
 21. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 88.
 22. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 231–32.
 23. "By the terms of this Agreement, the United States undertook to train guerrillas, intelligence groups, weather groups, saboteurs and raiding squads; also to set up weather, radio and radio intercept stations utilizing American equipment and, for the most part, Chinese personnel." Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 111.
 24. *Ibid.*, 113.
 25. Durdin, "U.S. Cloak and Dagger' Exploits and Secret Blows in China Bared," 5. Stilwell, whose magnificent four-story Jialing townhouse was staffed with servants provided by Juntong, must have realized that his contemptuous remarks about Chiang Kai-shek were carried back to the Generalissimo by Dai Li's agents. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China*, 261, 359.
 26. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 114.
 27. *Ibid.*, 114–15.
 28. When Donovan's OSS representative, Dr. Joseph R. Hayden, approached MacArthur's intelligence staff he was told that OSS was not welcome in the Pacific Theater and that General MacArthur had no intention of discussing the matter further. The OSS did manage to place a naval intelligence officer in the Philippines, but the man was captured by MacArthur and sent home. Smith, *OSS*, 250–51. Hayden, who had been vice-governor of the Philippines, had worked closely with John K. Fairbank in China, microfilming Japanese newspapers and magazines for the State Department. Donovan sent him to MacArthur's headquarters in Australia in January 1943. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 88–89.
 29. Ford, *Donovan of OSS*, 267–68. During 1943, Miles refused to allow the OSS Research Office in Chongqing to handle intelligence information from any source but Dai Li's agents. Smith, *OSS*, 257.
 30. Miles had called on the Generalissimo, whom the American "found to be a soft-spoken, relaxed person with none of the pushful personality we commonly assume to be natural to dictators." Chiang told Miles that competition for the services "of his trusted General Dai" was becoming too complicated and it was going to be necessary to have a written agreement signed by the presidents of the two nations, or the highest available authorities. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 86. Dai Li took extra care to avoid making the contract an "equal" treaty

- between the two countries. Shen Zui, "Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu," 216-17.
31. Ibid., 214-15.
 32. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 232-33; Smith, OSS, 252; Qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Jiang bang lewu zuixing lu*, 2-3.
 33. See, for J. R. Hayden's opposition to the agreement, which he found "in derogation of the dignity of the President of the United States," "J. R. Hayden to General Donovan," May 13, 1943, OSS Papers, Reel 84.
 34. The forwarding letter initialed by King and Marshall explained that the president had approved the document, which, in the interest of secrecy, was not endorsed by the senate. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 115. See also Smith, OSS, 251. Caldwell believed that Roosevelt agreed so readily because "Roosevelt was a Navy man and Admiral Leahy was his close advisor." Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 58.
 35. The "Sino-American Special Technical Cooperation Agreement" was downgraded from "top secret" to "restricted" on June 3, 1947. "The Department of State is of the opinion that, in the absence of any indication that the Chinese government objects to the downgrading of these documents, its concurrence may now be assumed." Memorandum for the Secretary of State from the State War Navy Coordinating Committee, June 3, 1947, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945-49, L/14.
 36. At the time of the signing Dr. Soong remarked, "This agreement would not be worth the ink it was written on unless airplanes were provided to supply the project over the Hump." Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 116. The joint chiefs of staff provided SACO with six transport planes so that it would be independent of Stilwell's supply system. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 266. As of July 1944 SACO was receiving about 175 tons of hump cargo a month, most of it small arms, ammunition, and high explosives. Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3:159. Shen Zui claimed that Dai Li actually signed the agreement in mid-May 1943, when Henry Luce was present in Chongqing as a personal delegate of President Roosevelt. Shen Zui, "Zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuo suo neimu," 217-18.
 37. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 105. Curiously enough, Dai Li ascribed to the American superstition that the number thirteen was a bad omen. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," n.p.
 38. Sino-American Special Technical Cooperation Agreement, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945-49, L/14.
 39. Undated memo in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945-49, L/14.
 40. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 267.

21. SACO TRAINING CAMPS

1. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 118. SACO trainees received instruction in demolition, including hand grenades, land mines, booby traps, and road mines. These were hazardous sessions, with occasional fatal accidents. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 4.
2. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 118; Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 13. Na-

tionalist Chinese sources assert that 49,180 Chinese combat personnel received SACO training from 1943 to 1945. Guofang bu qingbao ju, eds. *Zhong-Mei hezuo suo zhi*, 15, 46, 56, 60.

3. Remnants of these Nationalist forces, he went on to say, were still at hand to contest Communist control of the mainland. This pronouncement reflected Miles's own anti-Communist zeal and the fact that some SACO units had actually worked with Dai Li's men to attack Chinese Communist guerrilla units on the eve of the Civil War. "[Those victories over the Japanese were] due directly to the Chinese police departments headed by all these chiefs-of-police who were trained under Dai Li in Hangzhou, and I think they are still in operation. I'm not sure whether the Chinese Communists have murdered all these chiefs-of-police or not. If they didn't, they should have, because those people are still loyal to Dai Li and to me, although Dai Li is dead." Miles, Personal Papers, "Address to the New York State Police Chiefs Conference," Box 3, 182. Chinese Communist sources claimed that there was ample evidence to show that Dai Li's American-trained guerrillas had been used against New Fourth Army units. *Dai Li zhi*, 7.
4. American trainers who insisted on handling matters at their own speed were balked by what appeared to be Chinese truculence. One quiet, slow-talking American, who was a particularly successful instructor, said, "You can't drive a Chinese, you can't push him. It takes some Americans a long while to learn that, but you can be his friend, get out ahead of him, and lead him!" Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 14.
5. The first class of guerrilla students trained at Unit One straggled in after marches of hundreds of miles with blistered and bloody feet. Many were too weak to hold a gun. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 153.
6. "The supply of Chinese for training never failed. A SACO agent seeking recruits would put on his coolie disguise, trot blandly through Jap lines to a Chinese magistrate . . . and request his aid in getting suitable young men." Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 1.
7. According to SACO records, they were typically coolies, farmers, and small business folk "who saw in the guerrilla ranks assurance of minimum food and clothing, and a chance for the first time to face the enemy on even or better terms." Most were literate, and many had completed junior middle school. A few had attended college. Later, SACO stopped accepting illiterates altogether. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 1.
8. Ten percent of the inductees at the Linru camp had such bad cases of scabies that they could not walk. "Report of Major Arden W. Dow to director of OSS, CBI Theater," Mar. 20, 1944, OSS Papers, 8.
9. All of this was done on very poor food: two meals of rice a day (one with a vegetable), and pork once a week. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 2-3.
10. American officers claimed that the Chinese viewed the possession of leather shoes as a "gain of face." When the Chinese captured a Japanese soldier, his leather shoes were among the first prizes claimed. *Ibid.*, 3.
11. Commander C. H. Coggins, a Navy medical officer, believed "their phenomenal night sight to be the result of childhood years spent in chimney-like soot-covered rooms without electricity or illumination." *Ibid.*, 3-4.

12. According to their instructors, the Chinese recruits “seemed to think it was all a big joke.” Many slept through lectures, cheated on written tests, disassembled weapons without permission, thus losing springs and pins, and “skipped classes at will.” “Report of Major Arden W. Dow to director of OSS, CBI Theater,” Mar. 20, 1944, OSS Papers, 9.
13. *Ibid.*, 2, 4.
14. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 13. Few Chinese students were drafted during the war, with the exception of engineering and foreign language students. In the fall of 1941 juniors and seniors of every university’s foreign language department were called up to serve as interpreters for American pilots who had volunteered to help the Chinese air force. Some of these also went to work for Jun-tong. In 1944 the number of students serving as interpreters reached 3,267. Chang and Meyers, “The Storm Clouds Clear Over China,” 276.
15. Miles, Personal Papers, “Comments by Lt. H. A. Swartzs, head of Unit Seven,” Box 5, 13.
16. Major codes, however, were carefully guarded. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 143.
17. The American guns gave the new SACO guerrilla “pride and courage as an individual and more than any other one factor stepped up the combat spirit of his entire outfit.” Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 10. But according to Major Dow, commander of the training camp at Linru after Dai Li paid a visit on February 29, 1944, “General Dai and the men of his organization are interested in just one thing—getting all the arms and equipment they possibly can. I believe the training by we Americans is merely a cover to get more equipment.” “Report of Major Arden W. Dow to director of OSS, CBI Theater,” Mar. 20, 1944, OSS Papers, 19.
18. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 10.
19. *Ibid.*, 11. At graduation 757 of the 867 men who filed by were granted guns.
20. Banks Holcomb, who was raised in Beiping and knew Chinese well, noticed on at least one occasion that some graduates of the SACO training camp at Happy Valley had already been graduated before. Personal communication from John Stewart Service.
21. Just after Unit One was set up, the Americans learned that a British group of guerrillas had their own camp nearby. That group later moved to Pucheng (Fujian), where they remained for the rest of the war. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 150.
22. After speaking with Dai Li, Miles radioed Washington requesting that ammunition, guns, demolition fuel, and outboard motors be sent over the Hump for the use of this unit. However, it took two years for the supplies to reach the SACO group. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 127.
23. *Ibid.*, 149.
24. *Ibid.*, 152–53; Lovell, *Of Spies and Stratagems*, 48.
25. Japanese military intelligence was aware of the SACO training camps at least as early as April 1944. Miles, Personal Papers, Box 5, 16.
26. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 157.
27. Zhong Xiangbai, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban,” 126.

28. Except for a group of assistants brought in from the Juntong North China Office headed by Wen Qiang, most of the officers serving on the Chinese side in the Linru training camp were assigned directly by Juntong. Only a small number of officers under the rank of *shaoxiao* (major) were not from MSB, and virtually all of these enrolled in Juntong along the way. *Ibid.*, 127.
29. *Ibid.*, 128.
30. Some American officers in SACO complained about the Chinese training schedule, which devoted one month out of three to political indoctrination. The compromise that Miles and Dai Li agreed to scheduled political indoctrination during certain afternoon hours. Miles, Personal Papers, "Training of Chinese Guerrillas," Box 5, 8.
31. Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban," 130.
32. *Ibid.*, 129–30.
33. *Ibid.*, 130. Because of Zhong's own shortcomings in these regards (embellished, perhaps, for his Communist readers), he had to leave the unit for less sensitive work in Luoyang. *Ibid.*, 131–32. Note that throughout the world the interwar years were marked by the figure of the secret agent. "Celebrated, notorious, unheard of secret operatives recorded their wartime adventures with a shameless reach for posterity or fortune. For really the first time the world read spy novels." One of these figures, of course, was the sinister Fu Manchu. Miller, *Shanghai on the M trol*, 11.
34. Tang Tao, "Zhong-Mei hezuosuo di liu tezhong jishu xunlian ban neimu," 148–49. Though not a member of Juntong, Tang Tao cooperated closely with MSB officers in arresting Communist underground agents and was listed by the bureau as a "peripheral element" (*waiwei fenzi*). *Ibid.*, 150. Li Chongshi became chief of staff of Juntong's Shanghai office after the War of Resistance. Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 246.
35. British Military Intelligence got wind of this effort through their China station. British War Office Records, MI2/1753, WO208–2874.
36. These were headed respectively by Zhuang Xintian, Zhang Yuan, Wang Tiaoxun (Diaoxun), and Chen Dayuan. Juntong also established several weather, hydrology, and radio stations along the Fujian coast. American military guesthouses were built in Jianyang's Huilong Temple and at Dongfeng, and a SACO transportation headquarters was set up under Jiang Shouquan. SACO guerrillas captured several small islands held by the Japanese along the China coast. The unit also carried out "probably the most complete survey of the China coast ever made" from Shanghai south to Hong Kong to prepare for possible American landings. Durdin, "U.S. Cloak and Dagger' Exploits and Secret Blows in China Bared," 5; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 111; Secret memorandum to Mr. Grew, June 28, 1945, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945–49.
37. Tang Tao, "Zhong-Mei hezuosuo di liu tezhong jishu xunlian ban neimu," 153–54.
38. Tang Tao makes much of the American soldiers' lasciviousness. Although there is no mention of rape or other sexual intercourse, the Americans are described

- as “humiliating women” (*wuru*), “subjecting them to indignities” (*lingru*), and “pestering” (*jiuchan*) them. Ibid., 156.
39. Ibid., 155.
 40. When Chen and his men took over Amoy, Chen was given quarters by the former collaborator and Japanese spy, Lin Yiping (a.k.a. Lin Dingli). Ibid., 160–62.
 41. There was also an external Unit Nine, the Dongfeng *ban* in Fujian. The Sichuan Happy Valley complex was commanded by Dai Li himself. During Dai’s frequent absences the interim commanding officer was Peter Pan, who came from northern Fujian. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 65.
 42. The first contingent of SACO agents moved into Happy Valley on October 1, 1942. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 97.
 43. The weather, however, left a lot to be desired. The valley’s climate was “appalling,” with daytime temperatures as high as 105 degrees Fahrenheit, which is why some American servicemen called it “Death Valley.” Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 71. See, for an excellent description of the locale, Carter, *Mission to Yenan*, 162.
 44. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 62–63.
 45. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 106.
 46. The area was so off-limits that American observers only became aware of its existence when groups of U.S. Navy men occasionally appeared in Chongqing and then mysteriously dropped out of sight. “The Japanese knew all about them, but they were a top secret as far as American and Chinese government officials were concerned.” One night Radio Tokyo broadcast a list of the senior American officers in the valley. “There was only one possible way for the Japanese to have secured this information, which was from someone in the Dai Li organization.” Caldwell, *A Secret War*. 61.
 47. The most notorious case of trespassing involved four middle school students who wandered into the zone by mistake and were captured. During their “disappearance” they were tortured. On November 27, 1949, they were finally put to death in Bai Mansion. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 106; Tian Shengji, “Meidi zhijie zhihui de Zhong-Mei hezuo suo,” 84. The ordeal of the students, represented in *Hong yan* by the fictional figure Hu Hao, is described in harrowing terms. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 457–59.
 48. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 106. Dai Li insisted that after someone (including American servicemen) had moved out to the valley, he or she had to stay there. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 62. Once Happy Valley was established, a guard post, designed to look like an ordinary shop, was set up at Ciqikou. Beyond that were openly guarded police lines. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 165. The people working in Happy Valley as groundskeepers, papermakers, cloth and shoe manufacturers, hospital technicians, and schoolteachers all had to have special transit passes or live within the zone permanently. Most were dependents of dead Juntong agents (including those killed by Dai Li himself). Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 65.
 49. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 83–84.
 50. After 1949 the central section of the SACO compound was turned into a “U.S. and Chiang Kai-shek Criminal Activities Exhibition,” which included recon-

structed prison cells, along with a torture chamber and acid pool where bodies were supposedly dissolved. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 116.

51. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 75.
52. Tian Shengji, "Meidi zhijie zhihui de Zhong-Mei hezuo suo," 94; Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 66.
53. Smith, OSS, 65. Miles insisted, with Dai Li's approval, that outside these banquets and dancing parties there be no fraternization between American men and Chinese women, most of whom were dependents of Juntong agents ordered to dress up and entertain the Westerners on special occasions, like Christmas. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 138-39, 141-42. Miles also imposed a naively equalizing, unwittingly patronizing, missionary-like orientalism on the Americans within the camp. The Westerners were encouraged to practice a Chinese-looking walk and squat instead of using chairs. They were supposed to eat easily and naturally with the Chinese. They had no club of their own, there was no liquor, and the men were encouraged to drink tea rather than coffee. Foul language was discouraged, and everybody paid a "Mex" dollar fine for each obscene word uttered. *Ibid.*, 140. Patriots made much of the fact that the Americans had apparently taken over Chinese territory by expelling the peasants from this "special zone" (*tequ*). Tian Shengji, "Meidi zhijie zhihui de Zhong-Mei hezuo suo," 83.
54. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 75. See also Walker, "China's Master Spy," 165.
55. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 384-86. This mountain retreat, identified with the poet Bai Juyi, was said to have been built by a Sichuanese warlord surnamed Bai. Many prisoners originally in the Xifeng lockup were brought here once it became a Juntong penitentiary. New Fourth Army general Ye Ting was imprisoned here and at the Hongluchang lockup along with the former party secretary of the South China Bureau of the CCP, Liao Chengzhi. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 119; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 123.
56. This, incidentally, was the unit that trained Chen Keyou, "China's Sherlock Holmes" (Zhongguo Fuermosi), before he became commander of the Fourth District Brigade in Nanjing and then a municipal police officer after the war. Chen was the model for a novel published by his daughter Chen Juan entitled *Tanhua meng*. In 1985 Chen Keyou was living in retirement in Fuzhou. Chen Bin, "Chenji sanshiwu nian de Zhongguo Fuermosi," 70.
57. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 238.
58. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 147.
59. The school opened in Happy Valley on September 13, 1943. By 1945 there were more than four dozen instructors occupying fifty buildings. Lieut. Cmdr. Charles S. Johnston, War Diaries Relating to Police and Investigation Unit, OSS Papers, 6; Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 271-72.
60. Miles, Personal Papers, "Address to the New York State Police Chiefs Conference," Box 3, 174; Walker, "China's Master Spy," 163; Tian Shengji, "Meidi zhijie zhihui de Zhong-Mei hezuo suo," 84; Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 118. Meanwhile, Miles set up a second elite training program at Unit Nine in the spring of 1943 to train Chinese instructors to aid the American trainers in teaching special operations. Each of the students in this *zhujiao ren yuan xun-*

- lianban* (assistant instructors' training class) had already graduated from one of Juntong's own training units, and they called this particular cadre program the Miles Training Unit (Meilesi xunlianban). Graduates were given a dagger inscribed with Miles's name. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 111.
61. Miles, Personal Papers, "Address to the New York State Police Chiefs Conference," Box 3, 181.
 62. *Ibid.*, 180.
 63. *Ibid.* Miles evidently had some misgivings of his own, though they were outweighed by the importance he attached to the school. On the morning of Unit Nine's opening, he wrote Captain Metzel: "I cannot overrate the importance of continuing this school [for scientific criminal investigation]. It has a political involvement which cannot fully be put on paper. It has a tremendous far-reaching field in China and the United States, both during the present war and the postwar development. . . . The complications are tremendous and rather terrifying to me, but I believe they will pay major dividends." Schaller, *The .S. Crusade in China*, 240.
 64. The latter was denied by American members of SACO. "But I never saw any torture evidence . . . and I was with [Dai Li] day and night for weeks on end. Our New York City Police Department experts in China say he does nothing that the New York confession department' wouldn't do." Walker, "China's Master Spy," 165. But see Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 152-53.
 65. Smith, *OSS*, 254. Stillwell had sent John Davies to Miles to protest the opening of Unit Nine. Miles challenged Stilwell to complain to the War, State, and Navy departments. OSS expressed its displeasure, but the unit continued to train Dai Li's agents. Schaller, *The .S. Crusade in China*, 240.
 66. R. Davis Halliwell to General W. J. Donovan, "Police Unit' under SACO," Jan. 21, 1944, OSS Papers.
 67. Wedemeyer made it clear that his investigation of Unit Nine was not initiated by the OSS. Rather, it was with the Generalissimo's approval that he had commenced looking into proper organization and coordination in the theater. "Minutes of Meeting with General Tai Li," Jan. 30, 1945, U.S. Army Headquarters, Chungking, China, 4-5.
 68. *Ibid.*, 5.
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. Wedemeyer told Dai Li that "he also did not want to have Americans act as informants against the Chinese." *Ibid.*
 71. Miles, Personal Papers, "Miles to Colonel Sin-ju Pu Hsiao, Washington, D.C.," Box 5.
 72. Miles, Personal Papers, Lt. Commander Roy D. Stratton and Commander T. B. Nicken, "Chinese Students to Be Sent to America at Navy Expense," Box 3. One-third of the students were to study police methods, the other two-thirds finance, transportation, business management, and similar courses useful for China's postwar reconstruction. The Navy estimated the annual cost of the program, which would be paid out of the Naval Procurement Fund, to be \$180,000.
 73. By March 1946 twenty such students had been assembled in Shanghai and another twenty were waiting in the interior for permission to proceed. Miles, Personal Papers, "Article 17 of SACO Agreement—Settlement of: Payment for Ser-

- vices in Connection with Ionospheric Project," Box 5. The Navy paid Dai Li 184,260 as credit to the Naval Working Fund. The Juntong agents who were selected included Zheng Xilin, Mao Wanli, Dong Yisan, Li Jizhong, Huang Jia-chi, Li Renshi, Qiao Jiakai, Liu Zhenfang, Bao Zhihong, and Nie Cong. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 169; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 15.
74. "In my opinion, from the standpoint of American interests, SACO was a disaster." Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 45.
 75. Epstein, *Unfinished Revolution in China*, 350. See also "Death of Tai Li," 91. Dai Li told Wen Qiang that Chiang Kai-shek had held an extremely secret meeting after the New Fourth Army Incident. The gist of the meeting was summed up in one sentence from a confidential minute of the conference: *da cai you chulu*, "the only way out is to strike." Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," *zhong bao*, n.p.
 76. *SACO News* 13:15-22 (Mar. 1996) and 15:42 (Sept. 1997). See especially "General Dai Li, One Hundred Years," in *SACO News* 13:5-14 (Mar. 1996).
 77. "People in Shensi Recall U.S. Crimes with Hatred," 3.
 78. *Ibid.* Left-wing foreign correspondents took the Chinese Government Military Academy at Xi'an to be "the great center of the anti-Communist blockade and of Dai Li's Gestapo." Emery An, a former Chinese United Press correspondent who had been a quisling in Shanghai under the Japanese, served as chief of English-language instruction in the Xi'an academy. Epstein, *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, 315.
 79. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 122. Deane describes his visit to the museum outside Chongqing: "We turn a corner and see instruments of torture—bamboo slivers for driving under fingernails, a flexible steel whip said to be U.S. made, a nail-studded club used in what was called the Mourning Torture. . . . Dai Li's interrogators were said to boast that they could make a skeleton open its mouth." *Ibid.*, 120-21.
 80. *Ibid.*, 121. See the fictionalized account of the role played by "a tall figure in a white surgical gown . . . with thin flaxen hair and sunken slate-colored eyes above an amazingly prominent beak of a nose" in the torture of Cheng Kang. The "blond-haired devil" with "the slate-colored eyes" who directs the Chinese interrogators is identified as an American in "doctor's guise." Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 389-92. Doctors and medicine are constantly alluded to, by inversion, in accounts of torture. Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 41-42.
 81. "In torture, the world is reduced to a single room or set of rooms. Called 'guest rooms' in Greece and 'safe houses' in the Philippines, the torture rooms are often given names that acknowledge and call attention to the generous civilizing impulse normally present in the human shelter. They call attention to this impulse only as prelude to announcing its annihilation." Scarry, *The Body in Pain*, 40.
 82. "Pai's Mansion Pogrom by SACO Told by Survivors," 2. Chinese were later told that this hell on earth was established by Dai Li and Miles in tandem. With the help of guards they had won over, sixteen prisoners managed to escape from the prison during the night of the infamous massacre mentioned below.
 83. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 123.
 84. *Ibid.*, 124.

85. Fu Boyong's account in *ibid.*, 123.
86. *Ibid.*, 116. The story of the massacre was revived just after the Korean War broke out, when meetings were held on July 16, 1950, in Beijing and Chongqing to mourn such martyred members of the China Democratic League as Li Gongbu and Wen Yiduo, "who were assassinated in Kunming on July 11 and 15, 1946, and twenty others who were slaughtered in a SACO camp near Chongqing." *Shanghai News*, July 18, 1950, 2. For Wen Yiduo's assassination as a symbol of the demise of the "free spirit of United Front Hankou," see MacKinnon, "The Tragedy of Wuhan, 1938," 942.
87. *Shanghai News*, December 3, 1950, 4.
88. Agee, *inside the Company*, *passim*.
89. Admiral Miles was commander of the Panama Canal Zone when the first public safety programs were launched in the mid-1950s. To left-wing conspiracy theorists, that was proof enough of SACO's nefarious long-term influence, seemingly affirmed by Admiral Miles's subsequent post in 1958 as naval attaché in Chile, where "he rendered one more service to counterrevolution: he started a dossier on a promising young socialist politician, Salvador Allende." Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 124.

22. SPYING

1. There is an anonymous marginal comment on a note to Miles about this passage. The writer, evidently a friend of the American naval officer, says, "After such articles these Jew SOBs should wonder why the world is against them." Miles, Personal Papers, "File on Committee for Democratic Far Eastern Policy."
2. "Miles' methods in his organization succeeded. The entire coast between Shanghai and Hong Kong was photographed, sounded, and charted for possible invasion landings. Thousands of Japanese were killed, wounded, or captured. Seventy-six allied flyers were rescued. Two hundred nine bridges, seventy-five trucks, eighty-four locomotives, one hundred and forty-one ships and river crafts, and ninety-seven depots and warehouses were destroyed." Stratton, "Navy Guerrilla," 87.
3. According to Durdin, SACO "gave the first tip" to the Navy that a Japanese task force was moving into the area that would become the location of the Battle of the Leyte Gulf. Durdin, "U.S. Cloak and Dagger' Exploits and Secret Blows in China Bared," 5. Even severe critics of Miles acknowledged the importance of the coast watchers. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
4. Durdin, "U.S. Cloak and Dagger' Exploits and Secret Blows in China Bared," 5.
5. *Ibid.*, 1, 5; Stratton, "Navy Guerrilla," 85; Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 67.
6. Durdin, "U.S. Cloak and Dagger' Exploits and Secret Blows in China Bared," 5. The *New York Times* described SACO as "one of the most remarkable United States Navy activities of the war: the participation in a Chinese-American organization for intelligence, counter-espionage and guerrilla warfare that by V-J Day incorporated the work of 50,000 Chinese and 1,800 Americans." For a more sober report, which nonetheless stresses SACO's success in intelligence gathering, see Arden W. Dow, "Factual Report of SACO Activities," Feb. 6, 1945,

OSS Papers, Reel 88; "W. B. Kantack to General Donovan," Mar. 5, 1945, OSS Papers.

7. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 66, 96. Of the Jiangsu raid Miles wrote, "In making our report of this bit of sabotage to Washington, we referred especially to this important trophy." *Ibid.*, 154.
8. "Perhaps those of us in SACO are indebted to him for protection more than we realized, particularly at the time we were there under his supervision. Most of us were unaware this man . . . ran constant surveillance of our movements and undoubtedly, due to never faltering in his prudent, shrewd, and ingenious endeavors to insure our safety . . . General Dai Li is credited with keeping our presence unknown and casualties almost nil. In time of war this incredible accomplishment of security for approximately 3,000 of us must be a feat heretofore unchallenged." "General Tai Li, One Hundred Years," 5.
9. The Chinese Management Group (Jingli zu) within SACO was headed by Mao Zongliang and Liu Junshi of the MSB. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 242-43. "It appeared very evident to me that none of the generals could engage in any activity against the enemy unless they had General Dai's permission." "Report of Major Arden Dow to director of OSS, CBI Theater," Mar. 20, 1944, OSS Papers, 12.
10. "This organization does not want us to know what is actually going on in occupied territory." "Report of Major Arden Dow to director of OSS, CBI Theater," Mar. 20, 1944, OSS Papers, 19.
11. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 239. Shen Zui also slyly notes that "Miles received commendations many times and was continuously getting promoted" on the basis of these false reports. *Ibid.*, 243.
12. There were a number of superb Chinese agents operating in Japanese-occupied China nonetheless. One man, posing as a halfwit, was allowed to wander around the major railroad switchyards, calling in the Fourteenth Air Force for bombing raids. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 51.
13. "Admiral Miles' rice paddy navy' in the Southeast was a constant source of embarrassment to American cultural, military, and religious workers in that area throughout the war. SACO men were under orders not to stop when one of their vehicles hit a pedestrian in the streets of a village. . . . Further, these Junior G-Men' refused to give their names, rank, or organization when, armed to the teeth with assassination and saboteur weapons, they spent the night in a Chinese hotel. At one time Admiral Miles is reported to have issued an order to his men that they were not to trade intelligence information with other American military and civilian agencies working the same area." "Death of Tai Li," 91.
14. Dai Li also sought to extend his intelligence networks in north China by providing Bishop Thomas Megan (whom he had secretly made a lieutenant general in Military Intelligence) with five radio sets to transmit information for "the American military authorities." Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1940-44, 893.105/97.
15. Wang Yixin had been placed in charge of Juntong's underground work in the Shanghai area in November 1941, after the previous Huxi zone chief, Chen Gongshu, was arrested by the puppet secret police at No. 76 Jessfield Road, the headquarters successively commanded by Ding Mocun, Li Shiqun, and Wan Lilang. Nanjing shi dang'anguan, eds., *Shenxun Wangwei Hanjian bilu*, 200; Shen

- Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 240; Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 152. See, for Chen's arrest and imprisonment and for his curious relationship with Li Shiqun's wife, Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 522-23, 556-57. Pan Hannian played an important role negotiating between the Nationalists puppets and the Japanese on behalf of the CCP. Stranahan, *Underground*, 202-5. For Li Shiqun's even more curious relationship with Pan, see *ibid.*, 360-61.
16. Dai Li also used SACO funds to open a grocery store in Amoy that was used as an intelligence drop, thus providing Juntong with particularly accurate information on conditions in southern Fujian. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 236, 240, 261. See also Walker, "China's Master Spy," 166-67.
 17. "Death of Tai Li," 92; *Dai Li zhisi*, 7-8.
 18. The capsules were never actually used because when the Navy staff tested them on donkeys, they appeared to have no effect. The SACO men failed to realize that donkeys, along with a few other species of animals, were immune to botulism. Lovell, *Of Spies and Stratagems*, 86-88.
 19. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 267.
 20. *Ibid.*, 231.
 21. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 41-43, 98.
 22. *Ibid.*, 99.
 23. *Ibid.*, 196-97. After Dai Li died, the Nationalist Ministry of Defense continued this work in a "special technology research section" (*tezhong jishu yanjiushi*) under Wei Daming. The section used equipment turned over by SACO after its demise. Zhang Weihuan, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 129.
 24. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 152.
 25. This is not to say that the British let their own guard down as far as the Nationalist Chinese were concerned. "[U.S.] Theater headquarters believed that the British had several thousand agents in China whose primary mission was gathering intelligence on the Chinese rather than on the enemy." Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3: 159. British signal intelligence routinely intercepted and translated all letters coming into India from China, sharing the results with their intelligence officers. FO371-41680, China Intelligence Wing Report C-35/83, Apr. 26, 1944, British Foreign Office Records.
 26. Zheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 242. The Chinese entered into this arrangement despite their own earlier misgivings about British intentions in the Far East. In January 1940, for instance, Chiang Kai-shek told the British ambassador, Clark Kerr, that his new military attaché, Colonel Burckhardt, was "notoriously pro-Japanese," a charge that Kerr denied. F709/G (30/1/40) and F982/G (8/2/40), in FO371-24696, British Foreign Office Records.
 27. "There was abundant circumstantial evidence indicating a direct tie-up between Dai Li's organization and Japanese intelligence," wrote Oliver Caldwell, who spent much of 1944 and early 1945 working for American intelligence to identify Japanese agents planted within Juntong. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 62. Chinese leftists also claimed that Dai Li sold the membership list of the Sanminzhuyi Youth Corps to Japanese special services, which in turn recruited

- some of these Guomindang agents to spy upon the Chinese Communist Party. *Dai Li zhisi*, 2.
28. British War Office Records, WO208-W32. "They [i.e., military intelligence at Melbourne] are very worried over serious leakage of information from Chinese headquarters' at Chongqing." War Office to Machin, 1/7/43, dispatch 1600.
 29. American and British intelligence departments were also given special instructions for receiving Nationalist Chinese visitors to allied military establishments, barring them from access to particularly sensitive areas. Washington to War Cabinet Office, London, JSM1421, 14/1/44, WWO208-432, British War Office Records.
 30. MI2 dispatch 29, 4/6/45, WO208-432, British War Office Records. See also .S. *Military Intelligence Reports, China, 1911-1941*, Report 9710, Jan. 8, 1939, 2a.
 31. See, for SOE's financial machinations in China during this period, Bickers, "The Business of a Secret War." Operations "Remorse" and "Waldorf" are also discussed in Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 286-87.
 32. FO371-41676B, British Foreign Office Records.
 33. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1944.
 34. SACSEA (headquarters of the joint command in Southeast Asia) suspected that the joint intelligence offer was motivated by the Chinese desire to control British organizations in China, to operate Chinese agents in the Southeast Asia Theater, to strengthen Chongqing's failing grip over Yunnan, to counterbalance U.S. power, to get the British reaction to a unilateral approach, and to obtain British signal intelligence information. SACSEA furthermore expressed concern about who would direct the Chinese side of the operations, being especially curious about the relationship between Dai Li and Wang Pengsheng. But it suggested encouragement nonetheless. Memo from Lamplough, SACSEA, to War Office, July 7, 1944, FO371-41676B, British Foreign Office Records.
 35. Memorandum by Cavendish-Bentinck of the Foreign Office, in FO371-41676B, British War Office Records. At that time Zheng Jiemin, identified as China's director of military intelligence, was actually visiting India. When he raised the possibility of a joint operation, SACSEA authorities put him off, but they finally declared on July 27, 1944, that they could not "stall indefinitely with Zheng Jiemin."
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. *Ibid.*
 38. Zheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 231-33; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 83; Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 146. Emily Hahn poked fun at the rumors in the 1940s that Chiang Kai-shek was "in constant secret communication with Wang Ching-wei [Jingwei]" as an emblem of the Chinese obsession with espionage, but the truth was not far removed insofar as Dai Li was concerned. Hahn, *China to Me*, 96.
 39. *Dai Li zhisi*, 5, 16.
 40. "Cheng Kexiang deng guanyu yu Zhou Fohai deng fasheng guanxi ji gongzuo jingguo zhi Juntong ju cheng," 239; Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 261. Lane 1136, Yuyuan Road was a cul-de-sac where Wang Jingwei, Zhou Fohai, and Li Shiquan all resided. Zhang Yun, *Pan Hannian zhuanqi*, 232.

41. Xiong had been head of the Song-Hu task force (*teqian zhidui*) of Kang Ze's Special Operations Brigade. After being captured by the Japanese in Shanghai in 1938, he had been persuaded to join the puppets by Li Shiquan, Wang Jingwei's secret police chief. Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 144.
42. Cheng was also credited with being behind the poisoning of Li Shiquan. "Juntong ju wei zhengming Zhou Fohai xiezhu gongzuo' zhi Zhao Chen dian," 186.
43. Peng Shengmu, from Taiwan, had been a professor at the Toa dobun shoin (East Asian Common Culture Academy). He was fluent in Japanese. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 240. Dai Li also assigned Tang Shengming and Han Shangying to infiltrate the Wang Jingwei government, while dispatching Chen Xudong to cement secret relations with Bao Wenyue, head of the military administration bureau in Nanjing. Zhang Weiham, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 145.
44. Dai Li was also implicated by his close relationship with Du Yuesheng, whose chief agent in Shanghai, Xu Biancheng, "was working both sides" and providing more intelligence to the Japanese than to his boss in Chongqing. In 1941 Du had fled from Hong Kong to Chongqing, where he coordinated intelligence activities with Dai Li. "Occupation of Shanghai," G2 memorandum, Oct. 8, 1943, cited in Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 41.
45. Smith, OSS, 258.
46. "Donovan to President re: OSS position in China, SACO, and Dai Li," in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents, 2-3. Donovan reiterated that message to the joint chiefs of staff, but the stern opposition of the Navy Department forced the joint chiefs to issue a reprimand along with an affirmation of SACO's independence just as the OSS chief was flying from Egypt to India with Lord Mountbatten. Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China*, 237-38; Smith, OSS, 258.
47. See, for the SOE commando training mission in China, Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 281-82. The Communists penetrated this operation as well. John Keswick, its SOE leader, had a Russian assistant named Petro Pavloski, who was a Comintern secret agent. Dai Li knew of this, which increased his distrust of the British. Stafford, *Roosevelt and Churchill*, 258.
48. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 267.
49. Qunzhong chubanshe, eds., *Jiang bang tewu zuixing lu*, 4.
50. Smith, OSS, 258. See also Taylor, *Awakening from History*, 343.
51. And execute agents he did. At least one OSS senior officer reported that Dai Li privately admitted "that he had ordered the assassination of OSS Chinese agents." Smith, OSS, 410. Juntong maintained a dossier on every OSS agent in China. Any Chinese who worked for the OSS was required to "confer with" Juntong in Chongqing. Miles, Personal Papers, "On SSU Organization in China," May 17, 1946, Box 3, 1.
52. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 56-57. After the banquet Dai Li came to Miles's residence and said that Donovan "could not get away with these things in China." Miles, Personal Papers, "On SSU Organization in China," May 17, 1946, Box 3, 1-2.
53. Miles, Personal Papers, "On SSU Organization in China," May 17, 1946, Miles Personal Papers, Box 3, 1-2.

54. "Donovan to President re: OSS position in China, SACO, and Dai Li," in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents, 2-3.
55. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 57; Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 267-68. After AGFRTS was formed, Coughlin moved his headquarters from Happy Valley to Kunming, where General Chennault's command was located. Smith, *OSS*, 260-61. Miles was promoted three times in China: from commander to captain and from captain to commodore in 1943, and on August 13, 1945, to rear admiral. These promotions were "temporary" for the duration of the war, and in September 1946 he was "remoted" to captain, not becoming a regular rear admiral until 1948. He retired in 1958 with the rank of vice admiral. Shen, "SACO Reexamined," 6.
56. "Donovan to President re: OSS Position in China, SACO, and Dai Li," in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents, 2-3. See also Corey, *Donovan of OSS*, 268; Smith, *OSS*, 261.
57. Corey, *Donovan of OSS*, 268.
58. These efforts were supposed to be supplemented by establishing a Morale Operations (MO) branch of OSS in China, a task assigned by Donovan to Major Herbert Little (chief of the Far East branch) in the autumn of 1943. Little went to Chongqing and secured Dai Li's permission for MO agents to operate in China, but Juntong agents dragged their feet when the Americans requested their cooperation. MO representatives conducted a second round of talks with Dai Li and his men during April 1-23, 1944, producing a draft memorandum (which was cleared by John S. Service) that Dai Li approved partly in order to obtain more powerful radio transmitters. According to the terms of the agreement, however, MO Branch China had to operate under SACO's umbrella. Annex B, "The Organization of the M.O. Section under SACO." See also Smith, *OSS*, 69-70; Yu, *OSS in China*, 150-51.
59. "Donovan to President re: OSS Position in China, SACO, and Dai Li," Nov. 6, 1944, 2-4, and Dec. 23, 1944, 2, and "Robert B. Hall to Donovan, enclosing memorandum by Gunnar G. Mykland," Oct. 13, 1944, on Oct. 20, 1944, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents. The Air Ground Aid Service (AGAS) did a "remarkably efficient job" of organizing escape routes for stranded American airmen. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 53.
60. "Starr" was the intelligence operation run by Cornelius V. Starr, owner of the *Shanghai Evening Post* and director of a successful insurance company in China. The operation was turned into a British asset in 1943. "Clam" was a separate Secret Intelligence Service operation run by Konrad Hsu, who used family connections in China to provide a private communications network to British intelligence. Stafford, *Roosevelt and Churchill*, 260-61.
61. Deane, *Good Deeds and Gunboats*, 117-18; Walker, "China's Master Spy," 165-67. For C. V. Starr's "private" espionage ring, which was keyed into his insurance business, see the memorandum from J. R. Hayden to Colonel G. Edward Buxton, June 17, 1942, and the letter from James R. Murphy to Al Lusey, Dec. 22, 1942, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents; and George K. Bowden to Colonel W. J. Donovan, OSS Papers, Feb. 22, 1943.
62. The news was officially conveyed to Dai Li by Brigadier General Lyle Miller, U.S.

