

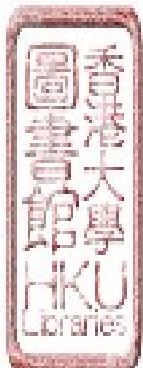
The Origins and Development of the National
Salvation Movement in Shanghai, 1931-1937

by Lesley Jean Francis

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

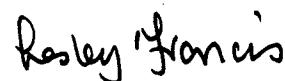
at the

University of Hong Kong
October, 1990

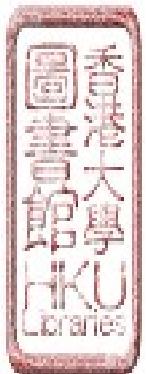


DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis represents my own work and that it has not been previously submitted to this university or other institutions in application for a degree, diploma or other qualification.



Lesley Jean Francis.

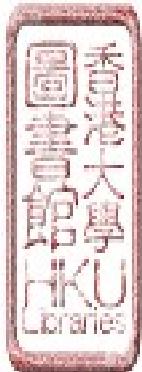


ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis first evolved in a research seminar for the History Department at the University of British Columbia, in 1980. Then, and at various stages since, I have received valuable help and criticism that improved the quality of the work far beyond the reach of my ability.

My initial interest in China and Contemporary Chinese Intellectual History was first ignited 1971-1977, when I lived in Taiwan, the Republic of China and had the privilege during those early years of Chinese language study to meet and know many Chinese students and intellectuals.

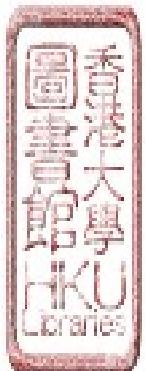
A large number of institutions and individuals have been of assistance in enabling me to undertake this study. While completing undergraduate study at Auckland University I was the recipient of two New Zealand National Rewi Alley Scholarships in Contemporary Chinese Studies (1978, 1979) which provided me with the impetus and challenge to consider pursuing further historical research. The University of British Columbia provided me with Graduate Fellowship (1980-1982) for two years o graduate study and a New Zealand Peking Scholarshi (1982-84) provided funds and the opportunity for tw years of my early thesis research at Beijin



University in the People's Republic of China. The University of Hong Kong subsequently provided a Graduate Scholarship (1984-1986) which has helped fund the completion of this thesis. I am deeply grateful for these scholarships that have enabled me to pursue my research.

Among university libraries I have consulted, three stand out : the libraries of the University of British Columbia, Beijing University and the University of Hong Kong. In the Beijing and Shanghai Municipal Libraries of the People's Republic of China I was given good access to many materials not available in the West. Finally, extensive use of materials in the Nym Wales Collection at Stanford University greatly enhanced this study. It is my pleasure to pay tribute to the many librarians and individuals who gave of their time to help me gain access to Chinese materials.

Special thanks are also due to a large number of older Chinese friends in China, none of whom are listed in the bibliography, (due to present political sensitivities) who gave freely of their time to discuss their personal experiences of the 1930s with me. They helped bring to life the atmosphere in China during the mid-1930s, and their spontaneous reminiscences pinpointed and helped clarify certain trends and events relevant to the period that might

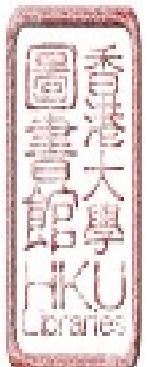


otherwise have been overlooked.

On the academic front, I wish to thank Dr Richard Phillips of the History Department of Auckland University who first encouraged me to consider Ph.D. study and who has given constant encouragement, Professor Arif Dirlik of the Department of History, Duke University, who supervised my early research on the subject, while a visiting professor at the University of British Columbia 1980-1981, and Professors Alexander Woodside and Edgar Wickberg of the University of British Columbia. During my time at the University of Hong Kong I have greatly benifitted from the encouragement of Dr Michael Luk, who as my advisor, has shown deep interest in my research from the beginning and has been a conscientious and perceptive critic as well. I am happy to acknowledge the intellectual obligations which I have to each of them, while at the same time absolving them of any responsibility for errors of research or interpretation which exist in this study.

It is a pleasure also to pay tribute to some friends who have encouraged me to over-ride some widely-accepted assumptions and preconceptions of earlier historiography on Contemporary China's Intellectual History.

All these debts to others notwithstanding, it remains a fact that the writing of a dissertation can



be a lonely, and at times a discouraging endeavor. Without the constant encouragement of friends, this thesis may not have been completed. In all truth, this thesis would never have broken through the surface of my cluttered day-to-day existence, without the help of One, who has seen it emerge, develop, and grow, through to the light of day.



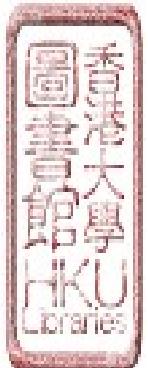
ABSTRACT OF THESIS ENTITLED :

The Origins and Development of the National
Salvation Movement in Shanghai, 1931-1937.

Submitted by Lesley Jean Francis
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Hong Kong
in October, 1990.

* * * * *

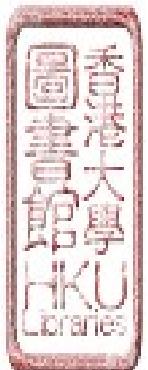
The essence of history does not reside in recorded facts but in the thoughts, emotions, ideas and aspirations of the human beings who have made it. Facts are only the outer shell. Thus within the existing plexus of Chinese Republican history there lurk encapsulations of movements and figures, little previously examined, but which are more than mere flashes of history and then forgotten. The significance of the seven worthies : Tsou T'ao-fen, Shen Chün-ju, Wang Tsao-shih, Li Kung-p'u, Sha Ch'ien-li, Chang Nai-ch'i and Shih Liang; all of whom epitomized the leadership of the National Salvation Movement; reveals that they did not only fulfil a prestigious role, but their lives reflected the crystallization and materialization of ideas and emotions.



The National Salvation Movement brought into prominence and temporary alliance social forces that would figure importantly in the tempestuous course of the following decades : the dissident intellectuals and professionals, the more or less modernized or Westernized elements of urban China, and part of the commercial sector of the population. Both the leadership and the support base of the National Salvation Movement were marked by a preponderance of intellectuals and professionals who used the power of the pen to espouse disparate liberal-democratic and socio-political concerns.

But, intense intellectual ferment, and the concomitant maturation of professionalism in China, that characterized the National Salvation Movement 1931-1937, which this study seeks to examine, cannot be reduced to a one way response to Western challenges. These intellectuals and professionals confronted the violence and duplicity of residual militarism, Communism, KMT reaction and Japanese invasion. They shared some degree of the influence of Western ideas, and a strong sense of compulsion to save China from external aggression and civil war. Moreover they sought to act as a catalyst for change in China.

The arrest and trial of the seven worthies; brought the seven Shanghai National Salvation Movement leaders to national prominence. They became in



effect a cause célèbre for democratic rights. The enduring significance of the National Salvation Movement was that the prominence afforded by the trial made possible the use of many of these people as symbols of the united front in the People's Republic of China. They also marked a growing alienation from both the KMT and the Nanking government, and expressed an authentic concern for a Chinese though not necessarily a Communist solution to China's problems. While China's socio-political crisis in 1931-1937 was the product of a period of transition, of which the National Salvation Movement was an integral part, there was also the sense in which the National Salvation Movement similarly represented part of an intellectual transition, which marked the return to the political arena after a period of quiescence, by the May Fourth generation, grown up.



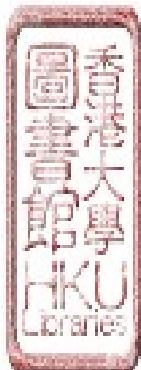
ABBREVIATIONS

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
KMT	Kuomintang
<u>KWCP</u>	<u>Kuo-wen chou-pao</u> [National News Weekly]
<u>NCH</u>	<u>North China Herald and Supreme Court</u> <u>and Consular Gazette</u>
PRC	People's Republic of China
<u>TCSH</u>	<u>Ta-chung sheng-huo</u> [Life of the Masses]
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Declaration	i
Title	ii
Abstract	iii
Abbreviations	vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Table of Contents	xi
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2 Origins of the National Salvation Movement, 1930-1935	34
Chapter 3 National Salvation Literature, 1931-1935	51
Chapter 4 The Growth of the National Salvation Movement, 1935-1936	78
Chapter 5 National Salvation Associations : Case Studies :	116
Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association	
Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association	
Chapter 6 National Salvation Literature : Manifestos, 1935-36	157
Chapter 7 National Salvation Literature, 1935-1937	188
Chapter 8 The Arrest and Trial of the Seven Worthies	210
Chapter 9 Conclusion	253
Bibliography :	
Western	273
Chinese	288
Glossary	300

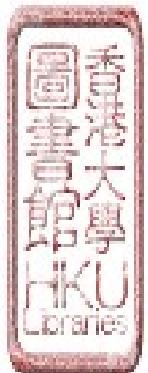


CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT IN REPUBLICAN HISTORY

The National Salvation Movement was one of the major ingredients in the political life of the 1930s. The early 1930s were a particularly agonizing and acute time for Chinese intellectuals and professionals, who formed the support base of the National Salvation Movement. The nation stood in great danger from the threat of Japanese aggression, yet factionalism, KMT Party-military dictatorship, residual warlordism, and the existence of armed Communist enclaves in Kiangsi and elsewhere, created internal warfare and disunity, leaving China ill-prepared to meet the Japanese threat. Urgent problems of social and economic reform were compounded by world-wide economic depression and seemed insoluble. The student movement which seemed so powerful in an earlier decade had been effectively suppressed. Many students abandoned their hopes for fundamental change and turned from political involvement to the hedonistic pursuit of personal satisfaction. But, idealism and nationalism remained strong, and some students chose instead to become involved in programs of rural reconstruction, mass education, and patriotic



activities, such as the National Salvation Movement.

As in the past, China's chaos and civil wars had always afforded good excuses and opportunities for foreign aggression. September 1931 was no exception. Japan struck Mukden on September 18, 1931. The failure of the League of Nations to restrain Japan from all-out aggression resulted in the fall of the whole of Manchuria to Japan.

After the Mukden Incident, National Salvation replaced revolution as the most pressing problem for the politically sensitive intellectuals, students, and professionals, and China personified would receive a great deal more sentimental love than it formerly had. Thus it was within a tapestry of social and political complexity that the strands of the National Salvation Movement were woven.

TIME FRAMEWORK AND GEOGRAPHICAL FOCUS

The time framework of this study is restricted essentially to the Republican period and especially to the 1930's, focussing on the years 1936-1937. The National Salvation Movement was marked particularly by the formal organization of the Ch'üan-kuo ko-chieh
chiu-kuo ¹ lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation], popularly known as the National Salvation Association in May 1936, and the arrest and release of the seven Shanghai National Salvation

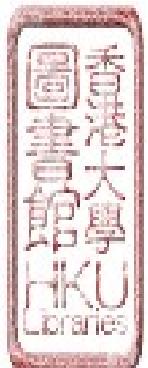


Movement leaders in late 1936 to August 1937.

The geographical focus of this thesis is primarily limited to Shanghai. The justification for this choice is that Shanghai was the focal center of National Salvation activity in China in the pre-Sino-Japanese War period. It was also the headquarters of the National Salvation Association, and the main center for the publishing of Chiu-wang wen-hsüeh [National Salvation Literature]. Finally, it was in Shanghai that the seven National Salvation Association leaders lived and were arrested, an event which marked a crucial turning point in the fortunes of the National Salvation Movement.

Shanghai in many ways represented a special case in China : it was a metropolis divided, politically and administratively, into three parts (the International and French settlements and the Chinese sector); it had a local cosmopolitan society in which was concentrated the essence of the Chinese urban elites and a modern, flourishing economy from which the Nanking government drew a substantial part of its revenue.

Shanghai held a position in modern Chinese history unequalled even by Peking. It was here that Ch'en Tu-hsiu founded the CCP and Sun Yat-sen reorganized both his revolutionary thought and the KMT in the late teens and early 1920s. Few other



places would qualify so well as a "hot bed of rebellion," with the possible exception of Canton.

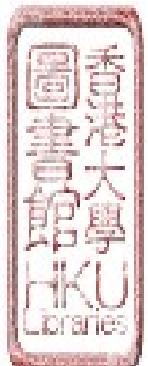
Shanghai was a major center for publishing newspapers and other literature. The volume of publishing presupposed the existence of a literate reading public in the treaty ports such as Shanghai, and the peripheral areas.

Even by the end of the nineteenth century Shanghai had begun to attract ambitious and restless youth of the neighbouring provinces. After 1919, with the general loosening of family ties, Shanghai looked even more like the land of opportunity for a larger influx of migrants.

The population also grew rapidly in Shanghai. This growth was the result of an influx into the city of industrialists, merchants, peasant-laborers and unemployed youths in search of a better livelihood. Intellectuals and cultural non-conformists flocked to Shanghai, and sought refuge under foreign law.²

HISTORIOGRAPHY

This study arose out of a desire to analyze in greater detail an aspect of Republican China that to date has received a modicum of attention in Chinese sources, and which has been commented on generally by some Western historians. Presumably the political sensitivity of the topic has precluded much scholarly



research and publication in both Taiwan and the PRC. However, some writings, either in the form of reminiscent account or biographical study have emerged from the Chinese press in the PRC, Taiwan and Hong Kong. In one way or another these publications have revealed crucial information that would have remained hidden, but few of them are without partisan bias, and at the same time they fail to give a conceptual framework to the study of the National Salvation Movement.

Furthermore, as long as some of the National Salvation Movement participants are still alive, the official teleological versions of the National Salvation Movement are still open to revision. To be sure these intellectuals are quite aged now. Their voices have grown hoarse from having to adjust their timbre so frequently to the dictates of the ever-changing public past. The memoirs of these survivors have been "corrected" over and over again to bolster one or another of the polemical histories of the National Salvation Movement on its own terms. The memoir literature that is being produced today in response to government encouragements is still bound by the conventions and expectations of official history. The aged authors are eager to have their contributions inscribed in the larger corpus of revolutionary history. And so, they too, recall their



activities with a teleology in mind.

In Taiwan, KMT historians, even today, continue to dismiss any patriotic motives of National Salvation Movement leaders and assert that the group was a tool of the Communists. Taiwan writer Li Yün-han of the Historical Archives Commission of the KMT, in 1977 labeled the National Salvation Movement as a mere Communist front, a body which raised the anti-Japanese flag but had in fact parted from the path of true patriotism.³ Chao Kuang-ch'eng, in a 1981 article in Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh [Biographical Literature], repeated the old charge that the National Salvation Movement spoiled Chiang Kai-shek's plan for preparatory work for resisting Japan.⁴ Writer Liang Kung-ts'ang, in an earlier publication, charged that:⁵

although the National Salvation Movement proclaimed that it was without Party influence, in fact, it was actually a product of the Communist International, an instrument of the Communist bandits in struggling with the KMT.

Only occasionally do writers in the Republic of China give a more balanced analysis of the National Salvation Movement. Ch'en Chi-ying, for instance, in 1981 noted that while Communist undercover agents in Shanghai led by Chou En-lai stirred up the anti-Japanese movement, many patriotic individuals, including KMT personnel, joined the National



Salvation Movement, not realizing that it was a
6 Communist initiative.

Chen's comments, are partially correct. There was indeed contact between leaders of the Association and Communist officials. The hundreds of thousands of people who joined the National Salvation Movement, however, were certainly not primarily motivated by the desire to aid the Communist movement which at the time was a remote effort far from Shanghai and the lower Yangtze. The overwhelming concern of most members was the Japanese threat and the worry that Chiang Kai-shek's obsession with his anti-Communist crusade might lead him to accept Hirota Koki's proposal for a joint Sino-Japanese defense against Communism. A United Front and suspension of the civil war would doom any anti-Comintern pact between Nanking and Tokyo and open the door to close Sino-Soviet relations.

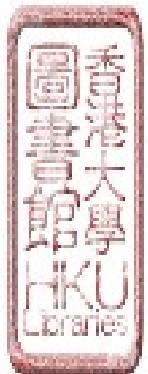
The few Western scholars who have examined the National Salvation Movement have offered different interpretations. Linebarger and Rosinger, writing during the early 1940s about the immediate pre-Sino-Japanese War period, stressed the immediate political importance of the National Salvation Movement, an importance which had given its leaders positions on the first People's Political Council, created in 1938. This was the advisory body to the KMT during



the Sino-Japanese War. But, neither Linebarger nor Rosinger made any real effort to examine in depth the affairs of the National Salvation Movement.

A number of other historians who have written since 1949, on the other hand, have been more concerned with the Communist revolution than with any serious attempt to discuss the National Salvation

⁸ Movement. In 1966, Israel published his Student Nationalism in China, a fine pioneering work, but one that was really more interested in the students than in the National Salvation Movement. Klein, Lutz and Wales (Helen Snow) have also tended to view the National Salvation Movement within the context of student unrest, spearheaded by the December Ninth ⁹ demonstration of 1935. This approach fails to recognize that although students gave significant support to the National Salvation Movement, particularly in the months after December 9, 1935, they did not lead the organization. The leadership of the National Salvation Movement was assumed by intellectuals and professionals. Many of these non-student intellectuals and professionals in the National Salvation Movement were in a sense the May Fourth generation grown-up. Among the intellectuals, university professors and teachers were prominent. The professionals included lawyers, bankers, and journalists. Similarly the support base of the

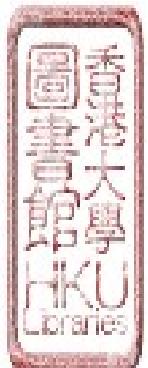


National Salvation Movement was also wider than that of the student movement. Finally, Van Slyke and Domes, writing in the 1960s, have paid some attention to the National Salvation Movement within the framework of written works which deal with wider interests.¹⁰ No monographs of which I am aware give extensive treatment to this issue. Neither is there any substantial treatment of the National Salvation Movement within the socio-political context of Nationalist rule, that sheds light on the nature of that rule.

NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT LEADERSHIP : THE URBAN INTELLIGENTSIA

This study focusses on the National Salvation Movement's leadership at the expense of rank and file National Salvation members. First, sources to some extent dictate such a choice. There is a rich legacy of writings available, both about and written by a number of the National Salvation Movement leaders. But investigation of the support base of the National Salvation Movement is very much handicapped by the anonymity of the subjects. No study will be complete until the question is satisfactorily answered : Who were these people?

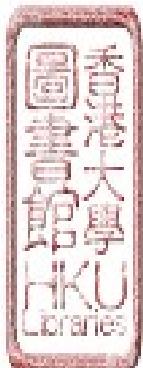
Second, and much more important than the dictates of sources, the urban elite formed the back-



bone of the National Salvation Movement and gave it its character, leadership, ideology, literature and manifestos. The urban elite thus provide an insight into understanding the nature of the organization as a whole. Moreover by emphasizing the leadership and particularly the seven worthies who epitomized China's urban intelligentsia, it is hoped to gain a better understanding of a segment of society in Republican China, which has received little scholarly attention.

The word "intelligentsia," while Russian in origin, has frequently been used with reference to Chinese society. This word is used with a wide range of meaning, and the outer limits of this range are by no means sharply defined. Frequently it seems to mean no more than the cultural stratum. In Chinese the term chih-shih fen-tzu, meaning literally "knowledgeable elements", came into use among the heirs of the May Fourth Movement in the late 1920s. It reflects an acute consciousness of the porous membrane reflecting the strains of society at large. Far from transcending their immediate world, they continued to reveal its imperfections through their efforts.¹¹

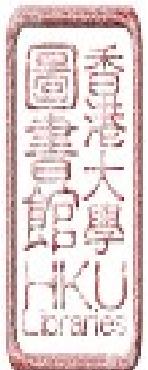
Before we hasten to a too facile definition of the twentieth century Chinese intelligentsia as simply a temporarily displaced bureaucratic class, it should be noted that within the millennial history of China strong strands of alienation, withdrawal, and



even of martyrdom are integral parts of Confucian tradition.

In traditional China the intelligentsia, or intellectuals, were part of the official ruling elite. At the end of the nineteenth century, however, the position of Chinese writers and intellectuals had changed significantly. Four factors were immediately responsible for this change. One was the rejection of tradition, which had led many intellectuals to renounce the official system of the educated elite. Moreover, the examination system by which an educated man entered the civil service was terminated in 1905. The development of modern education, the proliferation of new professions such as medicine and law as well as the development of the publishing industry, which allowed writers and intellectuals to earn an income from alternative channels, were other factors that led to the change in Chinese intellectuals' social position. In short, the "commercialization" of knowledge led to professionalism.

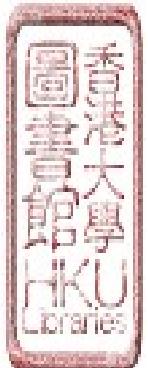
This change to professionalism, however, does not mean that these people abandoned their roles as intellectuals. They assumed the role of political and social critics, exponents of change and often became political activists. This was particularly true of writers. Whereas in early twentieth century China not all intellectuals were writers, most writers, as the



literate, articulate, and concerned segment of the urban population, were intellectuals. For this reason, their literary creations reflect their historical concerns, their ideological assumptions, and their preoccupation with the cultural change that they considered themselves to have initiated.

A study of the Shanghai urban elite in the National Salvation Movement provides us with a better understanding of the character and limits of patriotism in China in general. This study seeks to examine the ways in which this patriotism was expressed, by individuals who were key people in the National Salvation Movement as well as the myriad of patriotic expressions shown by the Movement at both local and national levels. This included street demonstrations as well as signed manifestos and other National Salvation literature that give some indication of wide-ranging liberal-democratic ideals. If the patriotism of Shanghai's urban elite can be measured by their involvement in the affairs of the National Salvation Movement then this study seeks to enhance our understanding of that issue.

Second, the National Salvation Movement provides the means for analyzing the compilation of this urban elite and its relationship with other social sectors. It examines the relationships between the Chinese intelligentsia and Chinese labor, and between



intellectuals and students.

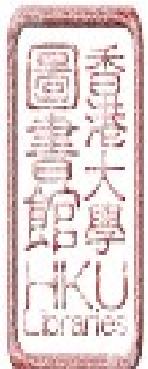
Third, a study of the National Salvation Movement provides a base for an analysis of the political inclinations, affiliations, concerns, values, ideals and ideologies of Shanghai's urban elite. This study seeks to determine the extent of disaffection among intellectuals and professionals from the KMT during the 1930's. It endeavors to examine the degree to which this segment of society, at least in the pre-Sino-Japanese War period, opted for a Communist solution to China's social, political or economic problems.

Finally this study seeks to fill a gap in our understanding of intellectual history in Republican China by providing a more comprehensive history of the National Salvation Movement.

KMT AND SOCIETY

A key issue that has preoccupied historians of the Nanking decade is the nature of the regime and its relations with society and in particular, with social urban elites. Apart from providing a history of the National Salvation Movement itself, such a study could help to shed light on the relationship between the KMT and society as well as other aspects of Republican history.

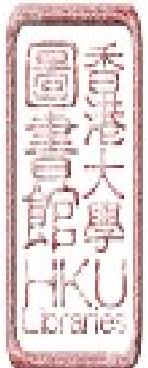
In the 1930s the disparity between KMT claims



and KMT accomplishments did not escape the notice of the intelligentsia. They were increasingly estranged from the government due to the KMT's attitude toward them. This was reflected in its persistent efforts to regiment education; its distrust of even moderate criticism; its attempts to exploit the student movement for its own ends or to suppress it entirely; its resort to harsh methods in dealing with its opponents and its sedulous promotion of its own sterile ideology. Yet we must be careful not to exaggerate the extent of intellectual disaffection or its consequences. Many who recognized the political and intellectual debilities of the KMT maintained affinity with it nonetheless.

The social history of the Nanking decade remains to be written. For this subject needs to be studied, not through the distorting prism of models whose descriptive interest barely manages to conceal their low heuristic value, but by seeking to identify every actor involved in each specific case, the nature of the interacting forces and the separate layers at which they are intertwined. Only then will we be able to uncover the hidden paths of Chinese society.

Where and how should we draw the contours of China's political and social map under the KMT? An initial and fundamental distinction is the one between State and Party for the KMT regime identified



itself with the State apparatus whose goals sometimes coincided with and, at other times, contradicted the latter. The KMT and the State embodied two parallel yet competing projects that they sought to implement by different means and with ends that were fundamentally different.

Through its grassroots activists especially, the KMT remained faithful to a certain revolutionary vision. This vision encompassed political and social projects whose fundamental purpose was to establish a society without class conflict, an aim that presupposed the regulation of society by an impartial referee, in this case the Party. This accentuated the pace of growing alienation from the KMT and the Nanking government by the National Salvationists during the 1930s.

There are sharp differences in the ways in which the nature of the regime and its relations with society can be interpreted. Three hypotheses seem to be particularly relevant. The first tends to see the Nationalist regime as the embodiment of an autonomous power, impermeable to the demands of society and, at the same time, imposing itself on society.¹² The second interpretation, while rejecting the caricatural depiction of a state beholden to the interests of big capital, has shown that the Nanking regime reacted to pressure from certain groups and



was at times capable of making concessions.¹³ Both of these interpretations emphasize the regime as a whole or the special role of the State, but the State-Party distinction is not truly relevant to them.

The third interpretation differs in highlighting the rivalry between State and Party wherein each of the actors relied on the group or groups that were closest to it or which it had managed to penetrate.¹⁴

While these three interpretations complement one another in many ways, none of them provides a real answer to the questions raised by this multi-dimensional complex of relationships. This is in no doubt linked to the fact that these interpretations (with the exception perhaps of the second one) seek to encompass, within a single embracing pattern, a realm of many hues. Perhaps a more empirical approach, more closely attuned to reality in its multiple guises, would be more appropriate here.

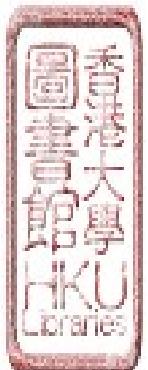
Essential as it is, the State-Party distinction is not enough, as it differentiates only two large sectors which were themselves highly complex in nature. We need to probe deeper and examine the ways in which the action took place at successive levels in both these structures. With respect to these two poles of decision the representatives of the State or the Party either confronted social elites or sought their support.



The suppression of the Left-wing of the KMT by the Chiang Kai-shek faction during 1928-1931 fundamentally altered the character of the Nationalist regime. On the basis of Cavendish's article,¹⁵ the suppression of the Left-wing destroyed democratic impulses within the KMT, abolished KMT supervision of the Nationalist government, and eviscerated the peasant associations and other mass organizations.

The purge of the Communists in 1927 did not completely strip the Nationalist movement of its revolutionary drive. In the lower echelons of the Party, particularly among its more youthful members, and fully a third of the KMT members in 1929 were under twenty-five years of age, there was a substantial commitment to the social and economic, as well as the political, goals of the revolution. It is now clear, from the studies of Miner¹⁶ and Geisert,¹⁷ that the non-Communist Left-wing represented a real alternative for the Nationalist revolution. The rejection of this Leftist alternative had profound consequences for the future of the regime and of China.

By aborting the mass movements such as the National Salvation Movement, the Right-wing KMT cut itself off from the invigorating influences of popular initiative; by imposing centralized authorit-



arian rule, it destroyed democratic tendencies in the outer limbs of the Party and totally disillusioned idealistic representatives of the younger generation; and by reducing the Party to an essentially educational and propaganda role, the government became largely an administrative arm of the military that had little interest in social and economic solutions to the nation's problems.

Coble examined the relationship between the ¹⁸ Nationalist regime and capitalists in Shanghai. He concluded that while the regime was not systematically hostile to the capitalists, it sought to control them and their wealth. But, Coble found the capitalists did not control the regime.

As Samuel Huntington has observed about regimes that provide no institutionalized avenues of representation:

Each group employs means which reflect its peculiar nature and capabilities [in order to influence the regime]. The wealthy bribe; students riot; workers strike; mobs demonstrate; ¹⁹ and the military coup.

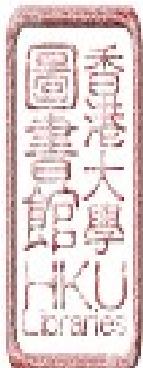
Geisert recognized that neither the regime nor the extra-governmental forces such as landlords, rural elites, merchants, were monolithic; that there were numerous "decision-making modes" within the regime, and these related differently to discrete



extragovernmental forces in society. For instance, many members of the modern educated elite, who were often from rural landlord backgrounds, joined the regime because of the difficulty of finding other employment commensurate with their education. While generally favoring landlord interests, they had nonetheless imbibed scientific and modernist values that put them in conflict with one segment of the rural elite, the "local bullies and evil gentry."

Frequently, the KMT's failure to fulfil the promises of its revolution, especially in the areas of social and political reform, its dictatorial rule under the claim of political tutelage, and its inability to put up strong resistance against Japanese aggression, have been considered the main causes of the regime's unpopularity. One result of this, as some contemporaneous observers and scholars have noticed, was that there was a growing sympathy for Communism among some intellectuals. John Israel has suggested that this was particularly obvious
20 after the December Ninth Movement of 1935.

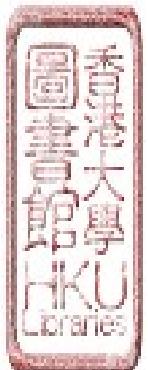
There is however still much vagueness about this swing towards the left. Suzanne Pepper, writing on the attitude of the intellectuals in the civil war period of 1945-1949 towards the two parties, has found that they were frequently critical of the Communists, and some expressed their grave



uncertainties about the CCP's sincerity for
21 democracy. If that was the case for the post-Sino-Japanese War years, good care must be taken in our study of the attitudes of the intellectuals toward the CCP and the KMT in the pre-Sino-Japanese War period. A study of the National Salvation Movement would help shed light on this and provide for an examination of the KMT's relationship with a sector of Chinese urban society : professionals and intellectuals.

SOURCES

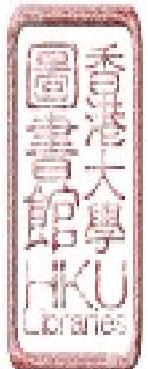
This study has involved the use of a wide range of primary source material, a substantial amount of which is not easily available in Western libraries. One important source is nien-chien [yearbooks]. These yearbooks 'put on record' officially determined facts, statistics, decisions, laws and regulations. This mountain of material constitutes a rich resource, but one which has to be approached with respectful caution. First the quality of the material is so vast, and there is a lack of guides and indices to contents, that there is some danger of getting lost in the swamp. Second, an understanding of such bureaucratic documents must be filtered through the yearbooks' special vocabulary and conventions, modes of transmission and principles of publication. Third,



the contents of yearbooks represent the formal, legalistic aspect of events, whose relationship to the informal and actual state of affairs is always problematical.

The high point of yearbook compilation was the 1930s. A wide range of ministries, provinces, cities and other governmental organs published their yearbooks, sometimes in several revised editions. Each yearbook was typically one thousand or more pages long and contained all the laws, statistics, lists of enterprises and individuals, organizational charts and the like relevant to the work of the publishing organ. Apart from these considerations, the Chung-hua min-kuo erh-shih-wu (liu, ch'i,) nien Shanghai-shih nien-chien [The City of Shanghai Yearbook 1935 (36, 37)], was an extremely useful source.

Then, there are newspapers. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century saw an explosion of the newspaper and periodical press in China. Newspapers constitute a vast resource, the use of which for the 1930s has barely started. For instance in this study, the Ta-kung pao ["L'Impartial"] has been particularly useful. Internationally known, this was the most influential independent newspaper in China during the Sino-Japanese War period. In the late 1940s it became increasingly pro-Communist. Republican newspapers, inspite of increasing suppression of the press,



enjoyed a relatively free and rather gossipy atmosphere and came close to the Western concept of newspapers. They need to be read with due attention to problems of accuracy caused by a rumor-laden atmosphere and most newspapers' adherence to one or another political group. Nor do newspapers provide the inside view of political events that can sometimes be gained from other sources. Only a relative few of what must have been thousands of newspapers published during the 1930s are generally known to be available in significant runs outside the PRC. Thus two years in China (1982-1984) and subsequent visits since, have substantially helped fill this deficiency in research materials.

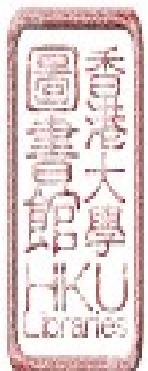
The use of a wide variety of newspapers and periodical literature for this study was greatly enriched by access (1982-1984) to the Nym Wales collection at the Hoover Institution of Stanford University, and in China, the Peking University and Municipal Libraries, and particularly the Shanghai Municipal Library, and to a lesser extent various other university libraries.

Like newspapers, periodicals represent a vast and still barely exploited source for Republican China historical research. Indeed the growth and development of the periodical press encapsulates much of what is "modern" about Republican China: the



passionate cultural and philosophical debates and the growth of specialized professional communities.

Among the periodical literature that was not specifically chiu-wang wen-hsueh [National Salvation Literature] in genre, there was a vast amount of periodical literature published in Shanghai in the 1930s that covered wider national and international concerns. Many of these periodicals, not readily available in Western libraries have proved particularly interesting and have given valuable insight into some of the wider writing and editorial concerns in which some National Salvation figures were involved. For instance, the periodical Ti-k'ang [Resistance] enjoyed a very short publishing period, September 9, to November 9, 1937. Edited by Tsou T'ao-fen, after his release from prison; and published every three days, this periodical carried articles on current national and international affairs. Among its well-known contributors was Hu Yü-chih, a prominent Shanghai journalist and former editor of Tung-fang tsa-chih [The Eastern Miscellany]. In addition to working with Tsou T'ao-fen in the National Salvation Association, he was associated with Tsou in the mid-1930s in editing the Left-wing Sheng-huo chou-k'an [Life Weekly]. Like a number of other key figures in the National Salvation Movement, Hu Yü-chih aligned himself with the China



Democratic League, of which he was vice chairman in the early years of the PRC.

Similarly, another periodical Chan-hsien [War Front] which was published in Shanghai every five days for a limited period : September 13 to October 26, 1937, gives interesting insights into the early months of the Sino-Japanese War period. It was primarily devoted to wartime political and military affairs. Among the members of its editorial committee were Chang Nai-ch'i, Ai Ssu-ch'i and Chang Han-fu.²²

Another dimension to this research has been in the extensive use of memoirs and reminiscences, many of which have been written by contemporaries of some of the key National Salvation leaders, and a few written as autobiographies by the leaders themselves. Many are also largely descriptive with little analysis of events, and are frequently selective in terms of content. Thus whole years are sometimes not accounted for, or skimmed over simplistically. Such materials tend to be of less intrinsic value and more helpful in terms of verifying other materials.

Collected works of various National Salvation figures have proved particularly helpful. For instance, (Tsou) T'ao-fen wen-chi [Works of (Tsou) T'ao-fen] contain comprehensive articles written by the author. Volume One, in particular, contains his articles written between 1927-1940. These are

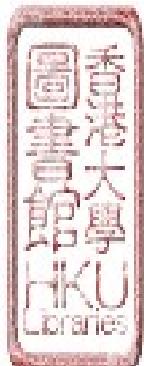


arranged in chronological order and provide some indication of the progressively Left-wing thinking of this popular journalist.

Oral histories have also been extremely valuable. However, because of the political sensitivities in China, and a number of those interviewed still living and / or holding positions of responsibility, names are with few exceptions, withheld. The use of oral histories is not without its limitations, and these should not be underestimated. As time passes details of events, numbers, and names sometimes lapse. Perceptions change, and sometimes there is a reluctance to talk about others still living for fear of recrimintion. It should also be noted that many individuals still hold in their possession numerous unpublished manuscripts, which are normally off-limits to foreign researchers, but which have greatly enriched this present study.

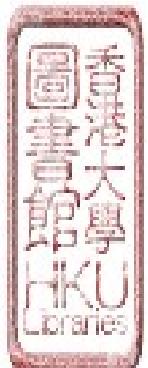
USE OF TERMS

One problem basic to this study concerns the use of terms. For example, Chinese materials are frequently inconsistent in the use of the terms: Chiu-kuo hui [National Salvation Association], Ch'üan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation] and Chiu-wang yün-tung [National Salvation Movement]. Moreover, these terms



are used interchangeably in many Chinese and Western language sources. One reason for this apparent lack of precision is that prior to the formation of the Ch'üan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation] in May 1936, a closer literal translation of which would be "All-China National Salvation Federation from all walks of life," the term Chiu-kuo hui was used in documents to designate the local patriotic National Salvation groups, which had no national suasion, but which had emerged in China's cities some years earlier. However, even after the Ch'üan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui was formed, it was frequently referred to in Chinese and Western language sources as Chiu-kuo hui and "National Salvation Association" respectively, and in some Western language materials as "the Association." Similarly, the term Chiu-wang yün-tung has been used without any time distinction, and thus at times without distinguishing it from the Ch'üan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui in Chinese and Western sources alike.

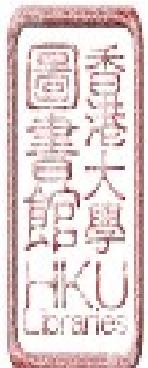
In this study an attempt has been made to be precise in the use of these terms. Where translating or quoting sources, the term used is retained. Where a local National Salvation Association is intended, it is indicated by stating its location, as for example, Shanghai Women's National Salvation Assoc-



iation (emphasis mine). The growth of the National Salvation Movement in many different cities appears to justify the use of the terms National Salvation Association or All-China National Salvation Federation, only after the more formal national organization came into existence in 1936.

Finally, some sources refer to the Chui-kuo chen-hsien [National Salvation Front]. This was formed after the formal organization of the National Salvation Association, but little is known about its precise nature. Presumably it shared the same character and people as the National Salvation Association as a whole.