- Marine Corps, who arrived in Chongqing on October 18, 1944. Miller was a member of the Washington Planning Group, which was the policy-making center of OSS. On October 22 during a banquet hosted by Dai Li, General Miller provoked a major crisis in Sino-U.S. relations by demanding that the Chinese bring them “sing song girls” and by personally insulting Chiang Kai-shek and China, which he called a twelfth-rank power. Dai Li threatened to cancel the SACO project, and General Donovan was obliged to go to China in December 1944 to make a personal apology. Yu, “American Intelligence,” 388–403; Memorandum dated Mar. 12, 1934, to the Joint Chiefs of Staff, “Operational Control US Navy Group China,” in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945–49, L14. Also Donovan to President, “OSS Position in China, SACO, and Tai Li,” June 11, 1944; Donovan to Kung, Sept. 12, 1944; Donovan to chief, Kunming, Sept. 12, 1944; Donovan to President, “Intelligence Agreements with Kung,” Dec. 12, 1944; Wedemeyer to Donovan, Dec. 13, 1944; Donovan to Dow for Wedemeyer, Dec. 14, 1944, all in General William J. Donovan. Selected OSS Documents, 1941–45. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 161; Smith, *OSS*, 272–73; Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 275.
63. Professor Stelle became deputy director of State Department Intelligence in 1951, a member of the department’s policy planning staff from 1951 to 1956, and a delegate to the Nuclear Test Ban Conference in 1960. Smith, *OSS*, 261–62.
 64. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 161; Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 58.
 65. Caldwell claimed that Juntong agents kidnapped and nearly killed the A-2 (intelligence officer) of the Twentieth Bomber command. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 118–19; Smith, *OSS*, 270. During the summer of 1944 a battalion of Kachin guerrillas from the Burma hills under the command of OSS Detachment 101 crossed into China to retaliate against local GMD soldiers who had looted several Burmese villages. The raid was a cause célèbre in Chongqing, where Colonel Ray Peers, who had succeeded Carl Eifler as head of 101 and later became CIA station chief on Taiwan, was sent a personal memo by the Generalissimo. In addition, Dai Li was infuriated by the Ilia Tolstoy / Brooke Dolan OSS mission to Tibet, which strongly supported independence. Dolan later became the OSS representative to the Chinese Communists. Smith, *OSS*, 254–55, 265–66.
 66. “Donovan to President re: OSS Position in China, SACO, and Dai Li,” June 1, 1944, 2, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents. Caldwell reported one operation in which the Americans sent a SACO team of Chinese agents into Shanghai to set up an intelligence net. After weeks passed without news, the U.S. commander of the project discovered that Dai Li’s agents were holed up in a village about fifty miles away. “They had various excuses, but the truth was they had no intention of going to Shanghai as American spies. It was too dangerous. Furthermore, Dai Li just did not want the expedition to be a success.” Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 58–59.
 67. Shen, “SACO Reexamined,” 6.
 68. Major Carl Hoffmann to General Donovan, “SACO—TAI LI Report,” July 25, 1944, OSS Papers, VII.3.

23. DAI LI'S WARTIME SMUGGLING NETWORKS

1. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation, 1937-1945*, 3-4.
2. Almost anything could be exchanged for a price. When OSS officer Oliver Caldwell asked Chinese intelligence agents about buying a car, one of Dai Li's men told him they could have a new Japanese-assembled 1942 Buick delivered from Shanghai to Chongqing for three million *fabi*, or about US 15,000. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 102.
3. The OSS estimated the total value of the trade between Free China and the occupied areas to be US 120 million in 1940. Madancy, "Propaganda vs. Practice," 35. See also "Trade between Occupied China and Free China"; R&A no. 2121 East China Coast, Nov. 1, 1944 (OSS reel no. 2, document no. 8), 47; Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship," 278-79.
4. Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, 171.
5. Pan, *Tracing It Home*, 85.
6. Regarding General Dai's trip to Jieshou Bishop Megan told Everett Drumwright that "It is well known, of course, that this trade is extremely lucrative, that various Chinese military officers (notably General Tang Enbo) are engaged in various ways in this trade, and that such trade is carried on in agreement with the Chinese puppets (and probably the Japanese)." The bishop, who had his own intelligence network in north China, added that he had heard that Dai was unhappy with General Tang's part in this enterprise. Dispatch no. 2494 of Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss to Secretary of State, enclosing a dispatch of March 28, 1944, from Everett F. Drumwright, Second Secretary on Detail at Xi'an, cited in May, *China Scapegoat*, 473.
7. "Report of an American Who Escaped from Peking on May 21, 1943," July 31, 1943, in General William J. Donovan, Selected OSS Documents, file no. 62.
8. Contemporary documents noted the relative ease of movement between Free China, Occupied China, and the Communist areas. The regular postal service continued to operate throughout most of China. "People and Government in East Asia (A Survey of Conditions in Fuchien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu)," 56. See also Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship," 277-78.
9. Li Zhenghua, "Jiu yiba shibian' zhi qi qi shibian' qi jian Riben zai Huabei zoushi lue," 55.
10. See, for Du Yuesheng's China Industry and Commerce Trust Company, and the National Tongji Company, including the latter's connection with Japanese military intelligence, Martin, "Resistance and Cooperation," 11-12; and Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shihui*, 103.
11. Hunan sent rice, of which it annually produced about 5.7 million tons, or 15 percent of the total crop for Free China, in both directions.
12. "Trade between Occupied China and Free China," 1-2.
13. The world's largest deposit of wolfram is in the Daiyu Mountains of southern Jiangxi and northern Guangdong. Daiyu wolfram reserves amounted to an estimated one million tons and yielded 60 percent pure tungsten. *Ibid.*, 3.
14. After Pearl Harbor there was an urgent demand for gasoline in Shanghai, where there was hardly a drop to be found in spite of the Shanghainese's love affair

with the automobile. Although many cars' engines were adapted quickly for wood and charcoal combustion, many gasoline burners remained, so that the "new aristocrats" (*xingui*) who had buried gasoline-filled jerry cans in their gardens were able to make tremendous black market profits. Chen Cunren, *Kangzhan shidai shenghuo shi*, 308.

15. "Trade between Occupied China and Free China," 1. For other smuggling routes, see Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship," 279-82.
16. This information is taken from a CIC interrogation of the Japanese captain in charge of the Naval Special Service Department in Hankou. Report 9710, Jan. 8, 1939, 3a, U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, China, 1911-1941.
17. Part of their reward as Japanese agents was the opportunity to extort money from travelers. "People and Government in East Asia (A Survey of Conditions in Fuchien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu)," 56.
18. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 102. During a working meeting (*gongzuo huiyi*) at Juntong headquarters on April 5, 1941, the MSB leaders noted the ease of crossing enemy lines at smuggling junctions and took this as a convenient way to move Juntong agents in and out of occupied areas. Tang Zong, "Cong jieshi Dai Li dao renzhi shicong shi," part 1, p. 109. See also *Dai Li zhisi*, 2.
19. "If Japan gains control of the north-south railway through central China, thus creating a barrier between Free and Occupied China, and if the Japanese blockade of Free China is made effective by the elimination of trading and graft among the Japanese military, Free China will be in a truly desperate economic position." "Trade between Occupied China and Free China."
20. Juntong's Hubei Station, whose four hundred agents were originally headquartered in Wuhan, regularly engaged in smuggling. By November 1938 it had moved to a provisional headquarters in Enshi county, where it combined its guerrilla activities with traffic in contraband. The Wuhan police, meanwhile, fell under the control of the collaborationist Liu Hanru, until the latter was dismissed by the puppet mayor, Zhang Renli (Zhang Zhidong's son). Li Chuqiao, "Huiyi Enshi shiqi de Juntong Hubei zhan," 111-14; Liu Yuanxue, "Ri wei Wuhan jingcha zongjian, Liu Hanru," 82.
21. "Trade between Occupied China and Free China," 3-4; OSS XL13558, "China's Intelligence Activities in India," July 10, 1945, 2; Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship," 281-82. The coastal smuggling trade was conducted mainly by pirates sailing out of Shenjiamen on Zhoushan Island. Some of these were "puppet pirates" licensed by the Japanese to promote the lucrative opium traffic into Free China and obtain goods such as wood, rice, tung oil, paper, and gold to be sold in the occupied zone. On the side they also conveyed passengers between Shanghai and ports in Zhejiang, Fujian, and Guangdong. Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, R&A no. 2121, East China Coast, Nov. 1, 1944 (OSS reel 2, document no. 8), 38:246-47, 250; "People and Government in East Asia (A Survey of Conditions in Fuchien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu)," 58.
22. "People and Government in East Asia (A Survey of Conditions in Fuchien, Chekiang, and Kiangsu)," 41.
23. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 165.

24. Song Ziwen originally ordered Zeng Xigui, a West Point graduate, to train the Tax Police regiment. It is said that Chiang Kai-shek took this as a sign that Song was driven to seize political power, and so was disposed both to deprive him of command of the Tax Police and to make H. H. Kung (Kong Xiangxi) minister of finance in Song's stead. Zhu Shikang, "Guanyu Guomindang guanliao ziben de jianwen," 74.
25. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 115.
26. Ibid.
27. The fire may have been part of a "scorched earth" (*huoshao*) policy originally determined by Chiang Kai-shek. Changsha burned for three days and nights. Its flames, visible for tens of miles, consumed more than fifty thousand homes, and countless people were killed, yet the conflagration failed to deter the Japanese, who simply skirted the city as they pressed forward. When Chiang viewed the devastation, he furiously scapegoated his underlings, executing Feng Ti as well as the chief of the provincial police. Ma Zhendu, *Xue ran huihuang*, 210.
28. "This bureau has 350 control units and three score inspection units. Dai Li issues the permits for the moving of supplies. Transport of people and commodities by road, by railroad, or by airline is under his authority." Adeline Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 15. In the northwest, for example, Juntong controlled the *jiancha suo*, which was also responsible for air transport. According to other sources, Dai Li was the bureau chief in 1942. The chief secretary was Wang Fuzhou, who was later replaced by Lou Guowei. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 117. Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 226.
29. This extended to aviation inspection (including approval of the issuance of airplane tickets), which was put in Juntong's hands after Wang Jingwei's escape. The Hangkong jiancha jigou (Organ for Control of Aviation) was eventually brought under the Military Affairs Commission's Water, Land, and Air Communications Unified Inspection Department (Shuilukong jiaotong tongyi jiancha chu), of which the airlines portion was one of the most lucrative posts in Juntong's wartime apparatus. Its inspectors dealt in the black market in airplane tickets and negotiated directly with some of the biggest jewelry and gold smugglers in Chongking. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 124; Zhang Weihai. "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 113.
30. Li Meili, "Kangzhan shidai de zousi huodong yu zousi shizhen," 16-17.
31. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 117.
32. These included the Zhonglian gongsi under the protection of General Gu Zhutong; the Tongyi gongsi under Wang Genzhong, a deputy for the Jiangsu provincial government; the Tongji gongsi, owned by Du Yuesheng; and so on. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 118. When the Pacific War began in December 1941, Du Yuesheng was on one of his trips to Chongqing, where he remained for the rest of the war. He had established a textile mill and a flour mill in Chongqing and a paper mill in Kunming in 1939, so part of his time was devoted to his legitimate businesses and to the development of China Bank of Commerce. At the same time he continued to cooperate closely with Dai Li in underground work. In March 1942 Du established the Chinese Industrial Trust Company (Zhonghua shiye xintuo gongsi), which received help from

- Dai Li's Transport Police as it purchased goods in central and southeastern China and conveyed them to the interior for sale. Ibid., 113; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:329.
33. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 113. The single most important Japanese special service unit (*tokumu kikan*) operating in China after 1938 was the Bamboo Agency (Take kikan), or Doihara Agency, which included the greatest of the Japanese "old China hands," Banzai Rihachiro. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 162-63. For Major General Doihara Kenji as the "Laurence of Manchuria," see Deacon, *Kempei Tai*, 141.
 34. In the spring of 1943 Zhu Huiqing, who worked in the transport management office of the Ministry of Finance, proposed to Dai Li that they establish a Shanghai office to buy cotton cloth and other goods for transport into Free China. The company was run by two of Du Yuesheng's Shanghai lieutenants, Xu Cai-cheng and Wan Molin, who had close connections with the Plum Organ. Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 102.
 35. The office, which was managed by Zhang's deputy Chen Qingxian, was located at Chun'an. Ibid.
 36. Ibid. The joint venture was named the Meizhen Company.
 37. Zhao's nickname was Zhao Wanwan (One Hundred Million Zhao), while his Wenzhou-based nephew Zhao Ziqing was known as Zhao Qianwan (Ten Million Zhao). The deputies were Tong Xiang, head of the Lin[hai]-Huang[yan] station, and Shou Ting, in charge of the Longquan transport control office. Ibid., 117.
 38. Ibid. Nicknamed Amah or Amao, "Colonel Chang [Zhang] is a small-sized, tremendously brave man who often affects the attire of a boatman or beggar when he wants to enter Shanghai or such a center. He enjoys the hero worship of the people in his region. He was a private citizen of no importance before the war and, illiterate as he is, represents the common people at its best." Adeline Gray, "The Loyal Patriotic Army: A Guerilla Organization Under Tai Li," 19-20. Gray, escaping from Shanghai after Pearl Harbor, spent January to May 1942 with the LPA in Pudong. Ibid., 18.
 39. Upon his release Zhao Shirui was transferred to the training program for field-grade officers in the army and given advanced military instruction. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 116-17.
 40. Eastman, "Facets of an Ambivalent Relationship," 277.
 41. Dai Li's deputy was Zeng Yangfu; his chief secretary, Tu Shoumei; head of transport, Zhang Yanyuan; political training director, Chen Shixian; chief of security, Huang Yifu; director of management, Mao Zongliang; successive directors of general affairs, Yang Longhu and Guo Bin; head of communications, Hu Ziping; and director of wireless broadcasting, Chen Yibai. Ibid., 112-17; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 156. The chief inspector (*duchazhang*) was Lian Mou, and the chief secretary Tu Shoumei. In 1942 the Office for the Interdiction of Smuggling was placed under the Confidential Section (*Jiyao ke*) of Juntong. Its secretary, Wang Fuzhou, was given responsibility for the *Jisi shu*.
 42. Training units were set up at Chongqing, Hengyang, and Xi'an under the supervision of Tao Yishan, among others. Personnel were chosen from Juntong se-