The term Ch'i chün-tzu has frequently been translated as "Seven Gentlemen," leading to complications over Shih Liang, a lady among them. Thus I have chosen to use the term "Seven Worthies", or the less erudite term, 'seven leaders' when referring to the seven National Salvation leaders. This seems more in keeping with their morally upright characters, and the esteemed position in which they were held by society. The term chün-tzu is used in classical Chinese texts to denote a person of superior or upright character, without reference to gender. The use of Chün-tzu in the case of political martyrs was established for the use of the six martyrs of the Hundred Days Reform of 1898. The first



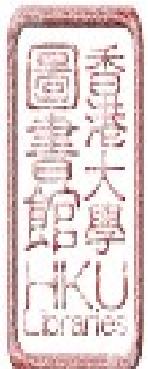
use of the term in the case of the National Salvation leaders was in the use of liu-chün [Six worthies] in the Ta-kung pao ["L'Impartial"] of Tientsin on December 5, 1936, to refer to the six male leaders from Shanghai.

CONTENT OF THE THESIS

In the following chapters, the early origins of the National Salvation Movement will be examined against a complex and turbulent socio-political background. This is followed by an analysis of the emergence of National Salvation literature 1931-1935, during which the ideological dimensions of the National Salvation Movement first took shape. Late in 1935 to early 1936, the National Salvation Movement reached its first climax, in the development and organization of the Movement, leading to the formation of the All-China National Salvation Federation. A case study of the Shanghai Women's and Cultural National Salvation Associations then highlights the nature of the National Salvation leadership and the political orientation of these key groups in the National Salvation Movement. This is followed by a discussion of the National Salvation Movement manifestos and the literature in the period 1935-1937 probes the ideological thinking of the increasingly alienated and extremely articulate National Salvation



leaders. Finally, a new climax in the history of the National Salvation Movement culminates in the arrest, trials and release of the seven worthies, highlighting the dimensions of the National Salvation Movement.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

NOTES :

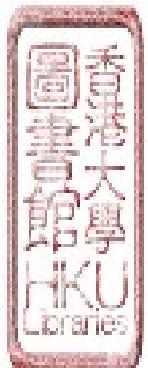
1. Romanization used for terms and personal names is Wade-Giles except for a few names well known in the West. Postal spellings are used for well known geographical names with few exceptions, such as Peking, Nanking and Canton. A glossary of terms and names used in the text has been included, complete with characters where these are known.
2. See Nicholas R. Clifford, "Shanghai 1925: Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege." Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 37 (1979), pp. 1-16.
3. Li Yun-han, K'ang-chan-ch'ien Chung-kuo chih-shih fen-tzu ti chiu-kuo yün-tung, (Taipei : Chiao-yü-pu she-hui yü-ssu, 1977), p. 4.
4. Chao Kuang-ch'eng, "Pai nien lai ying-hsiang wo kuo-de liu shih yang k'e." Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh, 39:1 (August 1981), p. 94.
5. Liang Kung-ts'ang, T'ung-lu-jen ti p'ei-chü, (Taipei : Kuang-hua ch'u-pan she, 1961), p. 2.
6. Ch'en Chi-ying, "Chi Mao Tun." Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh, 39:1 (July 1981), p. 83.



7. Paul Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek (Boston : World Peace Foundation, 1941) pp. 175-178, and Lawrence K. Rosinger, China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944 (Princeton University Press, 1966) p. 50.
8. Lucien Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949 (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1973) and Edgar Snow, Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1957).
9. John Israel and Donald Klein, Rebels and Bureaucrats : China's December 9ers (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1976) and Jessie Lutz, "December 9, 1935 : Student Nationalism and the Chinese Christian Colleges," Journal of Asian Studies 26:4 (1967) : 627-648 and Nym Wales, Notes on the Chinese Student Movement (Madison, CT : 1959) (mimeographed).
10. L. P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967), and J. Domes, Vertagte Revolution : Die Politik der Kuomintang in China, 1923-1937 (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1969).
11. Benjamin I. Schwartz, "The Intelligentsia in Communist China," Daedalus 89 (1960) p. 604.
12. See Lloyd Eastman, The Abortive Revolution :



- China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937. (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1974), and "New Insights into the Nature of the Nationalist Regime," Republican China 9:2 (1984) : 8-18. See also Parkes M. Coble Jr., The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937, (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1980).
13. R. Bush, Industry and Politics in Kuomintang China, (New York : Gerland Publishing Co., 1982).
 14. J. Fewsmith, Party, State and Local Elites in Republican China : Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930, (Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 1985).
 15. P. Cavendish, "The 'New China' of the Kuomintang", in Jack Gray, ed., Modern China's Search for a Political Form, (London: Oxford University Press, 1969).
 16. N. Miner, "Chekiang : The Nationalists' Effort in Agrarian Reform and Construction, 1927-1937," Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1973).
 17. B. Geisert, "Power and Society : The Kuomintang and Social Elites in Kiangsu Province, China, 1924-1937," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979.
 18. P. Coble, The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937.
 19. Samuel Huntington, Political Order in Changing



- Societies (New Haven, Conn. : Yale University Press, 1968), p. 196.
20. John Israel, Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937 (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 124.
21. Suzanne Pepper, Civil War in China : The Political Struggle, 1945-1949 (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1978), p.45.
22. See Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965, Vol 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 27. Ai Ssu-ch'i was a prominent Marxist philosopher, who in 1935 was admitted to the CCP and from that same year until 1937 was one of the editors of a Marxist review: Tu-shu sheng-huo, a journal that was ultimately shut down by KMT authorities. Ai Ssu-ch'i signed a Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto, but did not have any leadership role in the National Salvation Movement. Chang Han-fu along with Ai Ssu-ch'i and Li Kung-p'u wrote for Tu-shu sheng-huo. He was also a signatory of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association, and in 1937 he became an editorial committee member of Chan-hsien. In the PRC he was vice minister of foreign affairs and was an alternate member of the CCP central committee.



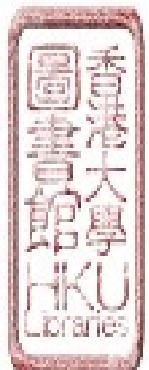
CHAPTER 2 :

ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT, 1930-1935

The high tide of the National Salvation Movement was in 1935-37 but its origins go back to 1931-35, the period following the Mukden Incident. The National Salvation Movement was a direct response to Japanese aggression, but its origins have to be analyzed in the context of the wider political and intellectual exigencies of the period : KMT rule, KMT - CCP struggles and intellectual fermentation.

KMT RULE AND INTELLECTUAL FERMENTATION

Despite some progress in social and economic life, China in the early 1930s was little better than in the early 1920s. Residual regional militarism characterized many areas of inland China.¹ On the whole, the Nanking government control was weak over the border provinces. Although Chiang's own power and prestige had risen measurably, his virtual control or power had not extended beyond seven provinces, namely, Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhui, Kiangsi,² Hupeh, Honan, and Fukien, after January 1934. Regional militarists with warlord backgrounds and militarists with early KMT backgrounds continued to control more of China than did Nanking, during the

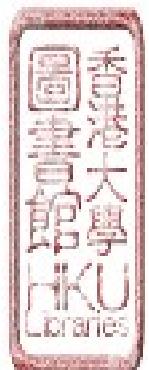


3
early years of the Nanking decade.

A more serious challenge to Chiang Kai-shek was the CCP. The CCP fast gained military strength and in 1927 turned to the countryside of Kiangsi, Hunan,
⁴
Anhwei, Fukien, where it established rural soviets. The CCP established their own government, which eventually culminated in the Chinese Soviet Republic
⁵
at Juichin, Kiangsi, on November 7, 1931, and promulgated an extremely radical land reform program. From 1930, Chiang Kai-shek launched major campaigns of encirclement and extermination against the
⁶
Communists in the Soviet areas, but these early
⁷
efforts ended in rapid failure.

The CCP had also long adopted as a cardinal principle in its revolutionary program an anti-imperialist stance. By 1931, however, it was even more committed to the overthrow of the Nationalist government and the defeat of the KMT.

The KMT's fear of the CCP drove the party (KMT) to conservatism. Instead of stimulating it to initiate reforms that might simultaneously gain peasant support and deprive the CCP of its appeal, the Nanking government's fear of the CCP led it to seek support among those social groups who had their own reasons to fear Communism: merchants, industrialists, and in the countryside, landlords and
⁸
other members of the rural elite. Against a record



of limited accomplishments in finance, tariff autonomy, communications, education, industrial development,⁹ the Nanking government was seriously remiss in its neglect of social reform.

In terms of political democratization the Nanking government also failed miserably. The KMT claimed to give democracy to China but in reality lapsed into political authoritarianism. It disregarded civil rights, suppressed the press and mass movements, and refused to introduce genuinely democratic political processes.

Finally, the nationalism espoused by the KMT before it set out from Kwangtung on the northern expedition aimed at achieving national reunification through the defeat of militarism and imperialism. This concept of nationalism had become somewhat debased by the end of the expedition. Such a policy, while pragmatic, was not acceptable to the more radical-minded patriots. Residual regional militarism, KMT-CCP conflict, increasing Japanese aggression and the failure of the KMT to respond to the needs of modernization, democratization and social reform brought increased criticism of the KMT performance. Intellectual discontent increased and assumed various expressions.

As the KMT continued to lose its appeal, so too criticism and dissatisfaction increased. Intellectual

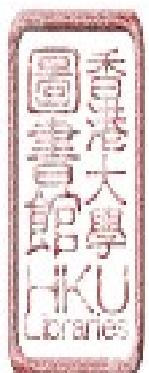


fermentation and dissent in China was not new in China. In antiquity even lyric poetry or a ghost story could be used to carry a deliberate political message; the Confucian philosophies were more political than religious. Confucian society had always assigned to its intellectual elite an important role as critics of the political order.

In modern times, since the May Fourth Movement (1919), academics and particularly writers had become increasingly active in political affairs. Their works reflected social realities and represented a legitimate indictment and a social protest of the existing order.

Many prominent modern Chinese writers had become staunchly opposed to KMT rule by the 1930s. They used the power of the pen to make known their political views.

A challenge from the left was seen in the formation of the Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng [China League of Left-Wing Writers] in March, 1930. This was an extraordinarily significant event. The avowed purpose of the League was to promote and engage in the production of proletarian art. But art was not the sole or major concern. The works of these writers were dedicated to class struggle and to the complete liberation of mankind. The League membership included perhaps the most distinguished literary

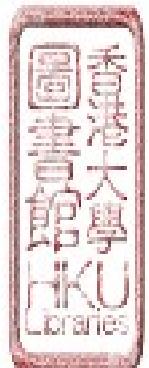


figures brought together in a single group during the 1930s, and as such it represented one of the most unified and dynamic periods of the modern literary scene.

The China League of Left-Wing Writers included many prominent Chinese writers : the doyen of these was Lu Hsun (1881-1936). Lu Hsun exemplified in his works the concept of literature as a vehicle for social reform. Other significant writers in the League who later joined the National Salvation Movement, were Wei Chin-chih, Sha Ting, Ai Wu, Chou Li-po,¹⁰ Hu Yeh-pin and T'ien Han. Some later became active in the National Salvation Movement.

Others were identified with the Wen-hsu"eh yen-chiu hui [Literary Research Society], which was founded in January 1921. Unlike the China League of Left-Wing Writers the Literary Research Society was not revolutionary. There were a number of prominent intellectuals who figured in the Literary Research Society and later in the National Salvation Movement. Cheng Chen-to (1898-1958) along with Mao Tun and Chou Tso-jen in 1921 was involved in the establishment of ¹¹ the Society. Other members of the Literary Research Society included Ku Chung-i, Hsü Chieh, and Hsieh Liu-i. All were involved later in the National ¹² Salvation Movement.

There was also a challenge from the liberal



camp, which was epitomized by such figures as Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Lo Lung-chi and Hu Shih.

In the early 1930s Hu Shih was the leading spirit of this liberal group. An advocate of constitutional government and human rights, he was particularly concerned with freedom of thought and speech. Hu Shih denounced the KMT's belief in political tutelage as unsound and opposed its ¹³ dictatorial authoritarianism. He presented constitutional democracy as a viable political alternative to dictatorship, which would protect civil rights and provide for a multi-party system of government. Such concepts were a threat to the KMT which strove to conserve and consolidate its authoritarian rule. Intellectual fermentation was to acquire a new dimension with the Mukden Incident and the stepping up of Japanese aggression.

THE MUKDEN INCIDENT AND THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT

For Japan, the swing to a more aggressive policy toward China first came when the Nationalist revolution was underway and the forces of Chiang Kai-shek were moving north-ward. For some time the Japanese had been using Chang Tso-lin, the militarist of Manchuria, as a friendly agent to protect their special interests in north China and Manchuria. The

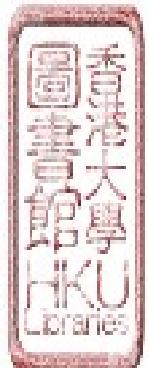


Japanese troops, sent to north China on the grounds that Japanese lives and property had to be protected during the north-ward march of the Nationalist forces, took matters into their own hands in Tsinan, where they checked the northern expedition by force,
¹⁴
in May 1928.

On September 18, 1931, the Japanese Army struck at Mukden under flimsy pretexts, and the extended its sway over all of north-eastern China, one of the
¹⁵
richest and most fertile parts of the country.

Feeling that China was not ready to confront Japanese military power and obsessed with the desire to eliminate domestic opposition to Nanking, Chiang Kai-shek adopted a policy of appeasement and conciliation toward the Japanese. As the Manchurian attack unfolded, Chiang instructed Chang Hsüeh-liang to avoid conflict and to rely on the League of
¹⁶
Nations to settle the dispute.

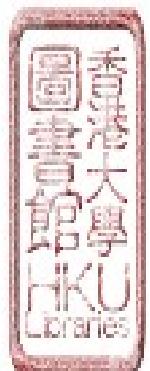
From early 1932, Chiang Kai-shek's policy towards Japan and the CCP was characterized by the slogan an-nei jang-wai [internal pacification before
¹⁷
resistance against external aggression]. In effect, Chiang Kai-shek tried to apply a dual policy by which negotiation and resistance were to be used simultaneously as a means to slow down Japanese aggression. While temporizing with Japan, Chiang sought to
¹⁸
exterminate the CCP.



This policy was unpopular. Public opinion in China was outraged by the Japanese affronts. Chinese student protests over the Mukden Incident in 1931, were particularly striking. They included the Shanghai boycotts that helped bring on the fighting there in 1932. Most remarkable of all was the wave of patriotic indignation that brought trainload after trainload of students to Nanking to demand action against the Japanese in the fall of 1931.¹⁹ This burst of urban nationalism, continued to spread and to intensify in the following years. Boycotts of Japanese products, demonstrations, and even attacks on Japanese citizens in China became commonplace.²⁰

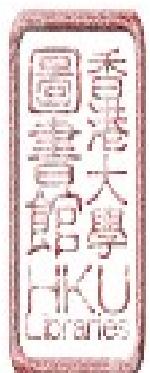
As early as 1930 Chiang Kai-shek had taken over the Ministry of Education to channel some of the students' anti-government emotion,²¹ but the KMT's problem was not a simple one, for the Nanking government had only limited control over the content of local education. In many areas, provinces and cities made a deliberate effort to increase anti-Japanese bias in history and geography.²²

In 1933 Chiang authorized a series of "local" settlements with Japanese officials in the north,²³ while Nanking also negotiated larger issues with the Japanese government.²⁴ It was in this context that the first National Salvation organization was formed among intellectuals.



According to Chang Nai-ch'i, the National Salvation Association had its origins in a ten person cell group, among whom were Shen Chun-ju, Tsou T'ao-fen, T'ao Hsing-chih, Li Kung-p'u, Chou Hsin-min and Chang Nai-ch'i himself. The cell group's moving force was Chou Hsin-min and the public relations spokesman was Shen Chun-ju. This cell group met each Tuesday and at each meeting decided the venue and time for the next meeting. The first meeting that was held in public was that of the Shanghai National Salvation Association.²⁵ This was convened in 1933. With the exception of Chou Hsin-min, this group of men figured prominently in the National Salvation Movement leadership in the following few years. They provided its essential leadership.

Initially there was discussion concerning the title of the organization. Shen Chun-ju urged the cell group not to add kang-jih [resist Japan] or fan-jih [oppose Japan] to the organization's name, so the decision was made to call it simply the Shanghai National Salvation Association. The emergence of this group indicates that "national salvation" as a concept was current and was a cause that was advocated, in response to Japanese aggression and KMT diplomatic policy.

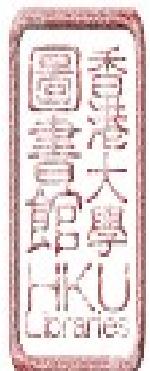


CIVIL RIGHTS AND NATIONAL SALVATION

Urban patriotism was linked up with the issue of civil rights. After the September Eighteenth Incident the concern for civil rights took shape in the formation in December 1931 of the Chung-hua min-kuo kuo-nan chiu-chi hui. [Society for the Relief of the National Crisis of the Chinese Republic] At its inauguration there were over sixty people, among whom were Shen Chün-ju; Chou Hsin-min; Pan Ta-k'ui; Wu Ch'ing-yu and Chang Nai-ch'i.

The Society not only demanded a strong anti-Japanese line but also criticized the domestic policies of the KMT on civil rights. With over two hundred members and branches in sixteen provinces, Domes claimed that it formed one of the largest formal opposition groups at a time when KMT tutelage permitted little opposition.²⁶ The majority of those identified, later assumed significant positions in the National Salvation Movement.

This concern for civil rights assumed greater significance in late 1932 in the formation of yet another group, the Chung-kuo min-ch'üan pao-chang t'ung-meng. [China League for the Protection of Civil Rights] It was formally inaugurated at a meeting in Shanghai, December 17, 1932.²⁷ Among key participants at this meeting were Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Sung Ch'ing-ling, Yang Hsiang-fo, Lu Hsun and Shen Chün-ju. At



the inauguration Sung Ch'ing-ling, one of the key organizers assumed the position of chair-woman and ²⁸ Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei that of vice-chairman.

The China League for the Protection of Civil Rights included at least among its executive those who were not necessarily CCP members, but who were both patriotic and concerned for civil rights in China, and others who were also CCP members. For instance, T'ien Han, (1898-1968) a musical composer and writer, was born in Changsha and in 1932 in Shanghai joined the China League for the Protection of Civil Rights. He was also involved in the establishment of the League of Left-Wing Writers. In ²⁹ 1932 he joined the CCP.

The China League for the Protection of Civil Rights opposed both what it deemed were KMT reactionary cliques and fascism. It advocated freedom of association, assembly, speech, the press and the struggle for democratic rights. The League sought, sometimes successfully, to win the release from the KMT of political prisoners, many of them ³⁰ Communists. During this period it seemed that civil rights was primarily an intrinsic concern and to a lesser extent a response to the government policy of seeming indifference to the Japanese threat and the concomitant pursuance of the policy of internal pacification before resistance to external



aggression.

In January 1933 Tsou T'ao-fen and Wang Tsao-shih both joined the China League for the Protection of Civil Rights, and subsequently both were elected to the executive committee.³¹ Another member of the executive committee was Shen Chün-ju. They all became important National Salvation leaders.

Another prominent National Salvation Movement leader who figured in the China League for the Protection of Civil Rights. This was Hu Yü-chih.³² (1896-1986) Hu Yü-chih was a leading Shanghai journalist in the 1920s and 1930s. He became associated with Tsou T'ao-fen and assisted him in editing the periodical Sheng-huo chou-k'an. [Life Weekly] Although he is often presented as a non-Communist intellectual who chose to work with the Communists, evidence suggests that he joined the China League for the Protection of Civil Rights early in 1933 and that he was subsequently elected to the executive committee.³³ In that same year he joined the CCP.³⁴

During the period 1933-1935 it is apparent that the concerns of civil rights and escalating anti-Japanese sentiments converged at least among some of the key proponents of the earlier civil rights organizations who during this period emerged within the leadership of the National Salvation Movement.



Thus, the line between these two different issues is somewhat blurred. Many National Salvation Movement intellectuals remained throughout their careers intellectual innovators and patriotic civil rights spokesmen.

To what extent the National Salvation Movement grew out of a civil rights movement is difficult to determine, but it certainly acted as both an important precedent and catalyst for politicization of China's urban elites.

The most important aspect of the origins of the National Salvation Movement was the development of National Salvation literature. This will be examined in Chapter 3.



CHAPTER 2 :

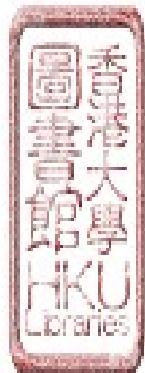
ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT, 1930-1935

NOTES :

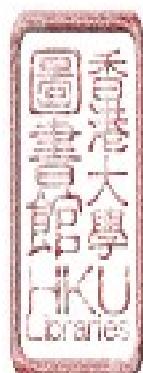
1. For a helpful review, see Diana Lary, Region and Nation : The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925-1937, (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1975).
2. James E. Sheridan, China in Disintegration : The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949, (New York : The Free Press, 1975), p. 193.
3. James E. Sheridan, China in Disintegration : The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949, p. 183.
4. Sheridan, p. 246.
5. Ibid., p. 249.
6. Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, The Rise of Modern China, (New York, London and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 672.
7. Sheridan, p. 250-251.
8. See John E. Rue, Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927-1935, (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1966), and Benjamin I. Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1951).
9. Sheridan, pp.220-240.



10. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, (Changsha : Hunan wen-i ch'u-pan she, 1988), Entries : Wei Chin-chih, p. 700 and Ai Wu, p. 80-81. See also Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, (Peking : Chieh-fang chün ch'u-pan she, 1987), Entries : T'ien Han and p. 631, Chou Li-po, p. 812.
11. Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, (Hong Kong : Ye Olde Printerie, 1954), Entry : Cheng Chen-to, p. 36.
12. Chou Tien-tu, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, (Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1931), p. 60-61.
13. Chester Tan, Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century, (Garden City, NY : Anchor Books, 1971), p. 232, and Jerome B. Grieder, in Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance : Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution, (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1970), examines Hu Shih, and provides a stimulating discussion on the liberal movement in China.
14. Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, The Rise of Modern China, p. 638.
15. Nym Wales, "Is Youth Crushed Again in China?" Unpublished Manuscript. (Peking, 1935), p. 8.
16. Immanuel C.Y. Hsü, The Rise of Modern China, p. 662.



17. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History," p. 1.
18. Hsü, The Rise of Modern China, p. 672.
19. Nym Wales, "Is Youth Crushed Again in China?" p. 8.
20. The phrase "public opinion" as used in this study does not refer to even a majority of the population. Still there had been a steady rise in the newspaper and periodical circulation in the first decades of this century and by the Nanking period perhaps five to seven percent of Chinese read newspapers or journals.
21. Nym Wales, "Is Youth Crushed Again in China?" p. 10.
22. Ibid.
23. Hsü, The Rise of Modern China, p. 672-673.
24. Lincoln Li, The Japanese Army in North China 1937-1941, (London, New York and Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 26-27.
25. Chou Tien-tu, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 431.
26. J. Domes, Vertagte Revolution : Die Politik der Kuomintang in China (Postponed Revolution : The policy of the Kuomintang in China), (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1969), pp. 648-649.
27. Chung-kuo hsien-tai k'o-hsüeh chia chuan-lueh, pp. 403-405. Note also that the Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yun-tung ta-shih chi 1919-1949 (Shanghai :



Hsü lin ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 157 states that the chung-kuo min-ch'üan pao-chang t'ung-meng was formed December 29, 1932, but there is no other evidence I have seen to support this date.

28. Chung-kuo hsien-tai she-hui k'o-hsüeh chia chuan-lueh p. 403, and Chung-kuo Chiao-yu Chuan-chia lüeh, (Kunming : Yunnan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1983), p. 318.
29. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : p. 631
30. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, 4 Vols (New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971), Entry : Sung Ch'ing-ling, p. 784.
31. Chung-kung tang shih chien ming tzu-tian. Entry: Hu Yü-chih p. 824.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid.



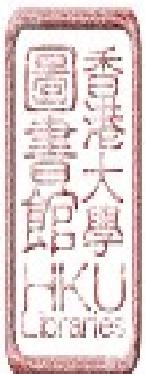
CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE, 1931-1935

National Salvation Movement literature was of prime importance in the National Salvation Movement. Even more so than National Salvation demonstrations and organizational development the National Salvation literature that flourished during these early years, (1931-35) expressed urban nationalism and highlighted the ideological orientation of the National Salvation Movement. Concomitantly, National Salvation literature was also a point of conflict between the Nanking government and increasingly alienated urban intellectuals.

THE KMT CENSORSHIP MECHANISM

Because of the dominance of political problems in China throughout the 1930s, emphasis on the suppression of dissenting political views was from the beginning a most important objective of censorship and it became increasingly crucial as the years went by. The conflict between the KMT, determined to suppress publications supposedly detrimental to it, and writers, bent on expressing their opinions, reached a feverish pitch by the mid-1930s.



Suppression of the periodical press was most evident in Shanghai although elsewhere in Japanese controlled areas of China, Japanese interference with Chinese publications grew steadily in the few years prior to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War.

The Nationalist government established a mechanism for the control of the press. Central and local government control was tighter over newspapers and periodicals, especially those that dealt with current affairs and economic, political or social ideas, than over books or other types of publications.

In December 1930, Nanking promulgated a new publication law which required all publishers to register with the Ministry of the Interior and [in the case of political publications] with the Central Publicity Department of the KMT. This law prescribed capital punishment or life imprisonment for those who engaged in seditious propaganda by writings, pictures or word of mouth, with intent to subvert the ¹ Republic.

In 1931, the Provisional Constitution guaranteed ² freedom of writing, publication and speech, yet the publication laws in one way or another curtailed these constitutional rights of the people. Various news censorship regulations were proclaimed by the ³ central as well as local governments.

However, passing laws and enforcing them were

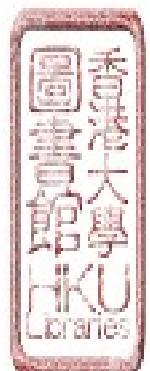


two different matters, and the Nanking government was better at the former than the latter. The 1930 press law was not effectively enforced until 1934 when the government established the Shanghai Censorship Commission for books and periodicals, which was directly under the KMT's Central Publicity Department. The Commission was intended to facilitate pre-publication censorship of books and periodicals. The Commission in effect, began a comprehensive (although somewhat erratic) effort to control and suppress the Chinese press.
⁴

THE SHENG-HUO TRADITION

Selective treatment of any corpus of literature, by its very nature is open to criticism. In this case, I believe it is justifiable and expedient to consider one major stream of patriotic literature which exerted a pervasive influence upon its readers in the 1931-1935 period : the Sheng-huo tradition or in other terms, the Tu Chung-yuan - Tsou T'ao-fen tradition.

One reason for the selective appraisal of this literature is the existence and access to these materials which span the years 1931-1935. Second, the continuation of publication in this stream [although titles changed] provides the framework for discerning the development of trends and emphases within this

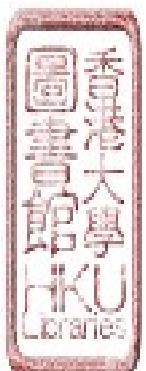


continuum. Third to the extent that Tsou T'ao-fen was one of the key leaders of the National Salvation Movement, and a prominent ideologue at that, the tenor of the Sheng-huo stream of patriotic literature reflects Tsou's thinking, and that of his colleagues, many of whom were involved in the National Salvation Movement.

Concomitantly, it can be argued that the Nanking government and Japanese responses to this patriotic literature, is also more clearly seen with reference to a major stream over a period of years. In the final analysis, the Sheng-huo stream of patriotic literature in the 1931-1935 period of Chinese Republican history, is not only representative of National Salvation literature, but an understanding of this stream also enhances our understanding of the nature of intellectual thought in China in the 1930s.

Tsou T'ao-fen was a prolific writer. In many respects he was one of the most popular journalists in the history of Republican China. His outspoken criticism of Chiang's appeasement policy helped to propel several of his publications to great prominence. Their circulations dwarfed that of such journals as Hu Shih's Tu-li p'ing-lun [The Independent Review] which generally supported Nanking's approach to Japan.

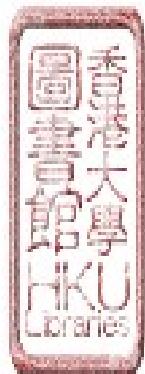
Nanking's relations with Tsou T'ao-fen and his



associate Tu Chung-yüan revealed the dilemma which faced Chiang in the 1930s. The Nanking government continually suppressed Tsou's journals for their anti-Japanese and increasingly leftist positions, often acting under direct pressure from Tokyo. Yet this martyrdom contributed toward the popularity of Tsou and Tu, and further angered urban leaders in China who opposed Nanking's weak foreign policy.

Tsou T'ao-fen began his career in journalism almost inadvertently. Liberal educator Huang Yen-p'ei, the Chinese Association for Vocational Education leader was seeking an editor for the group's new journal Sheng-huo chou-k'an [Life Weekly], while Tsou was in need of employment. The journal, which began publication in October 1925, had meager prospects with an initial monthly circulation of less than three thousand. Tsou was a lively editor, however, covering interesting social topics which ranged far beyond vocational education. His most popular innovation was the "Letters to the Editor" column which featured engaging debates over student problems, family issues, and general social questions. Within three years Tsou received between twenty thousand to thirty thousand letters annually and the circulation of the Sheng-huo chou-k'an⁶ mushroomed to nearly eighty thousand per issue.

Tsou's journal of moderate tone was recast by



the explosive events in Manchuria and Shanghai during the autumn and winter of 1931-1932. The journal called for resistance to Japanese aggression and decried the weak stance of Chang Hsüeh-liang, military leader of the north-east. On October 17, 1931, Tsou wrote an editorial in Sheng-huo chou-k'an. In this editorial he heaped praise upon Chinese military commander Ma Chan-shan (one of the few actually to engage the Japanese) whose rather modest success in early November 1931 was acclaimed as the "heroic Nonni River Battle". Continuing his policy of reader participation, Tsou requested his subscribers to contribute to Ma's campaign. The journal collected one hundred twenty thousand yuan through this effort, with donor's names announced in the magazine. Tsou also gave strong editorial support to the student demonstrators who flocked to Nanking at this time, demanding stronger resistance to Japanese aggression.⁷

When fighting erupted in Shanghai in January 1932, the Sheng-huo chou-k'an issued special editions carrying news from the front. Funds were solicited for the Nineteenth Route Army, lionized in journal columns, and Tsou sponsored a hospital for wounded soldiers.⁸

The journal's advocacy of a resistance policy brought Tsou into conflict with Chiang Kai-shek and



his policy of conciliation with Tokyo. Tsou added such writers as Hu Yü-chih, who later became a prominent National Salvation Movement figure, famed for his fiery anti-Japanese columns, and Tu Chung-yüan, an industrialist from Mukden who had fled when the Japanese occupied that city. The journal continued to publish numerous letters attacking the KMT's non-resistance line.⁹ Tsou also came into contact with Sung Ch'ing-ling, who joined Tsou in financing the hospital.¹⁰ Not by coincidence the Sheng-huo chou-k'an's increasingly anti-Japanese, anti-Nanking tone seems to have increased its circulation and at the height of its popularity in mid-1932, climbed to over one hundred fifty thousand per issue,¹¹ the highest for any Chinese publication. The Sheng-huo chou-k'an was a popular weekly, its readers being mainly young people : students, white collar workers, small businessmen, professionals and elementary and high school teachers.¹² Since individual journals were typically circulated to many readers, the Sheng-huo chou-k'an's readership at its pinnacle in 1932 was probably one million to one-and-a-half million.¹³

NANKING'S RESPONSE TO SHENG-HUO CHOU-K'AN

Chiang Kai-shek and the Nanking government, never very tolerant of criticism, chafed under the

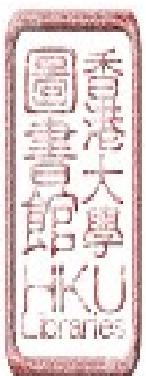


incessant attacks by China's most widely read periodical. According to one account, Chiang kept a bound volume of the journal in which he personally marked with a red pen all instances in which Tsou ¹⁴ criticized the KMT. In the summer of 1932, Nanking began to make moves to suppress the errant journal.

A sense of alienation peaked in August 1932, when Nanking denied the Sheng-huo chou-k'an postal service in an initial attempt to restrict its circulation outside of the Shanghai area. Thus pressure was also placed on periodical distribution agencies ¹⁵ within Shanghai not to handle the journal.

These pressures should have been a severe blow, but Tsou, taking advantage of his close relationship with his readers, largely neutralized their effect. He rallied his supporters into a grand crusade to circulate the journal despite the pressure. To overcome the postal ban, travellers from Shanghai to the interior were mobilized to carry issues by rail or steamship. Students delivered copies wherever possible. Within Shanghai itself special delivery services were established. Tsou's crusading efforts seemed to thwart Nanking's initial moves and were the first step in organizing a political network among ¹⁶ its readership.

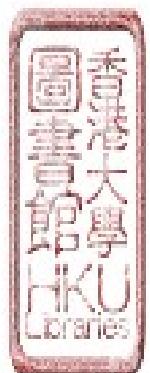
Nanking's attempt to thwart Tsou's journal was impeded by the location of its headquarters in the foreign sector of Shanghai. In theory, Chinese law



applied to all Chinese citizens living in the foreign areas, and earlier agreements had returned control of the Chinese courts in Shanghai to the central government. In reality, however, KMT authorities had to go through the foreign-controlled police to make arrests in those zones. Cooperation was usually forthcoming in cases involving Communists, whom the British or French authorities were eager to remove, but was not otherwise assured.

The Nationalist government sometimes used non-legal methods to exert their influence on Shanghai. Opponents of the KMT would often be intimidated,¹⁷ kidnapped, or simply killed by agents of Nanking.¹⁸

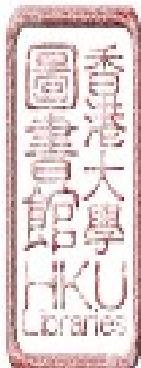
In 1932, however, Chiang Kai-shek's "irregular authority" in Shanghai was at a low ebb. The short-lived Cantonese controlled government of December 1931 - January 1932 had moved many of Chiang's supporters out of the Party and government agencies in the Shanghai area. Chiang's return to power coincided with the Japanese assault on Shanghai and the removal of the government to Loyang. Party and government organs in the Shanghai area were thus in a shambles. Moreover, many members of the KMT, civilian and military, were sympathetic to Tsou's anti-Japanese sentiments. Even Chiang's closest ally in the Shanghai underworld, Green Gang leader Tu Yüeh-sheng, who had been invaluable in suppressing the



Communist-dominated labor unions in 1927, was unreliable in this case. Distraught by the Japanese attack on Shanghai, Tu strongly opposed Japanese aggression. He had sent Green Gang members, sometimes armed with machine guns, behind enemy lines to serve as snipers during the Shanghai fighting.¹⁹ In sum, eliminating the Sheng-huo chou-k'an under the circumstances of summer 1932 in Shanghai was a delicate political task.

Tsou continued on a collision course with Chiang. Enraged by Nanking's suppression of anti-Japanese activity and what he perceived as a callous disregard for legality by Nanking authorities, Tsou joined with Sung Ch'ing-ling and Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei in organizing the League for the Protection of Civil Rights in January 1933. This body sharply attacked the KMT government, particularly over the disappearance of writer Ting Ling in May 1933.²⁰ Nanking retaliated. When Yang Ch'üan, secretary of the League, was gunned down in front of the Academica Sinica on June 18, 1933, Tsou realized that his life was endangered. At the urging of friends, Tsou departed China in July 1933, and was to remain safely abroad until August 1935.²¹

With Tsou in exile, the Sheng-huo chou-k'an faced renewed pressure. Authorities throughout China persecuted those circulating the journal. When Hu Yü-



chih published an article in December 1933, which was
²²
sympathetic to the Fukien rebels, Nanking ordered
the journal closed. The closing date was December 16,
²³
1933. By that date Chiang had sufficient control
in the Shanghai area to enforce such an edict.

HSIN-SHENG CHOU-K'AN

Tsou's associates quickly regrouped, however, and the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an [New Life Weekly] began
²⁴
publication in February 1934, shortly after the suspension of the Sheng-huo chou-k'an. The Hsin-sheng chou-k'an was virtually identical in policy, format and staff to the old Sheng-huo chou-k'an. Such a cat and mouse game between publishers and censors was common in China, and publishers frequently chose titles similar to earlier banned periodicals for their new publications. Tu Chung-yuan, the anti-Japanese industrialist from Mukden, edited and published the new publication. Tsou's loyal following of readers moved to the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an whose circulation became almost as large as its
²⁵
predecessor.

In the inaugural issue of the journal, February 1934, Tu declared his intention to keep alive the anti-Japanese sentiment of the Chinese people and the memory of his fellow provincials who were suffering under Japanese occupation. He expressed the fear, not

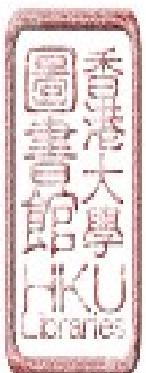


unfounded, that the government's appeasement policy would lead to permanent loss of the north-east. He published letters smuggled from Manchuria which begged readers not to forget their lost comrades and to help raise funds for resistance fighters. He attacked T'ang Yu-jen, the acting Foreign Affairs Minister and close associate of Wang Ching-wei, who strongly favored appeasement. After T'ang in a public statement rejected the use of force as a means of regaining lost territories, Tu charged that he was destroying all hope of the resistance which was still alive in the north-east. Tu wrote that :

I believe that the government has already forgotten this vast and wealthy land. The government has already discarded the lives of the people under the oppression of the enemy... The government's policy of non-recognition of puppet organizations has already become one of tacit recognition of puppet organizations. It's policy of "on the one hand negotiate, on the other hand resist", has already become one of "on the one hand negotiate, on the other hand submit".²⁶

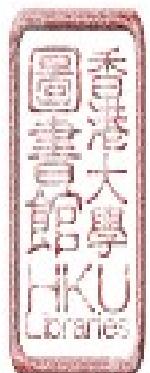
Tu's concerns were grounded in reality.