- cret agent ranks and transferred to these antismuggling units to act as basic cadres. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 114-15.
43. Xu Zongyao, "Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qianqian houhou," 206. See also Stratton, "Navy Guerrilla," 85.
 44. Epstein, *The unfinished Revolution in China*, 238n.
 45. These were Jia Youhui, Wang Qingyun, He Xingjian, and Tang Yisheng. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 115.
 46. Ibid.
 47. The head of the Green Gang, Du Yuesheng, attended prayer meetings at H. H. Kung's house in Shanghai and in 1936 was baptized a Christian. Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 38. When Kung was building his mansion outside Nanjing's Zhonghua Gate, he had dealings with Huang Renlin, one of the leaders of the gangster-dominated Lizhishe. Huang introduced Kung to Li Junyao, who in exchange for supervising the construction workers was made head of the Currency Issuing Bureau of the Central Bank (Zhongyang yinhang huobi faxing ju). Li and Huang then introduced H. H. Kung to Lin Shiliang, who performed the same kind of trouble shooting, especially vis-à-vis transport workers and truck company owners. Kung rewarded Lin correspondingly with positions as head of the General Affairs Section (Shiwu ke) and the Transportation Section (Yunshu ke) of the Central Bank. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 115.
 48. Between 1937 and 1941 Hong Kong was an important entry point for strategic materials bound for Free China. Chan, *China, Britain and Hong Kong, 1895-1945*, 265.
 49. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 115.
 50. Ibid., 115-16.
 51. Meanwhile the confiscated goods, which had originally been assessed at a value of 16 million yuan, rose in value to a total of 60 million yuan, 10 percent of which was handed over to Dai Li's organization for administrative improvements.
 52. Ibid. Foreigners attributed the execution order to Dai Li. Gray, "China's Number Two Man," 12.
 53. H. H. Kung had his own private squad of retainers who carried a special mark on their ID cards and on the back of their clothing that gave them special authority to bully others. They operated closely with the Juntong Jicha suo guard post near Kung's villa on the side of Huxiakou Mountain at the Southern Hot Springs (Nan wenquan). Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 100-101.
 54. Ibid. Song Ailing was vehemently opposed to Dai Li. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 156-57.
 55. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 2, July 23, 1989, n.p.
 56. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 156-57.
 57. The chargé d'affaires added, however, that according to a personal friend of Dai Li, the general had not been dismissed but was ordered thenceforth to restrict himself to the more legitimate phases of Juntong's activities, namely "military and political intelligence in the occupied areas and counterespionage." His former political police activities were supposedly taken over by his brother-in-law from his first marriage, Mao Chin Hsiang [Mao Renfeng]. Atcheson to

- Secretary of State, Chongqing, Sept. 10, 1943, in Foreign Relations of the United States. Diplomatic Papers, 1943, 112–13.
58. The Special Operations Army evolved out of the Courage Brigades (Fenyong dui) set up by Chiang Kai-shek in September 1939 to serve as guerrilla forces. Hu Xiaohua, “Cong Fenyong dui dao Biedong jun,” 137–38.
 59. The deputy head was Major General Zhang Yanyuan. The inspectorate commanded two additional communications inspectorate brigades (*jiaotong xuncha zongdui*) under Colonel Shi Renchong, while each local inspection station (*jian-chasuo zhan*) continued to function as it had before the reorganization. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 113.
 60. Ibid.
 61. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 243. The opium transports were often guarded by convoys of Du Yuesheng’s armed gangsters. Marshall, “Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China,” 41–42.
 62. Walker, “China’s Master Spy,” 162.
 63. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 37. See also “Talk by Admiral Miles before the Conference of the New York State Association of Police Chiefs, Schenectady, New York, July 24, 1957,” in Miles, Personal Papers, Box 3.

24. JUNTONG IN WARTIME CHONGQING

1. Kapp, “Chungking as a Center of Warlord Power,” 150.
2. A branch was also established in Chengdu as the Rong Group (Rongzu) under He Longqing.
3. The Rongzu reported to Ye Daoxin at 27 Paotongshu Street. Zhou Zhendong, “Dai Li tewu Yusanke,’ Rongzu,’ ji Xi Kangzu’ zai junshi fangmian de huodong,” 280.
4. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 353–54. Even before Nanjing fell in December 1937, the Guomindang had already designated Chongqing its wartime capital. McIsaac, “The Limits of Chinese Nationalism,” 46.
5. Han Fujun was ostensibly executed for surrendering Shandong to the Japanese. A more immediate reason was his quasi-involvement in this plot. Shen Meijuan, *Dai Li xin zhuan*, 359.
6. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 206. After Liu Xiang’s death, Liu Chengzhi—one of the Lixingshe founders—became the provincial director of Juntong in Sichuan. Although members of his immediate family fled to Taiwan in 1949 (his daughter was married to the brilliant German sinologist Helmut Martin), Liu Chengzhi himself died in Fushun prison in 1972.
7. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 103.
8. There were additional Juntong branches scattered throughout the city at 82 Ganjiang Street, 1 Haiguan xiang, Lao Street, Shihuishi, Maan shan, and Fuxingguan. In addition, there was a major MSB office in the suburbs at Ciqikou. Huang Kangyou, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 165.
9. All documentation involving the operations of the first and second departments had to be reported to Chiang Kai-shek (the *jia* [“a”] report) and to Dai Li (the *wu* [referring to the year of Dai’s birth] report). Deng Baoguang, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong,” 151.

10. The Investigations Department was located in the Chongqing Vocational School (Chongqing zhiye xuexiao) at Shihui shi. It was a nefarious place of torture. Passersby averted their gaze or went out of their way to avoid walking directly by it. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 88.
11. Shen Zui estimates that during the War of Resistance there were sometimes more than twenty thousand Juntong agents in Chongqing along with their sub-agents or *paoerpai* (runners). *Ibid.*, 83.
12. Liu Zhi had trained a corps of his own secret agents in Henan and planned to transfer them into the Investigations Department. This was partly at the urging of his wife, who had connived with these “retainers” in Henan to extort money from the populace. Dai Li not only refused to accept Liu Zhi’s secret policemen but ordered the garrison commander to dissolve his own staff office’s Investigations Department (Diaochachu). When Liu Zhi’s wife berated him for giving in, Liu pointedly reminded her that Chiang Kai-shek had delegated his authority in this regard to Dai Li. A similar situation occurred when the deputy garrison commander, Guo Jiqiao, objected to Juntong Jichachu officers’ conducting arrests without his permission. Shen Zui, who was then deputy head of the Investigations Department, simply told Guo that the Jichachu operated under the direct command of the Military Affairs Commission, that is, Chiang himself. *Ibid.*, 87–88.
13. Assignment to the department sometimes amounted to a form of probation, especially when Dai Li was uncertain whether to punish an officer or not. For example, Guo Zongyao, chief of the Investigations Department of the Yuanling Garrison Command, was suspected of corruption, though evidence was lacking. After a term in the Central Investigations Department he was promoted to the post of confidential secretary in Dai Li’s own office. Zuo Ming, head of the Investigations Department of the Hanzhong Garrison Command, had divulged Dai Li and Chiang Kai-shek’s decision to make Zhu Shaozhou governor of Shaanxi. Because Dai Li abhorred security leaks, he was prepared to have Zuo executed. However, Governor Zhu pleaded for clemency on Zuo’s behalf and, after appointing him for a stint in the Chongqing Investigations Department, eventually named Zuo chief of police. Huang Jiachi, who was a close friend of Huo Kuizhang, was thought to be secretly in cahoots with Chen Cheng, one of Dai Li’s major rivals, and Dai therefore had him posted to the Investigations Department, where his performance earned him the directorship of the Department to Control Smuggling (Jisichu) in Guizhou. *Ibid.*, 88–89.
14. By selecting a deputy likely to become future head of the department, Dai Li intentionally created a competitive friction between the incumbent and his successor in order to divide and rule. *Ibid.* Liao Gongshao was one of the Juntong officers specifically assigned to deal with puppet agents working for Zhou Fohai’s secret service in the Wang Jingwei regime. Liao himself was arrested by the Japanese, then mysteriously released to return to Chongqing, where Dai Li forgave him and made him a major general. *Ibid.*, 104–5; Cheng Yiming, “Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li’ de buchong, dingzheng,” 243.
15. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 89–90. During the more than six years Shen Zui was in Chongqing, he served as head of the Main Detective Brigade (Zhenji dadui) of the police force, chief inspector and assistant department chief of the Inves-

- tigations Department of the Garrison Command's Guards Division (Weishu zongsiling bu), and head of the General Affairs Department of Juntong. Ibid., 87.
16. The various *kezhang* (section chiefs) in charge included Ji Xianxun and Wang Qiufang. Ibid., 90.
 17. This section was successively headed by Wang Xisheng and Song Tingjun. Ibid.
 18. The two heads, in succession, were Xiao Maoru and Cha Suizhi. Ibid.
 19. Ibid., 90-91. Chiang Kai-shek loathed the very sight of the Communist newspaper *Xinhua ribao*, and the Generalissimo frequently harangued MSB officers for failing to close down the newspaper. The Investigations Department occasionally sent out squads of hoodlums to beat up newsboys and seize their copies of the paper. Ibid., 106.
 20. It included a brigade of thirty-odd prison guards who were no more than common soldiers, but who used their special Juntong status during off-duty hours to extort funds from Chongqing merchants. Ibid., 97.
 21. Ibid., 113.
 22. Ibid., 122-23.
 23. This group was successively headed by Cao Wandao, Yi Xiaofu, Xiao Zhijian, and Lei Hechun. Ibid., 91-92.
 24. Ibid.
 25. Ibid., 94.
 26. The section also employed a small number of Westerners, including a tall Dutchman with jug ears who had taken Chinese citizenship and renamed himself Liu. His beat included the foreign correspondents' club. Israel Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
 27. A major member of the FAIG, Gu Yihua, was assigned the job of accompanying Chiang Kai-shek to the Cairo Conference as a secretary to Xu Nianzeng from the Foreign Ministry. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 94.
 28. It will come as no surprise that members of Group Three pursued their own illegal ends by extorting money from movie theater owners on the grounds that their films were subversive, or by turning female informants into prostitutes and pimping on the side. Ibid., 94-97, 114. For the upriver/downriver distinction in wartime Chongqing, see McIsaac, "The Limits of Chinese Nationalism," 50, 95-99.
 29. When hotel personnel spotted Jicha suo agents approaching, they would cry out *Wang Sixin xiansheng zai bu zai jia* (Is Mr. Wang Sixin in the house?). The characters *wang*, *si*, and *xin* together make up the word *xian*, as in *xianbing* (military police). Accidents often occurred, such as the shooting of Xie Zhipan, a Juntong agent who was the younger brother of backbone cadre Xie Ligong. Dai Li was usually very forgiving in such instances. "As long as it doesn't create a major disturbance, then it's all right for an individual to have a mishap involving another individual." Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 95-96.
 30. Ibid., 97-98.
 31. The rivalry was somewhat mitigated by the joint appointment of the chief of detectives as a group head (*zuzhang*) of the Yu tequ (see below). Ibid., 108-9.
 32. Miss Kong, who frequently dressed as a male while dashing around Chongqing in her coupe, did not hesitate to call one of the section chiefs of the Investiga-

- tion Department “a tiny little major general” and insist that he come by her house and apologize abjectly for having forced her car to stop when she refused to lower her high beams in the face of his own vehicle. *Ibid.*, 102.
33. Shen Zui commanded the *dadui* for four months, being followed by Xu Zhongwu, Li Lianfu, and Tan Rongzhang. During his tenure he turned each of the *fendui* (platoons) into *zhongdai* (companies), and the smaller *zu* into *xiaodui* (squads). For a roster of *dai* heads, see *ibid.*, 111, 113-14.
 34. This was where Shen Zui’s predecessor, a hardened street cop named Pu Gang, handed over the command of the brigade when he was forcibly retired. *Ibid.*, 108.
 35. *Ibid.*, 109.
 36. Members included Li Qiaoyi, a sworn brother of Shi Xiaoxian, one of the leaders of the Chongqing gowned brothers society (*dapaoge*); and Zhang Kedong, well connected to the world of journalism. *Ibid.*, 110-11. A number of “gowned brothers” were members of the Mobilization Committee (Renmin dongyuan weiyuanhui), which reported directly to Juntong. McIsaac, “The Limits of Chinese Nationalism,” 180.
 37. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 115-17. In 1942 Dai Li decided to set up an additional detective brigade (*zhencha dadui*), headed by Wang Huiyun and housed in a hotel on Minsheng Road. Most of the brigade’s two hundred detectives were Juntong agents who were crack pistol shots and whose real mission was to act as a reserve force in the event of public outbursts, riots, or other “Communist-led” conspiracies. They were ostensibly on hand in case Japanese paratroop commandos penetrated Chongqing’s defenses. *Ibid.*, 106-7.
 38. *Ibid.*, 85; Huang Kangyou, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 157.
 39. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 84.
 40. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 107.
 41. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 118-19.
 42. *Ibid.*, 119-20.
 43. *Ibid.*, 86. See, for examples of such surveillance, pp. 84, 92, 105-6.
 44. “Departure of Wang Ching-wei,” in Ch’én Lifu Materials, 15.
 45. Wakeman, *The Shanghai Badlands*, 60, 166.
 46. For instance, Epstein and others went to see the Australian ambassador, Frederick William Eggleston, to protect a Chinese friend whose life was probably saved by the ambassador’s statement of concern to Nationalist authorities. Epstein, interview by the author, Beijing, Mar. 10, 1985.
 47. OSS, XL-7931, “Disappearance of Professor Fei Kung,” George Atcheson, Chargé, to Secretary of State, Mar. 26, 1945, in Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Army, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division, 2. The U.S. authorities believed that Fei, a relatively obscure person, had been abducted because of “lack of friends at court,” which made his disappearance “less embarrassing,” while “still serv[ing] as a warning to others.” See also Atcheson to Secretary of State, Apr. 26, 1945, enclosure 255, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs.
 48. OSS, XL-7931, “Disappearance of Professor Fei Kung,” 2; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 261; Zhang Weihuan. “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 137.
 49. OSS, XL-7931, “Disappearance of Professor Fei Kung,” 2.

50. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 261–62.
51. Ye Xiufeng was appointed head of Zhongtong in December 1939. *Minguo renwu da cidian*, 254.
52. *Ibid.*, 263.
53. *Ibid.*, 264–65; Zhang Weihan, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 137.
54. The head of the section, Liao Zongze, shared direction of this operation with the local Zhongtong head, He Peirong.
55. In 1946, during the Nationalist-Communist negotiations, the CCP delegation brought up the names of Luo and Che. Chiang Kai-shek ordered the MSB to execute them. On August 18 the head of the Baigongguan lockup, Lu Jingqing, had them killed on the slopes just outside SACCO’s Happy Valley headquarters. *Ibid.*, 136–37.
56. “[By 1940] they had developed into a tremendous organization which devoted itself almost entirely to its pre-war activities and carried out purges, arrests, and hushed up killings all over the country.” Epstein, *The Unfinished Revolution in China*, 129.
57. This was true of Zhongtong as well. Xu, *The Invisible Confrontation*, 162–63.
58. One agent, surnamed Xu, was particularly successful at penetrating Communist underground networks in Chongqing. A *linxunban* graduate, he went on after the war to become head of the Beijing Railway Police Office and often led Traffic Police and guerrilla forces to attack Communist partisan units along the railway. He boasted that he had personally killed or wounded more than three hundred men during those operations. Later, as the last days of Nationalist rule waned, Xu organized anti-Communist guerrilla operations along the Yunnan-Guizhou border. *Ibid.*, 35. See also p. 100.
59. *Ibid.*, 113. In this regard, formal jurisdictions within Juntong mattered less than the agents at hand. Because the Political Intelligence Department had cultivated an informant within the Soviet trade mission, it was allowed to run the agent, even though by rights the Foreign Affairs Investigation Group was the responsible Juntong unit. *Ibid.*, 94.
60. Qijiang was a special GMD training camp (*gantuan*) whose director was suspected of leftist leanings. On the basis of utterly flimsy evidence, MSB agents accused him and his henchmen of transmitting secret information to the Communists. Zhang Shizhao, “Shu Qijiang yu,” 64–65.
61. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 93–94.
62. *Ibid.*, 92–93, 120.
63. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 120–21. Communist propaganda authorities continued to tout *Red Crag* long after the Cultural Revolution was over. On the eve of the television broadcast of ten installments of *Red Crag* beginning June 8, 1985, Beijing’s evening newspaper announced that “This kind of television drama, which reflects revolutionary martyrs’ staunch Communist conviction and lofty thoughts and ideals, will inspire the broad masses to profoundly cherish the memory of these revolutionary martyrs and will stimulate their revolutionary ardor for the task of constructing the socialist Four Modernizations, as well as be vivid teaching material for carrying out education in patriotism and education in the revolutionary tradition among numerous teenagers.” Xie Guichang, “Zhongyang dianshitai ming wan qi bo shi ji dianshiju Hong yan,” 4.

64. Lo and Yang, *Red Crag*, 195. See also pp. 167-70, 423, 433, and 445.
65. *Ibid.*, 205.
66. Each arsenal had its own investigation group (*jichazu*) of approximately two dozen men and a guard battalion (*jingwei dadui*) of two to four hundred soldiers. The former reported to Dai Li and was credited with uncovering several CCP branches and more than one hundred Communist activists at Kunming's Arsenal No. 52. A former worker who often conversed with members of Arsenal No. 10 recalled that, "One turned pale at the mere mention of the investigations sections' (*jichachu*) control within the arsenal. It was terrifying. Many people disappeared for no reason." Howard, "Workers at War: Labor in the Nationalist Arsenals of Chongqing, 1937-1949," draft version, ch. 6, p. 7. See also McIsaac, "The Limits of Chinese Nationalism," 80, 146-49.
67. Howard, "Workers at War: Labor in the Nationalist Arsenals of Chongqing, 1937-1949," draft version, ch. 6, p. 10.
68. Zhou Enlai, "On Building a Solid, Strong and Combative Party Organization in the Southwest Provinces." Concluding speech at the Southern Bureau Conference, Chongqing, January 1942, in *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, 1:110-11.
69. In January 1942 Zhou Enlai had instructed members of a Chongqing conference of the Southern Bureau of the CCP Central Committee that, "First and foremost, we must acquaint ourselves with both the normal activities and the emergency measures of the central and local Guomindang authorities, and those of their secret agencies in particular." *Selected Works of Zhou Enlai*, 1:129. When Chiang Kai-shek summarized the reasons for the GMD's defeat after his government retreated to Taipei, he repeatedly emphasized the CCP's awesome ability to infiltrate leading military and security organs. "There was no hole they did not enter" (*Wu kong bu ru*). Eastman, "Who Lost China?" 663-64; Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 166.
70. Luo Qingchang, "Zhou Enlai shi wo dang wo jun dianxun, jiyao he qingbao gongzuo de chuangjianzhe he lingdao zhe," 77.
71. Yu, *OSS in China*, 42-43.
72. *Ibid.*, 44.
73. Tang, from Hefei, had studied in the Soviet Union. Liu Huisheng, "Yige Juntong ren yuan de panni," 128.
74. This force, assembled in January 1949, initially consisted of seven or eight thousand men. Liao Yunsheng's brother, Yunze, assisted. *Ibid.*, 127-28.
75. Zhang Gongxia was also known as Zhang Taiwang. *Ibid.*, 128-30.
76. In March 1949 the 110th was ordered to Hangzhou to consolidate Nationalist authority there. By then the Communist agent Zhang Gongxia was serving as a military adviser to Liao Yunsheng. In April 1949, after the Liberation Army crossed the Yangzi, the 110th was ordered to Fujian, where it mutinied on May 4. *Ibid.*, 130-34.
77. Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China*, 455; Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China*, 255; May, *China Scapegoat*, 94.
78. Huang Kangyou, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 157.
79. During the last year of the War of Resistance, the Communists were also intent upon co-opting puppet officials. In February 1945 General Wedemeyer received a letter from Zhu De, dated January 23, 1945, Yan'an, requesting a 20

- million loan from the Americans to destroy or buy over puppet forces. The loan was to be repaid by the Chinese Communists after Japan was defeated. Translation of letter from Zhu De to Wedemeyer, enclosing "Project and Budget for Destroying and Bringing over Puppet Forces during 1945," enclosure 2 to Dispatch no. 170, Feb. 23, 1945, from the American Embassy Chongqing, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs.
80. Dispatch no. 2494 of Ambassador Clarence E. Gauss to Secretary of State, enclosing a dispatch of Mar. 28, 1944, from Everett F. Drumright, Second Secretary on Detail at Xi'an. Cited in May, *China Scapegoat*, 470. Drumwright reported that Dai had returned from Henan to Xi'an the previous week.
 81. Smith, *OSS*, 275.
 82. May, *China Scapegoat*, 208-9. According to *Wedemeyer Reports*, 317, Drew Pearson later attributed the Amerasia case and John S. Service affair to the work of Dai Li's agents, "operating undercover in the USA against anyone opposed to Chiang Kai-shek!" Quoted in May, *China Scapegoat*, 277-78.
 83. Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3:385.
 84. See, for Hurley's "swallow[ing] the [Guomindang's] propaganda hook, line, and sinker," Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 110.
 85. "Wedemeyer's headquarters was so sensitive to maintaining friendly relations with Yan'an that a special investigative board was convened to determine whether or not the American officers in SACO were assisting Dai Li's guerrillas in attacks on Communist forces." Smith, *OSS*, 275-76.
 86. By February 1945, however, there were American military reports of regiment-level engagements between Communist forces and the Loyal and Patriotic Army in Zhejiang. Dai Li was said to have ordered the LPA units to cease fighting "as use of American weapons . . . against Communists would prove embarrassing to Central Government. More probably reason for such order, if given, would be to prevent loss of American weapons to Communist troops." Naval Attaché to Secretary of State, Chongqing via Navy, Feb. 24, 1945, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs.
 87. Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3:385.
 88. May, *China Scapegoat*, 143.
 89. OSS, XL47370, "Chungking: Comments on Political Situation by Democratic League Leader," Mar. 21, 1946, in Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Army, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division, 2.
 90. Zheng Yiming, "Wen Yiduo bei ansha de neimu," 199.
 91. *Ibid.*, 199-200.
 92. *Ibid.*, 198, 200.
 93. According to Miles, this accusation was made by Zhou Enlai. Miles, *Personal Papers, Notes*, "Communists," Box 3.
 94. These included the chief of staff, Gu Zhutong; Gu's major aide, Leng Xin; the commander of the Military Police, Zhang Zhen; and the director of the Central Police Affairs Department (Jingwu chu) of the Central Military Headquarters, Zhou Jianxin. Cheng Yiming, "Wen Yiduo bei ansha de neimu," 201.

95. Cheng had just been appointed chief of the police department of the Guangdong-Hankou Railroad and was on his way to Hengyang when Chiang Kai-shek ordered him to fly to Kunming and work with Tang Zong. Several other older Juntong agents, including Li Yuzhen (head of the Yunnan department of police affairs), Wang Wei (Kunming intelligence station chief of the Baomiju), and Gong Shaoxia (chief of the Kunming municipal police), were seconded to work with him. *Ibid.*, 198–99.
96. *Ibid.*, 200.
97. *Ibid.*, 200–201.
98. *Ibid.*, 201–2.
99. *Ibid.*, 202.
100. Dai Li reputedly either “beheaded first then memorialized,” or “beheaded but did not memorialize.” After the “CC” clique lodged a complaint, Chiang Kai-shek insisted upon approving all executions; but Dai still continued to execute prisoners secretly. Li Renfu, “Juntong tewu jiguan xifeng jizhongying heimu,” 15.

25. FALLING STAR

1. Lary, “Violence, Fear, and Insecurity: The Mood of Republican China,” 62. See also Waldron, “The Warlord.”
2. This background also sustained the imagination of a huge Chinese audience in the 1950s and 1960s, fans of “Chinese public security literature,” which was full of tales about “ferreting out KMT [GMD] agents and enemy spies.” Kinkley, *Chinese Justice, the Fiction*, 245.
3. Torture, as described earlier in this book, was often depicted in movies from the late 1950s and early 1960s. The list of such films is a long one. See, for example, the movie depicting Juntong and Zhongtong agents, along with Japanese and puppet police, who tried to close down Communist Party shortwave transmission stations in Shanghai both during the Japanese Occupation and the Civil War that followed: *Yong bu xiaoshi de dianbo* (Radio waves that will never fade away), produced by Bayi dianying zhipianchang (August First Film Studio).
4. Transformative revolutionary regimes obviously incite a different kind of insecurity and search for enemies than traditional authoritarian forms of rule. Personal communication from Keith Schoppa.
5. Seybolt, “Terror and Conformity,” 68–69; Chen, “Reconsidering the Yan’an Way,” 1.
6. John S. Service, “Secret Security,” OSS Papers.
7. Chiang Kai-shek initially opposed sending a mission to Yan’an, but he dropped his objections after Vice President Henry Wallace visited China in June 1944. Smith, *OSS*, 262.
8. *Ibid.*, 273. In general, Dai Li was extraordinarily well informed about all U.S. intelligence activities in China. Miles, Personal Papers, “Memo to the Chief of the Information Branch, Central Planning Staff, Central Intelligence Group,” May 17, 1946n, Box 3, 2. Dai Li may have found out about the Dixie Mission from Colonel Morris DePass, who succeeded Colonel Barrett and then was dis-

- missed because he had a relationship with General Dai. Letter to the Chair, Center for Chinese Studies Library, Berkeley, from Wilbur J. Peterkin, who was commander of the Dixie Mission after Colonel DePass was dismissed. See also Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945*, x.
9. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 270; Yu, *OSS in China*, 189-93.
 10. There was such a plan, which Wedemeyer learned about on January 24. Colonel Bird's proposal involved placing special operations units of up to 5,000 Americans in Communist areas, providing equipment for 25,000 guerrillas, and supplying 100,000 Woolworth one-shot pistols for the people's militia. Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3:250-52.
 11. *Ibid.*, 3:252.
 12. Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China*, 239.
 13. Smith, *OSS*, 273-74.
 14. Romanus and Sunderland, *United States Army in World War II: China-Burma-India Theater*, 3:253.
 15. They were accompanied on the trip by Du Yuesheng, who remained in Chun'an until the Japanese surrendered. On September 3 Du finally returned to Shanghai. Guo Xuyin, *Jiu Shanghai hei shehui*, 101-2.
 16. One should not underestimate Chen Lifu's contribution to this handover. Chen sent a special envoy to Ding Mocun with the message, "Now that the war will soon end after the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima, I want all of you to do three things for us. Although you are traitors, if you carry out these requests I can guarantee that you will not be put to death." The three instructions were to refuse to allow the Chinese Communist New Fourth Army to take over Nanjing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou before the Nationalists arrived; to control the puppet troops along the Nanjing-Shanghai and Shanghai-Hangzhou railroads; and to allow Nationalist government troops to move immediately into the three above-named localities. These commissions were all carried out, and Ding would have been spared death had he not gotten a doctor's permission momentarily to escape custody and "amuse himself" with an excursion to Xuanwu Lake in Nanjing. A reporter spotted him and newspapers subsequently criticized the regime's leniency. Chiang Kai-shek had no choice but to order his execution. "Ting Mo-ts'un," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 8; Chang and Meyers, "The Storm Clouds Clear Over China," 227.
 17. Ding in turn named Juntong special agent Ge Guguang chief of provincial police. Puppet troops under the command of Xu Pucheng (head of the First Army) and Ding Xishan (head of the Tenth Army) were ordered to "hold on to your territories and await orders, maintaining local order." Other puppet units under Sun Liangcheng, Li Mingyang, and Li Changjiang were all enrolled in the regular Nationalist army. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 111, 149; "Interview with Mao Tsu-p'ei," 3. Chen Lifu concurred with this decision. "Ting Mo-ts'un," in Ch'en Lifu Materials, 5.
 18. Zhang Wei-han, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 112.
 19. Meanwhile, Cheng Yiming at Juntong headquarters and Feng Yukun in the Ministry of the Interior put together a list of people to be sent to various places

- to take over local police forces after the War of Resistance was over. Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 247.
20. The Juntong station in Shanghai was by then in considerable disarray. After station chief Jiang Beicheng was arrested, his successor Mao Zipei was seized in turn, escaping from captivity in November 1944 and leaving Shanghai altogether by the end of March 1945. "Interview with Mao Tsu-p'ei."
 21. The Shanghai office's chief of intelligence was Zhao Zhixi; operations, Cheng Yiming; personnel, Gong Xianfang; criminal investigation, Shen Weihai; inspectorate, Liao Huaping; and general affairs, Guo Bin. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 112, 148; Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 246; Marshall, "Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China," 42.
 22. Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*, 368.
 23. These puppets included Sun Dianying, Sun Liangcheng, Men Zhizhong, Zhang Lanfeng, and Li Yulin. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 149. See also Wang Zichen and Shu Jiheng, "Juntong tewu touzi Dai Li lai Tianjin de huodong qingkuang," 210-11.
 24. Gillin and Myers, eds., *Last Chance in Manchuria*, 145. This was part of a general reorganization of the north China branch of Juntong, which was commanded by Ma Hansan. A new unified Tianjin Station was formed under Chen Xianzhou after Dai Li visited the city in late November 1945. Wang Zichen and Shu Jiheng, "Juntong tewu touzi Dai Li lai Tianjin de huodong qingkuang," 209-12.
 25. At that time Wen Qiang held the rank of lieutenant general (*zhongjiang*). He was also chief of the police bureau of the northeastern sector, and of the inspectorate of the Bao'an garrison.
 26. One of General Li's Japanese advisers was a former South Manchurian Railway officer named Ueda, who was charged with forming a "Unit 85" to replace the southern units of the 94th Army with troops familiar with the area and acceptable to the local populations of Tianjin and Beiping. Ueda had been a member of the Black Dragon Society. "Shanghai Situation," OSS XL47359, Feb. 4, 1946, 5, Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Army, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division.
 27. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," *Zhong bao*, part 1, July 19.
 28. For a roster of this unit, see Zhang Rui, "Yuan Guomindang Juntongju dong-beiqu," 92.
 29. Its headquarters was located at No. 16 Guoji malu (International Road) in the Heping district of Shenyang. *Ibid.*
 30. The Teyanhui (which was an abbreviation for Tezhong wenti yanjiu hui, or Research Unit on Special Questions) was directed by Wen Qiang, whose deputies were Zhang Shuxun, Chen Xudong, and Wang Kaijiang. *Ibid.*, 91-92.
 31. In order to raise operational money, Juntong established three business enterprises in the northeast staffed by Japanese and Koreans: the Northeast Company (Dongbei gongsi), the Fumin Rice Hulling Mill (Fumin nianmi chang), and the Dongxing Enterprise Company (Dongxing qiye gongsi). *Ibid.*, 85-86. For Juntong's covert involvement with the Republic of Korea secret police, see *ibid.*, 96-100.

32. Ibid., 93.
33. Ibid., 84.
34. Fukuda was a lieutenant general in the Imperial Japanese Army who had served as a military attaché in Washington and who was fluent in English, French, and German. Ibid., 84.
35. Ibid., 88-90. Wen Qiang justified their release by saying that "Although these people were war criminals, now they have cooperated with our country in carrying out important work vis- -vis Japan." Quoted in *ibid.*, 88. The most prominent Japanese officers to collaborate with the Nationalist regime against the Communists included Colonel Tsuji Masanobu (an extremely knowledgeable intelligence officer who was a follower of Ishiwara Kanji) and General Okamura Yasuji (who had carried out the sanko seisaku but who was exonerated by a Shanghai court after advising the GMD government on civil war strategy). Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 331.
36. Zhang Rui, "Yuan Guomindang Juntongju dongbeiqu," 90.
37. Ibid., 86-87.
38. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 331.
39. Nanjing shi dang'anguan, eds., *Shenxun Wang wei Hanjian bilu*, 273, 294-95.
40. *Minzhu bao*, Chongqing, Mar. 18, 1946, in U.S. Information Service, Chinese Press Review, American Consulate General. Chen Gongshu, who was in jail then, recalled that in Beiping most of the twenty-six persons executed the day he expected to die were MSB agents. Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 564-65. See, for newspaper criticisms of the slow handling of puppet cases in the Shanghai area, *Dagongbao*, Jan. 19, 1946, 6, and *Shishi xinbao*, Jan. 30, 1946, 2, in U.S. Information Service, Chinese Press Review.
41. *Dai Li zhisi*, 10.
42. His attempt to fly the general manager of the Xinxin Company, Li Ze, to the United States was foiled, however, by the chief inspector of the Song-Hu Garrison Command, Bi Gaokui. Ibid.
43. The "traitors" included Gui Zhang, Li Fuqun, Xu Tingjie, and Guo Weimin. Ibid., 12; He Chongxiao, "Guomindang di'er fangmian jun sujian zhuan yuan banshichu yu Guangdong sujian weiyuanhui," 142-43.
44. *Dai Li zhisi*, 12.
45. Boyle, *China and Japan at War*, 333.
46. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 169. See also Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 112; Miles, Personal Papers, Chief of Naval Intelligence, "Future Handling of Business Concerning the Chinese Government," Apr. 18, 1947, Box 3; "China Convicts American, 67, as Taiwan Spy," 1, 11.
47. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," 1.
48. Stratton, "Navy Guerrilla," 84.
49. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 169.
50. He was also alarmed by the People's Political Consultative Conference's call for the abolition of secret service organs. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 1, July 19, 1989.
51. Just before his February 1946 trip to Beiping, Dai Li took Cheng Yiming into his office and behind closed doors said, "I want to tell you something for only you to know. Because the Communist Party in the joint ten-point memorandum has

- called for the abolition of special services organs, and because the Americans are urging our leader to abolish this bureau, [Chiang] has ordered Ye Xiufeng, Zhang Zhen, Li Shizhen, Xuan Tiewu, Zheng Jiemin, Tang Zong, and myself to deliberate together on how to abolish this bureau." Cheng Yiming, "Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang," 202-3.
52. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 3, July 23, 1989.
 53. Zhu Yuanheng, "Dai Li zuoji shishi jishi," 249. He was particularly hopeful of getting He Yingqin's support in case Dai were to ask leave from Chiang to take a trip to the United States to be out of the Generalissimo's line of fire. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 3, July 25, 1989. During this trip, which took him to Tianjin at the end of February 1946, Dai Li arrested several station chiefs in north China for embezzlement and sexual scandals. On a third visit to Tianjin in mid-March, Dai Li punished a number of Nationalist generals for having taken concubines while "eliminating traitors" under their occupation. Wang Zichen and Shu Jiheng, "Juntong tewu touzi Dai Li lai Tianjin de huodong qingkuang," 213-15.
 54. Dai Li reportedly hoped to continue to enjoy American military support against their common enemy, the Communists. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 278.
 55. Sol Adler, interview with author, Beijing, Mar. 9, 1985. Miles returned from the United States in September 1945 and, with Admiral Lee's backing, strongly supported Dai Li's candidacy for command of the Chinese navy. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 168. This may have been related to the U.S. Navy's wish to set up a separate military advisory group (which later became known as MAG) at Qingdao apart from a U.S. Army advisory mission. With varying support from Marshall and James V. Forrestal, this struggle continued through 1946, eventually resulting in a joint mission after February 1947. "Navy Department's Position Concerning Draft Agreement for United States Military Advisory Group to China," Feb. 4, 1947, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 893.20.
 56. At the time it was believed that Dai was planning to discuss suppression of the Communists with the American officer, who was making a last tour of China on the eve of his retirement. Dai Li had formed a close relationship with Cook when the Seventh Fleet was assigned to help transport Chiang Kai-shek's troops to take over parts of north China. Xu Zongyao, "Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qianqian houhou," 207.
 57. Dai Li ordered three top Juntong officers, Huang Tianmai, Ma Hansan, and Zhang Jiaquan, to make these arrangements. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 1, July 19, 1989. On Dai Li's attachment to flashy uniforms, see Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, ding-zheng," 242-43.
 58. "Dai Li was angry with Huang Zhenwu because the latter had promoted someone to be head of the capital police who was not a Dai Li nominee. In fact, Huang Zhenwu and Li Shizhen had recommended this person to Chiang Kai-shek directly, and Dai Li took this as a great loss of personal face." Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 2, July 21, 1989, n.p. For Xuan Tiewu's establishment of his own espionage apparatus, run by Green Gang members, see Chung, *Elitist Fascism*, 209.

59. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 2, July 21, 1989, n.p.
60. The residence was in the Shijinhua Garden. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. The telegram never reached Chiang. Mao Renfeng later told Wen Qiang, at the time of Dai Li's funeral, that he had felt some of the phrases in the document were impolitic and had therefore never forwarded the message to the Generalissimo. Ibid.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid.
65. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 3, July 23, 1989.
66. Ibid.
67. Dai Li did mention the possibility of a trip to America to Sun Lianzhong, the head of the Number Eleven Military Zone. Ibid.
68. Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158. Du Yuesheng had agreed to help Hu Die and her husband, Pan Yousheng, get divorce papers issued. After Dai's death, Pan took Hu Die to Hong Kong to live. "Butterfly" passed away in Canada on April 23, 1989. Huang Ren, "Hu Die de hun wai qing," 37; Shen Zui, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 4–5; Pan Ling, *Old Shanghai*, 196. But see Yu Yiqi, "Hu Die yu Dai Li," 35.
69. The original pilot was bumped from the flight. Zhao Xin, "Dai Li shuaisi qianhou," 274–79.
70. Juntong's Shanghai station was by then partly housed in the Donghu Mansion, a large art nouveau guesthouse erected by Du Yuesheng's followers and which is today a luxury restaurant. Xu Zhucheng, *Du Yuesheng zhengzhuan*, 55. The mansion is located on what was then Avenue Doumer. For details about the headquarters there, including material on Mao Sen's kidnapping of Rong Desheng and the "elimination of traitors" (*su jian*), see Cheng Yiming, "Dui Shen Zui Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li' de buchong, dingzheng," 246–48, 250; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 170.
71. His name is given elsewhere as Gong Xianfang. Zhu Yuanheng, "Dai Li zuoji shishi jishi," 249.
72. Ibid., 249–50; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158; Pan Ling, *Old Shanghai*, 195.
73. According to Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158, radio communications were cut off at 12:30 .
74. Zhu Yuanheng, "Dai Li zuoji shishi jishi," 249; Wang Zhi, "Dai Li zhi si yu Jiangning liang shan," 54; Huang Kangyong, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li," 158; "News of the Week." Dai Li's pilot was evidently flying at a lower-than-usual altitude to conserve fuel. Wen Qiang, "Dai Li si qian er san shi," part 4, July 25, 1989.
75. Pan Ling claims that the search went on for three days in the rain before eight corpses were found. I believe this is incorrect, both in terms of time and concerning the number of corpses. Including crew members, the total number of bodies was thirteen. Pan Ling, *Old Shanghai*, 196.
76. Zhu Yuanheng, "Dai Li zuoji shishi jishi," 249.
77. *Dagong bao*, Shanghai, Mar. 23, 1946, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930–39. See also U.S. Information Ser-

- vice, Chinese Press Review, American Consulate General, Shanghai, China, Mar. 25, 1946, 4.
78. *Shen bao*, Mar. 25, 1946, 2, in U.S. Information Service, Chinese Press Review.
79. One of the most fanciful stories was that Beiping's station chief, Ma Hazan, had collaborated closely with the Japanese, receiving one of the swords looted from Cixi's tomb as a reward. Kawashima Yoshiko, the infamous spy who was tried as a war criminal, used the sword (thanks to her status as a member of the Manchu imperial clan) to implicate Ma. Dai Li supposedly had the sword aboard his airplane as evidence to indict Ma, who helped arrange for the crash. *Shanghai tan*, 1 (1989); *Zhong-Wai zazhi*, 327: 40-44. Other accounts suggested that the Chen brothers had suborned the pilot, who parachuted out of the plane just before the crash. Feng Meiquan, "Jiefang qian Juntong zai Xi'an he Yinchuan de zuzhi yu huodong," 75.
80. *Zhongyang ribao*, Shanghai, Mar. 25, 1946, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930-39. *Central Daily* also reported that there were "many" American officials aboard. U.S. Information Service, Chinese Press Review, Mar. 25, 1946. See also *Dai Li zhisi*, 3.
81. Smith, *OSS*, 276.
82. Caldwell, *A Secret War*, 203.
83. "About the diameter of a garden hose, it was attached to an actual length of hose which was filled with explosives. All military planes had inspection ports in their tail section so our anerometer would neatly slide into the rear of the fuselage and fall into the ribs and struts out of sight. Whatever the airport's altitude, as soon as the plane carrying this device had risen five thousand feet above it, the tail section would blow off. Our biggest user was the Chinese force at Chongqing which got them into many Japanese planes." Lovell, *Of Spies and Stratagems*, 50.
84. *Ibid.*, 50.
85. *Dai Li zhisi*, 3.
86. Walker, "China's Master Spy," 169.
87. "News of the Week."
88. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 207. See also *Dagong bao*, Mar. 25, 1946, in U.S. Information Service, Chinese Press Review, American Consulate General, Shanghai, China, Mar. 26, 1946.
89. *Dai Li zhisi*, 3-4.
90. *Ibid.*, 4, 6-7.
91. *Ibid.*, 6. Dai Li's backers emphasized his "terroristic activities against [the Japanese] and their puppets" in Occupied China; his detractors claimed that he had devoted most of his energy to fighting the Communists and in hunting down liberals. "Death of Tai Li." See also *Xinhua ribao*, Chongqing, Apr. 7, 1946, in U.S. Consulate General (Chungking), Chinese Press Review, 5-7.
92. *Dai Li zhisi*, 3-4, 9.
93. For example, the former playboy and current head of the Traffic Police Bureau (Jiaotong jingcha zongju), Tang Shengming, was suspected by Mao Renfeng of plotting with Zhou Weilong to take over special operations and guards units in Hunan and Zhejiang. (During the Japanese occupation, Tang had commanded a five-thousand-man brigade of the puppet Peace Preservation Corps in Suzhou and Zhenjiang.) Zhou was arrested and Tang barely evaded an assassination