The blatantly anti-Japanese attitude of the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an, the most widely read periodical in China at the time, was an obvious violation of Nanking's policy of accomodation. The periodical



reprinted songs used by resistance fighters in Manchuria which referred to the Japanese as "devils"
²⁷ and "insects". Words such as "militaristic", "fascist", and "imperialist" were regularly used to describe the Japanese government. Tu argued that an alliance of militarists and capitalists was responsible for Japanese imperialism and fascism and he reminded readers that the people of Japan suffered as much oppression from the Tokyo regime as had the Chinese victims of Japanese aggression.
²⁸ The journal also attacked Japanese concepts of Pan-Asianism, commenting that this was merely a cover for imperialism, and firmly rejected any suggestion (made at that time by both Japanese writers and the Chinese leader Wang Ching-wei), that Sun Yat-sen had endorsed such a
²⁹ concept.

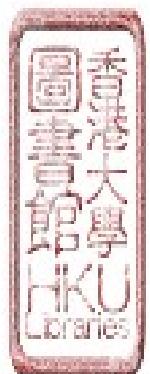
Nanking released a widely circulated essay in the spring of 1935, entitled "Ti-hu? Yu-hu?" [Enemy or Friend] which addressed the major issues in Sino-Japanese relations. Distributed under the name of Hsü Tao-lin, Chiang's personal secretary, it was widely regarded as representing the views of Chiang himself. The article proclaimed the desirability of a general Sino-Japanese settlement but noted that there were some types of concessions which no Chinese government could make, including formal recognition of the loss of Manchuria or surrendering the sovereignty of



additional Chinese territory.

During the discussions between the two sides Tokyo insisted that all traces of hostility to Japanese in China be eliminated. Tokyo authorities held Nanking accountable for any attack or assault, physical or literary, deemed insulting. On several occasions Nanking promised the Japanese that all efforts would be made to eliminate anti-Japanese activity. Wang Ching-wei, president of the executive ^{yuan}, made such a pledge to Tokyo's minister to China ³⁰ in January 1935. Nanking of course, did not have sufficient political control of China to have enforced rigorously such a pledge, and there were many Japanese agents in China who sought to torpedo any Sino-Japanese accomodation. These individuals were always uncovering school textbooks which allegedly insulted Japan or highlighted incidents, real or imagined in which Japanese in China had been molested. In early June 1935, Umezo Yoshihiro, Japanese commander of the Tientsin garrison, reached an "understanding" with Ho Ying-ch'in Nanking's representative in north China. As part of this general agreement, Nanking issued the so-called "Goodwill Mandate" on June 10, 1935. This called for "the cultivation of goodwill with our neighbours." It further stated that :

the central government had repeatedly ordered



that all citizens should observe proper amenities toward friendly nations, and not indulge in discriminatory or provocative speeches or acts... It is hereby again specially ordered that this injunction be fully observed. Persons violating the order will be severely punished.

31

In the spring of 1935, the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an expressed great alarm over indications that Chiang Kai-shek might conclude a general peace agreement with Japan. In May 1935, Tu attacked the "Ti-hu? Yu-hu?" article which he believed represented Chiang's views, and suggested that patriotic Chinese understood that the enemy was no less than Japanese imperialism. He noted that the appearance of the article had caused grave concern among the patriotic public and that Nanking would accept the Japanese plan for greater accomodation with China.

32

33

SUPPRESSION OF THE HSIN-SHENG CHOU-K'AN

Japanese pressure on Nanking for a Sino-Japanese accomodation continued. Japanese authorities in Shanghai put the "Goodwill Mandate" of June 10, 1935, to an immediate test with the case of the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an. They seized upon a very brief article in the May 4, 1935, issue of the journal entitled "Hsien-hua huang-ti" [Random talk on emperors]. It

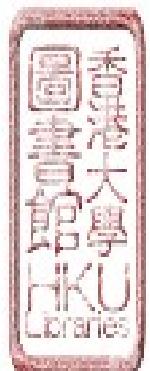


appeared under the pseudonym of I Sui, the pen name of I Han-sung, who edited the Sheng-huo chou-k'an³⁴ during its final days. The article began with a discussion of the powers Chinese emperors once enjoyed and the tragedy of some of the least fortunate emperors of China. The article compared the role of emperors, both historical and contemporary, in such countries as England, Italy, Japan and Siam, and concluded that modern emperors were essentially puppets. On the subject of the Japanese emperor it specifically stated :

As far as we know, the emperor of Japan is a biologist... He actually does not have the real power, although everything is done in his name... The Japanese War Office and capitalist class are the real rulers of Japan... And yet, contemporary Japan would not give up her antique : the "emperor". Of course, an emperor is useful in governing Japan... now in order to alleviate the conflicts between different classes and to satisfy the crimes of certain people.³⁵

The article concluded with a swipe at the Man-chukuo puppet emperor P'u I whom the author labelled as both pathetic and the "puppet of the puppets".

Initially the article attracted little attention. However, in June 1935, it suddenly aroused



the belated wrath of the Japanese community in Shanghai. The central government in Nanking as well as the Shanghai municipal government was confronted with
³⁶
Japanese demands for apologies and remedial action.

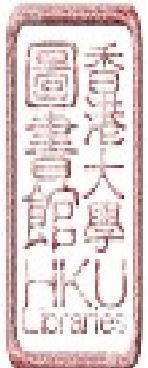
Japanese authorities in Shanghai created a major incident over the article which they claimed insulted the Japanese Emperor and violated Japan's kokutai [national polity]. Japanese newspapers in Shanghai denounced the journal and windows of Chinese-owned shops in the Japanese dominated sector of the International Settlement of Shanghai were smashed. As an added pressure, a Japanese flagship anchored at
³⁷
Nanking for the duration of the dispute.

On June 10, 1935, the central government issued a directive which called for the promotion of friendly relations with all neighboring countries. The mayor of Shanghai, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, promptly apologized to the Japanese and ordered a ban on the periodical, the punishment of persons responsible, and the destruction of all remaining copies of the issue. He also guaranteed that similar incidents would not recur. The Consul-General of Japan in Shanghai met with Mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng on June 24 and demanded that the periodical be closed and the editor be punished. The Japanese Ambassador to China, Ariyoshi, held similar discussions on July 2 with
³⁸
T'ang Yu-jen.



Japanese demands grew daily. The offending issue of the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an had been approved prior to its publication by the Shanghai Censorship Commission [established in 1934 under the Central Publicity Department of the KMT], hence Japanese authorities deemed the KMT responsible for the article. The Japanese press in Shanghai reported that the Japanese would demand general disbandment of all organizations in Shanghai considered anti-Japanese, including the KMT tang-pu [Party Department], the CC group, and the Blue Shirts. Public apologies would also be sought from Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei, reported the Shanghai Mainichi, which also attacked the Shanghai Civic Association, headed by Green Gang leader Tu Yüeh-sheng. That body in which Tu Chung-yüan had allegedly been active, was responsible for wide-ranging anti-Japanese activities, the Mainichi claimed, and it was linked with the North-west Assistance Association which had funded resistance in Manchuria.³⁹

Nanking capitulated to most of the Japanese demands. Tu Chung-yüan was arrested on July 2, 1935, on orders of Shanghai's Mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng and the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an was suspended. It was last published on June 22, 1935. Tu was arrested on charges of publishing remarks derogatory to the Emperor of Japan. Unsatisfied, Ariyoshi extracted



further pledges from T'ang Yu-jen that all parties responsible for insults to the Japanese Emperor would be punished. On July 8, Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang, head of the Central Publicity Department, dismissed the seven censors in the Shanghai office who had passed the article and apologized on behalf of his agency.⁴⁰

Arrangements were made to bring Tu to trial. On July 9, 1935, the Second Branch Kiangsu High Court was convened. Tu was formally charged, not with sedition, but with committing an offense under Articles 116 and 310 of the New Criminal Code and Article 325 of the Old Criminal Code, for insulting the head of a friendly state. The conviction was made easy by the defense, who made no attempt to justify the article. Tu Chung-yüan was subsequently tried and sentenced to fourteen months of imprisonment, two months short of the maximum penalty prescribed. Chinese documents which I have seen give no indication as to why he was not charged with sedition. All copies of the offending issue of the periodical, in which the article appeared, were to be confiscated. Furthermore the judge declared the sentence final and denied Tu the right to appeal.⁴¹

The Hsin-sheng chou-k'an case laid bare Tokyo's demand that China operate as a quasi-protectorate of Japan, and that the Chinese people must demonstrate the same deference to the Emperor as was required in



Korea and Taiwan, both colonies of Tokyo. The incident also revealed Nanking's willingness to accomodate Japanese demands.

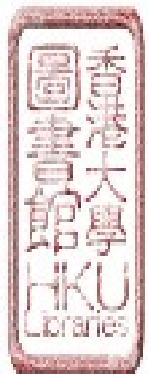
As promised, the government stepped up its campaign to suppress anti-Japanese activity. On July 10, for instance, a Kiangsu court sentenced a book-dealer to three month's imprisonment for selling books which praised the Ninetenth Route Army and the resistance movement in Manchuria.⁴² One bookstore manager was brought to trial on December 9, and another three book-store managers on December 11, 1935, all for selling anti-Japanese books in Shanghai.⁴³ Incidents multiplied as many people were found guilty of the "crime" of being anti-Japanese.⁴⁴

In the final analysis Nanking failed to stem the tide of anti-Japanese feeling in China. Indeed, the harsh sentence given to Tu inflamed Chinese public opinion, and as the implications of the Ho-Umetsu agreement became clear in Peking and Tientsin, the moribund student movement came to life, with major demonstrations in the north. Anti-Japanese activity spread through urban China, despite Nanking's promises to Ariyoshi.

The patriotic press flourished during these years in the face of ever tighter publications laws, and ever increasing government suppression. National Salvation literature became both intensely anti-



Japanese and ardently nationalistic. The Sheng-huo periodicals provided a platform for Tsou T'ao-fen and his colleagues to espouse their ideas that were later reiterated and further developed in the periodical press of 1935-1937, and in various National Salvation Movement manifestos. Of greater significance during this period was the fact that intellectuals were increasingly alienated from the Nanking government, a trend which increased in its intensity in the subsequent period, 1935-37.



CHAPTER 3

NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE, 1931-35

NOTES :

1. Text of this Law is reprinted in KWCP 8:11 March 23, 1931; the Regulations for its application in ibid., 13:6 April 6, 1931.
2. NCH May 19, 1931, p. 221; Hsien-cheng shou-ts'e (Kwangtung : Chung-kuo wen-hua shih-yeh chü, 1933), pp.35-41.
3. Hsü Ting Lee-hsia, Government Control of the Press in Modern China, 1900-1949 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 15-17, 86.
4. Ibid.
5. Tsou's most popular journal was probably Sheng-huo chou-k'an with a circulation that ultimately topped 150,000, the largest in the history of Republican China. Some sources claim that a later journal published by Tsou, the Ta-chung sheng-huo briefly reached a circulation of nearly 200,000 per issue. See Margo S. Gewurtz, Between America and Russia : Student Radicalism and the Travel Books of Tsou T'ao-fen, 1933-1937 (Toronto : Downview, 1975), p.6. Jerome Grieder notes that the Tu-li p'ing-lun had a circulation of "around seven thousand" in 1935



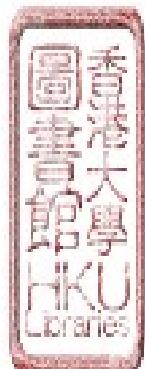
- in Renaissance (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970), p. 247.
6. For accounts of Tsou Tao-fen's early career see Margo S. Gewurtz, "Tsou T'ao-fen : The Sheng-huo Years, 1925-1933", Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1972, pp. 12-39.
 7. Sheng-huo chou-k'an, October 17, 1931, p.950. See also Margo S. Gewurtz, "Tsou T'ao-fen", pp. 153-158; and Mu Hsin, ed., Tsou T'ao-fen (Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1959), p. 63.
 8. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China 4 Vols. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971), Entry : Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 319.
 9. See for example Tsou T'ao-fen's articles in Sheng-huo chou-k'an, November 16, 1932, p.186.
 10. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Entry : Sung Ch'ing-ling, p. 783.
 11. Sheng-huo chou-k'an, pp. 53-54; and Lin Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1936), p. 151. All sources give approximately the same circulation figures. It is estimated that at its height Hsin ch'ing-nien, the most important periodical of the May Fourth era, had a circulation of 16,000. See Chow Tse-tsung, The



- May Fourth Movement (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 73.
12. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p.49.
 13. Margo S Gewurtz, "Tsou T'ao-fen", pp. 160-161; Huang I-chih, ed., Tsou T'ao-fen (Shanghai Commercial Press, 1950), pp. 25-26.
 14. Mu Hsin, Tsou T'ao-fen, pp.88-89.
 15. Hsu Ting Lee-hsia, Government Control of the Press in Modern China, 1900-1949, pp. 102-103.
 16. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, pp. 88-89.
 17. Hsu Ting Lee-hsia, p.102.
 18. For examples of this type of activity, see Lloyd Eastman, The Abortive Revolution : China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 21-24.
 19. During the 1930s Chiang K'ai-shek was never able to free himself from his dependence on the Green Gang, and particularly Tu Yüeh-sheng.
 20. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien (Peking : Chieh-fang chun ch'u-pan she, 1987), p. 579. Ting Ling was kidnapped and taken into custody by the KMT in Nanking.
 21. For details on Yang Ch'üan's assassination see John K. Fairbank, Chinabound : A Fifty-Year Memoir (New York : Harper and Row, 1982), pp. 73-76; Hsu Ting, Government Control of the Press in Modern China, 1900-1949., pp. 96-97.



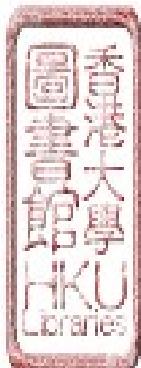
- For Tsou's role in the League see Margo Gewurtz, "Tsou T'ao-fen", p. 219.
22. For details on the Fukien Incident see Kang-jih chan-cheng shi-chien jen-wu lu(Shanghai : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1986), p.40. On November 23, 1933 the Fukien People's government met for the second time and issued a manifesto which outlined its determination to cooperate with the CCP in opposing the Japanese and opposing Chiang K'ai-shek.
23. Boorman and Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Entry : Tu Chung-yuan. The closing date is given as October 1933. In the Entry : Tsou T'ao-fen, ibid., the closing date is given as December 16, 1933. The Ch'uan-kuo Chung-wen ch'i-k'an lien-ho mu-lu (Peking : Pei-ching t'u-shu-kuan, 1961), p. 401 supports a December closing, which seems correct.
24. Shih-tai ai-kuo ming-jen tz'u-tien (Place unknown : Hupeh jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 443.
25. Sheng-huo chou-k'an, December 16, 1933, p. 1017; Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p.94; Huang I-chih, Tsou T'ao-fen, p.33; Li Chin, "Ts'ung suo-wei 'ch'i chün-tzu' t'an tao 'chiu-kuo hui'", [From the so-called "Seven Worthies" talking about the National Salvation Association"), Ch'un-ch'iu,



- 144 July 1, 1963, p.6; Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh 39 :
4 October 1981, p.146-147.
26. Hsin-sheng chou-k'an 1:12 April 28, 1934, p. 222; see also 1:5 March 10, 1934, pp. 96-99 and 1:7 March 24, 1934, p. 121.
27. Hsin-sheng chou-k'an 1:42 November 24, 1934, p. 867.
28. Ibid., 1:27, 28, 29, passim.
29. Ibid., 1:45 December 15, 1934, p. 909.
30. Hsin-sheng chou-k'an, 2:9 March 23, 1935, p.181.
31. China Year Book, 1936, p. 176.
32. Kung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien p.682.
33. "Ti-hu Yu-hu?" appears initially in Wai-chiao p'ing-lun, 3:11-12 November-December 1934, supplement. See also Hsin-sheng chou-k'an 2:2 February 2, 1935.
34. Hsin-sheng chou-k'an 2:15 May 4, 1936, pp. 312-313.
35. Ibid., pp.312-313. The translation given is from Hsü Ting, Government Control of the Press in Modern China, 1900-1949.
36. Ibid., p.106.
37. Ibid.
38. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 96; Hsü Ting p. 106; The China Weekly Review, July 13, 1935, p.214.
39. The China Weekly Review, July 13, 1935, p. 214.



40. Ch'en Ying-hsing, ed. Chung-kuo min-kuo hsing-fa chieh-shih t'u piao chi t'iao wen (Min-kuo : Shang-wu she kuan, 1936), pp. 268-269.
41. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p.97; The China Weekly Review, July 13, 1935, pp. 214-215. In 1936 Chiang created a new censorship bureau, the Central Press Censorship Bureau, directly under the Military Affairs Commission. For a more detailed description of this case, see NCH July 3, 10, 17, 24, 1935, pp.15, 60, 89-90, 100, 140.
42. The China Weekly Review, July 13, 1935, p.215.
43. NCH July 17 and 24, August 7, 1935, pp.100, 151, 238.
44. See NCH October 16, 1935, for the so-called "anti-Japanese poster incident" in Hankow.



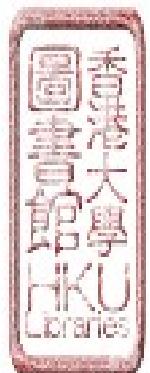
CHAPTER 4 :

THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT,
1935-1936

The National Salvation Movement entered a new phase of development in late 1935 which witnessed the mushroom growth of National Salvation Movement organizations on a large scale. This was precipitated by the stepping up of Japanese aggression from July 1935, which provoked a strong student movement in the north and elsewhere (the December Ninth Movement).

THE DECEMBER NINTH MOVEMENT

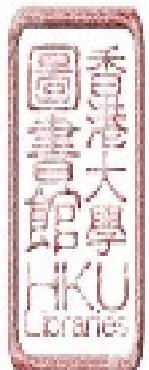
The consummation of the Ho-Umetsu negotiations in early July 1935 set the stage for the removal from Hopeh province of all military and political persons and groups unfriendly to Japan, and therefore ushered in a new era of Japanese control in north China. Japan's all-out aggressive policy which was beginning to take shape in early 1933, had definitely manifested itself in the spring of 1935, when Japan launched the "autonomy" movement of five provinces [Suiyuan, Chahar, Hopeh, Shantung and Honan] in north China. After much solicitation for a puppet leader from among the old and new Chinese militarists, from Wu P'ei-fu to Yen Hsi-shan, the Japanese army in



north China, with the consent of the Kwantung army in Manchuria eventually settled on General Sung Che-yüan.¹

No sooner had Sung Che-yüan and his 29th Army taken over in late September 1935, the control of Peking and the Tientsin area, than Major General Doihara Kenji, chief of the Kwantung army's special service section, set out to engineer a series of incidents and to confront Sung Che-yüan with open demands for immediate proclamation of autonomy.² Evidently the strong measures taken by the Japanese military had the full support of the Japanese government, for on October 28, 1935, the Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota announced the Three Principles of Japan's policy: first, thorough suppression of anti-Japanese activities and thoughts in China; second, conclusion of a Sino-Japanese anti-Communist military pact; and third, achievement of "economic cooperation" between Japan, Manchukuo, and China, with a special position provided for north China.³

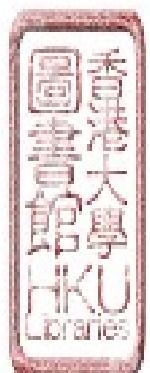
Japan's aggressive policy not only hastened the development of the autonomous movement but also aroused a new surge of Chinese patriotism which had already gained momentum since the Mukden Incident. Thus students in Peking, who to all intents and purposes for several years had been kept politically inactive by rigid government policy and the



suppression of all political organizations and activities, began to organize. The quiescent volcano suddenly erupted on the issue of Japan's forcible separation of the north China provinces.

On November 1, 1935, eleven universities, colleges and middle schools' student self-governing associations in Peking and Tientsin sent a petition to the Sixth Plenum of the KMT Central Executive Committee in protest against arbitrary arrests and infringements of freedom.⁴ The petition alleged that student discussion groups which had been organized on a legitimate basis were closed down and their members arrested and that during secret raids on student dormitories in Peking universities scores of students were arrested and held in prison without trial.⁵ It should be noted that the petition gave almost as much attention to demands for press freedom and freedom of speech, assembly and association as it did to the dominant issue of Japanese aggression and Nanking's policy of compromise.⁶

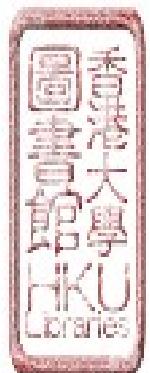
Public demonstrations were deemed necessary in 1935 because the news in the Chinese newspapers was severely restricted. Also, editors who published material offensive to the Nanking or to Japanese military officials in China invariably found themselves in difficulty. Newspaper editions were often confiscated and newspaper offices closed. Students



hoped to make known the facts of Sino-Japanese relations through public demonstrations. In the build-up to December 9th, delegates from the various schools met November 18, 1935, in Peking to announce the establishment of a student union. Yenching, Tsinghua, Tungpei and Chungkuo universities were ⁷ focal points of student unrest.

A definite decision to hold a mass protest rally in early December 1935, was made after the November 24, 1935, inauguration of the East Hopeh Autonomous Council by Major General Doihara Kenji, with the notorious Yin Ju-keng as chairman. Students saw the crowning "success" of Doihara's adventures as the separation of east Hopeh from Chinese jurisdiction. Fear that all of north China was about to come under the control of a Japanese puppet regime had overcome fear of government reprisal. Finally on December 3, 1935 at the meeting of the Peking Student Union, (established November 18, 1935) it was resolved that ⁸ a demonstration be staged on December 9, 1935.

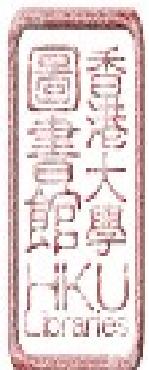
The Movement began December 9th, 1935, when ¹⁰ students took to the streets to protest the north China autonomous regime and Nanking's appeasement of Japan. The students bore signs with incendiary slogans such as "Down with Japanese Imperialism", "Oppose Self-government in North China" and "Protect the Territorial and Administrative Integrity of Our



¹¹ Country". Many student leaders were arrested. But the repression was not as great as is generally believed, for all the arrested students from Tungpei and Chung-shan Middle School were released after a few weeks imprisonment through the intercession of ¹² Chang Hsueh-liang.

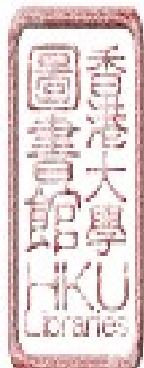
The December Ninth demonstrators aimed at ¹³ presenting a petition to Ho Ying-chin. As acting chairman of the Peking Council of the Military Affairs Council, of which Chiang Kai-shek was the chairman, Ho was the highest authority representing the Nanking government in north China. Ever since his submission to the Japanese demands as embodied in the ¹⁴ Ho-Umetsu agreement, Ho had been labelled as pro-Japanese and had been the target of the student attack.

The disturbance like the May Fourth (1919) and May Thirtieth (1925) Movements soon spread to most major cities and regions in the country : Tientsin, ¹⁵ Hankow, Hangchow, Kaifeng, Canton and Shanghai. Shanghai in particular was swept along, partly because the foreign concessions provided a convenient haven for critics of Nanking's policy. The Shanghai students with Futan University at the lead, answered the call of the Peking students as early as December 12, when they issued two circular telegrams pledging ¹⁶ their full support.



In Peking despite the fact that high-handed measures to suppress the student movement were used by Sung Che-yüan who was the commander of the 29th Army and also the chairman of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Council, in order to comply with Japanese demands the students were not to be intimidated. The next day most students in Peking's universities and high schools were on strike, demanding the release of those who had been arrested December 9th. Torn between sympathy for the students' demonstration of patriotism and the necessity to enforce discipline, presidents of six universities on December 13 issued a joint statement urging the students to return to their classes.¹⁷ However, they were met with a blatant refusal when the students staged a huge demonstration three days later on December 16th.¹⁸

On the morning of December 16th, students from nearly all the universities and high schools in Peking demonstrated. One of the professed goals of the December 16 demonstration was to disrupt the inauguration of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Council.¹⁹ This goal was accomplished, for the inaugural day was postponed until December 18, 1935.²⁰ The real significance of this action is that it gave further impetus to the student movement which had been kindled by the December Ninth demonstrations.²¹ In Peking itself there was a split within the student

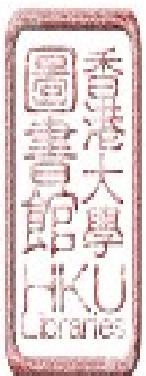


movement ranks with a minority of students forming propaganda teams to carry the message of national salvation to the countryside,²² and the majority identifying with the fledgling National Salvation Movement.²³

On the inaugural day of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Council a student rally of five thousand staged a demonstration in Nanking and presented a petition to the Executive Yuan. It was followed by another demonstration held by an even larger crowd the next day, and the students declared a strike a week later to dramatize their patriotic cause.²⁴

In Shanghai at a student rally on December 19, attended by over one thousand students, five demands were adopted and immediately presented to Shanghai Mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng. Later two thousand students set out to Nanking to directly petition the National government to take a strong stand against Japanese aggression in north China.²⁵

In the wake of the December 16 demonstration, the student movement spread to many parts of the country and a series of student demonstrations were reported to have taken place in Nanking, Canton, Tientsin, Shanghai, Taiyuan, Hankow, Wuchang, Kaifeng and other cities.²⁶ This marked both the beginning of a move to the south for patriotic activity and the convergence of two parallel streams of patriotic



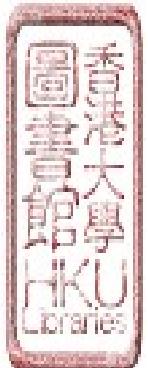
activity : the student movement and the National Salvation Movement.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATION IN SHANGHAI

Chronologically the Shanghai development might seem to have been a response to the December Ninth Movement and a part of the latter, but patriotic activity in Shanghai had continued largely unabated since 1931. Shanghai had been the largest center of anti-Japanese activity following the Mukden Incident.²⁷ Opposition to Japan was particularly virulent among intellectuals in Shanghai, where a number of anti-Japanese organizations had clearly emerged in 1935-36.²⁸

The emergence of these Shanghai organizations was a clear response to the political events and currents that precipitated it. It was the political exigencies of the day that were the primary concern of the National Salvation Movement as borne out in various manifestos, rather than an empathetic response to this display of student nationalism.

In 1936, the National Salvation Movement was the focus of patriotic activity in urban China. Its own identity and momentum had evolved, and eventually eclipsed that of the student movement which had preceded it.



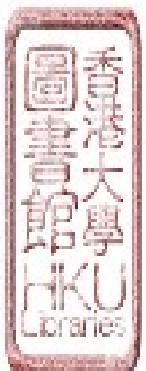
Immediately following the December Ninth demonstrations various National Salvation groups began to organize in Shanghai. Among the key National Salvation groups which organized were the:

Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association

Three days after the December Ninth demonstrations, T'ao Hsing-chih, Ma Hsiang-po, Shen Chun-ju, Li Kung-p'u, Chou Chien-jen and others launched the National Salvation Movement, and issued a manifesto in the name of the Shanghai wen-hua chieh chiu-kuo hui [Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association]. The manifesto was primarily the work of ninety-seven year old Ma Hsiang-po. Two hundred eighty-three people in various cultural circles signed this manifesto. They came from film, media, publishing, educational, legal, literary, fine arts and drama circles.²⁹ On December 27, 1935, the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association was formally inaugurated. The Shanghai National Salvation Association was one of the most important groups and a case study analysis of this Association will be made in the following chapter.

Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association

Another important group to inaugurate was the Shanghai fu-nü chiu-kuo hui [Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association] which was the first



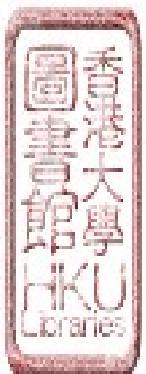
of the key National Salvation groups to formally
inaugurate. This took place on December 21, 1935.
30

Shih Liang was the Executive Director. A case study analysis of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association follows in Chapter 5.

As well as these two primary groups, there were three other groups that were openly established in Shanghai in the immediate post-December Ninth period. They were the Shanghai ta-hsüeh chiao-shou chiu-kuo hui [Shanghai University Professors' National Salvation Association], the Shanghai chih-yeh ko-chieh chiu-kuo hui [Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association] and the Shanghai kuo-nan chiao-yü she [Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education]. These groups represented a strong response from intellectuals in Shanghai.

Shanghai University Professors' National Salvation Association

The Shanghai University Professors' National Salvation Association was led by T'ao Hsing-chih. It was established shortly after the December Ninth demonstrations. The exact date of its inauguration is not clear although its existence was reported by the Chinese press on January 10, 1936. The Ta mei wan-pao [Great Beautiful Evening Paper] of January 10, 1936, reported its existence. Those who acted in an advisory capacity included Shen Chun-ju, Ts'ao Chu-jen,



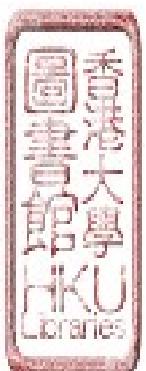
Sun Huai-jen, Chou Hsin-min, Pan Ta-k'uei, Wu Ch'ing-yu, Chang Nai-ch'i, and Wang Fu-yen. There were more than sixty people involved in this particular
³¹
 Association.

Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association

The Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association was inaugurated February 9, 1936. Sha
³⁰
 Ch'ien-li was the executive director. Other directors were Wang Chi-hua, Yang Ching-ts'ai, Shih Chih-ang, Yuan Ch'ing-wei, Chang Nai-ch'i, Jen
³²
 Ts'ung-kao. Members included department-store workers; shopworkers; insurance agents, Chinese continuation (cramming) school students; financiers and elementary school teachers. It was composed of six groups and the prime objective was both to continue resistance to Japan and to further promote National Salvation propaganda work. Other goals included : to unite young professionals and to
³³
 publish T'uan-chieh [Unity] and other publications.

Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education

The Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education was formed 23 February, 1936. Its inaugural meeting, held in the Shanghai YWCA was attended by over four hundred people. They included some workers; peasants; businessmen; middle school teachers; university professors; artists; educators; teachers;

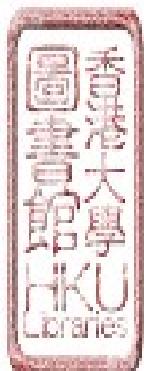


34

assistant teachers; and religious people, in fact, people from every walk of life. They had one common goal : to use national crisis education to save the nation from destruction and to strengthen unity. The inaugural meeting concluded with the chanting of
 35 slogans.

At the time of the formation of the Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education, the Society took the opportunity to adopt some general regulations, issue a manifesto and a work outline, and incorporate an elected executive committee. But unlike several of the other key Shanghai National Salvation groups, with the exception of T'ao Hsing-chih, the leadership of the Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education remains obscure. The executive committee, which was charged with the responsibility for the leadership of the Society, divided the work into various departments. The organization of the Society was regarded as of prime
 36 importance.

The Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education membership expanded rapidly. In less than four months it was claimed that membership had grown to more than seven hundred people, who in addition to the various categories of people who attended the inaugural meeting also included elementary and spare-time school teachers as well as peasants.
 37 It is

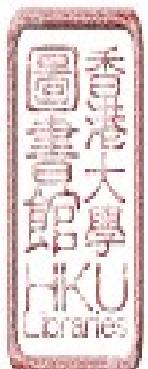


only with reference to the Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education that I have seen mention of the involvement of peasants in the National Salvation Movement, which may suggest that even to a very limited extent the National Salvation Movement had some impact on the rural sector of Chinese society.

Shanghai Students' National Salvation Association

During the 1930s students in Shanghai organized various National Salvation groups on Shanghai university and college campuses. In response to the December Ninth student demonstrations, Shanghai students demonstrated and subsequently assumed the leadership role in the national student movement.

In the early months of 1936 there continued to be a convergence between the student movement and the National Salvation Movement. This culminated in the convening of a meeting held in Shanghai, on May 27, 1936, to formally inaugurate the Shanghai hsüeh-sheng chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [Shanghai Students' National Salvation Federation]. Attending this meeting were approximately thirty delegates representing some thirty-nine organizations in twenty-one cities, including Peking, Shanghai, Tientsin and Nanking. Thus there is evidence of the extent of the geographical spread of the student stream of the National Salvation Movement. The Shanghai Students' National Salvation Association was not publicly inaugurated or



38
recognized.

Two days after the inauguration of the Shanghai Students' National Salvation Association, the China Students' National Salvation Federation was inaugurated on May 29, 1936, in Shanghai. Approximately thirty delegates representing twenty-one cities attended.³⁹ Students from Peking, Canton, Tientsin, Shanghai, Hangchow, Chinan, Nanking, Wuhan, Taiyuan, Tsingtao, Wenchow, Hsüchow, Paoting, T'angshan, and Changchiak'ou attended the inaugural meeting.⁴⁰

Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association

Sources vary concerning the existence or not of the Shanghai kung-jen chiu-kuo hui [Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association.] Freyn suggests that attempts in Shanghai, "to draw workers into the National Salvation Movement led to immediate suppression, but a Workers' Anti-Japanese National Salvation Association existed but remained illegal, and that the Japanese in particular spared no effort to hunt down its members."⁴¹ Rosinger likewise supports the notion of the formation of a Shanghai Workers Association and the subsequent declaration of its illegality.⁴² Smith simply asserts that "groups of workers... formed National Salvation Associations."⁴³ None of the writers indicate their sources for such comments. Notwithstanding, their views are consistent with one Chinese source.⁴⁴

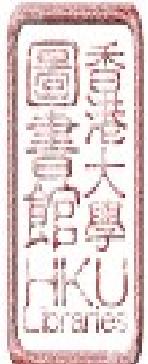


Others have refuted these views and have maintained that industrial workers did not have their own group in Shanghai but were expected to enter the ⁴⁵ Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association.

In the early part of 1936 this may have been so. But the existence of the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association is substantiated by one text which mentioned that the formal inauguration of the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association was ⁴⁶ on August 9, 1936, in Shanghai. There is no indication of the organizers of this Association. The inauguration was reported in the Shanghai kung-jen chiu-kuo hui ch'eng-li ta-hui t'e-k'an [A Special Issue of the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association General Meeting] which was dated August ⁴⁷ 9, 1936, and indicated the entrance into the public arena of the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association. The leadership and membership of this group remains obscured by anonymity.

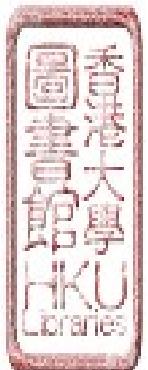
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE SHANGHAI NATIONAL SALVATION FEDERATION

During the early months of 1936 collaboration and joint effort began between the various National Salvation Associations in Shanghai and paved the way for the formation of the Shanghai ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [Shanghai National Salvation Federation].



The formal inauguration of the Shanghai National Salvation Federation was held at the Shanghai Chamber of Commerce auditorium on January 28, 1936. That day prior to the inaugural meeting there was a demonstration march. At the inauguration there were more than eight hundred delegates representing Shanghai industrial, commercial, and agricultural sectors of society as well as students and women.⁴⁸

At this inaugural meeting some nineteen people were recommended by general acclaim to comprise the presidium.⁴⁹ They included a number who were prominent in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association such as : Ma Hsiang-po, Li Kung-p'u, Lo Ch'ing-hua, Wu Yao-tsung, Yang Wei-yü, Liao Mou-ju, and Chou Chien-yün. Shen Chun-ju and Chang Nai-ch'i were also prominent in the leadership of that Association as well as in the Shanghai University Professors National Salvation Association. Several women were included in the presidium who were prominent in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association. They were Shih Liang, Ho Hsiang-ning and Shen Tz'u-chiu. Finally there were people such as Liu Wang Li-ming, Wang Hsiao-lai, Chiang Wen-yü, Ou-Yang Yü-ch'ing, and Hu Feng-hsiang but it is unclear with which groups they were affiliated. T'ao Hsing-chih emerged as the executive director. At the conclusion of the meeting more than eight hundred



people went on a demonstration march.

The Shanghai National Salvation Federation eventually consisted of the Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association, the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association, the Shanghai National Crisis Education Society, the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association, the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association, the Shanghai University Professors' National Salvation Association and the Shanghai Students' National Salvation Association.
51

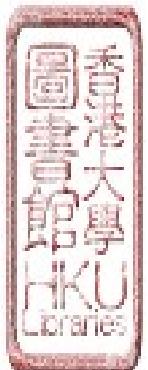
It may be noted that although the existence of all these groups is well documented, the precise relationship of these various local National Salvation Association groups to each other is somewhat unclear. In the groups which provide names of people whether from manifestos or from those who attended National Salvation Association meetings there is some overlap, primarily at the leadership level, although this may also have occurred in the lower echelons of the National Salvation Movement organization. It also remains somewhat uncertain what actual authority each group commanded over its own affairs. Thus, the Shanghai National Salvation Federation paved the way for the subsequent formation of the Chuan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation].



THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ALL-CHINA NATIONAL SALVATION FEDERATION

By mid 1936, conditions were ripe for the organization of an All-China National Salvation Federation. While there are no lists available of specific National Salvations that had organized by this time there is documentary evidence to support the view that scores of China's major cities had organized ⁵² National Salvation groups. Shanghai had clearly by this point become the focus of patriotic activity in China and the center of both the student movement and the National Salvation Movement. It would seem that people like Sung Ch'ing-ling, Ho Hsiang-ning and the seven worthies were behind the organization of the Federation.