- squad of Juntong agents. Shen Zui, “Jiefang qianxi Juntong tewu zai Changsha de zui e huodong,” 191–93; Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 170; Chen Gongshu, *Kangzhan houqi fanjian huodong*, 365.
94. *Dagong bao*, Shanghai, Mar. 30, 1946, in Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of China, 1930–39.
 95. The carpetbagging that enriched both Juntong and its individual commanders was carried out under the auspices of a secret order establishing a “reparations research bureau” under the Supreme Economic Council. The functions of the bureau were 1) detecting, recording, and identifying all hidden enemy and puppet assets; 2) verifying and checking war indemnity claims; and 3) general economic intelligence activities. The bureau was invested with powers to 1) search private residences, companies, shops, offices, business establishments, godowns, banks, depots, and so forth; and 2) investigate records and accounts in all public and private organizations as authorized by the bureau’s director. Chinese secret document, n.d., in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945–49.
 96. In Shanghai, Dai Li and his men seized the mansion at 76 Jessfield Road, the buildings and fleet of the Japanese-run Dongfang yuye gongsi (Eastern Fishing Company), the Daxing sawmill, the Sanjiabanchang (Three Boards Factory), the Eastern Economic Research Institute and its attached library, the Japanese Navy Club, the Baolong Hospital, and more than four hundred cars. Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 170. See also Chen, *Making Revolution*, 213.
 97. Tong and Li, *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen*, 440–41.
 98. However, Juntong agents did manage to penetrate and take over Hu Zongnan’s former special services organ. One of these “moles” (*qianfu*), Colonel Feng Meiquan, defected to the Communists when Xi’an fell, handing over Juntong personnel lists to Generals Peng Dehuai and He Long. Feng Meiquan, “Jiefang qian Juntong zai Xi’an he Yinchuan de zuzhi yu huodong,” 86.
 99. *Dai Li zhishi*, 8–9.
 100. Li Zongren later wrote of the GMD recovery of Beijing, “Worst of all were the secret service men sent to Beijing by General Dai Li, chief of the Military Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. They openly claimed to be three levels above any appointed official regardless of the rank an official might hold. Since I was a four-star general in the Chinese army, a secret service man might assume he was three stars above me!” Tong and Li, *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen*, 440.
 101. In 1948 Jiang Jingguo’s police agents actually arrested Du Yuesheng’s son, Weiping, for securities manipulation. (The father was then head of the Shanghai stock exchange.) Shanghai Municipal Police Files, D-4685, 43.
 102. Marshall, “Opium and the Politics of Gangsterism in Nationalist China,” 43. His family included three concubines, one of whom was the actress Meng Xiaodong. Du by then was terribly afflicted with asthma and he died in a coma on August 16, 1951. Since he had not lived in Hong Kong for the eight years required to be buried there, his remains were taken by boat to Taiwan. On June 28, 1953, he was entombed in a hill village near Taibei. Meng Xiaodong died on Taiwan in 1977. Jiang Shaozhen, “Du Yuesheng,” in Li Xin and Sun

- Sibai, eds., *Minguo renwu zhuan*, 319; Pan Ling, *Old Shanghai*, 230–31, 233; Boorman et al., eds., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, 3:329–30; Scott, *Actors Are Madmen*, 63–64.
103. Chen Shuyi, “Zai Wuhan jingcha jie li de zhandou,” 157–58.
 104. See, for the aspirations of Linli students, Wu Zhixin, “Juntong jianwen diandi,” 77–78.
 105. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 33.
 106. Deng Yifu had served as head of the secretariat of the Investigations Department special brigade in Chongqing. *Ibid.*, 110.
 107. The secret service chiefs cooperated because Shen Zui controlled access to some Juntong equipment and safe houses in major cities throughout China. In 1948 Li Baochu was made responsible for planting secret resistance cells in areas under Communist Party rule. *Ibid.*, 33–34.
 108. Yeh, “The Liu Geqing Affair,” 20. After the flight to Taiwan, Mao Renfeng passed away and his position was taken over by a Guangdong faction member, Zhang Yanyuan, who was transferred to run the Guomindang Central Executive Committee’s second unit (*zu*). Ye Xiangzhi became head of the Intelligence Bureau (Qingbaoju) of the Ministry of Defense, while Zheng Jiemin was put in charge of the Department for Work on the Mainland (Dalu gongzuo chu). Later he commanded the State Security Department (Guojia anquan bu) and was charged with unifying the intelligence services. Tang Zong eventually became secretary general of the Central Executive Committee. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 227.
 109. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 33–34.
 110. The new bureau’s director was Ji Yuanpu. Zhao Yulin, “Zhongtong wo jian wo wen,” 217; Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 189.
 111. Deng Baoguang, “Juntong lingdao zhongxinju benbu ge shiqi de zuzhi ji huodong qingkuang,” 199–200. For Mao Renfeng’s efforts to enhance his standing vis-à-vis Chiang Kai-shek, see Xu Haowen and Hu Bilin, “Dai Li jiebanren Mao Renfeng shengguan tu,” 66–67.
 112. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 189; Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, iv. Mao Zhongshi, one of Dai Li’s cousins on the maternal side, became chief of the Third Bureau of the Qingbaoju as well. Zhengxie Jiangshan xian wei wenshi ziliao yanjiu weiyuanhui et al., comps, *Dai Li jia shi*, 10.
 113. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 178.
 114. Zhang Weihang, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 277–78; Zhang Weihang, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 79–80; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 4.
 115. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 3.
 116. This occurred after Dai Cangyi had studied for a year at Xiamen University. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 179. But see Zhang Weihang, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 80, which has him spending two years at Fudan University.
 117. Together Zangyi and his wife had three sons and two daughters. *Dai Yunong xiansheng nianpu*, 2.
 118. According to some sources, most of them hostile, Cangyi molested or raped a number of teachers, including his uncle’s wife and niece. Wen Qiang, “Dai Li qi ren,” 179; Zhang Weihang, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 80.
 119. Zhang Weihang, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 278.

120. Ibid.; Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 3–4.
121. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 80–81; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 278–79.
122. Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu pangda de Juntong ju zuzhi,” 279; Zhang Weihai, “Dai Li yu Juntong ju,” 81; Huang Kangyou, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 153.
123. Shen Zui, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 171–72.
124. “Chinese Guerrillas Found Set to Fight,” *New York Times*, Aug. 10, 1957, 3.
125. Pan Ling, *Old Shanghai*, 196–97.
126. Miles, Personal Papers, Letter to Madame Tai Pao-an, Kiang Shan District, Chekiang, Mar. 20, 1946, Box 3.
127. Ibid. See also Xu Zongyao, “Zuzhi Juntong Beiping zhan heping qiyi de qian-qian houhou,” 147.
128. Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 203.
129. Miles, Personal Papers, Pan Qiwu to Miles, Aug. 16, 1953, Box 3. Pan was later made chief of the security force in charge of the Yangmingshan park where Chiang Kai-shek resided outside Taipei.
130. *Guoji ribao*, Mar. 24, 1989. A number of these crusty gerontocrats included mainland-elected representatives of the Legislative Yuan famous for their fisticuffs during brawls between Guomindang and opposition politicians on the legislature’s floor. Personal communication from Cao Shengfang.
131. Luo, *Three Kingdoms*, 805.
132. Quoted in *ibid.*, 807. This poem is not in Du Fu’s collected works.

APPENDIX A

Source: Qu Yunzhang, “Guomindang Junweihui xibei qingnian laodong ying de zhenxiang.” See especially pp. 118–20.

1. There were also to have been two independent regiments directly under the headquarters, one at Xiguan in Luoyang (Henan) and one at Lanzhou (Gansu). The latter was never actually formed due to lack of enrollment.

APPENDIX B

1. Li became deputy head of G-2 in 1948. Miles, Personal Papers, Eddie Liu to Miles, Jan. 7, 1948, Box 2. Prior to then the head was Zheng Kaimin. “Blue Shirts Organization,” report 9710, 8/1/39, p. 1a.
2. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 239.
3. For a personnel roster of Juntong in 1945, along with “public organs,” local branches, and foreign stations, see Cheng Yiming, “Juntong tewu zuzhi de zhenxiang,” 223–25. See also “KMT Wartime Organization Problems, Youth Corps, etc.: Central Bureau of Investigation and Statistics,” in Ch’en Lifu Materials, 46.
4. Deng Baoguang, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong,” 156; Qiu Yuping, “Wo suo zhidao de Zhongyi jiuguo jun,” 131; Huang Kangyong, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li,” 170.
5. Deng Baoguang, “Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong,” 156.

6. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 85.
7. Bao Zhihong and Du Kui were both graduates of Luda under Deng Jiemin.
8. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 150.
9. "It is comparatively easy to secure permission to go to Chongqing but impressively difficult to get permission to leave it. Written permission must be secured from the Generalissimo's headquarters complete with full information and photographs so that one can be easily traced." Vanya Oakes, *White Man's Folly*, 274.
10. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 208-9.
11. Wang joined Juntong in May 1935 in Hankou. That October he entered the special training unit (*tebie xunlianban*) in the Hangzhou Police Officers Academy and became a member of the Fourth Brigade, which was reserved for the training of higher-level special agent cadres (*gaoji tewu ganbu*). After graduating in June 1936, Wang was transferred to Juntong headquarters at Honggongci in Nanjing, and then eventually returned to the Hankou Station, where he became an intelligence officer (*qingbaoyuan*). Wang Fangnan, "Wo zai Juntong shisi nian de qinli he jianwen," 140-41.
12. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 150-51. This was a different group than the special communications unit, Tezhong wenti yanjui hui (informally called the Teyanhui), which recruited Japanese agents in Manchuria under the direction of Wen Qiang and the Northeastern Regional Branch of MSB. Zhang Rui, "Yuan Guomindang Juntongju dongbeiqu dui Ri gongzuo' de yinmou huodong," 91-92.
13. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 152.
14. Yu Maochun, "American Intelligence," 32-34.
15. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 152.
16. *Ibid.*, 153; *Dai Li zhishi*, 5.
17. Deng Baoguang, "Wo suo zhidao de Dai Li he Juntong," 153.
18. Shen Zui, *Juntong neimu*, 85-86.
19. *Ibid.*, iii.

APPENDIX C

Source: Sino-American Special Technical Cooperation Agreement, in Memorandum for the Secretary of State from the State War Navy Coordinating Committee, June 3, 1947, in Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1945-49, L14, pp. 1-5.

1. In September 1944 three Juntong men were sent to the United States and England to study abroad. OSS XL446767, Sept. 3, 1944, Office of Strategic Services, U.S. Army, U.S. National Archives, Military Reference Division.

APPENDIX D

1. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 149.
2. *Ibid.*, 150. In December 1942 there was a series of conferences held in General Donovan's office in Washington to discuss blowing up the Shanghai Power Com-

- pany plant. Although Judge W. F. Allman was a major shareholder in the company, he promoted the idea vigorously. Major Xiao Bo, Dai Li's agent in Washington, agreed with the general scheme but recommended that the operation be "brought to the attention of the people in the area who might do the operations in a much more direct manner." This effectively allowed Dai Li to short-circuit the operation, which, if successful, would have deprived Chiang Kai-shek of an important postwar asset. See the following memoranda in Donovan, Selected OSS Documents, 1941–45: W. F. Allman to Donovan, Dec. 9, 1942; and Huntington to Donovan, Dec. 16, 1942. See, for Xiao Bo's role in Washington, Atcheson to Secretary of State, Chongqing, Sept. 10, 1943, Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, China, Internal Affairs, 1940–44, 893.105/96, 3.
3. Earle Dane, interview by the author, Old Lyme, Connecticut, July 1987.
 4. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 107–8.
 5. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 128, 154; Miles, Personal Papers, "Address to the New York State Police Chiefs Conference," Box 3, 181.
 6. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 157.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 108.
 9. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 157.
 10. Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban," 126.
 11. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 158.
 12. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 108.
 13. Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban," 127.
 14. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 108.
 15. Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban," 128.
 16. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 158.
 17. Zhong Xiangbai, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhong-Mei tezhong jishu xunlian disan ban—Linru xunlianban," 126.
 18. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 108.
 19. Miles, *A Different Kind of War*, 158.
 20. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 109.
 21. Qiu Yuping, "Wo suo zhidao de Zhongyi jiuguo jun," 124–25.
 22. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 109.
 23. The government's conscription of coolies for the military resulted in thousands of civilians "fleeing to the mountains" (*taoshan*). Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945*, 170. See, for a terribly poignant description of Nationalist conscription, Isabel Crook, "Prosperity Township, Sichuan," ch. 3, p. 30.
 24. Tang Tao, "Zhong-Mei hezuosuo di liu tezhong jishu xunlian ban neimu," 151.
 25. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 109.
 26. Tang Tao, "Zhong-Mei hezuosuo di liu tezhong jishu xunlian ban neimu," 148.
 27. Ibid., 163.

28. Zhang Weihai, "Dai Li yu Juntong ju," 109.
29. Ibid., 109-10.
30. Ibid., 110.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid., 110-11.
34. Jiang Shaozhen, *Dai Li he Juntong*, 263.

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