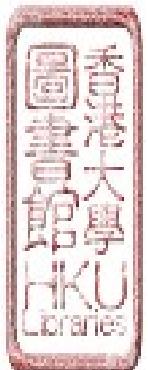
In late May 1936, two National Salvation ⁵³ congresses were held in Shanghai. These conferences were the combination of several months of National Salvation Movement organization. The first national congress, as noted earlier, met on May 29, 1936. This was the student congress. Twenty-six representatives from student National Salvation organizations, that had been formed attended this congress; and the All China Student National Salvation Federation was officially inaugurated. Then on May 30th, three thousand students took part in a demonstration which marched through the streets of Shanghai to the tombs ⁵⁴



of the May Thirtieth victims and distributed handbills purporting to show the progressive annexation of China by Japan.⁵⁵ The date of the Student Congress was chosen to coincide with the commemoration of the May Thirtieth Incident of 1925.⁵⁶

There does not seem to be any close connection between the student congress and the other National Salvation congress which was convened on May 31, 1936. Nor is there any evidence of students attending the subsequent congress, which suggests that the student congress was held in secret while the National Salvation congress which followed was convened in public and organized by Shanghai National Salvation Movement leaders who later assumed key leadership positions within the All-China National Salvation Federation.

At the National Salvation congress the Ch'üan-kuo chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation] was formed. Delegates from at least forty different organizations were present at its inauguration. Altogether more than seventy delegates attended. They represented over twenty provinces and cities and more than sixty National Salvation groups from all over China.⁵⁶ Membership of the All-China National Salvation Federation was open to groups rather than to individuals. The largest represent-

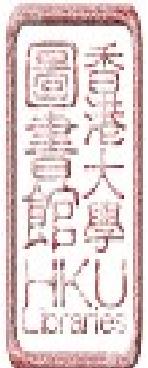


57

ation came from Tientsin and Shanghai.

The All China National Salvation Federation adopted a committee model of leadership without a chairman. At its inauguration a standing committee of fourteen was formed. These included Shen Chün-ju; Chang Nai-ch'i, the propaganda chief; Li Kung-p'u, who was elected in absentia, although the NCH of June 3, 1936, reported him present at the May Thirtieth demonstration. Also elected were Shih Liang; Sha Ch'ien-li; Wang Tsao-shih; Sun Hsiao-ts'un; Tsao Meng-chün and Ho Wei. The standing committee was responsible for National Salvation policy formulation. With the exception of Tsao Meng-chün and Sun Hsiao-ts'un all the rest of these people on the standing committee came from Shanghai. Apart from Ho Wei they were all deeply involved in Shanghai National Salvation Movement groups.

The All-China National Salvation Federation elected a thirty-five member executive committee. Those elected included Ma Hsiang-po, Tsou T'ao-fen (at this point in Hong Kong), Sung Ch'ing-ling, Sha Ch'ien-li, Shih Liang, Ho Hsiang-ning, Ts'ao Meng-chün and T'ao Hsing-chih, who was responsible for education and foreign relations. With the exception of Ts'ao Meng-chün who was from Nanking, the rest of the executive committee appear to have been prominent



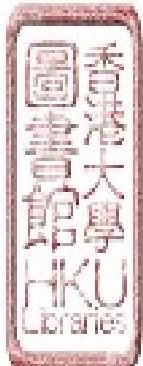
in National Salvation leadership in Shanghai.

PRC sources constantly claim but rarely substantiate, that the All China National Salvation Federation was established under the impetus and leadership of the CCP. But from the names identified in both the standing committee and the executive committee this was not the case. For instance both Shen Chun-ju and Shih Liang were long standing KMT members.⁶⁸ But even more important, none of these people who assumed the national leadership of the All China National Salvation Federation were CCP members at that time. Tsou T'ao-fen was probably the most leftist of these people. He was not a CCP member then and was only admitted to the CCP post-humously in 1944.⁶⁹

EXPANSION, ORGANIZATION AND FINANCE

While the main focus of the National Salvation Movement continued to be in Shanghai there were some notable intellectuals in other cities who assumed National Salvation leadership roles in those cities.

In Peking, intellectuals, such as Ma Hsü-lun, Yang Hsiu-feng and T'ao Hsi-chin were involved in the National Salvation Movement. Ma Hsü-lun was a professor at Peking University during the May Fourth Movement. He was closely connected with various revolutionary organizations.⁷⁰ In 1925 Ma Hsü-lun was



71

Vice-Minister of Education, but in 1926 he was forced to flee from Peking because of his agitation against the March 18, 1926, massacre of students. He was deeply involved in the National Salvation Movement in Peking and was a signatory to the Peking Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto
 72 (February 1936). Also involved in Peking National
 73 Salvation Movement affairs was Yang Hsiu-feng. From 1933-1937 Yang was a professor at National Peking Normal University. He did not join the CCP until
 74 1939. In fact, none of these Peking intellectuals who were prominent in the National Salvation Movement were CCP members in mid-1936.

In Nanking the most prominent National Salvation Movement leader was Ts'ao Meng-chün. Ts'ao was originally from Changsha and she later graduated from Peking University. In mid-1936, Ts'ao's activities
 75 were centered in Nanking. There is no evidence of her being a CCP member at that time.

One major development after the formation of the All-China National Salvation Federation was its expansion overseas. This was essentially due to the efforts of T'ao Hsing-chih. From July 1936 - August 1938, he was overseas spreading the national salvation message to Europe and North America. He visited twenty-eight nations. In August 1936, T'ao helped to form the All-Europe Overseas Chinese



National Salvation Federation. Chinese intellectuals and professionals who were involved in this came from various European countries including Switzerland,
⁷⁶
 France, Germany and England.

In November 1936, T'ao gave several lectures in the United States. These included lectures to New York dockers, who subsequently refused to ship arms to Japan. As a result of T'ao's endeavors on November 22, 1936, National Salvation Association branches were formally established in various North American cities. These included New York, Washington and
⁷⁷
 Vancouver. In Asia in late 1936, T'ao Hsing-chih encouraged the establishment of the National Salvation Movement in Singapore, Thailand, Cambodia,
⁷⁸
 the Philippines, and Vietnam.

While expansion of the National Salvation Movement overseas gives some indication of growth any attempt to estimate the size of the National Salvation Movement in China is difficult. In the
⁷⁹
 purported absence of membership lists indicators of size must include numbers who attended National Salvation Association meetings, participated in National Salvation demonstration marches, and signed manifestos. Even then, documentation used for this study precludes a precise estimate. Morwood suggests that the National Salvation Association had "some
⁸⁰
 eight hundred thousand members." He gives no



indication how this figure was calculated. It may well be too low an estimate. At the local level, over one thousand women attended the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association inaugural meeting, and participated in the demonstration march the same day. Shanghai and Peking Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos yielded two hundred thirty-⁸¹ eight and one hundred forty-nine ⁸² signatures respectively.

Finances

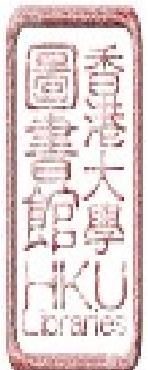
The question of National Salvation Movement finances also deserves attention. Western scholars in the past have given little attention to this aspect of the National Salvation Movement. Linebarger claims first, that the National Salvation Movement was financed essentially through voluntary contributions; second, that most of the National Salvation Movement's work was done by volunteers who sought no financial remuneration, travelling and working at their own expense; and finally, that approximately Ch. ¥5000 sufficed to cover head-quarters expenses in Shanghai.⁸³ While not denying the work done by volunteers, the financial concerns of the National Salvation Movement were far greater than Linebarger implies.

The Chiu-wang shou-ts'e [A Handbook of National



Salvation] gives some indication of this. This document was published by the Sheng-huo Book Company in Shanghai in 1939. It noted that the National Salvation Association sought voluntary financial contributions, particularly from businessmen and professionals, for a relief fund, to provide temporary relief for refugees, especially in north China. Various centers for receiving contributions,⁸⁴ designated for this purpose, were established. Questions such as how, where, when and how much money was distributed are not mentioned. Nor is it clear what criteria were used in deciding who should receive this financial assistance, or even whether the assistance given was in kind, such as food or clothing, or cash. It is, moreover, difficult to verify Linebarger's claim regarding the finances of the National Salvation Association's headquarters in Shanghai, on at least two counts. First, he does not specify the time period for which this Ch. ¥5000 was sufficient. Second, Linebarger gives no indication of his source for such a figure. I have not been able to substantiate or refute this, on the basis of any other source which I have seen.

There were however other sources of finance for the National Salvation Movement. It is clear that the National Salvation Movement was at least in part financed by publishing endeavours. For example, one



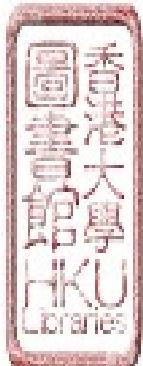
source mentioned that Tu Chung-yuan, 1933-1934 was responsible for the finances for the National Salvation Movement.⁸⁵ Furthermore, each National Salvation Association member was levied an annual fee ranging from Ch. ¥10 to ¥50. There was also a special fee levied on executive committee members⁸⁶.

Another important source of finance for the National Salvation Movement came from Shanghai banks. In particular, Chang Nai-ch'i primarily financed the printing and publication costs of the National Salvation Federation. Sung Ch'ing-ling is also believed to have given Ch. ¥3,000 - 4,000 to the National Salvation Movement.⁸⁷ One source estimated that in several years the National Salvation Movement probably only used approximately one hundred thousand dollars⁸⁸

Training

The National Salvation Federation in Shanghai and presumably elsewhere, included a well-organized training program. One Chinese text refers to National Salvation training in some depth.⁸⁹ The Chiu-wang shou-ts'e [A Handbook of National Salvation] (1939) provides insight into one aspect of National Salvation organization, which reinforces the notion of a well-organized body.

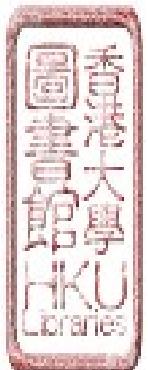
The National Salvation Federation training



program was in part implemented in conjunction with National Salvation Federation cell groups. These cell groups met once a week, or every ten days, for the purpose of study and discussion. From its early origins cell groups were a feature of the National Salvation Movement. The National Salvation Federation also considered that training and propaganda work were complementary, though one was not a substitute for the other.

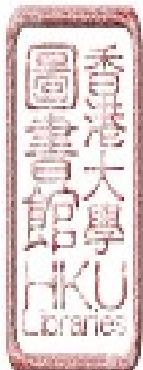
The National Salvation Association aimed to train both "the masses" and "cadres." Training classes were held for the masses outside of working hours, so that those taking National Salvation training courses were free to seek employment. Classes were held every day for one to two hours. There is no indication in the Chinese sources that I have seen of the course duration, whether weeks or months, or who was responsible for leading such courses. In addition to the regular daily training classes, study groups and colloquia were also held for "the masses." These were held every five days or once a week, and were less formal than the regular training classes.

In Shanghai, a National Salvation Association training office provided the venue for cadre training. Whether this was the same place as the Shanghai National Salvation Association headquarters, I am



still unsure, although a few oral sources believed this was the case. Cadres lived together at the training office for the duration of their training. They were not free to seek employment. Study groups and colloquia were used to train cadres, the aim being to strengthen the theoretical basis acquired in the regular training classes for "the masses."

In terms of content, the training course for cadres included first, political economy theory; second, mass movement's methods; third, general knowledge of military affairs; and finally, knowledge and experience of defence. It is unclear how the third and fourth section differed. The first section, political economy theory, divided into fifteen subsections: (1) revolution history; (2) basic knowledge of economics; (3) imperialism; (4) basic knowledge of philosophy; (5) democratic government; (6) national united front; (7) national problems; (8) social structure; (9) world affairs; (10) workers' and peasants' problems; (11) youth problems; (12) women's problems; (13) traitors, and the theory of traitors; (14) war-time economy; and (15) war-time diplomacy. Unfortunately, the text I used does not contain a breakdown of the other three areas of training content. However, the content of National Salvation training, as revealed in this one section, shows the wide range of issues with which the National

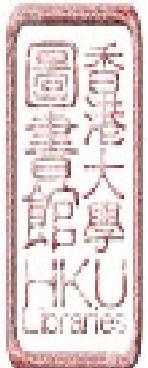


Salvation Movement was concerned.

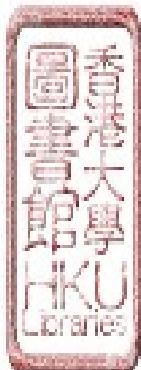
It is not certain what criteria were used in the selection of people to take cadre training or who was responsible for giving this training. Nor is it clear what responsibilities cadres were supposed to assume, once trained. These issues raise further questions, such as : why were these topics taught, and what were the long-term goals of National Salvation training? Then too the extent to which this training program was actually implemented is not clear and there is no evidence of training being given outside of Shanghai. But the National Salvation Movement aimed at and to some extent achieved in Shanghai, being much more tightly knit and organized than has previously been assumed.

What has emerged then in tracing the development and organization of the National Salvation to this point is a movement that was spontaneous, organized and led essentially by intellectuals who were not CCP members. There is little evidence of any overt CCP initiative in the National Salvation Movement.

In tracing the growth of the National Salvation Movement, the focus of attention has been the participants themselves, their objectives, organization, activities and achievements. These features combined to form a series of confrontations with the political authorities, and served to turn the



National Salvation Movement increasingly more firmly against the KMT and the Nationalist government issues that will be explored in subsequent chapters.



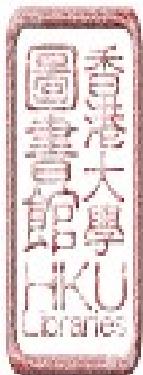
CHAPTER 4 :

THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONAL SALVATION MOVEMENT,

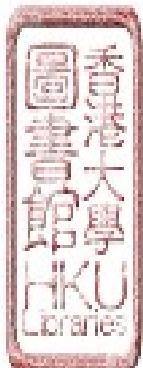
1935-1936

NOTES

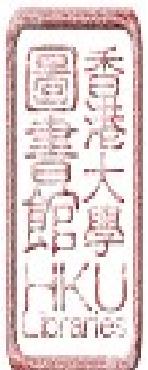
1. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History", Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, 26 (1976) p. 8.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid
4. Jessie G. Lutz, "December 9, 1935 Student Nationalism and the Christian Colleges", Journal of Asian Studies 26 : 4 (1967) p. 631.
5. H.J. Timperley, "The North China Federation of Students", School and Society 43 (1936) p. 67.
6. J. Domes, Vertagte Revolution : Die Politik der Kuomintang in China (Postponed Revolution : The Policy of the Kuomintang in China), (Berlin : De Gruyter, 1969), p. 649.
7. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History", p. 10-11.
8. Ibid, p. 9.



9. Ibid, p. 10.
10. John Israel, Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937 (Palo Alto:Stanford University Press, CA., 1966) pp. 114-118 cites 5,000 students outside the city and more than 5,000 inside the city.
11. Ibid., p. 119.
12. Ibid., p.144, 146.
13. Hubert Freyn, The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936, (Shanghai : China Journal Publishing Co., 1939), p. 27. See also Israel, "The December 9th Movement : A Case Study in Chinese Communist Historiography", China Quarterly 23 (1965) p. 141.
14. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History", p.10.
15. TCSH, 1 : 8 January 5, 1936.
16. Tung-fang tsa-chih 30 : 1, 2 January and February 1936.
17. Ibid. See also Wu, p. 11.
18. Ibid, p.11.
19. Tung-fang tsa-chih 30 : 1,2 January and February 1936.
20. Ibid.
21. For example, Wu Tien-wei himself a demonstrator, suggested about 30,000 students. See Wu, p. 11.
22. Wu, p. 12.
23. Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yün-tung ta shih chi 1919-



- 1949, (Shanghai : Shang-hai jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981), pp. 174-186.
24. Tung-fang tsa-chih 30 : 1,2 January and February 1936.
25. Ibid. See also Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yün-tung ta shih chi 1919-1949 p. 176.
26. Hubert Freyn, Prelude to War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936 (Shanghai : Shanghai Journal Publishing Co., 1939), p. 29-30. See also Wu, p. 13.
27. James B. Crowley, Japan's Quest for Autonomy (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966) p.159.
28. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, 4 Vols. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971), Entry : Sung Ch'ing-ling, p. 784.
29. Hsü Tsung-yüan ed., T'ao Hsing-chih, (Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1988) p. 119.
30. I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsüan-chi, (Shanghai : Shanghai K'o-hsüeh yüan ch'u-pan she, 1987) p. 64-65.
31. Chou Tien-tu, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, (Peking : Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1981), p. 66-67.
32. Li Shou-tung, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih chien, (Shanghai : Publisher unknown,

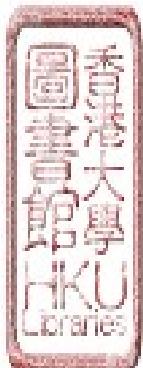


1937) pp. 77-88.

33. Hu Yü-chih was responsible for the publication of T'uan-chieh [Unity] Chung-kung tang shih chien-ming tzu-tien. (Peking : Chieh-fang chun ch'u-pan she, 1987). Entry : Hu Yü-chih, p. 824.
34. Literally "little teachers" [hsiao hsien-sheng] is a term which refers to a student who sometimes played the role of an assistant teacher.
35. I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsüan-chi, (Shanghai : Shanghai she-hui k'o-hsüeh yün ch'u-pan she, 1987), p.107.
36. Ibid.
37. Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao 6 June 14, 1936.
38. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 432.
39. I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsüan-chi, p.84.
40. Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yün-tung ta shih chi 1919-1949, p.186.
41. Hubert Freyn, Prelude to War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-36 p. 59. See also Wales, Notes on the Chinese Student Movement (mimeographed) (Madison, CT, 1959) p. 43.
42. Lawrence K. Rosinger, China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944 (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1944), p. 14.
43. John M. Smith, "Chang Nai-ch'i and His Critics: The Interpretation of the Hundred Flowers Move-



- ment," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1978, p. 38. Smith does not comment on the legality of such groups.
44. Chang Chih-i, K'ang-chan chung ti cheng-tang ho p'ai-pieh (Chungking : Tu-shu sheng-huo ch'u-panshe, 1939), pp. 99-109.
45. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, pp. 60-61.
46. I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsüan-chi, p.108-109.
47. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p.67.
48. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 75.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao 23 October 25, 1936.
52. Kiang Wen-han, The Chinese Student Movement, (New York : King's Crown Press, 1948), p. 107
See also Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yün-tung ta shih chi 1919-1949, p. 189.
53. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, (Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1959), p. 41.
54. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, p.41.
55. NCH June 3, 1936.
56. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, p. 41.
57. L. P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History (Palo



- Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967), p.
71. See also Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 71.
58. Smith, "Chang Nai-ch'i and His Critics : The Interpretation of the One Hundred Flowers Movement," p.40.
59. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 62.
60. Ibid., p. 82.
61. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 8.
62. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien., p. 62.
63. Ibid.
64. Ibid., pp. 62-63.
65. Ibid., p. 85.
66. Soong (Sung) Ch'ing-ling, Wei hsin Chung-kuo fen-tou (Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1952) p. 74.
67. Hsü Tsung-yüan, T'ao Hsing-chih, p.121.
68. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien., pp. 89, 95.
69. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, p. 740.
70. Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, (Hong Kong : Ye Olde Printerie, 1954) p. 160-161.
71. Ibid., p.160.
72. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 82.



73. Donald W. Klein and Anne B Clark, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965 2 Vols. (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1975) p. 978.
74. Klein and Clark, Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965, p. 978.
75. Ibid., p. 857.
76. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 187.
77. Ibid., pp. 134-140.
78. Ibid., p. 14.
79. Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, p. 177.
80. William Morwood, Duel for the Middle Kingdom : The Struggle Between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung for Control of China (New York, Everest House, 1980) p. 177.
81. TCSH 1 : 6 (1935) p. 158.
82. TCSH 1 : 15 (1936) p. 361.
83. Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek, p. 176. It is not clear whether this figure was sufficient for expenses per month or per annum.
84. Chiu-wang shou-tse, p. 167.
85. Kang-jih chan-cheng shih-chien, [Events and Figures in the War of Resistance].
86. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 8.
87. Ibid., p. 442.
88. Ibid., p. 446.



89. See the Chou-wang shou-t'se. According to the table of contents of the Chou-wang shou-t'se the section which dealt with training was in pp. 103-109 inclusive. However the text I used did not contain pp. 106-115 inclusive, and thus omitted several pages of the section related to training.
90. Ibid., p.105.



CHAPTER 5 :

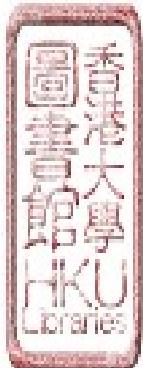
NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATIONS : CASE STUDIES

This chapter consists of two case studies: the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association and the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association. Of paramount importance conducive to a case study approach is the fact that such an analysis provides an opportunity to explore in greater depth two of the more important Shanghai-based National Salvation Associations.

The justification for the choice of these two groups is that first, these two groups embodied the major and extremely articulate and professional leadership of the National Salvation Movement as a whole. For instance, in addition to the seven worthies other significant people included Ma Hsiang-po, Sung Ch'ing-ling, and Ho Hsiang-ning.

Second, when compared to other National Salvation Associations in Shanghai, not only were they more important in terms of their more prominent leadership, they were also more active. This was particularly evident in terms of their activities and literature.

Third, in terms of rank and file involvement in the National Salvation Movement, an analysis of these two groups reveal that they were also more represent-



ative of a wide social spectrum in urban Shanghai. This is seen more clearly in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association which included professionals, intellectuals, political activists and workers.

These case studies help to provide a basis for evaluating the role of the Communists in the National Salvation Movement by examining in greater detail the political orientation and affiliation of the leaders. In this respect the political amalgamation of Left and Right which is seen in these case studies is representative of the National Salvation Movement as a whole.

Finally, the case study on the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association provides an interesting study of women's history in Republican China. It shows that the orientation of the women who comprised the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association was not so much towards feminism or women's liberation but was directed chiefly towards national concerns.

The Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association and the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association are examined as separate entities. Consideration is given first to the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association which is considered the doyen of the National



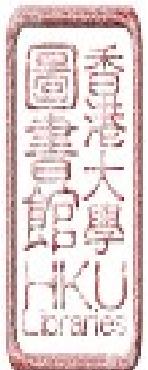
Salvation Movement due to its leadership composition and literary articulation.

SHANGHAI CULTURAL NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATION
INAUGURATION

Roused by the December Ninth Movement student uprising, T'ao Hsing-chih, Ma Hsiang-po, Shen Chun-ju, Li Kung-p'u, Chou Chien-jen and others issued the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto on December 12, 1935. This key manifesto was primarily the work of ninety-seven year old Ma Hsiang-po. It was signed by two hundred fifty eight ¹ prominent individuals from various cultural circles. They came from film, media, publishing, educational, ² legal, literary, fine arts and drama circles. The manifesto was published in the Ta-chung sheng-huo ³ [Life of the Masses] on December 21, 1935.

This manifesto demanded that Chinese sovereignty be retained over Chinese territory and no further concessions be made to Japan in the north, that Japanese troops be withdrawn from east Hopeh and Manchuria, and that the central government enlist the entire financial and military strength of the nation to resist foreign invasion.

That same day in Shanghai over two hundred writers, lawyers and newspapermen met in the Ningpo Residents' Guild to form the Shanghai Cultural

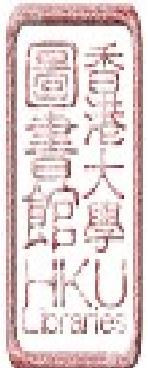


National Salvation Association. It was subsequently formally inaugurated on December 27, 1935, at a meeting attended by over three hundred people and convened at the Ningpo Residents' Guild.⁴

This case study seeks to explore the web of relationships between some of those who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos. This approach is taken, because unlike the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association where the vast majority of those involved remain anonymous and shrouded in obscurity, in the case of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association there were manifestos which have yielded names, and we are thus able to identify some of those who were involved, and many of those who signed manifestos. In some cases a brief profile of some of these people, not discussed in earlier chapters, provides a better appreciation of their backgrounds and sheds light on the myriad of connections between them, thus enhancing our understanding of the diverse nature of the National Salvation Movement as a whole.

WRITERS

Many writers joined the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. The record of their names alone reflect their multi-political orientations and the wide range of intellectual thinking



that characterized the National Salvation Movement as a whole. They were united in their conviction that the civil war ought to end and that Japan should be resisted militarily.⁵ Their writings throughout the 1930s also reveal a growing leftist politicization trend. When some of the members of these groups of the 1930s became leading figures in the literary establishment in Shanghai especially, their creative careers tended to end while at the same time they gained political influence that they had never enjoyed before.

Among those who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos were a number of prominent writers. Some of these literary writers who featured in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association were members of the League of Left-Wing Writers. For instance Wei Chin-chih and T'ien Han joined the League in 1930, Sha Ting and Ai Wu in 1932 and Chou Li-po joined in 1934⁶ and in the same year joined the CCP. There is no evidence of any of these having a significant leadership role in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association.

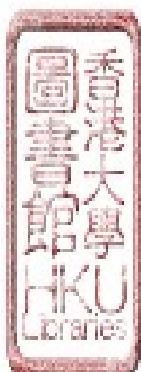
Wei Chin-chih (1900-1972) was a writer from Chekiang province who was involved in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. After graduating from the Chekiang First Normal School he



became a teacher. He began to write during the late 1920s. Most of his pre-1949 literary works are set against a background of rural impoverishment and stress the wretched conditions of the peasantry. His best known works are short story collections.⁷

Sha Ting(1904-), was from Szechuan province, and graduated from teachers college in 1926. An influential and prolific writer he began to write in 1931. The majority of his works are set in a rural context and he presents a realistic picture of social conditions. He is a meticulous stylist and his subtly-crafted works have a strong local flavor.⁸

T'ang Tao-keng (Ai Wu) (1904-) came from Szechuan province. Ai Wu studied in the Provincial Normal College in Chengtu and was much influenced by the May Fourth Movement. To escape a marriage arranged for him by his parents he ran away from home, going first to Kunming and then to Burma, Singapore and other countries where he took various kinds of jobs ranging from handyman to primary school teacher and newspaper editor. He returned to China in 1931 and the following year went to Shanghai where he began publishing his short stories in the Wen-hua yüeh-k'an [Literature Monthly]. Ai Wu's works are written in a refreshing vivid style. Many of his novels and short stories are about oppressed men and women whose spirit of resistance he praised.⁹



T'ien Han (1898-1968) had earlier been involved in the May Fourth Movement and in the New Culture Movement, prior to going to Japan to study. After his return in 1921 he was involved with Kuo Mo-jo and others in the establishment of the Creation Society.

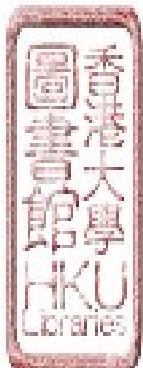
10

In 1932 he joined the CCP.

Another group of writers who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos were prominent in the Literary Research Society. They included Cheng Chen-to, Hsieh Liu-i, Hsü Chieh and Ku Chung-i.¹¹ Unlike many who joined the League of Left-Wing Writers and had close connections with the CCP, these people were non-Communists in the 1930s and in the post-1949 period. Thus there were two very different streams of literary writing which amalgamated in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association.

Cheng Chen-to (1898 - 1958) was originally from Fukien province. A graduate of the National University of Communications in Peking, Cheng was a prominent historian, essayist and translator. In the mid 1930s he taught at Shanghai's National Chinan University and in the winter of 1937, when Shanghai fell into the hands of the Japanese troops, he was the dean of the College of Arts and Letters there, a post he held until December 1941.¹²

Hsieh Liu-i (1898 - 1945) was born in Kweiyang,



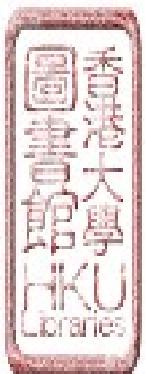
Kweichow province. He studied in Japan and graduated from Waseda University. A prolific writer, he held academic teaching positions at Futan University and
¹³
 National Chinan University.

Ku Chung-i (1902 - 1965) came from Chekiang province. A writer and playwright, he was a graduate
¹⁴
 of the National South-East University.

Hsü Chieh (1900 -) was born in Chekiang province. He studied in Japan graduated from Imperial University in Tokyo. He was the author of numerous
¹⁵
 collections of short stories.

JOURNALISTS AND PUBLISHERS

There was a close connection between the publishing industry and the National Salvation literature of the earlier period. This symbiotic relationship is evident too in the myriad of connections between journalists, publishing houses and the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. For example, in organizing the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association, Tsou T'ao-fen was able to call on the network of supporters the Sheng-huo [Life] publishing group had long used to help distribute its
¹⁶
 various journals. Close ties with their readership facilitated organization. Furthermore there was direct involvement in the Sheng-huo tradition of various prominent leaders such as Tsou T'ao-fen,



Chang Nai-ch'i, and Hu Yu-chih in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7.

There were also close connections between various writers who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos in terms of their affiliation with particular newspapers and periodicals. For instance, the periodical Shih-chieh chih-shih [World Culture], which was a twice monthly periodical and published articles dealing with international affairs, politics, economics and culture, had among its regular contributors in 1936 Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association leaders such as Chang Nai-ch'i, Tsou T'ao-fen and Chien Chun-jui ¹⁷ as well as the prolific writer Li Ping-hsin.

Some writers who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos were involved as contributors to the Kuo-min chou-k'an [National Weekly]. Among them were Chang Chih-jang who was the editor, Cheng Chen-to, Shen Tz'u-chiu and ¹⁸ Chin Chung-hua.

Another group of writers who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos were associated with the Chiu-wang jih-pao [National Salvation Daily]. These included Kuo Mo-jo who was the founder, Nieh Kan-nu and Hsia Yen who were co-editors, Li Kung-p'u and Shen Hsi-ling who were



19

regular contributors.

Writers who contributed regularly to the newspaper Shen pao included the writers Chou Li-po, Wu Ch'iu-shan and Ho Chia-huai as well as the short story writer Chang Hsing-sheng. These three all signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation
20
Association manifestos.

Similarly, there were other writers connected to the periodical Kuang-ming [Light] who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos. These included the writers Shen Ch'i-yü, (1903-1970) Li Ping-hsin, (1907-1966) and Ho Chia-huai (1911-1969) as well as Sun Shih-i (1904-1966) who was a regular contributor. He frequently wrote articles
21
which advocated a united front policy in China.

EDUCATORS AND PROFESSORS

In the 1930s there were a number of institutions of higher learning in Shanghai. Among these were some that figured prominently in both the student unrest of the mid 1930s as well as in the National Salvation Movement. Some professors joined the Shanghai University Professors National Salvation Association while a number were involved in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association either instead of or in addition, to this. University connections appear to have been important both for the organization of



local student National Salvation Movement groups, and also perhaps more importantly as the foci for increasingly alienated intellectuals. Of these disaffected intellectuals, some had earlier been educated in these institutions or by the mid-1930s were teaching in these universities and colleges. Some joined the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association.

One such college was the Shanghai College of Law and Political Science. This was a technical school for training judicial officers. Two of the seven worthies, Sha Ch'ien-li and Shih Liang were educated in this college and in the early 1930s Shen Chun-ju
²² served as dean of the College.

Futan University in Shanghai was also a focus for intellectual unrest in the 1930s as in the more recent past of the 1980s. A number of intellectuals who signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos had associations with Futan University. Among these were Ma Hsiang-po who was the
²³ founder of the university. Others included the Chekiang-born playwright Ku Chung-i (1902-1965) who figured prominently in the Chinese new dramatic movement and edited various drama periodicals. Ku was a
²⁴ professor at Futan University. Another prominent intellectual with Futan University connections was Kueiyang-born Hsieh Liu-i (1898-1945) who in the mid-



1930s was chairman of the Futan University Department of Chinese Literature and concurrently chairman of the Department of Journalism.²⁵ Another writer who taught at Futan University during the 1930s was Wu Ch'iu-shan (1907-1984).²⁶

Then at Shanghai's National Chinan University there were some intellectuals who also signed Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifestos. These included Hsieh Liu-i and Ku Chung-i as well as Cheng Chen-to. These three were all involved in the Literary Research Society.

Another group of intellectuals were closely connected to Kuanghua University. Kuanghua University²⁷ was a private institution in Shanghai. This was where Wang Tsao-shih (1903 - 1971) was a professor following his return to China in the autumn of 1930.²⁸ He later became dean of its School of Arts. Chang Nai-ch'i, another of the seven worthies involved in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association leadership, in December 1935 was a professor of economics at Kuanghua University.²⁹ Ku Chung-i and Shen Ch'i-yü (1903-1970) a Szechuan-born novelist and short story writer, were also professors who taught at Kuanghua University.³⁰

LAWYERS

Several lawyers were particularly prominent in



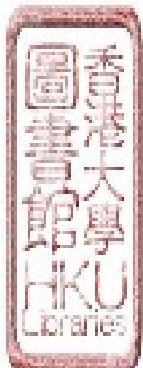
the leadership of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. They included Sha Ch'ien-li, (1901-1982) originally from Soochow in Kiangsu province who was a scholar in jurisprudence. In the 1930s he practised law in Shanghai. Sha did not join the CCP until 1938.

Shih Liang (1900-1985) was another eminent lawyer. Shih is discussed in greater detail later in this chapter. She began legal studies at the Shanghai College of Law and Political Science in 1923 and graduated in 1927. By the end of the decade Shih Liang was also practising law in Shanghai. Shih Liang did not join the CCP.

The eldest of this group of lawyers was Shen Chün-ju, (1875-1963) who beginning in 1930 served as dean of the Shanghai College of Law and Political Science. He had earlier been involved in the 1911 Revolution and in the May Fourth Movement.

POLITICAL ACTIVISTS

Ma Hsiang-po (Ma Liang), (1839-1939) a ninety-five year old ex-Manchu official, had written vigorously on Japanese aggression after 1931. He embraced Roman Catholicism and in 1870 was ordained a priest of the Society of Jesus, a Jesuit order. He abandoned the priesthood in 1876 and returned to secular life. He was the founder of Aurora and



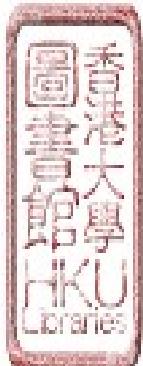
Futan Universities in Shanghai. In 1896 he became associated with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. From 1927 until his death in 1939 Ma Hsiang-po, a well known Chinese and Latin scholar, lived in retirement and devoted himself to scholarly, religious and patriotic writing.³⁴

Two other prominent political activists who were involved in the Shanghai Cultural National Association were Sung Ch'ing-ling and Ho Hsiang-ning. These women are discussed in greater depth later in this chapter. All of these people were essentially of symbolic importance lending credence and influence to the National Salvation Movement in general and the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association in particular.

LEADERSHIP

A thirty-five member executive committee was formed at the inaugural meeting. Ma Hsiang-po was the president. I have chosen a chart presentation to portray the professional backgrounds and political affiliations of identifiable members of the executive committee :³⁵

NAME	PROFESSION	POLITICAL AFFILIATIONS
Ma Hsiang-po	Political Activist/ Educator	KMT member 1920s



Chou Hsin-min	Political Activist	CCP member
Chang Nai-ch'i	Educator/ Economist	Not a CCP member
T'ao Hsing-chih	Educator	Not a CCP member
Shen Chun-ju	Lawyer/ Educator	KMT member 1920s
Wang Tsao-shih	Lawyer/ Educator	Not a CCP member
Shih Liang	Lawyer	KMT member 1920s
Sha Ch'ien-li	Lawyer	CCP member 1938
Tsou T'ao-fen	Writer/ Journalist	pro-CCP by mid-1936 CCP membership 1944 (post-humously)
Li Kung-p'u	Writer/ Educator	KMT member 1925
Shen Tz'u-chiu	Writer	Not a CCP member
Chiang Wen-yü	Writer	Not a CCP member
Ku Ming	Writer	Not a CCP member

This chart reveals that the leadership was primarily composed of lawyers and writers. More importantly, it shows that in 1936-1937 there was only one known CCP member in this group, and he did not assume a particularly significant role in the leadership of the National Salvation Movement as a whole. While all the rest of the executive members identified in this chart were not CCP members in the mid-1930s, their political orientation, without exception, was increasingly away from the KMT, strongly anti-Japanese and more Leftist, without



opting for CCP membership.

In conclusion, it is apparent that this brief prosopographical study of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association highlights the breadth and the depth of the various associations enjoyed by these prominent citizens of Shanghai's dynamic literary sub-culture. Ironically this same approach also reveals the glue, the cohesiveness which bound these people together, regardless of CCP or KMT affinity. There is no indication in this sector of the National Salvation Movement of any CCP ascendancy or of those who were CCP members being the driving force of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. This cohesion found its reality in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association, where the ideological differences that could have divided were it seems set aside in the desire for a more pragmatic approach to unite in terms of ending the civil war and defeating Japan militarily and ultimately the establishment of a united front.



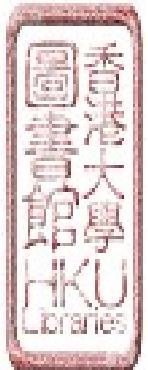
SHANGHAI WOMEN'S NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATION

THE BACKGROUND OF WOMEN'S POLITICAL ACTIVISM IN SHANGHAI

The inauguration of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association took place on December 36³⁶ 21, 1935. Its early emergence is closely linked to several factors : women's education, the politicization of women and the development of the women's press.

Prior to the twentieth century, formal education for women was neither approved of nor systematically provided for in Chinese society. But, during the first few decades of the twentieth century the Chinese press began to claim that education of women was of basic importance; that the education of women held the key to China's survival; it was not a luxury that could be put off until a later date. Yet education was not justified as an inherent right of 37 women.

Historically Shanghai had led the way in the establishment of women's education in China. The first girls' school had been established in 1897, and 38 was connected with the reform movement. But while there had been a proliferation of girls' schools and increasing opportunities for co-education in Shanghai at the higher education level, the actual number of



³⁹

girls being educated was abysmally low.

The majority of the women who were part of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association were educated in Shanghai while a small minority had received some of their education overseas, mostly in Japan.

A link between the education of women and the politicization of women in China is evident. This connection is particularly striking in relationship to the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association. While not all women activists in early twentieth century China were educated women, as educational opportunities for women expanded, so too did their participation in political activities increase. The participation of women in patriotic societies and mass demonstrations was not peculiar to the 1930s. Prior to the 1911 Revolution women had organized several patriotic societies, and marched in political demonstrations. Perhaps the most prominent of these early women political activists was Ch'iu Chin.⁴⁰

⁴¹

In the contemporary records and in later memoirs one sometimes encounters the names of the wives of revolutionaries who at the same time were themselves pursuing revolutionary careers. For example, this was true of both Ho Hsiang-ning (1878-1968) and Sung Ch'ing-ling (1893-1981) who both figured prominently in the Chinese revolution.⁴²



ently in the leadership of the National Salvation Movement as a whole. Ho Hsiang-ning was the first woman to join the T'ung-meng hui [The United League] (1905) and went with her husband Liao Chung-k'ai to study in Japan where she studied painting at the ⁴³ Tokyo Girls' Art School. Sung Ch'ing-ling, the wife of Sun Yat-sen received her higher education in the ⁴⁴ United States at Wesleyan College for Women.

A study of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association sheds light on the style of women's political activity in urban China, especially Shanghai. It enhances our understanding of the impact of education on women in Republican China, points to the growing politicization of women in Shanghai during that time, and reveals a close link in the political arena between educated professional women and the female urban labor force.

While it is true that fewer women than men were involved in the political events of China in the Republican period, a significant number of women were active in the National Salvation Movement. The degree of their involvement provides a gauge to the political consciousness of China's urban women in the mid-1930s.

Another indication of political consciousness is the female press. Containing very rich material for women's studies, the female press is both a reflect-



ion of public opinion concerning the female question, and a contribution to moulding that opinion. In China the first magazine for women, was published in 1898.⁴⁵ This late date correlates with the late arrival of women's education and also with the general lack of periodicals in China until the twentieth century.

The first years of the female press in China were very lively : periodicals were numerous. They did not last long; thirty three female journals were published from 1898 to 1910; most of them disappeared after a few months, and none of them survived more than three years.⁴⁶

The main demands of those early feminist journals were the education of girls, the abolition of foot-binding and equality for men and women.⁴⁷ Feminism went together with patriotism. This was less evident in the 1930s when the calls for patriotism were more strident.

In the mid-1930s women's periodicals such as the Fu-nǚ sheng-huo [Women's Life] equated female education with a strong and prosperous China. This was no mere rationalization designed for its appeal to nationalistic interests for feminist ends. These women journalists who wrote for the press, firmly believed that their feminism was an integral part of nationalism. They lived and worked in the atmosphere



of ardent nationalism that was growing in the student and intellectual circles in China and Japan. They were at least as committed to saving China as their male counterparts, but as women they defined China's weakness also in terms of the inferior position allotted to them as the female half of the population.

48

MEMBERSHIP OF THE SHANGHAI WOMEN'S NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATION

The Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association held its inaugural meeting December 21, 1935, at the Shanghai YWCA. It was the first Shanghai National Salvation Association to be inaugurated. Even at its inauguration it was a sizeable group. According to one report more than one thousand women were reported as having attended the inaugural meeting.

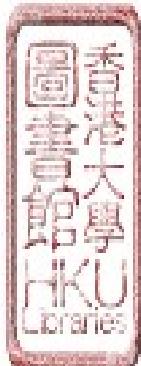
50

51

52

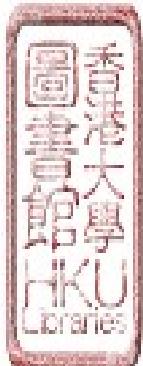
The previous night some of these women had not had any sleep as two days earlier they had joined more than eight thousand Futan University students and other Shanghai university and high school students in an anti-Japanese demonstration.

Although there was no Chinese newspaper press coverage, the Fu-nü sheng-huo recorded that a Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association demonstration march took place December 21, 1935.



This immediately followed the conclusion of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association inaugural meeting. If, as the Fu-nü sheng-huo claimed, more than one thousand women took part in the late afternoon march through the streets of Shanghai, then it must have attracted considerable public attention. The lack of Chinese press attention, and the failure of other periodicals to report on this demonstration suggests that while the proclamation of martial law in Shanghai the day before seemingly had no deterrent effect on the women demonstrators, the central government's suppression of the press essentially deterred press coverage of the event. Perhaps too, by the mid-1930s, demonstration marches, even by women, were less newsworthy than before.

While the number of women who took part in the initial demonstration march gives some indication of the size of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association it is difficult to be more precise about the size of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association. Shih Liang claimed that it had more than
⁵⁴
sixteen hundred members. National Salvation manifestos issued by the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association may provide a more precise indication of the size of that organization, but to
⁵⁵
date I have only seen one of these. This did not



mention size.

The Women's National Salvation Association was established in several other urban centers, including Peking, Tientsin and Nanking but the size of these groups or when they were formed is not known.⁵⁶

These women in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association represented various segments of urban society : female university and high school students, medical doctors, nurses, lawyers, office workers, shop employees, industrial workers, civil servants, writers and housewives.⁵⁷ On the basis of the sources I have seen, it is not possible to determine what proportion of the total number each group represented. The sources do not provide a list of names of women who attended this meeting, so with few exceptions the vast majority of these women must remain anonymous. However the diversity of social backgrounds indicates that political consciousness was more widespread than is usually assumed for this period of Chinese history.

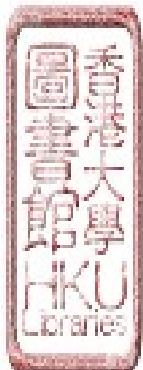
The attendance of women workers at this meeting is interesting. It suggests that these women opted, or were expected to join the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association (emphasis mine) in preference to the Shanghai Workers National Salvation Association, while men workers, it seems, joined the Shanghai Workers National Salvation Association or



were involved in the Shanghai Vocational National
⁵⁸
 Salvation Association.

The link between the National Salvation Movement and women workers is also complex though nonetheless interesting. The numerical importance of women in Shanghai's labor force is illustrated by one scholar who noted that in 1928, 56% of all Shanghai workers were women (9.2% were children), only 6% in Tientsin
⁵⁹
 but 44% in Hangchow and 51% in Hankow. Early in China's industrialization process women had been organizing and carrying out strikes for shorter hours of work and better pay. There had been two peaks of strike activity in the 1920s : the first in 1922 and the second beginning with the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925 and continuing into 1926. In 1922 sixty factories had been struck in eighty strikes and over
⁶⁰
 thirty thousand women workers had been involved.

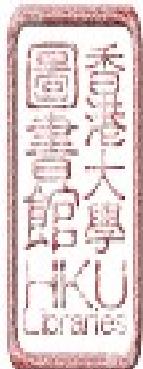
Hsiang Ching-yü, an early CCP member, is credited with leading two strikes in 1924 : one in a Shanghai silk filature in which twelve thousand women struck
⁶¹
 and another in the Nanyang Tobacco Plant. Hsiang was not the only woman who had been active in strike
⁶²
 organization. Others included Ts'ai Ch'ang, who had
⁶³
 earlier gone to France, and Liu Ch'un-hsien, a textile worker. These women were all Communists. This strike activity suggests that the participation of women workers in the Shanghai Women's National



Salvation Association was but the continuation of an earlier trend. It also suggests that women workers were, on their own, just as politically conscious as male workers.

The slogans used by the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association did not reflect essentially feminist concerns, such as equal rights or women's education. Various slogans were used, such as, "Kill the traitors who commit treason," "We're not afraid to die," "Down with XX (Japanese) Imperialism," "Oppose secret diplomacy" and "Defend the patriotic movement." These slogans reflect the same concerns expressed by various National Salvation manifestos of the period.⁶⁴

Right from the start the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association was free of male domination. Male domination of girl student groups was a feature of the 1920s.⁶⁵ At this point I am only able to link the name of one man to the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association : P'an Kung-chan.⁶⁶ P'an was earlier a leader in the 1919 May Fourth Movement. A graduate of St John's University in Shanghai P'an was the chief editor of Shen Pao in 1926. He joined the KMT in 1927 and since 1932 was the commissioner of education of the city government of Greater Shanghai.⁶⁷ It is unclear what precise role P'an played in the affairs of the Shanghai



Women's National Salvation Association.

The leadership of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association included three main types of women. First, there were professionals and foremost among these was Shih Liang. (1907-1986) At the inaugural meeting she was elected director of the ⁶⁸ Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association.

Shih was one of China's first and most famous woman lawyers. As a child she attended a girl's school in her home town of Ch'angchow in Kiangsu province. Shih took part in the May Fourth Movement and had joined the KMT by the mid-1920s. She graduated in law from the Shanghai fa-cheng hsiueh-yuan [Shanghai College of Law and Political Science] ⁶⁹ in 1927.

During the Northern Expedition, 1926-1927, Shih Liang headed the Personnel Training Section under the Revolutionary Army's General Political Department. In the late 1920s, Shih held several minor posts in Kiangsu, but by the end of the decade she was in ⁷⁰ Shanghai.

Shih Liang dated her own political career as starting in the 1930s, at which point she was practising law in Shanghai. The establishment of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association was in effect a political turning point for Shih Liang. It signified her transition from being a mere



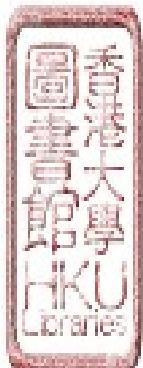
participant in the Women's Movement and at patriotic meetings, to a deeper and more comprehensive organizational and leadership role, particularly in the
⁷¹
 National Salvation Movement.

Shih Liang epitomized the patriotic, Shanghai educated professionals who were increasingly involved in the political arena, and moreover assumed key leadership roles within the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association and in the National Salvation Movement as a whole.

Second there were writers. At least two of the executive committee of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association were writers. They were Shen Tz'u-chiu (1898-) and Hu Tzu-ying (1907-1982). Shen Tz'u-chiu was originally from Chekiang province and like many other writers, in 1935-36 she was in Shanghai. There she contributed articles to Fu-nü
⁷²
sheng-huo. The writer Hu Tzu-ying was also from Chekiang province but was based in Shanghai in the
⁷³
 mid-1930s.

Three other women were members of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association executive committee. They were Wang Hsiao-ying, Lo Ch'ing, and Tu Chun-hui. It is not clear what the backgrounds were of these women.

Finally, while not members of the executive committee of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation



Association, there were two women whose involvement in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association was significant not least because they were well-known and influential women in China's Republican history. They were political activists.

74

First was Sung Ch'ing-ling. Sung (1893-1981) received her higher education in the United States and by the early 1930s following her return to China her orientation toward the left wing of the KMT was already well established. While there is no evidence of Sung Ch'ing-ling being actively involved in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association she was on the executive committee of the Ch'uan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation].

Second was Ho Hsiang-ning (1878-1972). Originally from Kwangtung province, in 1902 Ho accompanied her husband to Tokyo to study. In 1905 joined the T'ung-meng hui [United League] and was one of its 75 earliest women members. After the 1911 Revolution Ho returned to China. In the mid-1920s after the formation of the KMT Ho was in charge of the women's 76 department of the KMT and she was involved with the publication Fu-nü sheng-huo [Women's Life]. Ho Hsiang-ning was deeply involved in the leadership of the Ch'uan-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lian-ho hui [All-China National Salvation Federation] which was



inaugurated May 31, 1936. Then in June 1937 Ho was active, along with Sung Ch'ing-ling in the Chiu-kuo ju-yü yün-tung [Enter Prison Movement] when the seven ⁷⁷ worthies were in prison in Soochow.

Shih Liang, Shen Tz'u-chiu, Tu Chun-hui, and Lo Ching were also involved in the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. This suggests that Tu Chun-hui and Lo Ching may possibly have been Shanghai-based writers. The Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto of December 12, 1935, was signed by some two hundred eighty three people who included Shen Tz'u-chiu, Tu Chun-hui and Lo ⁷⁸ Ching. Shih Liang and Shen Tz'u-chiu were members of the thirty-five member Shanghai Cultural National ⁷⁹ Salvation Association executive committee.

Shih Liang, Shen Tz'u-chiu and Ho Hsiang-ning were all members of the executive committee of the Shanghai ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [Shanghai ⁸⁰ National Salvation Federation]. This shows that at the local level there was a considerable overlap of involvement at the leadership level among these women who figured prominently in the National Salvation Movement.

In Nanking, there was a woman of particular significance who was a member of the executive committee : Ts'ao Meng-chün. She was a Yenching University graduate. In connection with the National

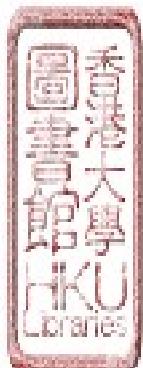


Salvation Movement Ts'ao was arrested and briefly
 81 imprisoned late in 1936 by the KMT authorities. The reason for the arrest was apparently similar to and perhaps connected with the arrest of the seven worthies.

The influence and significance of some of these women who were prominent in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association or in the All-China National Salvation Federation, extended far beyond the parameters of the activities of the National Salvation Movement and well beyond the time framework of this present study.

In the Sino-Japanese War period, Shih Liang, as well as Shen Chun-ju, Chang Nai-ch'i, Li Kung-p'u, and Tsou T'ao-fen figured prominently in the T'ung-i chien-kuo t'ung-chih hui [The United National Construction League], the Chung-kuo min-chu cheng-t'uan ta t'uan-menq [The Grand Alliance of Chinese Democratic Parties] and the Chung-kuo min-chu t'ung-menq
 82 hui [The China Democratic League].

After the Sino-Japanese War, Shih headed a liaison committee under the KMT-sponsored New Life Movement and was among the organizers of the leftist-oriented Fu-nü lien-i hui [China Women's League], which was placed under the Chung-hua ch'uan-kuo fu-nü lien-ho hui [All-China Women's Federation] when the CCP came to power in 1949. With the exception of



leading Communists Ts'ai Ch'ang and Teng Ying-ch'ao (Madame Chou En-lai) and other prominent women such as Sung Ch'ing-ling and Ho Hsiang-ning,⁸³ few women emerged with so many significant posts as Shih Liang in the early years of the PRC.⁸⁴ For instance she became the first minister of justice and she remained vice-chairwoman of the National People's Congress standing committee and chair-woman of the central committee of the China Democratic League (of which she was a co-founder until her death in Beijing September 6, 1985.⁸⁵

Shih Liang epitomized the leadership, at least, and one suspects a large proportion of the rank and file members of the National Salvation Association, in leaning, not toward the CCP, but toward the minor democratic parties and groups which emerged in the Sino-Japanese War period and continued in the PRC. There were some people in the minority parties who held membership also in the CCP, and some who wanted CCP membership, but who were repeatedly denied it.⁸⁶

Focussing attention on the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association does more than just strengthen our grasp, which at best is tenuous, of the role of women in urban Republican China. The Shanghai Womens' National Salvation Association also serves as an example of the wide range of National Salvation Movement activity as a whole.



CHAPTER 5 : NATIONAL SALVATION ASSOCIATIONS :

CASE STUDIES

NOTES :

1. Chou Tien-tu., ed., Chiu-kuo hui (Peking : Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1981), p.431.
2. Ibid
3. TCSH 1 : 6 December 21, 1935.
4. Li Shou-tung, ed., Chiu-kuo wu-tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih chien (no place : publisher unknown, 1937), p.78.
5. See TCSH 1:9 January 11, 1936, Chiu-wang shou-ts'e (Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1939), pp. 210-212, and Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History", Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 26 (1976), p.15.
6. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming t'zu-tien (Peking : Chieh-fang chün ch'u-pan she, 1987), Entries : T'ian Han, p.631, and Chou Li-po, p. 812. For Sha Ting, see Chung-kuo hsien-tai tso-chia chuan-lüeh 2 vols. (Peking : People's University, 1979-1980), p.284. See Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu (Changsha :



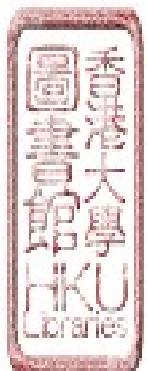
- Hunan wen-i ch'u-pan she, 1988), Entries : Wei Chin-chih, p. 700 and Ai Wu, p. 80-81.
7. These include "Seven Letter Biography", "The Bearer of the White Banner" and "Wet Nurse".
 8. The story "In a Teahouse" is one of Sha Ting's representative works.
 9. Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, (Hong Kong : Ye Olde Printerie, 1954), Entry : Ai Wu, p.1.
 10. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entries : T'ian Han, p. 631, Chou Li-po, p.812.
 11. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : Tian Han, p.631.
 12. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entries : Ku Chung-i, p. 536-537 and Hsieh Liu-i, p. 659-660. Also see Austin C.W. Shu, Modern Chinese Authors. A List of Pseudonyms, (East Lansing : Michigan State University Press, 1969), Entries : Hsieh Liu-i, p. 81, Hsü Chieh, p. 82, and Ku Chung-i, p. 86. See Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, Entry : Ku Chung-i, p. 108-109.
 13. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entry : Hsieh Liu-i, p.659-660.
 14. Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, Entry : Ku Chung-i, p. 108-109.



15. Ibid., Entry : Hsü Chieh, p.83.
16. Howard L. Boorman and Richard C. Howard, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China 4 Vols. (New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971), Entry : Tsou T'ao-fen, pp. 319-321. See also Margo Gerwurtz, Between America and Russia : Chinese Student Radicalism, and the Travel Books of Tsou T'ao-fen, 1933-1937, (Toronto : Downsview, 1975), p. 25.
17. Shih-chieh chih-shih, 4 : 7-12 March - September 1936.
18. Perleberg, Who's Who in Communist China, (Hong Kong : Union Research Institute, 1969-1970), Entry : Chin Chung-hua, p. 130-131.
19. Howard Boorman and Richard C. Howard, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, p. 109 which refers to Hsia Yen and Kuo Mo-jo and see Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entries : Nieh Kan-nu, p. 526, Li Kung-p'u, p. 238 and Shen Hsi-ling, p. 304-305.
20. Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 61, and TCSH 1 : 6 December 21, 1935.
21. Kuang-ming was a semi-monthly periodical published in Shanghai 1936-1937.
22. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : Shih Liang, p.634 and Li, Chiu-kuo wu-tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p.60.

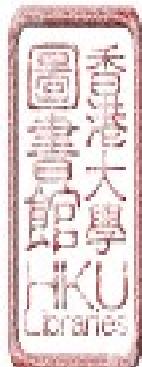


23. H. G.W. Woodhead, ed., The China Yearbook (Shanghai: The North China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1936), Entry : Ma Liang (1898-1945) p. 244.
24. Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China p. 108-109.
25. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entry : Hsieh Liu-i, p. 659-660.
26. Ibid., Entry : Wu Ch'iu-shan, p. 273-274.
27. H. G. W. Woodhead, The China Yearbook (1936), p. 536.
28. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming t'zu-tien, Entry : Wang Tsao-shih, p. 596.
29. Ibid., Entry : Chang Nai-ch'i, p. 885 and Boorman and Howard, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Entry : Chang Nai-ch'i, pp. 87-90.
30. Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu, Entries : Ku Chung-i, p. 536-537, Shen Ch'i-yü, p.307-308, and Perleberg, Entries: Ku Chung-i, p. 108-109, Shen Ch'i-yü, p. 181.
31. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien Entry: Sha Ch'ien-li, p. 742.
32. Ibid., Entry : Shih Liang, p.634.
33. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 60.
34. Boorman and Howard, eds., Entry : Ma Hsiang-po, pp. 470-473, and Woodhead, ed., The China Year-

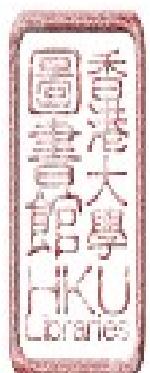


book, p. 244.

35. Sources for these individuals (with the exception of Chou Hsin-min) are referred to elsewhere in this study. For Chou Hsin-min see Chang Ta-chün, Chung-kung jen-min tz'u-tien (Hong Kong : Freedom Press, 1956), Entry : Chou Hsin-min, p. 71. Chou Hsin-min (1889-?) was from Anhui province. He studied in Japan and after graduation returned to teach at the Shanghai College of Law and Political Science. He may well have been a lawyer.
36. Shih Liang, "Wo-ti cheng-chih sheng-huo," (My Political Life), in Tsung-heng (Length and Breadth,) 1 (1985) Peking : Wen-shih tzu-liao chu-pan she, p.4.
37. Charlotte L. Beahan, "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press 1902-1911", Modern China, 1 : 4 (1975) p. 385.
38. Ibid., pp. 380-385.
39. Ibid., p.379.
40. Witke, "Transformation of Attitudes Toward Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China." p. 51.
41. See Ch'iu Chin, (Shanghai : Shanghai jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1980).
42. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-min tz'u-tien Entries : Ho Hsiang-ning, p. 736-737, and Sung



- Ch'ing-ling, p. 746-747.
43. Ibid., Entry : Ho Hsiang-ning, p. 736-737.
44. Ibid., Entry : Sung Ch'ing-ling, p. 746-747.
45. Fu-nü tsa-chih [The Ladies' Journal] (Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1915-1931).
46. Jacqueline Nivard, "Women and the Women's Press: The Case of the Ladies' Journal (Fu-nü) 1915-1931 [1] in Republican China 10 : 1b November 1984, p. 37.
47. Ibid.
48. Fu-nü sheng-huo 2:1 (1936) p. 252.
49. Fu-nü sheng-huo 2:1 (1936) p. 235, states Ch'ing-nien hui (YMCA) but Li, Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih chien, p. 105 states Nü ch'ing-nien hui (YWCA).
50. Shih Liang, "Wo-ti cheng-chih sheng-huo," (My Political Life) in Tsung-heng (Length and Breadth) 1 (1985) Peking : Wen-shih tzu-liao chu-pan shih p.4.
51. Fu-nü sheng-huo 2:1 (1936) p. 235.
52. Shih Liang, "Wo-ti cheng-chih sheng-huo," p.4.
53. Fu-nü sheng-huo 2:1 (1936) pp. 235-239.
54. Fu-nü sheng-huo 2:1 (1936) p. 252-253.
55. I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsuan-chi (Shanghai : Shanghai she-hui k'o-hsueh yüan ch'u-pan she, 1987), p. 65.
56. For Women's National Salvation Associations, in



- the north-west see Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p. 12, for Peking see Hubert Freyn, Prelude to War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936 p. 56. For Nanking see Chou, ed., Chiu-kuo hui, p.11, which indicated that in Nanking the most important women involved were mostly elementary school teachers and a minority were middle school teachers, university and middle school students, professional women and housewives.
57. Shen pao 22 December 1935.
 58. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien p. 60-61.
 59. Fang Fu-an, Chinese Labour (London : P.S. King and Son Ltd., 1931) p. 31.
 60. Hsiang Ch'ing-yü, "Chung-kuo tsui-chin fu-nü yün-tung," Fu-nü nien-chien (Shanghai) 1924, pp. 77-87. See also Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao 5 pp. 28-31.
 61. Suzette Leith, "Chinese Women in the Early Communist Movement," in Marilyn B. Young, ed., "Women in China," Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 15 (1973) : 47-71, p. 59.
 62. Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao, 1:75; 5:172; 8:53.
 63. Leith, "Chinese Women in the Early Communist Movement," p. 60.
 64. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 105.



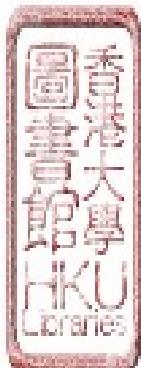
65. Ibid
66. Woodhead ed., The China Yearbook, (1936) p. 246.
Also known as Y.Y. Phen.
67. Ibid., and see Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : P'an Kung-chan, p. 928-929.
68. Shih Liang, "Wo-ti cheng-chih sheng-huo," (My Political Life), in Tsung-heng (Length and Breadth), 1 (1985) Peking : Wen-shih tzu-liao chu-pan she, p. 4.
69. Biographical data in Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965 2 Vols. (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 764-765, and Who's Who in Communist China (Hong Kong : Union Research Institute, 1969-1970), p. 508. Sources are not agreed on where Shih Liang studied law. Klein and Clark, Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965, p. 764, states the "Shanghai Law College," and Who's Who in Communist China, p. 508, the "Shanghai Politics and Law College," which presumably was the Shanghai fa-cheng hsüeh-yüan [Shanghai College of Law and Political Science]. These were two separate institutions. Shih Liang herself stated the latter (1982).
70. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : Shih Liang, p.634 and Klein and Clark,



- p. 764.
71. Tsung-heng 1 (1985) p. 4.
72. Chung-kuo hsian-tai wen-hsüeh tso-che pi-ming lu
p. 307.
73. Ibid., p. 476.
74. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien p.
746.
75. The full name is Chung-kuo t'ung-meng hui [China United League]. For biographical data see Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entry : Ho Hsiang-ning, p. 736-737.
76. Li-tai ai-kuo ming-jen tz'u-tien (Place unknown: Hupeh jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 345.
77. Ibid.
78. Shen-pao 22 December 1935.
79. Ta-tsung sheng-huo 1:6 21 December 1935.
80. Tsung-heng, 1 (1985) p. 5.
81. Klein and Clark, p. 857.
82. L.P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History, (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 171-172, suggests this was probably sometime between the fall of 1943 and the spring of 1944. Carson Chang, The Third Force in China (New York : Bookman Associates, 1952), p. 115, simply says the National Salvation Association was allowed to join later. No dates were given.



83. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien,
Entry : Ho Hsiang-ning, p. 736.
84. Klein and Clark, p. 765. Shih Liang held
positions such as Minister of Justice; member of
the standing committee of various National
People's Congresses, Vice Chairman, China
Democratic League and various positions in
women's affairs.
85. Beijing Review 21 May 25, 1981, p.5.
86. Ibid. For example Sung Ch'ing-ling was reported
as repeatedly asking to join the CCP.

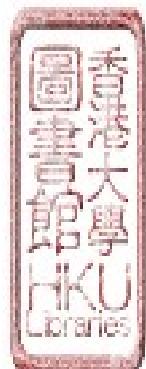


CHAPTER 6 :

NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE : MANIFESTOS, 1935-36

The writing of manifestos was one of the most important activities of the National Salvation Movement. Most National Salvation Movement manifestos were written and issued between late 1935 and mid-1936. These manifestos reflected the objectives of the National Salvation Movement and were an expression of the concerns and demands of those who represented the leadership of the National Salvation Movement. These policy statements revealed their views on a wide range of socio-political issues. The dimensions of urban nationalism in China is further clarified by these manifestos. They also provide us with a better understanding about the ideological orientations and intellectual content of the National Salvation Movement.

There were two distinctive types of document. First, there is a statement by an individual : T'ao Hsing-chih. As we have seen, T'ao was a prominent National Salvation leader. His statement is a classic example of the way in which some National Salvation figures used the National Salvation Movement as a platform for their own ideas in order to espouse their own blueprint for a new China.



Second, there are what may be regarded as collective or official manifestos which may be interpreted as indicating the intellectual and ideological thought of a sector of the National Salvation Movement as a whole, and therefore are of primary importance. They form the basis for subsequent minor manifestos which were in many cases contracted and frequently repetitive versions of the major documents.

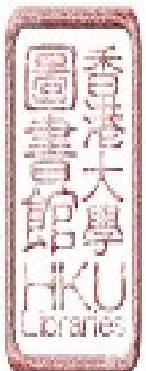
There has been a selective choice of manifestos for analysis. Key manifestos have been chosen. These manifestos give some insight into such issues as urban nationalism, civil rights, and the relationship of the National Salvation Movement vis à vis the KMT and the CCP.

"THE CHALLENGE OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT"

DECEMBER 1935

A key manifesto in the early stage of the National Salvation Movement was entitled "The Challenge of the People's Liberation Movement." This was the first declaration of the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association. It was issued on December 12, 1935, by the thirty-five member executive committee. They proposed that the government should act so as to:

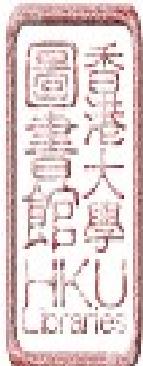
1. Fundamentally change the present foreign policy and make public information on all



- past diplomatic events;
2. Give freedom to mass organizations, protect the patriotic movement, and speedily set up a national (min-tsu) united front;
 3. Stop all civil war;
 4. Arm the people of the whole country;
 5. Guarantee absolute freedom of assembly, association, speech and printed word;
 6. Dismiss and punish all traitorous officials who are intimate with the enemy;
 7. Break all economic contact with the enemy and restore a nation-wide boycott of enemy goods; and
 8. Release all political prisoners and hasten ¹ to relieve the national crisis.

It is quite clear that nationalism was the dominant theme in this statement and that issue has several dimensions. First, there was a concern with the government's weak diplomatic policy rather than a concern for civil rights. Amidst the crisis over north China, the KMT Fifth Congress convened at Nanking in early November 1935 had made no drastic ² change to its policy of an-nei jang-wai. The intellectuals were seriously concerned that despite the stepping up of Japanese aggression the Nanking government failed to respond in its resistance to it.

Second, these demands reflect deep concern about



secret talks and negotiations between the government and Japanese authorities, details of which were not always released to the public. The manifesto presented a demand for the right to know of deals made with the Japanese. This was in response to the failure of the Nanking government to make public information on all diplomatic events. This failure is illustrated by the Tangku Truce signed May 31, 1933. Neither the preamble to the Tangku Truce nor the accompanying declaration of the complete text was revealed at first publication. The second sentence of Article 4 : "The said [Chinese] police force shall not be constituted by armed units hostile to Japanese feelings," was completely suppressed until 1937.³

Third, dissatisfaction with the government's diplomacy with Japan was directed in particular to certain "traitorous officials". The manifesto did not list the names of the "traitorous officials" intimate with the enemy.⁴ It was generally known however that such officials were epitomized by Ho Ying-ch'in, who in December 1935 was the highest authority representing the central government, in north China. He was Acting Chairman of the Peking Sub-Council of the Military Affairs Council, of which Chiang Kai-shek was Chairman. Ever since his submission to the Japanese demands as embodied in the so-called Ho-Umetsu agreement, July 6, 1935, Ho Ying-ch'in had



been labelled as pro-Japanese, and incurred the ire of National Salvationists and students. Thus while the National Salvation leaders gave the government a measure of qualified support in late 1935 they sought the dismissal of Chinese officials who were seen to be Japanese puppets or collaborating with the Japanese. Others may have included Wang Ching-wei and T'ang Yu-jen.

Fourth, the concern for the cessation of civil war and the establishment of a united front, as expressed in this manifesto, was reiterated in all subsequent National Salvation manifestos that I have seen. This document did not mention the CCP by name and the call for a united front was not directly linked to the civil war and negotiations for a united government although this does not preclude links between the National Salvation Movement and the CCP. The united front issue will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

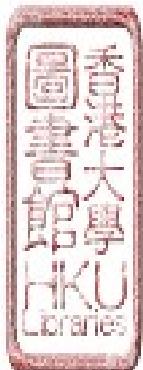
Fifth, the call to arm the people of the whole country is interesting. This proposal is not found in any other National Salvation manifesto that I have seen. Its inclusion in this manifesto could well be linked to the influence of Sung Ch'ing-ling and Ho Hsiang-ning in the National Salvation Movement, as these women were also involved in an organization known as the Chinese People's Committee for Armed



Self-Defense. The precise nature of this organization, its support base, and its links with the National Salvation Movement raises questions for further research, which have not been elucidated by any documents which I have seen so far. How many other National Salvation leaders advocated the right of the people to bear arms is not clear.

The manifesto not only condemned Chinese economic contact with Japan, but advocated that a nation-wide boycott of Japanese goods be restored. In 1936, one scholar asserts that a nation-wide boycott of Japanese imports succeeded in cutting trade by two-thirds. Unfortunately he does not substantiate this with any evidence.⁶ However, the actual commercial damage inflicted upon Japan is still subject to debate.

The dominant theme of nationalism in this manifesto is also merged with the issues of civil rights and liberties. In particular, there were also demands that freedom be given to mass organizations, and that the patriotic movement be protected in contradiction of Japanese demands for the suppression of the mass movements in China. As has been seen already, not only did the Nanking government deny the rights of people to organize, to associate, and to assemble, which were part of Sun Yat-sen's doctrine.⁷ Then too, the Provisional Constitution



adopted May 12, 1931, stipulated that "all persons shall have the freedom of assembly and formation of associations..." and that "all persons shall have liberty of speech and publication". Yet the Nanking government responded by suppressing the press and sought to quell student nationalism which had taken to the streets of Peking on December Ninth, as well as with the proclamation of martial law in Shanghai and Nanking on December 20, 1935. This will be dealt with in Chapter 8.

The sentiment for the release of political prisoners is not surprising. It goes back to the Chung-kuo min-ch'üan pao-cheng t'ung-meng [China League for the Protection of Civil Rights], in which Tsou T'ao-fen, Wang Tsao-shih and Shen Chün-ju were leaders.¹⁰ Founded in 1932, this organization sought sometimes successfully, to win the release from the KMT of political prisoners, many of them Communists. The concern for civil rights is linked to the concern for national unity. This demand came in the wake of December 9, when Sung Che-yüan employed high-handed measures, such as the arrest of students, to suppress the student movement.¹¹

T'AO HSING-CHIH'S PLANS FOR NATIONAL CRISIS
EDUCATION : JANUARY 1936

An early National Salvation manifesto was

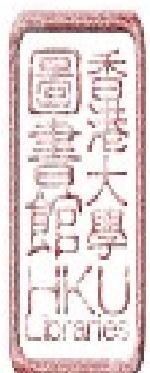


published in the TCSH. Dated January 6, 1936, it was entitled, "Plans for National Crisis Education," and was composed by T'ao Hsing-chih. It was divided into eight short sections. This manifesto stressed the imminence of national destruction and the need for mass education to save China. The overall aims expressed were:

1. Advance the culture of the masses;
2. Seize freedom and equality for the Chinese race; and
3. Defend the integrity and independence of
12
the Chinese Republic.

These three aims reflect the wide range of National Salvation goals. This is significant. There were many perspectives on the concept of national salvation. The National Salvation Movement was not merely concerned with the simplistic call for the preservation of China's territorial integrity alone. This statement reflected the concern for national defence education, which however well or ill-defined, gives some indication of the special concerns of National Salvation leaders, such as T'ao Hsing-chih.

T'ao was born on September 16, 1891, in Anhui province. He was born into a family of small means, and spent the years 1896-1905 in a traditional Chinese school where his intelligence and retentive memory made a striking impression. In 1905, he



entered a Protestant missionary school, majoring in English and mathematics, and completed the four year course in three years. He graduated from Chinling (Nanking) University in 1914.

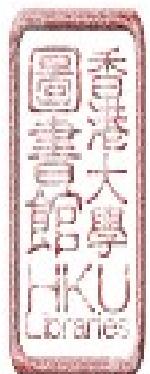
T'ao sought for change in education. He studied under John Dewey from 1915-1917 and returned to China to participate in the educational efforts of the New Culture Movement. Like James Yen, he believed that the key to a new China was education for all the people, for a literate citizenry was essential to build a democracy.

T'ao Hsing-chih went further than Dewey's concepts of "education is life" and "education is society," and proclaimed that "life is education" and "society is education."¹³ Like Liang Shu-ming,¹⁴ T'ao contended that the character of modern Chinese education had alienated the Chinese intelligentsia from the rural masses of China and left them as parasites to perform any service for society at large. Thus, T'ao argued that China needed a new form of culture and education, which would immerse the intellectual in rural education where he would "learn by doing." Although T'ao was explicitly a Deweyite, his philosophical roots, like Liang Shu-ming's, were anchored in the Neo-Confucianist thought of Wang Yang-ming. From Wang Yang-ming T'ao took the notion of Chih-hsing ho-i [the unity of knowledge and



action], and that knowledge must have practical consequences. This was reflected in T'ao's own courtesy name, Hsing-chih [action-knowledge]¹⁵ which he adopted about 1930. T'ao combined this concept of education with Dewey's idea that all forms of human activity are instruments for problem solving. T'ao's educational philosophy, implemented in his rural experiment at Hsiao-chuang village and subsequently in urban experiments, stressed "living" rather than "learning" education. Society was a classroom : students should not merely sit passively in schools in order to learn. The distinction between manual and mental work, long upheld in Chinese tradition, must be broken down, and teaching, learning, and doing should be combined as part of a truly educational process.

In 1927, T'ao Hsing-chih opened a school in Hsiao-chuang, a village outside Nanking where he carried out many of his ideas. The Hsiao-chuang School, intended to train teachers for rural areas, was unlike orthodox teacher training institutes. T'ao required students to farm small plots and perform all of the manual work in running the school. He proposed that "one who cannot plant vegetables is not a student, and one who cannot cook cannot graduate." The curriculum sought to combine "teaching-learning-doing" into a unified process. Its unorthodoxy



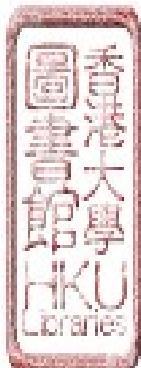
aroused KMT suspicions and the school was forced to close in 1930. But T'ao continued to advocate his ¹⁶ concepts of mass education.

T'ao Hsing-chih used this manifesto to enunciate his concerns for mass education, and to further his goals for sheng-huo chiao-yù [life education]. It is clear that he saw a close connection between these two issues.

There was also a close relationship between the aims, to seize freedom and equality for the Chinese race, and to defend the integrity and independence of the Chinese Republic. Independence was a deceptively simple goal. It had at least three main components which the manifesto considered as essential : first, it presupposed sovereignty; second, sovereignty required freedom from interference; and, third, that freedom could only be guaranteed by its equality in strength with the strongest. T'ao Hsing-chih not only articulated these concerns on paper but assumed an active role in the leadership of the Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education in which he sought to implement his ideas.

MAY 30TH RESOLUTION 1936

On May 30, 1936, three thousand people took part in what the NCH described as a "violent" (emphasis ¹⁷ mine) anti-Japanese demonstration in Shanghai,

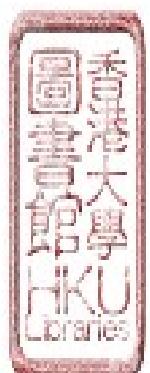


which commemorated the May Thirtieth Incident 1925.

What the NCH meant by "violent" is uncertain. At the May 30th commemorative demonstration a resolution was passed by the demonstrators. This demanded:

1. The use of force to prevent smuggling in the north;
2. Government denunciation of the Hirota Three ¹⁹ Principles;
3. Government rejection of "the trap" of joint (Sino-Japanese) suppression of Communism;
4. Encouragement and protection of all National Salvation Movements in China; and
5. Amendment of the Draft Constitution to concur with Sun Yat-sen's Three People's ²⁰ Principles.

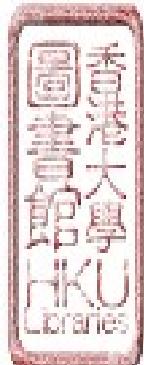
Again the dominance of nationalism prevails in this resolution. First, the Hirota three Principles were announced by the Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota Koki on October 28, 1935, but in keeping with a continuing trend of secret diplomacy were not released for publication until January 1936. ²¹ The Hirota Three Principles demanded : thorough suppression of anti-Japanese thoughts and activities in China; conclusion of a Sino-Japanese anti-Communist military pact; and achievement of "economic cooperation" between Japan, Manchukuo, and China, with a special position for north China.



Second, the demand that the Nanking government reject "the trap" of Sino-Japanese suppression of Communism is important as the central government had no objection to suppressing the Communists in China; on this issue the interests of the two governments coincided. The CCP in early 1936 had advocated a united front against Japan without Chiang Kai-shek, it had even insisted on opposition to Chiang for the sake of a united front.
22

Third, the resolution demanded the use of force to deal with smuggling in north China. The demilitarized zone ²³ facilitated Japan's "special trade" : smuggling. This trade was particularly dangerous to China because of her essentially unstable economic status during the early 1930s. The smuggling of silver proceeded north-eastward during much of 1935, while opium and ever-increasing amounts of artificial silk yarn, sugar, and cigarette paper were carried south-west through the Great Wall passes from Manchuria into China proper. The "special trade" reached a peak in early 1936, prior to this National Salvation statement being issued.

As in the earlier manifesto already discussed (December 1935) this resolution was also concerned with the issue of democratic rights. The demand for the amendment of the Draft Constitution to concur with Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles was



essentially addressed to the problem of civil rights, as discussed earlier. Also, the demand for the encouragement and protection of all National Salvation Movements came just prior to the formal establishment of the All-China National Salvation Federation, on May 31, 1936.

MAY 31ST MANIFESTO 1936

The May 30 resolution was supplemented by a more comprehensive manifesto which was formulated by the executive committee of the All-China National Salvation Federation on May 31.²⁴ This was a much more impassioned document. Firstly, it attempted to relate the National Salvation issue to the continued Japanese policy to "enslave" China. Secondly it denounced the "authoritative groups" (sic).²⁵ These included the Chiang Kai-shek and the central government as well as pro-Japanese regional militarists. Third, and in even more strident terms, the paramount concern was the ascendancy of the united front.

The manifesto accused the central government of devoting itself to the unification of power without accepting the duties of a united power, principally the task of national defense. The manifesto pointed out that despite repeated announcements of immediate destruction of the Communists the government had not achieved its goal in the post-1927 period. At the



same time it wasted valuable national resources, which could have been used against the external aggressor. The executive committee of the All-China National Salvation Federation maintained that it should have been clear to the government first, that there was "a unanimous demand on all sides that China needed a national revolution to struggle for independence and liberation," and second, that this could be achieved "only under the demand for a war of resistance against Japan, as the first principle in common."

The National Salvation Front alone, the manifesto claimed, had the power to break the deadlock between the various groups competing for power in China. The manifesto reasoned that "the National Salvation Front had no political ambition whatsoever" and that its only aim was to "promote the formation of a united, anti-enemy political power." The manifesto proposed to the various power holders that:

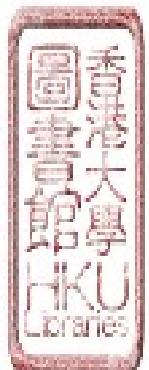
1. All parties and groups immediately put an end to civil war;
2. All parties and groups immediately free the political prisoners in their custody;
3. All parties and groups immediately send formal delegates, through the National Salvation Front, to begin joint negotiations...;



4. The National Salvation Front will guarantee with all the power at its disposal, the faithful fulfilment of the anti-enemy program by any and all parties and groups; and
5. The National Salvation Front will with all the power at its disposal, use sanctions against any party or group that violates the joint anti-enemy program and acts to weaken the united strength against the enemy.

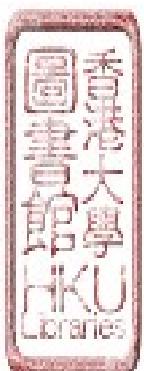
The National Salvation Front thus claimed a neutral mediatorial role. It supported and tacitly encouraged other power groups or individuals whose immediate goals concurred with stated National Salvation goals; for example, to stop civil war, resist Japan, and form a united front.

In suggesting that the National Salvation Front gave at least tacit support to other power groups such as the CCP, it must be observed that in contrast to the increasing aggression of Japan was the sharp decline in the Chinese Communist movement during the early 1930s. By 1933, the CCP work in the "white" areas had collapsed and most of its clandestine organization was broken.²⁶ Everywhere the Communists were in retreat; not even in the Soviet area were they able to withstand the Nationalists' onslaught;



and the Communist forces were either hiding as in the case of Kiangsi after the "Long March" or driven from their bases.²⁷ To the great majority of Chinese living in 1935 and 1936 the Red Army was almost non-existent, for it did not occupy even a single large city but rather took shelter behind the Ta-hsüeh shan [Great Snow Mountains] in Hsikang or in the caves of northern Shansi.

The manifesto called for the maximum possible increase in the "power of the front," which meant presumably, in its role as a petitioning group. According to Linebarger, the quest for policy and principle rather than political power was a new one to China, and as a result National Salvation leaders²⁸ came to be esteemed almost universally. But Linebarger fails to note the existence of earlier pure ideals political groups such as the Ch'ing-i scholars of the late nineteenth century. Perhaps the distinction between the quest for policy and principle and the quest for power, is not as precise as Linebarger suggests, and these are not necessarily mutually exclusive elements. It seems rather that the National Salvation Movement wanted mediatorial power and petitioning power, but it did not seek this power for itself as a policy-making or governing body. But, to the extent that various National Salvation leaders such as T'ao Hsing-chih



and Sung Ch'ing-ling used the National Salvation Movement as a platform for their ideas, and as a vehicle to advance their own goals, then the National Salvation Movement was a powerful force if not an ambivalent catalyst.

The May 1936 formation in Shanghai of the All-China National Salvation Federation coincided with the outbreak of the Liang-Kwang uprising. This had begun with a demand from the South West Political Council for immediate resistance to Japan on June 2, and a request for movement of troops to the north by ²⁹ the south-west military leaders on June 4. This uprising, in which the south-western armies were renamed the "Anti-Japanese National Salvation Forces" ³⁰ had an immediate impact on the central government. It resulted in the movement of troops to ³¹ protect Hunan from invasion from the south.

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS AND MINIMUM DEMANDS :

JULY 15, 1936

The Liang-Kwang uprising presented a problem to the National Salvation Movement, since its aim was resistance to Japan, but its methods were liable to lead to further civil war. In Shanghai one thousand five hundred students went on strike at Futan University on June 9th to protest Japanese activities ³² in the north. On June 21st there was a siege of the



Shanghai North Railway Station in an attempt to hijack a train to go to Nanking. The object of this mission was to petition the central government to solve the south-west problem peacefully and to resist Japan.³³ No formal statement by the National Salvation Association leaders in Shanghai was produced until July 15, 1936, when writer and publisher Tsou T'ao-fen, lawyer Shen Chün-ju, banker Chang Nai-ch'i and educator T'ao Hsing-chih published a platform for the group. This document was entitled: "A Number of Essential Conditions and Minimum Demands for a United Resistance to Invasion."³⁴

The pamphlet included a short plea to the southwest, to use as much pressure as possible on the central government to promote resistance to Japan, but to avoid taking a stand of opposition to the central government. Of the Chinese sources that I have seen, this document contained one of the longest remaining records of the views of the National Salvation leaders. It was an attempt to define the real standpoint of the National Salvation Movement and to express the hopes of the various "authority groups" in the nation.

Again in this document the dominance of the united front theme prevails. The document began by noting that the political situation had changed markedly since the December Ninth Movement and that



all leaders were beginning to see the importance of national salvation. It cited as examples the government's release of the full Tangku Truce text and its protest to Japan over smuggling; the south-west's call for resistance; the change in CCP policy with the renaming of the Workers' and Peasants' Soviet as ³⁵ the People's Soviet; and finally, the refusal of Sung Che-yüan ³⁶ to form an autonomous organization in north China. The authors also noted the change in attitude of the CCP which now proclaimed itself ready ³⁷ to cooperate with the KMT, and that all parties and factions must now realize that the Japanese issue was one of national survival and any fighting among Chinese must end. Nevertheless the document held that there were still suspicions that national salvation was only a "fashionable ornament" of no real significance and that the "united front" was only a temporary slogan which was being "used" by certain political groups. The National Salvation Front, in an effort to adopt a people's standpoint, indicated in this document that the united front was important for five reasons:

1. That if resistance is left to one group alone, it will fail;
2. That unless there is tolerance within the resistance movement, the people will end up opposing the government;



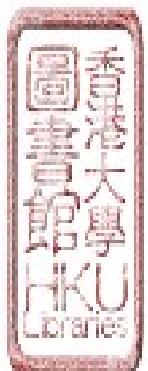
3. That in a united front the sincerity of all groups will be put to the test;
4. That if a united front is formed and natural confidence restored, traitorous acts will cease to be possible; and
5. That unless there is confidence in the united front, it will fail and with it the resistance to Japan, but if there is confidence the unity gained in resistance will also be of value after the war is over.

After extolling the virtues of the united front, this document identified six sources of authority in China. The first was Chiang Kai-shek, who was distinguished from the KMT. Perhaps the most striking feature of the manifesto was its blunt assessment of Chiang Kai-shek's leadership. To Chiang Kai-shek, the writers of the document pleaded first, that five years of failure to uproot the Communists (since 1931) must have persuaded him that his policy of internal pacification before external resistance had failed. For five years he had directed campaigns against the Communists; he had not achieved victory. Japan, meanwhile, had flagrantly violated the Tangku Truce and made a mockery of its "friendship" pledges. The writers demanded that Chiang stop the war against the Communists and unite with the Red Army against Japan; that he halt threats against the military



leaders in Canton which threatened to erupt into a civil war at any moment; and that he restore freedom of speech for Chinese who called for national resistance. Chiang could become a great hero, the writers proclaimed, if he would follow their program. They pointed out that in the national crisis situation, unity could be achieved by ending all civil war and permitting freedom to anti-Japanese movements. They expressed hope that Chiang would then lead the government to begin the righteous war of liberation.

Second, to the south-west, they showed sympathy, but expressed hope that the south-west would grant genuine freedom to the anti-Japanese movement. Third, they urged the northern leaders to cease repression of the student movement and the anti-Japanese masses. Fourth, regarding the KMT, they trusted that it would discard its past prejudice and again form a united front with the Communists. They appealed to the KMT to purge its ranks of pro-Japanese bureaucrats. Fifth, to the Communists, the writers of the document expressed hope that the CCP would show its sincerity in the united front, by ending the attacks on central troops and that it would show tolerance to the richer classes, and prevent ideologically immature leftist youths in the cities from disrupting national salvation work. Finally, they appealed to the masses



to be the most fervent of all the groups in their opposition to imperialism and bad government.

This pamphlet struck a neutral pose between all the contending groups and tried to point out the failings of each. A reference to "ideologically immature leftist youths"³⁸ who tried to use the National Salvation Movement to spread class struggle, indicated that the CCP call for a united front was not being heeded by all Leftists. The National Salvation leaders saw the KMT as the leader of the united front, with Chiang Kai-shek as the supreme commander. Later Communist historians who did not claim that the Communists led the National Salvation Movement, interpreted the united front as Communist-led,³⁹ at this point.

How much influence this pamphlet had is difficult to determine. Some of the questions it raised had already become academic. For example, Chiang Kai-shek, in dealing with the south-west, had already pledged not to use arms against the south-west by July 8th,⁴⁰ and the south-west uprising began to disintegrate as Kwangtung capitulated to Nanking's control. Chiang Kai-shek did not accept the demands of the manifesto, but its publication and wide circulation created strong interest among the urban public. On August 10, 1936, Mao Tse-tung sent a letter to the National Salvation leaders to express



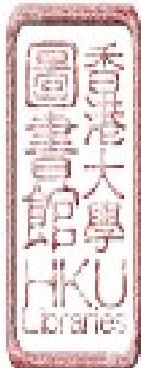
the Communists' complete support for the proposal, a move which measurably increased Nanking's distrust of the National Salvation Movement; ⁴¹ and pledged the Communist's support for National Salvation efforts toward a united front, ⁴² an action which was to be used at the trial of the seven to tie them in with the CCP. ⁴³

Mao Tse-tung stressed in his long and persuasive reply that he welcomed the conditions and demands set forth by the leaders of the National Salvation Movement and was glad to comply with them for the purpose of forming the "united front." He said, "We are in agreement with your manifesto, program and demands, and earnestly desire to cooperate with you and all other parties and groups, either as organizations or ⁴⁴ as individuals."

In conclusion, the fundamental tenor of the various National Salvation manifestos that I have seen indicated that national salvation was the paramount concern. This was expressed in ever strident terms by calls primarily for nationalism an important ingredient of which was a united front. This concern which encompassed both opposition to Japan and the termination of civil war in China took precedence over democratic concerns. There was no overt pro-Communist stance in any of the National Salvation manifestos which I have seen. Notwithstand-



ing, it is possible to determine that a few signees of National Salvation manifestos were CCP members. Some who signed the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto were Communist-oriented at the time the manifestos were issued. But the amount of influence these persons had in the leadership of the National Salvation Movement was minimal.



CHAPTER 6:

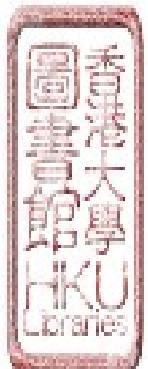
NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE : MANIFESTOS, 1935-36

NOTES :

1. TCSH 1:9 (1936) p. 231. This first declaration is contained in TCSH 1:6 (1935) p. 158. This was issued by the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Movement, before its formal organization as a society. It likewise has eight sections and bears 283 signatures.
2. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies, 26 (1976) p. 1.
3. For text, see The Chinese Yearbook 1936-37 (Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1937) p.431. See also T.A. Bisson, Japan in China, (New York : The MacMillan Company, 1938), p.45.
4. Other powerful pro-Japanese leaders included Huang Fu, Chang Ch'un and Yin Ju-keng.
5. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History." 26 (1976) p. 213 : Note 41. See also Boorman and Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, entry : Sung Ch'ing-ling.
6. Immanuel C. Y. Hsu, The Rise of Modern China (New York, London and Toronto : Oxford Univ-

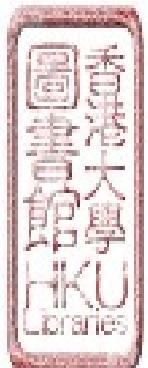


- ersity Press, 1970), p. 699. See also Boorman and Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, entries Tsou T'ao-fen, Shen Chun-ju and Sung Ch'ing-ling, p. 319, p. 100 and p. 784 respectively.
7. Min-chüan chu-i [Doctrine of People's Rights or Democracy] is the second part of the San-min chu-i [Three Principles of the People].
 8. Hsien-cheng shou-ts'e, (Kwangtung : Chung-kuo wen-hua shih-yeh chü, 1933), pp. 35-41, especially chapter 2, which deals with the rights and duties of the people, Articles 14 and 15.
 9. See Hubert Freyn, Prelude to the War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936, (Shanghai : China Journal publishing Co., 1939), p. 65-66.
 10. Sung Ch'ing-ling was one of the organizers and chairman of the organization.
 11. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History," p. 11.
 12. TCSH 1:9 (1936) p. 218. The manifesto is dated January 6, 1936.
 13. T'ao Hsing-chih, "Sheng-huo chi chiao-yü", in Wei chih-shih chieh-chi (Peking : Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1950), pp. 1-10.
 14. For details on the rural reconstruction leader Liang Shu-ming, see Guy S. Alitto, The Last

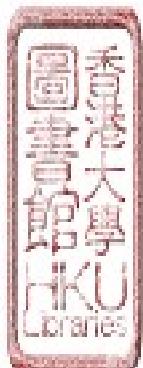


Confucian : Liang Shu-ming and The Chinese Dilemma of Modernity (Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1979),

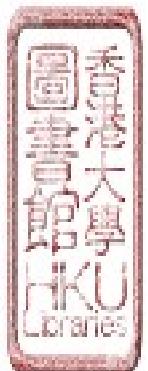
15. Mai Ch'ing, T'ao Hsing-chih (Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1949), p. 7. T'ao had earlier adopted the courtesy name Chih-hsing (knowledge-action). See Boorman and Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Entry : T'ao Hsing-chih, p. 212 .
16. For details on T'ao Hsing-chih's early life, see Hsu Tsung-yüan, ed., T'ao Hsing-chih, (Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1988), pp. 1-34.
17. NCH June 3, 1936, p. 408. This was detailed earlier.
18. From December 1924 on, Shanghai was beset with a wave of labor troubles and in February 1925 a series of strikes against the Japanese cotton mills resulted in significant Communist gains in labor organizations. In mid-May a new round of disturbances at the Nagai Wata Mills led to the death of a worker named Ku Cheng-hung at the hands of a Japanese foreman on May 15, 1925. It was this act which was to lead directly to the May 30 Incident. What seemed at first to be a mere incident, a student demonstration, with an unfortunate bloody ending, became instead a movement that spread from Shanghai to the



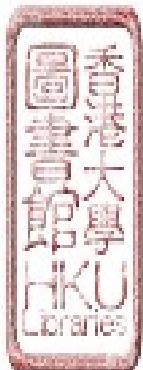
- ports of the east coast and the Yangtze and led to a rash of strikes and a boycott against the British in Hong Kong and the South.
19. For details on the Hirota Three Principles, see James B. Crowley, Japan's Quest for Autonomy (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 230-233.
20. NCH June 3, 1936, p. 408.
21. Lincoln Li, The Japanese Army in North China 1937-1941 (London, New York and Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 212.
22. Edgar Snow, Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1957), p.6.
23. The Tangku Truce (1933) provided for the establishment of a demilitarized zone. The Ch'in-Doihara Agreement of July 27, 1935 extended the demilitarized zone to include all the territory "East of a line drawn from Changping in Hopeh to the wall in East Hopeh via Yenching and Talinpao, and south of another line drawn from a point north of Tushihkou to a point south of Changpei." See Hsu Shu-hsi, The North China Problem (Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1937), p. 21.
24. For text see the supplement to the Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, (Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien,



- 1939), p. 210.
25. Rosinger, China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944, p. 86-87.
26. For accounts on the collapse of the CCP organs in the KMT-held areas, see U. T. Hsü, Invisible Conflict (Hong Kong : China Viewpoints, 1958); Yang Tzu-lieh, Chang Kuo-t'ao fu-jen hui-i lu (Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1970); Yueh Sheng, Sun Yat-sen University of Moscow and the Chinese Revolution (Lawrence : The University of Kansas Press, 1971), chapters 16 and 17.
27. Before the "Long March" set out from Kiangsi in October 1934, there were four major Soviet bases, namely the Kiangsi, western Hupeh-Hunan, Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei, and northern Szechwan areas.
28. Paul Lineberger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek (Boston : World Peace Foundation, 1941), p. 175.
29. KWCP 13:23 June 15, 1936 gives the texts.
30. NCH June 10, 1936, p. 445.
31. Ibid., June 24, 1936, p. 518.
32. Ibid., June 17, 1936, p. 492.
33. Ibid., June 24, 1936, p. 534.
34. Text in supplement to Tsou T'ao-fen, T'an pai chi (Shanghai : By the Author, September 1936), pp. 216-234.
35. Ibid., p. 216.
36. Ibid.



37. Ibid., p.220.
38. Ibid., p. 231.
39. Ho Kan-chih, A History of the Modern Chinese Revolution (Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1959), p. 65.
40. NCH July 8, 1936, p.78.
41. See Chang Nai-ch'i's biography in Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China.
42. L. P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 69-70.
43. Li Shou-tung, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih chien (No place : ? 1937), p. 67.
44. Mao Tse-tung, et. al., China : The March Toward Unity (New York : Workers' Library Publishers, 1937), p. 70.

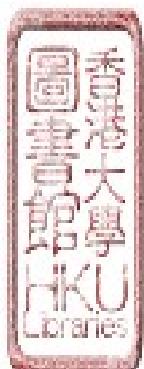


CHAPTER 7 :

NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE, 1935-1937

In addition to manifestos, National Salvation literature in 1935-1937 was represented by a plethora of periodicals. A fraction of these are still available in China today, with most issues of the major periodicals being held in the Shanghai Municipal Library. However, odd issues only of some less well-known periodicals are available. While National Salvation manifestos were published in periodicals, as a source on the National Salvation Movement periodicals provided much supplementary information on the Movement and also articles about many other issues of topical concern. Some of these periodicals were more radical than the manifestos but there is an ideological consistency between manifestos and other articles written by National Salvation leaders. This is particularly true in terms of crucial issues such as the nature of the united front, the emphatic affirmation of patriotism and the corresponding denial by the National Salvation Movement of being Communist.

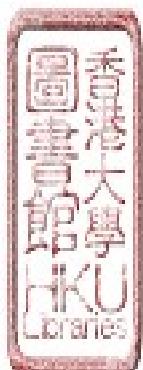
Anti-Japanese sentiment was expressed at least as strongly in the periodicals as in the manifestos and in some cases more so. In order not to offend the



Japanese, the government in its publications avoided using the term "Japan". In all its publications, seemingly anti-Japanese expressions, including reports on the Japanese troop intrusion into north China, were outlawed. The symbols "X X" were employed to represent the two characters for Japan, should the nation be referred to in any unfavorable light.¹ All negotiations with Japan were kept secret.² Yet the Chinese periodical press was not acquiescent and by mid-1935 many publications used the term "Japan" rather than the symbols "X X", and were increasingly strong in their condemnation of the exigencies of Japanese aggression.

The upsurge in the National Salvation Movement led to an increased proliferation of the patriotic press during 1935-37. One source stated that over one thousand periodicals were published by patriotic associations throughout China during 1936-1937, of which at least one hundred periodicals were based in Shanghai.³

Chinese periodical literature during this period enjoyed a unique position. For various reasons, periodical publishing flourished more than the publication of books.⁴ Periodicals did not require much capital and thus enjoyed more flexibility than books and newspapers. A periodical which was banned could easily appear under a new title; frequently



edited and published by the same persons. The more radical the periodical, the sooner it changed its title. This is one of the reasons why, during this period, there was such a proliferation of periodicals published; most of them had but a short life.⁵ The proliferation of periodicals is emphasized by the Shanghai-shih nien-chien [Shanghai City Yearbook] 1935, which stated that in 1934 there were no less than two hundred twelve periodicals published in Shanghai alone.⁶ But, not all of these were concerned with political or social affairs.

On December 20, 1935, martial law was proclaimed for the Shanghai-Nanking area and on February 20, 1936, the Emergency Regulations for Keeping Peace and Order were promulgated. These Regulations authorized troops or police "to use force or other effective measures to suppress all patriotic meetings and demonstrations.⁷ National Salvationists responded in their manifestos and with articles in various periodicals, all of which expressed their disapproval of such measures.⁸

In 1936, a number of periodicals were suppressed for allegedly being anti-Japanese, thirteen of them in November alone.⁹ Of these thirteen I have seen various issues from most of these. It seems that the suppression of periodicals in an ironic sense acted as a catalyst for further opposition to ever-



increasing government control, as illustrated by the proliferation of periodical literature at this time.

This chapter examines first the Sheng-huo stream of the patriotic press, and second, the nature of the Chiu-wang wen-hsüeh [National Salvation Literature] that emerged during the years 1935-37. An awareness of these two streams of literature provides further insight into the ideological character of the National Salvation Movement.

TA-CHUNG SHENG-HUO

National Salvation Movement leaders continued to lead the anti-Japanese cause. Tsou T'ao-fen was still in the United States of America when he received word of Tu Chung-yüan's arrest July, 1935 and the suspension of the Hsin-sheng chou-k'an late June, 1935. He immediately returned to China to pick up the mantle of resistance to Japan. Arriving in Shanghai on August 27, 1935, Tsou paid a visit to Tu Chung-yüan, who had been moved temporarily to a hospital from prison, and immediately started to organize a new journal.
10

Despite the threat of oppression by Nanking, Tsou was able to publish the Ta-chung sheng-huo, [Life of the Masses] (hereafter TCSH) commencing on November 16, 1935. The use of the phrase Ta-chung [Masses] in the title reflected a stronger leftist



emphasis in Tsou's thinking. Tsou had spent considerable time in Russia during his overseas travels and was genuinely impressed with the Soviet Union.¹¹ At the same time, incorporating Sheng-huo [Life] in the title provided reader identification with the earlier banned journals.

The TCSH, in fact, quickly reached the circulation range of its two predecessors. Some sources actually credit it with sales of almost two hundred thousand per issue at its peak, which would have been substantially larger than that of the old Sheng-huo chou-k'an¹² "To achieve national liberation, to uproot feudal remnants, to overcome individualism, these are our three big goals," wrote Tsou in the opening issue of the journal.¹³ Tsou consistently used Marxist rhetoric, though for the most part these remained undeveloped themes.

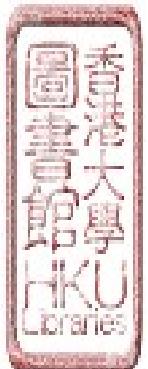
In the weeks which followed Tsou blasted the social, economic, and foreign policies of the Nanking government. Tsou expressed the fear that Nanking was about to accept the platform of Japanese Foreign Minister Hirota Koki which was labelled the "Three Principles" [elimination of the anti-Japanese movement in China; cooperation among China, Japan, and Manchukuo; and a common defense against Communism]. This, Tsou felt would turn China into a colony of Tokyo. He countered with demands for implementation



of his own "Three Principles" : recapture of Manchuria and other lost territory; restoration of revolutionary, anti-imperialist foreign policy; and revival of the mass movements and freedom of speech. Conceding that China may not be a match militarily for Japan, Tsou argued that the power of the masses, once they were united by the government, could overcome technical inadequacies. After all, Tsou noted there were seven times as many Chinese as Japanese. He was also heartened by the stern resistance of the Ethiopians to Italian conquest, which he contrasted ¹⁴ with China's failure to struggle.

From August 1935 until late February 1936, the TCSH also carried a regular column by the imprisoned Tu Chung-yüan entitled "Yü-chung tsa-kan" [various feelings in prison]. Although Tu was circumspect in discussing his imprisonment and its causes, he called for resistance to the nation's enemies and severely criticized Hu Shih, who largely supported Nanking's policies. The very appearance of Tu's name in print, ¹⁵ inevitably served to remind readers of his ordeal.

The TCSH was from the start edited by Tsou T'ao-fen. It stressed the need for immediate resistance to Japan to prevent the destruction of China. It also showed a keen awareness of other areas of world conflict in 1936, such as Italy's attack on Ethiopia and the Spanish Civil War, which its editors believed



could serve as models for China under Japanese aggression. Tsou T'ao-fen devoted much space in the TCSH to articles which supported the united front and the National Salvation Movement. For instance TCSH of January 1936 published an article specifically related to the united front concept and the National
¹⁶
 Salvation Movement.

Tsou T'ao-fen defended the united front concept in the columns of his Hong Kong newspaper, the Sheng-huo jih-pao [Life Daily]. He noted the distinction between the concept of a national [min-tsu] united front, which the National Salvation Movement advocated, and a people's [jen-min] united front, which was the description given to the French United Front. The latter implied a Leftist-dominated political union, whereas Tsou insisted that all parties and people were welcomed in the national [min-tsu] united front. In response to those who questioned how he could advocate cooperating with leaders considered traitors, Tsou stated clearly that the slate would be wiped clear. He had earlier attacked Chang Hsueh-liang, for instance, but if Chang had not decided to favor resistance to Japan,
¹⁷
 the National Salvation Movement would not welcome him.

It should be noted that the TCSH published several articles on the student National Salvation



¹⁸

Movement. These pointed to the need for organization, education and action. Of particular interest is the report of the January 21, 1936, formation of a

Shang-hai ko ta-chung-hsüeh hsüeh-sheng chiu-kuo
hsüan ch'üan tuan [All-Shanghai University and High

¹⁹

School National Salvation Propaganda Group]. This group of approximately eighty students, according to the TCSH, formed three teams, each with a team leader, to effect National Salvation propaganda. This gives further support to the notion of a definite organizational structure within the National Salvation Movement. Furthermore, it would seem from these articles that at times the Shanghai Student National Salvation Movement's enthusiasm for propaganda and demonstrations to voice their anti-Japanese sentiment was kept in check by representatives of other branches of the National Salvation Movement, such as the Shanghai Cultural and Women's National

²⁰

Salvation Associations. This helps refute the commonly held view that the students led the National Salvation Movement, as suggested by such scholars as

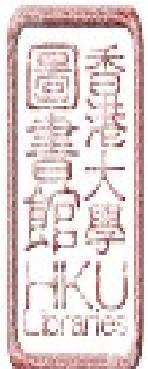
²¹

Wu Tien-wei.

The TCSH also provides a reprint of the first manifesto of the Peking Cultural National Salvation Association. This was signed by one hundred forty-nine people. It was not dated. The list of signees

²³

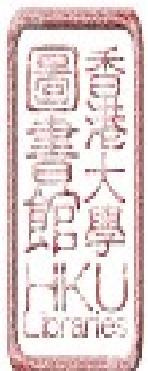
was headed by Ma Hsü-lun, an eminent Chinese



educator and government official. It was similar in content to a manifesto issued by the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association, on December 12, 1935.

Nanking stepped up its pressure on Tsou, and ordered the TCSH to cease publication. In the final issue, dated February 29, 1936, Tsou told his readers of the suspension but asserted that the movement to resist aggression would continue to grow. "We will struggle again to save the nation," cried Tsou. The journal also called for a united front by all those who opposed seeing China enslaved, and a national war of self-defense to resist Japan and to counter
24 traitors.

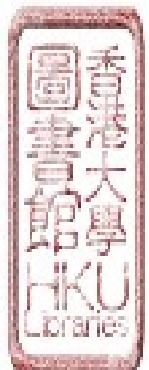
Early in 1936 according to Tsou, two Blue Shirt officials, Liu Chien-ch'ün and Chang Tao-fan, approached him on behalf of Nanking, hinting broadly that Tsou risked grave consequences unless he lessened his criticism of the government.
25 They tempered this intimidation with suggestions of financial reward if he cooperated, according to Tsou's later recounting of this meeting. Tsou discussed this matter with Tu Yüeh-sheng, who was sympathetic to the anti-Japanese cause but had excellent ties to Chiang Kai-shek and to Tai Li, head of Chiang's internal security and military intelligence network. Tu suggested that Tsou accompany him



to Nanking to discuss the resistance issue directly with Chiang. Tai Li would come to Shanghai to escort them, and Tu would personally guarantee Tsou's safety. After consultation with his associates, Tsou decided not to make such a trip. Nothing could be gained from a personal discussion with Chiang, he felt, and the risks of leaving the security of Shanghai were considerable. Later in fact, Tsou claimed to have discovered that Chiang planned to place him under house arrest in Nanking, while appointing him a special assistant to Ch'en Pu-lei.²⁶

YUNG-SHENG AND SHENG-HUO JIH-PAO

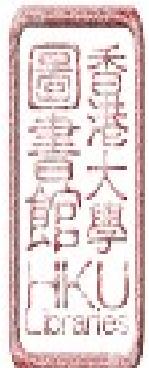
Undaunted by the suspension of the TCSH, Tsou T'ao-fen immediately began a new journal with the clever title Yung-sheng [Eternal Life]. The first issue was published on March 7, 1936. Published in Shanghai, this periodical was able to be published for almost three months before bowing to Nanking. Tsou's rhetoric was unabated. In an early article in Yung-sheng, for instance, he lashed out at Hirota Koki's plan for Sino-Japanese economic cooperation which he claimed would transform China into an economic colony of Japan. "If the Chinese people do not fight a war of resistance against our major enemy [Japan], then China will be destroyed."²⁷ Other important articles ranged from such issues as student



nationalism and the student movement to national defence education and discussions on science and the ²⁸ people's livelihood.

Nanking finally closed the Yung-sheng in June 1936. The final issue was published June 27, 1936. For reasons of personal safety Tsou fled to Hong Kong where he remained for several weeks. Never long without an outlet for his views, Tsou immediately began to publish a daily newspaper in Hong Kong, the Sheng-huo jih-pao [Life Daily] which quickly reached a circulation of twenty thousand per day, one of the ²⁹ largest in Hong Kong. Tsou returned to Shanghai from Hong Kong in August 1936. Despite the large circulation of his newspaper, the Sheng-huo jih-pao, he faced financial and printing difficulties. He also felt that the work of the National Salvation Association was entering a crucial phase, and he wanted to ³⁰ be involved directly.

Tsou's associate, Chang Nai-ch'i, however produced the lion's share of the National Salvation Movement's writings during the weeks Tsou was in Hong Kong. Dismissed by the Chekiang Industrial Bank because of pressure from Shanghai Mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, he was offered funds for study abroad. Nanking wanted Chang out of China. He rejected the offer and devoted his full efforts to promoting the anti-Japanese cause. His venomous pen challenged



Nanking, noting that the Tu Chung-yüan case revealed how the cry of the KMT in the days of the Northern Expedition, anti-imperialism, had now become a criminal act.

In another article, published in March 1936, Chang Nai-ch'i virtually called Chiang Kai-shek a traitor for even contemplating the Japanese program of mutual accomodation. No settlement was possible, he argued, if China was to remain a free nation. He said, "Let the traitors have their high talk of 'enemy or friend?' [ti-hu? yu-hu?]. The Chinese people have already seen clearly who is the enemy and
 31
 who is the friend.

CHIU-WANG WEN-HSUEH

Although Chinese documents used the terms Chiu-wang wen-hsueh [National Salvation literature] and Ai-kuo wen-hsueh [patriotic literature], the distinction between these two genres is blurred. Furthermore, the terms Ai-kuo wen-hsueh and Chiu-wang wen-hsueh were used interchangeably. However, I distinguish these two genres in this study. Thus, National Salvation literature is that material produced by various sectors of the National Salvation Movement, and is differentiated from the larger bulk of patriotic literature, which is much broader, both in terms of content and in terms of writers, and

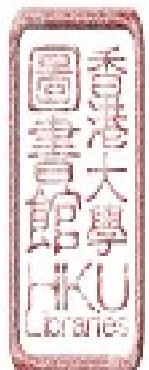


which has been the focus of this chapter so far.

As genres of Chinese literature, and as vehicles for communicating views and ideas in China throughout the 1930s, patriotic literature and National Salvation literature have received little attention from Chinese or Western scholars. These categories of literature invite further research, beyond the parameters of a study of the National Salvation Movement.

While considered within the general rubric of patriotic literature], Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao and other publications such as Chiu-wang pao-tao [National Salvation Report]³², and Chiu-wang chou-k'an [National Salvation Weekly], were more specifically representative of National Salvation literature. These publications were published by the National Salvation Movement and were narrower in focus than Ai-kuo wen-hsüeh. For example, the fourth issue of Chiu-wang pao-tao was a brief seven-page report, which commemorated the December Ninth (1935) Movement. It contained reports on student National Salvation affairs, particularly in Nanking, Peking and Tientsin; and several despatches relating to National Salvation endeavors in Chengtu.³³

One of the most important periodicals published was the Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao [Bulletin of National



Salvation]. This periodical was a National Salvation publication and was published in Shanghai every four to seven days. It was the most frequently quoted periodical at the trial by the seven worthies. This periodical contains the key National Salvation manifestos and is thus of prime importance although it is not available in Western libraries. The stance taken by those who contributed to the Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao, reflects first, an overwhelming concern to denounce Japanese aggression. Second, articles also express the need for organization and training of the masses (min-tsung) : both practical and theoretical. It contains little reference to local National Salvation affairs. Unlike earlier patriotic literature which employed the symbols "X X" to denote Japan, the Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao frequently used the Chinese characters for Japan (Jih-pen).

Another key publication was the Chiu-wang chou-k'an. Published in Shanghai, it was an organ of the Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association. It contained discussion of national politics in general, and of particular local professional interests. This periodical, although representative of National Salvation literature was first published in October 1937, after the seven worthies were released from prison. Thus it falls outside the particular time-span of this present research. How-

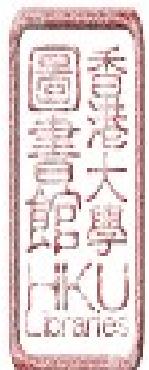


ever, it is useful to observe that two of the contributors to this premier issue were Sha Ch'ien-li and the prominent writer, Shen Yen-ping (Mao Tun).

This issue of Chiu-wang chou-k'an which had twelve pages, devoted several articles to the affairs of the Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association. One article by Shen Yen-ping entitled "How to endure,"³⁵ included a Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association manifesto. But, unfortunately for our purposes, this was not signed or dated. The question of training in the National Salvation Association receives attention in several articles. Concern was expressed that organization and training of the masses was lagging behind other National Salvation efforts.³⁶

To a large extent these National Salvation periodicals repeated the National Salvation Movement manifestos mostly with no further comments. To that extent they served as a means of disseminating National Salvation Movement policy statements.

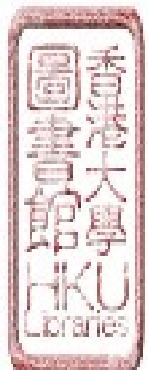
In conclusion, it is clear that the patriotic periodical press as represented by the Sheng-huo tradition revealed the nature of the anti-Japanese sentiment that burst forth in 1935-37 and the vehemence with which it was expressed. Particularly disturbing to both the Nanking and the Japanese authorities was that the most outspoken critics,



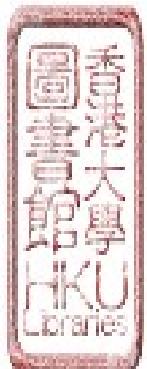
increasingly disaffected intellectuals used the power of the pen with such effect.

The worst effect of government suppression of the Chinese press, was that in proscribing all anti-Japanese activities as Communist instigated, the government deprived the people of any reliable ways of learning the motives that prompted the Chinese Communists, and patriotic organizations such as the National Salvation Movement, to promote anti-Japanese sentiments. Specific reasons advanced by the Ministry of the Interior for the suppression of publications were, frequently: spreading Communist propaganda,³⁷ agitating class struggle and attacking the KMT. These accusations were repeatedly denied by the leaders of the National Salvation Movement.

It is evident that during this period a significant number of intellectuals, especially writers, expressed their views on matters of more than purely literary significance. These critics became increasingly bold and their accusations increasingly vehement. Emotions ran high as long-suppressed views and pent-up feelings were expressed in increasingly strident terms. The issue of National Salvation was increasingly pervasive and a unifying issue among these intellectuals. Many confined themselves to issues of a united front and China's sovereignty but others particularly Tsou T'ao-fen had a much wider



world view and addressed fundamental social and
38 political questions. His rhetoric was increasingly leftist though the basic content of his ideas in terms of a united front concept was in line with National Salvation Movement views. Perhaps Tsou's ideology was in practice a unique combination of Marxist and liberal elements. Similarly, the Sheng-huo stream of literature was increasingly Leftist though certainly not revolutionary. It remained, like those who wrote for these publications, largely embued with liberal democratic ideals.

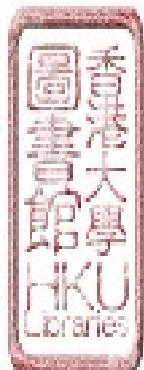


CHAPTER 7 :

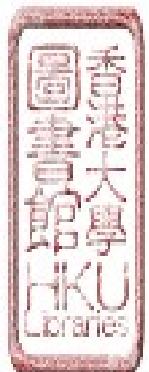
NATIONAL SALVATION LITERATURE, 1935-1937

NOTES :

1. Not infrequently Japan was referred to in periodical literature of the period as simply "the enemy" or "the adversary."
2. Hu Shih, Wo-men yao-ch'iu..." TKP December 29, 1935. At the time when Hu Shih wrote the article, the contents of the Tangku Truce, which had been signed in May 1933, had still not been made public.
3. Outline History of China (Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1958), p. 378.
4. Accurate statistics on the publishing trade in China during this period are not available. Shen-pao nien-chien, 1936, p. 1285-1286 states that a total of 8,148 titles were submitted for censorship from March 1932 to September 1935, and 5,075 titles were registered with the Ministry of the Interior from June 1928 to June 1935.
5. Lin Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, (Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1936), p. 126.
6. Shang-hai shih nien-chien (China), 1935. p. 536.

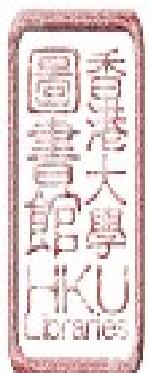


7. Hubert Freyn, Prelude to War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936 (Shanghai : China Journal Publishing Co., 1939), p. 65-66.
8. For example, see TCSH 1:9, 1:13, 1:14, January 11, February 8, 15, 1936, respectively.
9. Mu Hsin, Tsou T'ao-fen, Reprint (Hong Kong: San-lien shu-tien, 1959), p. 190, lists the thirteen periodicals suppressed in November 1936. Of these, Tu-shu sheng-huo was a Marxist review. Its writers included Li Kung-p'u, Ai Ssu-ch'i (a prominent Marxist theorist), and Chang Han-fu (a Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs in the PRC).
10. Tsou T'ao-fen, Huan-nan yü chung-chi, (Yenan : T'ao-fen shu-tien, 1946), p.8; Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 133.
11. Margo Gewurtz, Between America and Russia : Chinese Student Radicalism, and the Travel Books of Tsou T'ao-fen, 1933-1937, (Toronto: Downview, 1975), p. 5.
12. Huang I-chih, ed., Tsou T'ao-fen, (Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1950), p. 33-34.
13. TCSH 1:1 November 16, 1935, p. 2.
14. TCSH 1:3 November 30, 1935, p. 65-66; 1:4 December 7, 1935, p. 89-90; 1:5 December 14, 1935, p. 119.
15. Tu's columns in the TCSH, together with an introduction by Tsou T'ao-fen, earlier writings



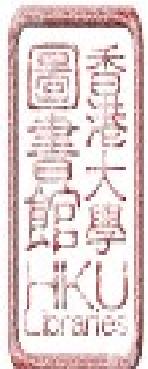
by Tu, and various letters from Tu to Tsou during the latter's trip abroad can be found in Yü-chung tsa-k'an, (Canton : by the author, 1938).

16. See TCSH 1 : 8 (1936) p.185-186.
17. Tsou T'ao-fen, T'an pai chi (Shanghai : By the Author, 1936), pp. 2, 45.
18. For example, see TCSH 1:6 (1935) p. 137; 1:8 (1936) p. 185-186; and 1:9 (1936) pp. 215-217.
19. TCSH 1:13 (1936) p. 329.
20. For example see TCSH 1:13 (1936) p. 330.
21. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History." Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 26 (1976) p. 120.
22. TCSH 1:14 (1936) p. 329.
23. In both 1925 and 1928 Ma Hsü-lun was Vice Minister of Education. In 1927 he was a member of the Chekiang Political Council and the Administrative Commission; and Director of the Civil Affairs Bureau; and in 1928 Councillor to the National Government. Brief Biographical notes : Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China (Hong Kong : Ye Olde Printerie, 1954), p. 160-161, Entry 98.
24. TCSH 1:16 February 29, 1936, pp. 388, 390. The actual language used by the journal was not "resist Japan" (k'ang-jih), but was "resist-X"

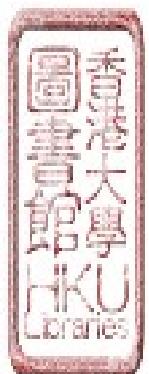


The journal followed this practice, which was common in the press at the time, in keeping with the government's policy of not offending Japan. The manner in which Tsou used the "X" for Japan, however, virtually satirized the government's regulations.

25. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen (Hong Kong: San-lien shu tien, 1959), p. 159.
26. Tsou, Huan-nan yü-chung-chi, pp. 10-14, 21. Tsou lists both Liu Chien-chün and Chang Tao-fan as representing the Blue Shirts. Liu's affiliation with that group is widely recognized, but Lloyd Eastman identifies Chang as a member of the CC Clique, not the Blue Shirts.
27. Yung-sheng, 1:2 March 14, 1936, pp. 36-38. The use of the phrase "our major enemy" for Japan was in keeping with the policy discussed in Note 24.
28. For example see Yung-sheng, 1:3 p. 64, (science and democracy) 1:8 p. 193, (science) 1:9 p. 207 (national defense education).
29. Tsou, Huan-nan yü-chung-chi, p. 14.
30. China Weekly Review, July 4, 1936, p. 174; October 3, 1936, p. 149; Tsou T'ao-fen, Huan-nan yü-sheng, pp. 14-18.
31. The articles are reprinted in Chang Nai-ch'i, Chi-liu-chi (A Turbulent Collection) (Shanghai :



- Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1936), pp.175, 234. See also Chuan-chi wen-hsüeh 39:3 September 1981, p. 39.
32. I have seen several issues of Chiu-wang pao-tao.
 33. Chiu-wang chou-k'an 1 (1937).
 34. Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao October 10, 1937 is held at the National Library, Peking. A copy of this was obtained.
 35. Ibid., p. 4.
 36. Ibid., p. 6.
 37. The Chinese Yearbook (Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1937), p.1093, notes that during the period May 1936 to February 1937, 206 publications were suppressed by the Ministry of the Interior. The reasons for suppression were as follows : agitating class struggle: 23; attacking the KMT: 1; attacking the Nationalist government : 23; spreading Communist propaganda: 65; proletarian arts : 11; indecency : 2; miscellaneous : 81. Total : 206.
 38. Margo Gerwurtz details this in Between America and Russia : Chinese Student Radicalism, and the travel Books of Tsou T'ao-fen, 1933-1937.



CHAPTER 8 :

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF THE SEVEN WORTHIES

The National Salvation Movement came to a new climax in November 1936 with the arrest of the seven worthies : Shen Chun-ju, Tsou T'ao-fen, Wang Tsao-shih, Li Kung-p'u, Chiang Nai-ch'i, Shih Liang and Sha Ch'ien-li. These seven leaders were kept in prison until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War. Their arrest and trial evoked strong public reaction. It also signified a new phase in the deteriorating relationships between the KMT and intellectuals. The trial itself also reflected the ideological dimensions of the National Salvation Movement.

THE BACKGROUND TO THE ARREST OF THE SEVEN WORTHIES

The background to the arrest of the National Salvation Association leaders lay primarily in the deteriorating situation in north China and in the complex web of Sino-Japanese relations and demands.

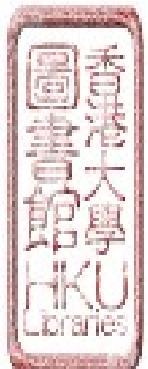
In the eyes of the KMT government the National Salvation Movement was an illegal enterprise. Just prior to September 18, 1936, the Shanghai KMT headquarters published a circular. This circular proclaimed that the National Salvation Association was illegal, "a collective body of reactionaries," who collected money to enrich themselves under the



guise of national salvation. Several National Salvation leaders including Sung Ch'ing-ling sent a letter to the NCH to deny these charges and to suggest that the government prove its charges in court if it dared.¹ The National Salvation leaders claimed that the Association had not registered because the freedom of association granted by the Provisional Constitution had been removed by later laws. They questioned why the government should not be overjoyed at organized patriotism at a time when the government itself could not lead such organizations because of diplomatic considerations.²

An attempt by National Salvation leaders to hold a commemorative meeting of the Manchurian Incident on September 18, 1936, in Shanghai was stopped by KMT authorities, who claimed to be very disturbed by the sudden appearance of anti-Japanese incidents.³ These included the murder of a Japanese clerk in Shanghai July 10, 1936; ⁴ the Ch'engtu Incident, where two Japanese were killed while opening a consulate; and the Pakhoi Incident on September 3, when a Japanese man was killed in east Kwangtung.⁵

The struggle between Nanking and the National Salvation Movement was brought to a climax in November 1936. Early in that month a wave of industrial strikes started. Japanese mill owners viewed these strikes as sequels to earlier Chinese mill strikes



and felt that there was no agitation on anti-Japanese lines, no hand-bills and no other inflammatory matter.⁶

Chinese workers at several Japanese textile mills began a strike which ultimately involved almost twenty thousand people. The initial strike was in a Chinese silk factory. The occasion for the strike concerned the dismissal of thirty-two union leaders⁷ and also was related to concerns over wages and working conditions. Anti-Japanese feeling was further exacerbated.

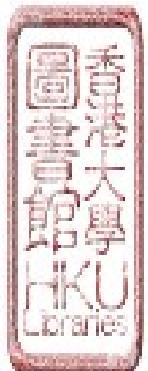
Strikes soon spread to the Japanese mills of Shanghai and then quickly to the northern cities of Tientsin, Hsüchow, Tsingtao and west-ward to Sian.⁸ The issue however, was not clearly one of resistance to the Japanese. The workers in Japanese factories demanded high wages (at a time of great prosperity in the cotton industry). Communist Chinese historians have claimed that these strikes were great anti-Japanese strikes.⁹ It is difficult to substantiate this claim. But in any case, National Salvation leaders gave their vigorous support to the strikers, by staging a demonstration in Shanghai.

The strikes, which continued until approximately November 22, 1936, assumed a more serious nature on later occasions, when there were conflicts with the police and some slight damage was inflicted on



factories. With the exception of one pitched battle between police and workers at the Toyada mill on November 17, which the Japanese director of the Mill Owners Association described as "a riot engineered by a number of extreme elements," the strikes were described by the NCH as having "all the appearances of regular trouble between capital and labor."¹⁰ But in Shanghai, Japanese authorities blamed the National Salvation Association for the unrest, and when violence erupted at the Toyada textile mill in Shanghai on November 17, 1936, the Japanese Consul-General demanded that Nanking arrest the leaders of the National Salvation Association.¹¹ Edgar Snow also suggested that the Japanese held National Salvation Association leaders responsible for the Shanghai strikes and that Nanking oblige Japan.¹²

There is no evidence in any of the Chinese sources that I have used to suggest that the National Salvation Movement instigated these strikes. But, it is clear that the National Salvation Movement supported these developments in November 1936. At a meeting held in the YMCA compound in Shanghai to commemorate Sun Yat-sen's birthday, over two thousand students, professors and laborers contributed to a strike relief fund for Chinese workers in Japanese-owned factories. Some people who attended the meeting suggested demanding the immediate release of all

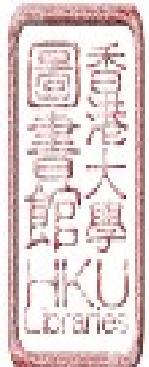


arrested strikers by using the threat of a general strike. Others suggested the organization of a special committee to give the maximum possible aid to
¹³
the strikers.

It may be noted that at this time Japan's diplomatic offensive centered around the issue of the
¹⁴
Chinese Communists. It began with Chiang Kai-shek's interview with the Japanese Ambassador Shigeru Kawagoe on October 8, 1936, at which time Chiang expressed his interest in readjusting Sino-Japanese
¹⁵
relations.

Negotiation with Nanking was only one part of the Japanese game, for simultaneously Japan launched an invasion in Suiyuan province, a design which by late October was an all-out offensive. In November 1936, a Japanese-instigated attack on Suiyuan was begun by Mongol troops. Initial
¹⁶
skirmishes on November 2, led to the capture of
¹⁷
Pailingmiao on November 7, 1936. The National Salvation Movement voted to send contributions to Suiyuan and at the end of November eight representatives of the Shanghai public delivered Ch.
¹⁸
¥100,000 to the war front.

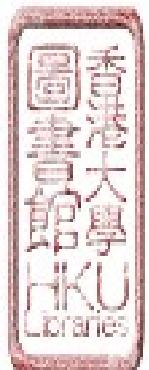
Since October 1936, Nanking had sought to eliminate the National Salvation Association. Shanghai mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng blamed the deterioration in north China on the student movement and he warned



Shanghai area school officials that unless student radicals were curbed a similar crisis could occur in ¹⁹ Shanghai. The KMT branded the National Salvation Association as an illegal and "reactionary" organization and claimed that money raised for Chinese fighting in Suiyuan province was actually being pocketed by National Salvation Association ²⁰ officials. These tactics were not effective.

The final act by the National Salvation Association leaders before their arrest had been to send a telegram to the central government, to Fu Tso-i, the commander in Suiyuan, and to Chang Hsueh-liang, ²¹ commander at Sian. This telegram demanded that immediate aid be given to the Suiyuan defenders and expressed full sympathy with them. The telegram to Chang Hsueh-liang also suggested the immediate despatch of troops to the front and exertion of ²² pressure on the central government. The text of this telegram was printed in the Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao ²³ [National Salvation Bulletin] of November 22, 1936. The leaders also put forward plans for the military training of workers for the defense of Shanghai in a pamphlet entitled 'A handbill petitioning the ²⁴ 2,300,000 citizens of Shanghai.' These actions also provoked the Japanese to demand the suppression of the ²⁵ National Salvation Association.

There were simultaneous arrests of two National



Salvation leaders in Nanking : Sun Hsiao-ts'un and Ts'ao Meng-chün, and the restrictions placed on Ma Hsiang-po's actions. These were indications of a general attack on the 'Aid to Suiyuan Movement,' rather than an attack on National Salvation activities in Shanghai.²⁶

THE ARRESTS OF THE SEVEN WORTHIES

The seven worthies were arrested in Shanghai in the early morning hours of November 23, 1936,²⁷ although November 22 has frequently been quoted.²⁸ The foreign Municipal Police in both the International Settlement and the French Settlement cooperated with the Chinese Public Security Bureau in the arrests which were made without warrants and the seven leaders were handed over to the Chinese authorities.²⁹

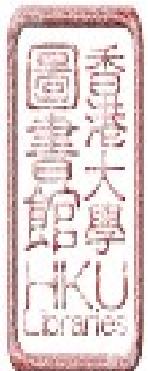
Tsou T'ao-fen, Chang Nai-ch'i and Shih Liang were arrested in the French Settlement, tried in the afternoon of November 23, and were released at 7.30 p.m. that evening.³⁰ The remaining four, Shen Chun-ju, Sha Ch'ien-li, Li Kung-pu and Wang Tsao-shih were arrested in the International Settlement and released on bail that same afternoon.³¹ They were not tried. The charges were not clear at this stage but came under the category of "intent to injure the Chinese Republic."³² Sha Ch'ien-li related that the police were so uncertain of the charges that they did not



know to which court to take the accused, the Kiangsu Shanghai First Special Court or the higher Second Special Court, reserved for very important cases only. Finally, the latter was chosen.³³ At the trial the defense lawyers for the accused complained about the absence of warrants and the role of the Shanghai Public Security Bureau which acted in the Settlements outside its jurisdiction.³⁴

Despite their release on bail, six of the accused were rearrested the same night. This followed a warning from the Public Security Bureau to the Settlement Court which stated that new criminal evidence had been discovered and that there was a danger that the accused would flee.³⁵ Shih Liang had in the meantime gone to Soochow on business and then to visit her sick mother, and was not arrested at this time.³⁶

The French Court held its first-ever midnight session November 23, to try Tsou T'ao-fen and Chang Nai-ch'i. Since the French Court found no good evidence against the accused, it remanded them in custody and then handed them over to the Chinese Procurator. The Chinese Procurator in turn transferred them to the Public Security Bureau and to the jurisdiction of the Shanghai District Court.³⁷ After they had passed through three prisons in four days, Tsou T'ao-fen and Chang Nai-ch'i eventually ended up



in KMT hands.

With the other four accused, transfer to the Public Security Bureau proved easier, as three of them were only temporary residents of the Settlements. The fourth, Sha Ch'ien-li, was a leader in the Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association, against which evidence was cited by members of the Huo-hua tu-shu hui [Sparks Reading Society], the members of which had been arrested for fomenting mill strikes.
39

Thus by November 27 all six men arrested had reached the Public Security Bureau and were transferred to Soochow on December 2, 1936, in an effort to lessen the attention given to the case.
40 The Japanese Consul-General at Shanghai expressed his personal appreciation to Wu T'ieh-ch'eng for the arrests.
41 Shih Liang, who it was falsely rumored
42 was hidden in Sung Ch'ing-ling's house, reported to Soochow in late December on her mother's recovery
43 from an illness.

FIRST REACTIONS : NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER 1936

The case of the seven National Salvation Association leaders arrested in Shanghai drew public attention from various sectors of society.

Despite government efforts to keep the case quiet, the arrests created a sensation within China.



The news of the arrest was first printed on November
⁴⁴
 24, after the Central News Agency branch in Shanghai announced it. The purported crimes of the arrested were : organization of an illegal group, currying favor with the Communists by inciting strikes and boycotts, and plotting to disturb peace
⁴⁵
 and upset the government. The arrest was made under
⁴⁶
 the emergency regulations of the previous February.

On November 25, Shanghai Mayor, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng
⁴⁷
 issued a formal statement to the press. This began:

Since Li Kung-p'u and others illegally organized the so-called Shanghai National Salvation Association, they have recklessly used the name of National Salvation to spread rumors. Their aim was undoubtedly to weaken the people's trust in the government. Further recently they have been in league with "red bandits", have wildly proposed a popular front, have fanned class struggle and have even proposed the overthrow of the National government and its replacement by a government of national defence

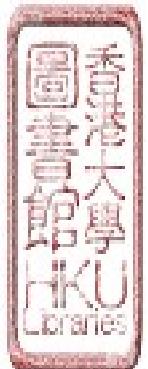
Of particular interest in this statement is the suggestion that the National Salvation Association 'proposed a popular front and fanned class struggle.' Chinese sources consistently stated that the National Salvation Association advocated a min-tsu [national] front, not a jen-min [popular] front. Chinese sources



which I have seen, with few exceptions, do not suggest the National Salvation Association 'fanned class struggle.' By the time this statement was issued Li Kung-p'u's school, called Liang Ts'ai, had been closed⁴⁸ and thirteen periodicals with patriotic content had been suppressed.⁴⁹

There was a modicum of press coverage of the arrests. Without a full range of contemporary newspapers, it is impossible to evaluate the strength of the press reaction. One author claimed that the arrests provoked a reaction equal to the Suiyuan war.⁵⁰ The Ta-kung pao's reporting of the arrest does not bear out this claim. Even though the Ta-kung pao began to use the term liu-chün [six gentlemen] and began to press for a detailed indictment or the immediate release of the arrested,⁵¹ the main fear it expressed was that this attack on members of the cultural world would undermine the tenuous unity achieved in the military realm.

The Ta-kung pao did not bring the arrest into front page prominence. It published short articles on the arrest on November 24 and 25, 1936, and a longer article on November 26, reported on the first trial in Shanghai on November 23 and the KMT statement issued through Shanghai Mayor Wu T'ieh-ch'eng. Two long articles on December 2 and 5, gave details on the backgrounds of those arrested and the public



52

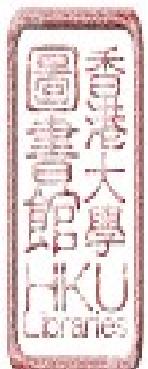
response to the arrest.

The Tung-fang tsa-chih ["The Eastern Miscellany"] of December 16, 1936, mentioned the arrest of the seven in its diary but offered no comment.⁵³ The Kuo-wen chou-pao [National News Weekly] failed to note their arrest in its diary and two weeks later reprinted one editorial from the Ta-kung pao which at the time was highlighting the Suiyuan campaign.

This should not lead us to presume that the case did not attract attention, but it suggests that the attention evoked was more from various political leaders than from the press. It was probably due to the fact that Chinese-language newspapers in Shanghai were censored by the News Censorship Bureau.

The seven worthies received outpourings of support from all over China. Sung Ch'ing-ling, herself an active member of the National Salvation Association leadership, charged in a press conference in early December that their arrest was the result of Japanese influence and concluded that :

Seven leaders of the National Salvation Association had been arrested, but there were still 400,000,000 Chinese people whose patriotic wrath and righteous indignation cannot be suppressed! Let the Japanese militarists beware! They may cause the arrests of seven leaders, but they still must reckon with the Chinese people.⁵⁴



A significant number of Chinese intellectuals responded strongly to news of the arrests. On November 26, one hundred seven Peking professors sent a telegram to Nanking, which demanded that at a time of national crisis, unity, not squabbling, was needed. The telegram pointed out that the seven arrested were perceived by the whole nation to be fervent patriots and should be immediately released.

⁵⁵ Other expressions of sympathy came from Peking university and high school students who went on a two-day strike and sent representatives to Nanking. This was followed by a demonstration on December 12, in which the demonstrators called for 'a struggle for patriotic freedom and the release of the patriotic leaders.'

⁵⁶ Overseas Chinese also reacted to news of the arrests. Telegrams were also sent to the central government by overseas Chinese in Thailand and Singapore. ⁵⁷ Over three hundred overseas Chinese in the United States of America signed a telegram which stated that if the Chinese government was sincere it would change its foreign policy and protect the patriotic movement, otherwise the government would appear to be the dupe of the pro-Japanese elements. ⁵⁸

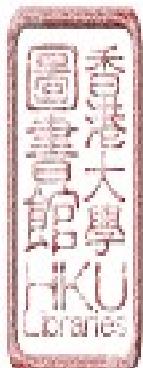
Political leaders of different kinds responded to the arrests. Perhaps the most important telegram



was that sent to Chiang Kai-shek in Loyang by over twenty members of the KMT Central Executive Committee, including Yu Yu-jen, Feng Yu-hsiang, Sun Fo, Li Lieh-chün and Shih Ying. This telegram requested that Chiang try in earnest to secure the release of the seven arrested.⁵⁹ The CCP responded too. The CCP Central Committee sent a telegram to Nanking which suggested ways to aid the seven.⁶⁰

The magnitude of the repression of the patriotic movement and the announcement of the suspected crimes of the arrested produced a heavy influx of petitions to the government. On November 25 Kwangsi militarists Li Tsung-jen and Pai Ch'ung-hsi petitioned central government leaders for the unconditional release of the seven,⁶¹ a request which they repeated on December 3.⁶²

Because of the reputation of the arrested and the sympathy they received from the Shanghai police, the arrested men were given very comfortable prison conditions. While in Shanghai, the arrested were allowed visits by their family and friends, and were permitted unrestricted access to newspapers. They were not held in normal prison cells but were allowed special large rooms at the Public Security Bureau.⁶³ On their transfer to Soochow they were given six rooms in the sick-bay of the remand prison and were initially granted the same freedoms as in Shanghai.⁶⁴

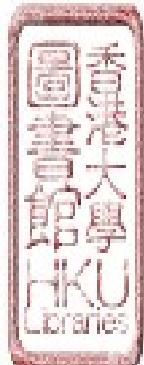


Shih Liang was held in the women's prison in Soochow,
⁶⁵
 some distance from the other six.

Telegrams of support for the seven worthies arrived at the National Salvation Association and at the prison where the six men were held. Visitors there included Tu Yueh-sheng, banker Ch'ien Yung-ming, Shanghai Chamber of Commerce leader Wang Hsiao-lai, and Yu Hsia-ch'ing, one of the most prestigious members of the Shanghai business community. Newspapers began to carry detailed background stories on the seven and their families. Their ordeal in prison
⁶⁶
 transformed them into heroes.

It is interesting to note that while the government sought to suppress the press and the National Salvation Association, the strength of the National Salvation Association grew markedly after the arrest of the seven National Salvation leaders. As Ch'ien Tuan-sheng noted the arrest of the seven leaders "so boosted the number of adherents and sympathizers that they [National Salvation Movement] actually became the third most powerful party next to
⁶⁷
 the KMT and CCP." Linebarger wrote:

The National Salvation [Chiu-kuo] Movement is third in point of size and influence ... the movement spread like wildfire...its loose organization, consciously based on the middle class of clerks, professors, students, business men,



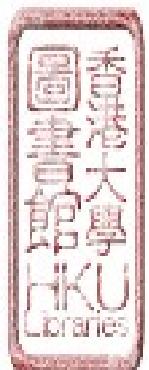
students, etc., followed functional lines familiar to the Chinese ... Despite the imprisonment of its leaders, the movement gathered momentum... Most literate persons not already committed to formal KMT or CCP membership fell under under the influence of the movement.

68

THE SIAN INCIDENT : DECEMBER 1936

With the Suiyuan War in its final stage, and with national feeling aroused by this and by the government's open attack on the patriotic movement,
69 Chiang Kai-shek proceeded to Sian on December 4 to demand the renewed prosecution of the anti-Communist extermination campaign. Attention to the Sian Incident has focussed on the larger topics, although there was clearly a link with the National Salvation Movement. Much has been written on the events of the following three weeks which included the arrest of Chiang on December 12 and his release on December
70 25. Chiang still stressed domestic pacification before external resistance and was unwilling to answer Chang Hsueh-liang's demands for the end to civil war.

Both Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng, military commanders at Sian. Both were converts to the National Salvation cause. Yang Hu-ch'eng had met Tu Chung-yuan in early 1936 when both were treated in

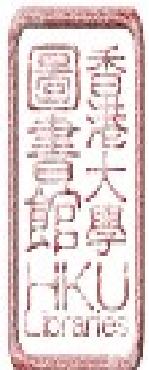


the same hospital in Shanghai. Tu propagandized Yang on the resistance cause and introduced him to National Salvation Movement leaders. At the same time, Tu, who was an old Mukden industrialist, was a friend of Chang Hsüeh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng, two military leaders who had earlier been antagonists.⁷¹ When the seven National Salvation leaders were arrested, Sian headquarters expressed outrage. Chang and Yang allowed the National Salvation Association free reign in organizing in the north-west.⁷²

In placing Chiang Kai-shek under house arrest during the Sian Incident of December 1936, Chang Hsüeh-liang demanded the release of the seven National Salvation Association leaders and acceptance by Nanking of the National Salvation Association's plan for united resistance to Japanese aggression.⁷³

Soon after he had arrested Chiang, Chang sent a telegram to the government at Nanking.⁷⁴ The preamble stressed that the arrest of the Shanghai leaders had given rise to a feeling that patriotism had been a crime. In the eight demands at the end of the telegram, one advocated the immediate release of the arrested leaders and the other urged that a National Salvation Assembly be convened.

The Sian Incident and its repercussions came to dominate the Chinese scene to the extent that the



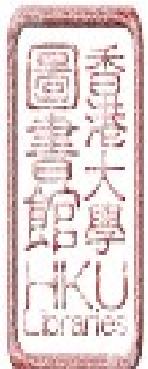
case of the arrested leaders soon dropped into the
 75 background. Since the central government had rejected the eight demands made by Chang, and Chiang Kai-shek had left Sian without signing any agreement, the government was under no obligation to release the leaders.

At first public attention was focused on Chiang and those others who had joined him in negotiations in Sian. Once Chiang was released, attention turned to the results of the Incident for Chinese
 76 politics.

Pressure was placed on the imprisoned leaders from the start of the Sian Incident. On December 14 all visitors were prohibited, all newspapers banned and the prison guards were strengthened by military
 77 police. In mid-January 1937, it was announced that Wang Tsao-shih and Sha Ch'ien-li had temporarily closed their law practices and that Chang Nai-ch'i and Wang Tsao-shih had been dismissed from their
 78 banking and teaching jobs.

On January 20 twenty-one representatives of the Shanghai National Salvation Association came to the prison where the six men were held to visit the arrested. After they were refused permission to see the six men, they left a note with their names appended. A week later two of those who had signed,
 79 Ku Liu-hsing and Jen Sung-kao were arrested.

The case of the seven worthies did not attract

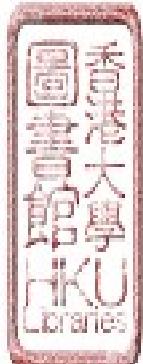


important public attention again until the first trial began in Soochow in June 1937.

In the meantime there was progress in KMT-CCP relationships and change in KMT policy. At the third KMT Plenum held from February 15 to 22, 1937, Wang Ching-wei in his opening speech declared that the KMT's tasks were to recover lost territories and safeguard the existing ones, to stabilize internal conditions, to work for national salvation and to inaugurate democratic government.⁸⁰ Chiang made known the eight Sian demands and, on February 21, called for the total eradication of Communism from China, but allowed room for reconciliation, if the Communists followed certain conditions.⁸¹ The Communists for their part sent a telegram to the Plenum with their conditions for a united front.⁸² Thus the two major parties had begun to settle their differences in the interest of the nation's future.

INDICTMENT AND DEFENCE : APRIL 1937

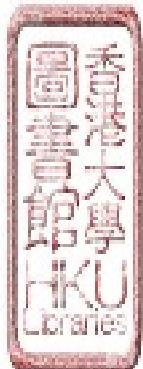
The most important development between the Sian Incident and the June trial was the indictment in April 1937. During their first two months in prison the seven were questioned five times by the procurator.⁸³ Though the National Salvation leaders expected that they would be released at the end of the two month legal period for lack of evidence, on



January 29 the legal period was extended for a
⁸⁴
 further two months. They were interrogated only
⁸⁵
 once more during this extension.

On the very last day for interrogation a ten-part indictment was presented to the seven. This document named a further seven who were to be tried concurrently. They included T'ao Hsing-chih (at this point in the United States of America), Ku Liu-hsing,
⁸⁶
 Jen Sung-kao and Lo Ch'ing. Both Ku Liu-hsing and Jen Sung-kao were probably National Salvation Association members arrested in late January 1937.
⁸⁷
 Details concerning these two people and the reason for their arrest is not available. On October 21, 1936 Lo Ch'ing had been arrested in Chiangyin while carrying a copy of the public letter sent by Mao Tsetung and the Communists to the National Salvation leaders. This was unreported at the time but his was the first arrest leading to the government's attack
⁸⁸
 on the National Salvation Association.

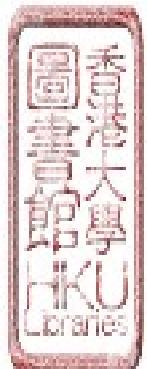
The full indictment of April 3, 1937, was
⁸⁹
 printed by the press April 8, 1937. The indictment began with a brief outline of the activities of the arrested, from the initial organization of a National Salvation group until their arrest. Two "All-China National Salvation Federation" documents, the manifesto and the "First Political Principles for
⁹⁰
 Resistance to Japan and National Salvation," were



cited, as well as the July pamphlet by Tsou T'ao-fen. The ten formal charges spelt out in detail the earlier KMT accusation that the seven worthies endangered the Republic; preached ideas contrary to the Three People's Principles; deliberately worked for the Communist Party; prepared to overthrow the government; propagated a popular front; and the new charge of having stirred up the Sian Incident, after mutual contact between Chang Hsüeh-liang and the accused.

Perhaps the most interesting of the charges was the seventh, which charged Chang Nai-ch'i as being a Stalinist comprador. The procurator quoted from a copy of the Stalinist periodical Tou-cheng
⁹¹ [Struggle], seized at Tsou T'ao-fen's house. This copy of Tou-cheng categorized Chang Nai-ch'i as a comprador of the Shih t'ai-lin [Stalinist] group. The procurator did not use the fact of Tsou's possession of the periodical to point to the CCP - National Salvation Association connections, but to show that the National Salvation Association, even if distinct from extreme left Trotskyists, was still opposed to
⁹² Sunist principles.

This long indictment was answered by a much longer document, prepared by the accused and their lawyers, and submitted to the court on June 6,
⁹³ 1937. This document attempted to answer the ten



points of the indictment with further documentation on behalf of the accused. It also pointed out that the procurator had misquoted the documents from which he cited. For example, the quotation from the National Salvation manifesto, which states, 'The Western Powers under their erroneous policy of assisting Japanese imperialism to attack the Soviet Union' was quoted as 'China (made) the mistake of attacking the Soviet Union.'⁹⁴ The care with which this whole reply was formulated only serves to highlight the inadequacies of the indictment, in which legal precision had to be put aside to give expression to the political intent of the prosecution.

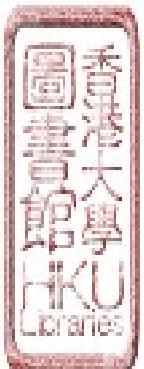
THE TRIAL : JUNE 1937

The actual trial of the seven leaders did not get underway until June, 1937. The opening session of the trial was held on June 11, 1937.⁹⁵ Although plans had initially been made for an open trial, worries over possible demonstrations and even rumors of the abduction of the accused resulted in the trial being closed to the public. After very stringent security precautions, the accused were brought to the court. They immediately appealed the decision to hold the case in a court closed to the public. They argued that this would facilitate a miscarriage of justice. After much wrangling the court was opened to the



accused's immediate families and press reporters.

Shen Chun-ju, the eldest of the accused, then
sixty four years old, was questioned first.⁹⁷ He explained the formation of the various National Salvation groups, and the aims of the National Salvation Association. One Chinese source noted that the court tried to link the Association to the CCP through the similarity of slogans. Shen then claimed that demands for unity were not the property of a single party. Shen explained that the Association had not been registered in order to prevent diplomatic embarrassment for the government. He cited the case of sending a copy of the May 1936 National Salvation Manifesto to Mayor Wu as proof that there had never been any intention to keep their activities secret. The court tried to pin responsibility for the November 1936 strikes on the Association, but Shen maintained that his only act, as an individual, not as an Association member, was to give money to relieve strikers and their families. Shen denied any knowledge of Sian, which had occurred during his time in prison. He went on to explain that the Association had never called for a jen-min [popular] front, with its connotations of the left coalition in France and Spain, but for a min-tsu [national] front to include all parties. Shen's defence lawyer finally requested the court to note that Shen had been a KMT member for



twenty five years.

98

Shen's examination lasted one and a half hours and covered all the charges quite fully. Other examinations which followed were briefer and reiterated most of what Shen had said. Chang Nai-ch'i was also asked the reasons for the Association's attack on the 1936 Draft Constitution. He pointed out that the changes that had been demanded had already been effected, so this could hardly be termed an attack.
99

100

Wang Tsao-shih was extremely articulate in the court. He both explained the need for complete national unity and the various political concepts of political power and government. His examination proved embarrassing to the judge who was unable to stop him from speaking.
101

102

Li Kung-p'u, Tsou T'ao-fen, Sha Ch'ien-li and Shih Liang were then examined. Shih called on the court to examine Ma Hsiang-po, as one knowledgeable in the National Salvation affairs, an embarrassing request, for the government had just made Ma a
103 government advisor.

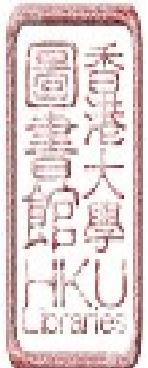
The three remaining suspects were then examined. Both Jen Sung-kao and Ku Liu-hsing denied membership in any National Salvation group, but claimed that they had appeared at Soochow out of sympathy with the arrested.
104 Lo Ch'ing denied any connection with the Association, though he conceded that, after a



meeting with Chang Nai-ch'i, he had conceived the idea of forming a Kiangsu Provincial National
 105
 Salvation Association. After the examination of each of the accused by the judge, their defence lawyers suggested documents and especially government statements, which would show the falseness of the charges, but the judge replied that examination of
 106
 these would be unnecessary.

The result of the judge's refusal to examine the defence's evidence was a petition submitted by the defence lawyers on behalf of the seven principal accused. This petition demanded the dismissal of the judge for fear of a miscarriage of justice. A similar
 107
 petition was filed by Lo Chi'ng. Two reasons for the petition were given by the defence lawyers for the accused. The first concerned the behaviour of the judge who did not allow a public trial, the second, the rejection of all evidence submitted by the defence without even ordering its scrutiny by the two assistant judges. On June 12 the lawyers for Ku and Jen appeared in court but were told that the case had been temporarily suspended because of the
 108
 petitions.

On June 22 the accused and their lawyers sent
 109
 two short documents to the court. One was entitled 'a note on political opinion' which gave reasons for National Salvation activity, and the other, a



petition which submitted further evidence for the defence on each of the ten charges.

On June 25 the second trial began with new judicial personnel. The security precautions on that occasion were even more stringent than before,¹¹⁰ as if the government was even more afraid of public demonstrations. The total hearing lasted seven hours and centered around the prosecution charge of the connections between the accused and Chang Hsüeh-liang, which had purportedly led to the Sian Incident.¹¹¹ All ten accused were again questioned and were able to refute the prosecution charges. The desperation of the prosecution was evident, when in response to the defence request to see the handbills which Ku and Jen had been carrying as 'propaganda contrary to the Three People's Principles' on their January visit to the Soochow prison, the prosecution could only offer a periodical from February.¹¹² The demands of the defence to see the details of Chang Hsüeh-liang's trial were granted. An adjournment was given, so that these documents could be consulted. This signalled the close of the court session. Other defence demands to call Ma Hsiang-po and Wu T'ieh-ch'eng were turned down by the court.¹¹³ In early July it was announced that the accused would be detained in prison for a further two months.¹¹⁴

Thus, charged with "endangering the nation," the



defendants denied all allegations. They had not organized strikes against Japanese plants, they maintained; they had only provided relief aid to workers. They were not against the Nanking government or for the Communist Party; they were merely opposed to Japanese aggression. Charges against them were merely Japanese propaganda.

PUBLIC REACTION

The public reaction to the first trial came from various sectors of China's urban society and particularly from people in Shanghai. The initial response was evident on May 27 when a petition was sent to the central government by over one hundred members of Shanghai cultural circles. This petition requested the release of the seven and asked that ¹¹⁵ the case against T'ao Hsing-chih be dropped.

Public clamor also favored their release. On June 11 over four thousand eight hundred people from Shanghai who had prepared to go to Soochow to hear the case filed a petition which called for the release of the accused, government respect for the law and freedom of action for the patriotic movement.¹¹⁶

Worries that the case of the seven worthies might not be so easily resolved began to be expressed after the first trial and the changing of the judge.



The bankers of Shanghai petitioned on June 15 for the release of Chang Nai-ch'i as someone who, with wide learning and ten years of banking experience, was needed at a time of economic reconstruction.

Prominent political leaders such as Feng Yü-hsiang, Yu Yu-jen and Li Lieh-chün renewed their call ¹¹⁷ for an unconditional release of the seven. All of these leaders were long-standing KMT members.

The first trial of the seven leaders caused a great stir in the press. The case was named the 'Patriotism is not a crime' case by the Chinese ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ press. The following editorial from the KWCP expressed the futility of continuing with these criminal charges in the new political situation. The editorial stated:

Since the Shen case began, it has attracted much attention in society, but after the Sian Incident was settled and the CCP changed its policy, its real weight has been reduced. As it is now, it will probably be resolved in a short time. Organizations like the National Salvation Federation are already unnecessary in the present situation, and their desire for an end to the civil war has now been achieved....

A Kiangsi public meeting, as reported in the ¹²⁰ press on June 20, sent a telegram to the government, which demanded the release of Wang Tsao-



shih and the others, who were 'just and famous' people. It also stated that the danger to China had increased daily with 'devils' on all sides, and it urged the government to fight the 'devils' and let the people live in peace. Sung Ch'ing-ling and sixteen other National Salvation Association members and sympathizers addressed a telegram to the KMT executive committee. This telegram demanded a prompt decision in the case of the seven worthies since the accused had already been in prison for seven months.

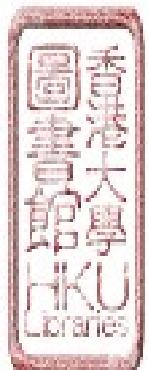
121

People involved in the publishing world also sought for the release of the seven National Salvation Association leaders. For example a request was made on behalf of Tsou T'ao-fen by the Shanghai Publishers' Guild.

122

Late in June a new movement began outside the court to effect the release of the accused. This was the Chiu-kuo ju-yü yün-tung [National Salvation Enter Prison Movement]. It was initiated by Sung Ch'ing-ling and Ho Hsiang-ning, and fourteen others who included at least seven who signed the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association manifesto December 12, 1935. These seven were Wang Fu-ch'u'an, Chang Ting-fu, Shen Tz'u-chiu, P'eng Wen-ying, P'an Ta-k'uei, Ch'u Ch'ing-lai and Liu Liang-mu.

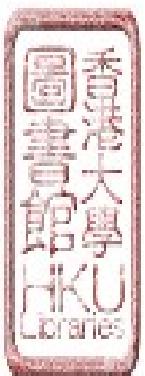
On June 27 a mass meeting of workers and



students which numbered over three thousand met in Shanghai to hear Sung Ch'ing-ling speak. At a reception for the press later that day, it was announced that a few hundred who had attended the mass meeting, had already joined the Movement, although press ¹²³ censorship made it difficult to inform the public.

The leaders of the Movement submitted a petition to the Kiangsu High Court on July 5. ¹²⁴ This was followed by a demonstration march by some ten thousand Shanghai students to the Shanghai railway station after which a statement was released to the press which explained the aim of the National ¹²⁵ Salvation Enter Prison Movement. The leaders of the National Salvation Enter Prison Movement argued that if participation in National Salvation Association work was to become a crime, they too wished to accept responsibility and to be sent to ¹²⁶ prison.

The aim of this movement was to gain freedom for the patriotic movement, at a time when the friction between the National Salvation Movement and the government had been reduced after the Sian Incident. In this changed situation, the continuation of the court case not only prolonged wrongful imprisonment but was a grave mistake in policy which rendered patriotism a crime. Since other methods had failed and since the accused were being charged on evidence



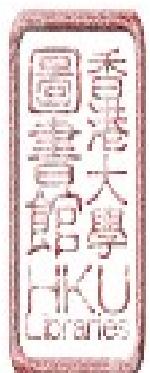
drawn from periodicals and manifestos in which others had had a hand, these others and any who felt the call of National Salvation was right should sacrifice themselves and enter prison as patriotic criminals. The aim would be achieved by non-violent means and success would help provide both group unity useful in the coming war and a full recognition to the National Salvation Association.

The National Salvation Enter Prison Movement was an immediate success and began to gain wide support from many who had no connection with the National
127
Salvation Association.

By July 6, film stars and directors, writers, workers, university professors, students, officials and even employees of foreign businesses had joined and sent in petitions to the government. The Movement was not restricted to Shanghai, but was eagerly received in Peking, where even a group of elderly
128
ladies demanded to enter prison. They demanded admittance into custody, but were turned away by the procurator. The next day they went again and were informed that if they produced evidence of their
129
guilt, they might be charged.

THE RELEASE OF THE SEVEN WORTHIES

On July 7 the Marco Polo Bridge Incident marked the beginning of the War of Resistance to Japan.



Before the leaders of the National Salvation Enter Prison Movement could prepare their evidence, the accused were released on August 1. The patriotic leaders in Nanking were not released immediately.¹³⁰

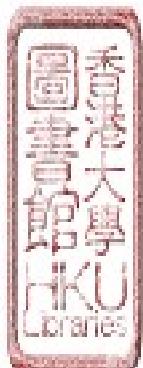
The government ban on National Salvation songs was lifted and orders for the arrest of Kuo Mei-shu, a leftist writer, were cancelled.¹³¹ With this new spirit apparent in the central government, the released leaders issued a statement:

We deeply believe that under the central leadership we must extend the great struggle for national liberation and that we will gain the final victory. We are prepared for a total sacrifice in order to fulfil our part of the people's vocation during the national liberation war.¹³²

The released leaders sent a telegram to Chiang Kai-shek in which they stated that they wished to continue National Salvation work and merely awaited his orders.¹³³ Reports vary as to whether the release of the seven was unconditional or merely on bail,¹³⁴¹³⁵ but none of those released was re-arrested under the KMT government.

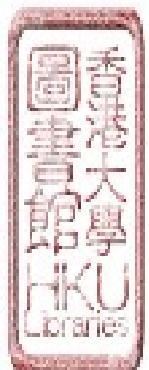
CONCLUSION

In retrospect the decision to bring charges against the arrested seems strange, considering the

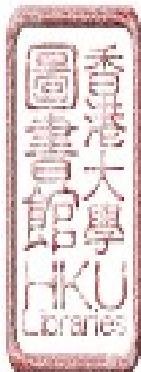


flimsy evidence which the prosecution was able to muster. Two possible reasons can be suggested as to why the KMT decided to press charges, although without government documentation there is no means of knowing whether either is correct. The first is that, having arrested the Shanghai leaders in part because of Japanese pressure, the KMT had decided to keep the case in process, to convince Japan that China did not intend to start a war against Japan as had been demanded by the arrested. If this was the case, the KMT was prepared to risk losing face at home in order to gain time in its foreign relations, a procedure already well used during the early 1930s. The second alternative is that the KMT felt that the evidence against the accused would stand up in court and could be used as a tool against the Communists during the months of bargaining over the united front.

In either case the KMT misjudged the weakness of its own prosecution evidence and therefore allowed the case to appear as a clear case of KMT political interest distorting the law. During June the case attracted the interest and the accused the sympathy and support of the general public. With the National Salvation Enter Prison Movement the accused were recognized as martyrs who deserved the sympathy of all in the nation. As symbols of the united front and national unity in the face of external aggression,



the trial brought the National Salvation leaders national prominence. The actual arrival of the Japanese attack (the July 7, 1937, Marco Polo Bridge Incident) within weeks of their trial cut short the process of struggle for their release, but not before their names had become famous.



CHAPTER 8 :

THE ARREST AND TRIAL OF THE SEVEN WORTHIES

NOTES :

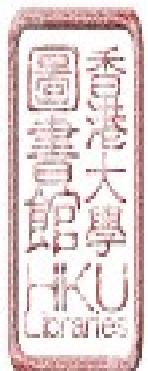
1. NCH, September 30, 1936, p. 573.
2. Ibid., September 23, 1936, p. 531.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., July 15, 1936.
5. Ibid., September 16, 1936.
6. Ibid., November 4, 1936, p. 237.
7. Lawrence K. Rosinger, China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944 (Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1944), p. 20.
8. Ibid.
9. Ho Kan-chih is an example.
10. NCH, November 25, 1936, p. 316.
11. Osamu Ishii, "Cotton-Textile Diplomacy: Japan, Great Britain, and the United States, 1930-1936." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1977), pp. 445-448.
12. Edgar Snow Red Star Over China, (New York : Random House, 1938), p. 399.
13. NCH, November 18, 1936, p. 276.
14. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History." Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 26 (1976) p.196 .



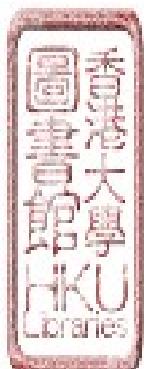
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid., November 4, 1936.
17. Ibid., November 11, 1936.
18. NCH, December 2, 1936, p. 355.
19. Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yǖn-tung ta shih chi 1919-1949 (Shanghai : Hsüeh-lin ch'u-pan she, 1985), p. 195.
20. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History," p. 54.
21. Li Shou-tung, ed. Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, (No place : Publisher unknown, 1937), p.69.
22. Sha Ch'ien-li, Ch'i jen chih yü, (Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1937), p. 141.
23. Ibid., p. 141.
24. Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 399.
25. Sha Ch'ien-li, Ch'i jen chih yü, p.141.
26. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e (Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1939), p. 42. For details on Ts'ao Meng-chün see Donald W. Klein and Anne B. Clark, eds., Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971), Entry : Ts'ao Meng-chün.
27. NCH December 2, 1936, p. 378 and TKP November 24, 1936. Also by calculation from information in Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p.147.



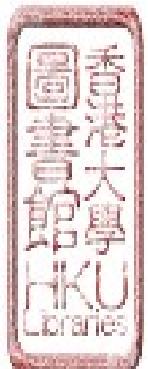
28. For example, in the answer to the court's indictment, which was prepared by the accused and their lawyers. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 147.
29. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 147.
30. NCH December 2, 1936. Li, Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 2.
31. NCH December 2, 1936. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 9, 18.
32. NCH December 2, 1936.
33. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 15-16.
34. Ibid., pp. 18-20.
35. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 9, Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 128-130.
36. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 9 and Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 128-130.
37. NCH December 2, 1936, TKP November 25, 29, 1936.
38. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 57.
39. Ibid., p. 32-33.
40. Ibid., pp. 57, 66-70.
41. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 14-18.
42. TKP December 2, 1936.
43. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 9.
44. Ibid., p. 1.



45. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 133-143.
46. TKP November 24, 1936.
47. Mu Hsin, Tsou T'ao-fen. Reprint (Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1959), p. 196, TKP November 26, 1936, Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 3-4.
48. NCH December 2, 1936.
49. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 190 gave a list of the thirteen. NCH December 16, 1936 states that 17 periodicals were stopped, Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 376, suggested 14, neither of which is correct.
50. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 2.
51. TKP of December 1936, and the editorial from the Shanghai edition quoted in KWCP 13:49 December 14, 1936.
52. This was the response of the Tientsin edition to the arrest.
53. Tung-fang tsa-chih, December 16, 1936, p. 102.
54. Li Shou-tung, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chn-tzu shih chien, p.124.
55. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 126-127.
56. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 195.
57. Ibid.
58. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih



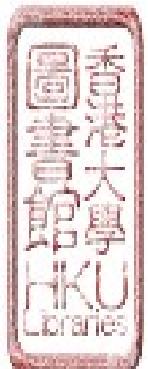
- chien, pp. 129-131.
59. TKP December 5, 1936.
60. Ibid.
61. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 127.
62. TKP December 5, 1936.
63. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 48-51.
64. The details of the life of the accused in prison form a large portion of the latter half of Sha's book. A short description is given from Tsou's point of view in Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih chien, pp. 136-141. During the time in prison Wang worked on his book, Chung-kuo wen-t'i ti fen-hsi [An Analysis of the Problems of China], (Shanghai, initially 1935, but repressed by Kuomintang censors.)
65. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 105.
66. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün tzn shih-chien, pp. 135-163; Ch'un-ch'iu, 26 (August 1, 1958), pp. 9-11.
67. Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, The Government and Politics of China, 1912-1949 (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 357.
68. Paul M.A. Linebarger, The China of Chiang Kai-shek (Boston : World Peace Foundation, 1941), pp. 175-178.
69. L. P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The



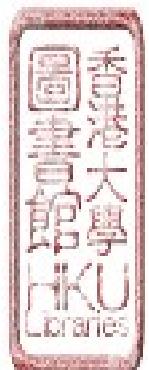
- United Front in Chinese Communist History (Palo Alto : CA, Stanford University Press, 1967), p. 73. Others have quoted December 7.
70. Notably Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History, and James C. Thomson, Jr., "Communist Policy and the United Front in China," Harvard University Papers on China, 11 (1957) : 99-148.
71. Mi Tsan-ch'en, The Life of General Yang Hu-cheng, translated by Wang Zhao (Hong Kong : Joint Publishing Company, 1981), p. 85.
72. Wu Tien-wei, "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History," pp. 46-63.
73. Ibid.
74. Edgar Snow, Red Star Over China, p. 381.
75. For example, there is only one mention of the arrest of the seven leaders in the KWCP of January 1937.
76. See the news editorials in the KWCP of January 1937.
77. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 91.
78. Ibid., p. 100.
79. Ibid., pp. 108-111.
80. H. G. W. Woodhead, ed., The China Yearbook (Shanghai : The North China Daily News and Herald, Ltd., 1938), p. 530.
81. Ibid., p. 531-532.



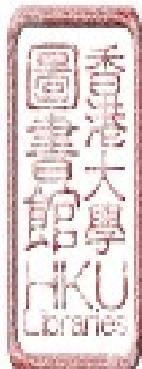
82. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History, p. 90.
83. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, Preface p. 4.
84. Ibid., p. 113.
85. Ibid., Preface p. 4.
86. The indictment is printed in Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, pp. 15-30, and in Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, pp. 133-143.
87. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 62.
88. Ibid., p. 93.
89. TKP April 8, 1937.
90. I have not found a copy of this document in any National Salvation text that I have seen.
91. Tou-cheng [Struggle] was a Stalinist journal of the CCP Central Bureau in Kiangsi, 1933-1934.
92. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 139-140.
93. Ibid., pp. 144-177.
94. Ibid., p. 150.
95. NCH June 11, 1937, p. 448.
96. Mu, Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 203 and Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 112.
97. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, pp. 60-71.
98. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 113.
99. Ibid., pp. 71-79.



100. Ibid., p. 113. This description is from the Kuo-min chou k'an 1:7.
101. Ibid., pp. 78-82.
102. Ibid.
103. Ibid., p. 91. Boorman and Howard, eds., Bio-graphical Dictionary of Republican China, 4 Vols. New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971, Entry : Ma Liang.
104. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 92.
105. Ibid., p. 93.
106. For example, the final demand of the lawyers was for the court not to pass judgement summarily. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 96.
107. Ibid., p. 96-97.
108. NCH June 16, 1937.
109. Sha, Ch'i jen chih yü, p. 178.
110. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 98.
111. Ibid., p. 98.
112. Ibid., p. 110.
113. Ibid., p. 114.
114. NCH July 7, 1937.
115. Ibid., p. 123-124, which quotes the TKP.
116. Ibid., p. 121, which quotes the Chün-chung hsin-wen [Mass News]. The Shanghai hsüeh-sheng



- yün-tung shih-chi 1919-1949 gives the date for this petition as June 10.
117. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, p. 43.
118. See the newspaper quotations in Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 110-120.
119. KWCP 13:24 June 21, 1936, p. 1.
120. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 122-123.
121. Ibid., p. 156.
122. NCH June 23, 1937, p. 493.
123. NCH June 30, 1937, p. 542.
124. Shanghai hsüeh-sheng yün-tung ta shih chi 1919-1949, p. 201.
125. Ibid., pp. 158-161.
126. Ibid., p. 133.
127. Ibid.
128. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 132-134.
129. Ibid., p. 170.
130. Ibid., Preface by Hu Yü-chih.
131. NCH August 4, 1937, p. 189.
132. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, Preface.
133. NCH August 4, 1937.
134. Chiu-wang shou-ts'e, p. 43.
135. NCH August 4, 1937. Li, ed., Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chün-tzu shih-chien, p. 142.

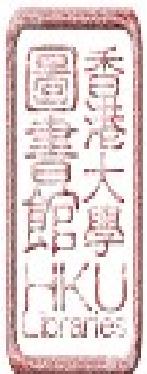


CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION

Historians have to date made no real effort to examine in depth the affairs of the National Salvation Movement. Western scholars, such as Israel, were concerned primarily with student nationalism. He viewed the National Salvation Movement within the context of student unrest. However, the findings of this study have clearly shown that the National Salvation Movement had different origins and had developed independently from the student movement. Furthermore, this independent nature is revealed in the leadership of the National Salvation Movement, which was not assumed by students, but by intellectuals and professionals, although students gave the National Salvation Movement considerable support. Similarly the support base of the National Salvation Movement was wider than students, and based primarily on the urban intellectual and professional sector of Chinese society.

This study has sought to illuminate the origins, organizational framework and activity of the National Salvation Movement as well as the nature of the socio-political currents that pervaded it, as characterized by the vast amount of literature of the period.



The National Salvation Movement in Shanghai emerged in 1931-1935 as a response to the Mukden Incident, a response, both against Japanese aggression and the KMT policy of an-nei jang-wai. This occurred against a background of intellectual fermentation arising from dissatisfaction with KMT rule; which included residual regional militarism, KMT - CCP struggles, KMT conservatism and authoritarianism, and KMT suppression of the press. This led to "organized" activities and the expression of dissident views. One such literary organization which attracted a number of intellectuals and professionals, was the League of Left-Wing Writers. It represented the Left in the literary establishment and advocated class struggle. Its members included Chou Li-po, Sha Ting, Wei Chin-chih and Ai Wu, all of whom were later active in the National Salvation Movement. Other writers who were involved in the National Salvation Movement, were Cheng Chen-to, Hsu Chieh and Ku Chung-i. They had earlier joined the Literary Research Society, which represented the other end of the literary world ideological spectrum. Thus, the issue of national salvation became a bridge between these two literary groups.

The demand for civil rights and democracy led in the early 1930s, to the establishment of civil rights organizations in China. A number of prominent



intellectuals and political activists, from both the Right and the Left, were active in the leadership of these groups. They included : Sung Ch'ing-ling, Wang Tsao-shih, Shen Chun-ju, Chang Nai-ch'i, Tsou T'ao-fen, and Hu Yu-chih, all of whom later assumed key leadership positions in the National Salvation Movement.

The issue of nationalism became very important after the Mukden Incident, and yet it was linked to the socio-political issues of the period. The all-importance of national salvation was evident in the formation in 1933, of a small cell group. Among those who took part in this group were Shen Chun-ju, Tsou T'ao-fen, Li Kung-p'u, T'ao Hsing-chih, Chou Hsin-min and Chang Nai-ch'i. The composition of this cell group revealed an amalgamation of people of very different backgrounds. With the exception of Chou Hsin-min, they all continued to assume important leadership roles in the National Salvation Movement. An investigation into the development and organization of the National Salvation Movement 1935-36 has revealed that the December Ninth Movement 1935, signalled a renewal of patriotic activity in Peking but in Shanghai, this had continued unabated since 1931. Thus, National Salvation Movement Associations that emerged in Shanghai following the December Ninth Movement was both a direct response to the December



Ninth Movement and, more importantly, a clear response to political events and currents that precipitated December 9. There was not just an empathetic response to student nationalism.

There were several stages in National Salvation Movement growth and organization. The first period involved the development and organization of local National Salvation groups, late 1935 - early 1936. In this period there was a parallel growth of the student movement in Shanghai. From 1936, with the decline of the student movement in the north, the National Salvation Movement in Shanghai became the focus of the nationalist movement.

The second stage of development was in mid-1936 when the formation of the two National Salvation Federations reached a climax. Two National Salvation Movement congresses were held in Shanghai. These were the culmination of months of intensive organization. The first, was an All-China Students National Salvation Federation congress and the second, the All-China National Salvation Federation congress. Both congresses were attended by representatives from provinces and cities all over China and represented many National Salvation groups, but Shanghai assumed the leading role.

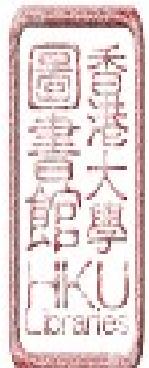
Following this first climax the National Salvation Movement entered a further period in its



growth from mid-1936 to November 1936. The final climax came in November 1936, with the arrest and trial of the seven National Salvation Movement leaders.

The major achievements of the National Salvation Movement in the first stage of its development was the emergence of local National Salvation groups, the staging of demonstrations and the publication of National Salvation literature and manifestos. The second stage evidenced continued organization and growth in many Chinese cities, and further prolific publishing of National Salvation literature and manifestos, and the formation of the All-China Student National Salvation Federation and the All-China National Salvation Federation as well as the convening of the two respective congresses. In the final stage, the arrest and trial of the seven worthies aided the cause of urban nationalism and brought the issue of patriotism to national prominence.

Western scholars in the past have frequently alluded to the lack of organization in the National Salvation Movement. This study has found that, to the contrary, there was certainly organization and structure in the Movement, and particularly so, in Shanghai. The sophisticated and well developed National Salvation Movement training program in



itself reinforces the notion that the National Salvation Movement was well organized and perhaps more closely knit than has previously been recognized.

In the past scholars, both Chinese and Western, have given little consideration to the subject of the finances of the National Salvation Movement. This study has shown that the National Salvation Movement was financed not only by voluntary contributions but that the financial concerns of the National Salvation Movement were much more extensive than this. In part the National Salvation Movement was financed by publishing endeavors, annual fees of National Salvation Movement members and finance from Shanghai banks as well as gifts from individuals such as Sung Ch'ing-ling.

Chinese Communist historians have claimed that the wave of industrial strikes which were started in Shanghai in November 1936 were great anti-Japanese strikes. There is no evidence in sources consulted, to support this claim. Neither is there any evidence of National Salvation Movement instigation of these strikes though there was some National Salvation Movement financial support for a strike fund for Chinese workers in Japanese-owned factories.

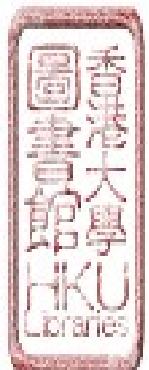
CCP sources, which claim that the National Salvation Movement was under the impetus and leadership of the CCP and that it was Communist in



character, is not borne out in this study. Similarly, KMT historians have maintained that the National Salvation Movement was a Communist front, that it parted from the path of true patriotism, that it was a product of the Communist International and that within the National Salvation Movement leadership it was the Communists who took the leadership. The large majority of primary sources dealing with the leadership of the National Salvation Movement refute these assertions.

In terms of the leadership of the National Salvation Movement, none of the seven worthies were CCP members during the formative years of the National Salvation Movement (1935-37). Although some had deep roots in the KMT, they became increasingly alienated from the KMT during this period. Even Tsou T'ao-fen, who was the most Leftist of these seven leaders, assumed an ideological position in keeping with other National Salvation leaders in respect to the united front concept, advocating a min-tsu national united front rather than a jen-min people's united front.

While it is clear that Communists were active in the National Salvation Movement in the early stages of its development, and to a greater extent in the immediate pre-Sino-Japanese War period, sources seldom indicate whether these persons assumed any



leadership role, and thus influence, in the National Salvation Movement. Neither was there any evidence of any Communist International involvement or influence. What is clear is that the National Salvation Movement represented a wide political spectrum. This was seen in the early origins of the National Salvation Movement. For instance, writers from both the League of Left-Wing writers on the Left, and writers who were active in the Literary Research Society at the other extreme, both united in a common cause in signing National Salvation Movement manifestos. The civil rights situation was characterized by illegal arrests, assassinations, and heavy press censorship, and led to some intellectuals uniting to press for civil rights, and later to assume prominent roles in the National Salvation Movement. Some, such as Shen Chün-ju, Wang Tsao-shih, Chang Nai-ch'i, Li Kung-p'u, Sha Ch'ien-li and Shih Liang, had KMT roots, others, such as Chou Hsin-min, Chou Li-po, and T'ien Han, were associated with the CCP. There were still others who assumed a neutral position, in terms of KMT or CCP affiliation. They included Tsou T'ao-fen and T'ao Hsing-chih.

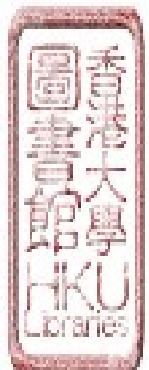
The National Salvation Movement both produced large quantities of manifestos, chiu-wang wen-hsüeh and patriotic literature. The Nanking government's ever increasing suppression of the patriotic



periodical press spurred the continued development of an increasingly anti-Japanese patriotic press in which the dominant theme of nationalism prevailed. The patriotic press, provided a platform for National Salvation Movement leaders to espouse their ideas. These disaffected intellectuals were hardly a monolithic entity. Divergence of thought characterized their writing. But it was the issue of National Salvation which was both pervasive and a unifying factor among them.

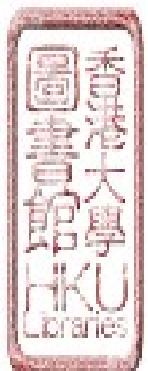
The Sheng-huo tradition in particular, revealed the nature of anti-Japanese sentiment 1935-1937 and the intensity with which it was expressed. These most outspoken critics, increasingly disaffected intellectuals used the power of the pen with great effect. This especially disturbed both the Nanking and Japanese authorities. It also showed that nationalism took precedence over ideological and party concerns.

It is not a simple task to gauge the intellectual commitment to Communism. Apart from the relative scarcity of materials available, one major difficulty is that under left KMT censorship and surveillance, it would not be easy for pro-Communist intellectuals and professionals to write explicitly in support of Communism or the CCP. It should however not be forgotten that the Nanking period was one in



which Left-wing writers and literature flourished, reflecting that there was indeed growing sympathy for the Communists among some intellectuals. Toward the end of this period, the attitude of some anti-Communist intellectuals began to change because of their dissatisfaction with the KMT's foreign policy. It needs to be recognized that the political orientations of leaders within the National Salvation Movement did not remain static but changed and their thinking deepened during the 1930s. In the main their thinking veered to the Left. And, even for those on the Left of the ideological divide, acceptance of the Communists was definitely not unconditional. For instance, this was made clear in the National Salvation Movement document entitled, "A Number of Essential Conditions and Minimum Demands for a United Resistance to Invasion" (July 15, 1936).¹ This was an aspect of Chinese politics in the early 1930s which we should not overlook. It should also be noted that at the time of the trial of the seven worthies, the court did not openly accuse them of Communism, but merely hinted at connections to the CCP. The exact nature of these connections has yet to be precisely determined.

The dominant theme of nationalism was again revealed at the trial of the seven worthies. The openness with which several KMT leaders rallied in

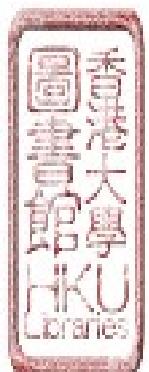


support of the arrested, indicates that there was no general feeling that these people were anything but patriots. Moreover, the legal case itself was known by the Chinese press as the 'patriotism is not a crime' case. During their trial, the seven National Salvation leaders pointed again to their concern for national unity and an end to civil war.

What insights might be gained into the Nanking period by analyzing the leadership of the National Salvation Movement?

The study of the National Salvation Movement has revealed that the Movement was characterized by professionals who assumed leadership roles and concomitantly acted as political and social critics, exponents of change and political activists.

It was not the function of intellectual dissent that was new in China, but rather, what was new and significant, in the case of the National Salvation Movement, was that it was given expression in the Nanking period not only by intellectuals, but also by professionals. These professionals were variously educated in Chinese schools and universities, and in some cases abroad. They held strategic positions in such professions as law, finance, commerce, and journalism, and as such were representative of China's urban society. The involvement of professionals in the National Salvation Movement marked

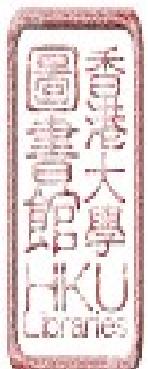


their maturation as a political force.

The case study on the Shanghai Cultural National Salvation Association has reinforced the fact that nationalism was the paramount concern in that Association. These people were professionals : professors, lawyers, educators, and journalists, as well as writers and political activists. Some were more involved in nationalism than others. Their influence and significance extended beyond National Salvation Movement parameters and well beyond the time framework of this study.

Professionals led the Shanghai Vocational National Salvation Association, the Shanghai Society for National Crisis Education, and the Shanghai Professors' National Salvation Association. The leadership of the Shanghai Students' National Salvation Association and the Shanghai Workers' National Salvation Association is unknown. But, what is clear is that these groups also reflected the pervasive nature of urban nationalism which had permeated the National Salvation Movement.

A study of the National Salvation Movement suggests that however hesitant, efforts were being made to bridge the gaps between the urban masses and the National Salvation Movement. For example, industrial workers and shop employees participated in not only the Shanghai Women's National Salvation



Association, but were active in the National Salvation Movement as a whole.

The Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association reveals an interesting alliance in the political arena between Shanghai's educated professional women and the female urban labor force. Indeed the women in the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association represented a wide spectrum of Shanghai's urban society. This indicates that political consciousness among urban women was more widespread than is usually assumed for this period of Chinese history. The theme of urban nationalism was also the prime concern among the women in the Shanghai Womens' National Salvation Association. This took precedence over feminist issues.

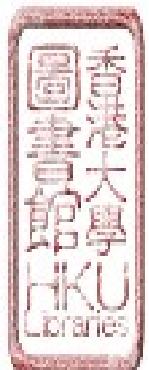
This study revealed a continuing trend of politicization of women in urban China, particularly in Shanghai and it showed that these Shanghai women were every bit as militant and politically sensitive as were their male counterparts. No evidence was found in this study of any significant male dominance or leadership of the Shanghai Women's National Salvation Association in a period where male leadership of female groups was common. This in itself was a guage of the political consciousness of China's urban women in the mid-1930s.

This study supports the notion of increasing



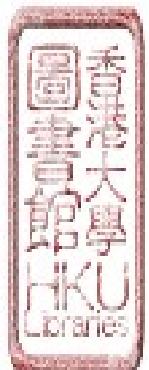
alienation of intellectuals and professionals from the KMT, which was at least in part a reaction to the KMT's political ineptitude in foreign policy formulation and diplomacy and to its ever-increasing suppression of the National Salvation Movement. It showed that many intellectuals and professionals did not opt for a Communist solution to China's social, political or economic problems. The language and the contents of National Salvation Movement manifestos and National Salvation literature reveal this alienation trend. The opposition to Japan and the appeal to the Nanking government to respond to the realities of Japanese aggression, and to terminate civil war became increasingly strident. At the same time the response to KMT suppression was further proliferation of patriotic literature and growth of the National Salvation Movement. Nanking also managed to transform the seven National Salvation Movement leaders into anti-Japanese martyrs. The seven worthies were catapulted to national prominence as a result of the trial. They became in effect a cause célèbre for patriotism and democratic rights. The response from various sections of Chinese society indicated both frustration with the KMT's conciliatory policy toward Japan and continued demands for democratic rights in China.

Clearly, Chiang's policy of appeasing the



Japanese while concentrating on domestic enemies was in the long run, untenable. Chinese public opinion solidly opposed Chiang's policy. Nationalism and anti-imperialism had been powerful forces in urban China from the May Fourth and May Thirtieth Movements into the Northern Expedition. The National Salvation Movement leaders continued that tradition in criticizing Nanking's conciliation with Tokyo. It would be pointless to argue that Chiang's approach was logical, that China was no match for Japan, and that conflict, when it occurred, resulted in unbelievable carnage. Logic may have been with Chiang, emotion was with the National Salvation Movement leaders.

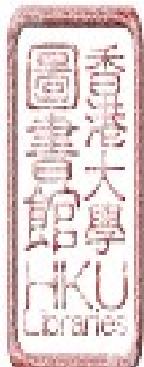
Much of the later interest in both the National Salvation Movement and the seven National Salvation Movement leaders has come from the prominent role which these people played in later Chinese politics. In the subsequent years various National Salvationists were employed in government administrative posts, and several served as members of the First People's Political Council, which was established in July 1938. Thus the government finally found it expedient to co-opt its critics. The prominence which made possible the use of these people as symbols for the united front was the result of the trial. The trial made them famous at a time when the KMT had to



relax its control to allow prosecution of a war of resistance. They retained prominent positions during the Sino-Japanese War through involvement with the Democratic League. Tsou T'ao-fen died in 1944 in the area controlled by the New Fourth Army. He was post-humously admitted to the CCP. Until his death ² he was treated with great esteem in China. Li Kung-p'u was assassinated along with Wen I-to in November ³ 1946, in another famous case of political martyrdom. The remaining five all served in high positions in ⁴ China after 1949 as reminders of the united front.

Chiang Kai-shek blundered in the manner in which he suppressed the National Salvation Movement leaders and the anti-Japanese movement. It is difficult to envision any scenario by which Chiang could have done himself more political damage than that which actually occurred. Others in China recognized its value as a political force. Yen Hsi-shan, for instance, raised the anti-Japanese flag in part to counter the Communists. He saw the anti-Japanese issue in the words of Van Slyke, as:

a banner to attract men of ability who could help him control the people... He was unwilling or unable to undertake serious structural reforms... Nationalism, however, was an appeal he could try without undertaking institutional change.
⁵



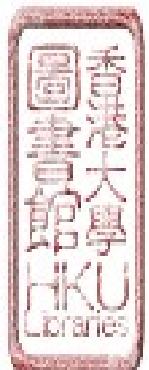
From 1931 until 1937 Nanking tried to intimidate, arrest, and stifle the National Salvation Movement leaders. Nanking failed; they were never silenced. Although Nanking's campaign worked a severe emotional and financial blow on the National Salvation Movement leaders, they always managed to find a voice for their views. Their faithful flock of readers assured any of their periodicals or newspapers enormous success and circulation. Nanking's campaign of intimidation, therefore, served to alienate the seven leaders not shackle them.

How important was the National Salvation Movement? What was its place in history? Even by generous estimates, the National Salvation literature of the period would not have reached more than two million readers out of a Chinese population of 450 million. And yet the National Salvation Movement I would argue, was of major significance in the Nanking decade. When we place it in the context of Republican China, it appears as one of the major ingredients in the political life at that time. It was strongly nationalistic. National Salvation manifestos had consistently advocated a united front policy which evoked support from the CCP and from a wide spectrum of KMT leaders, who themselves were dissatisfied with Nanking's policies. This united front goal was realized July 7, 1937, when war broke out.



The National Salvation Movement constituted an important third force in urban China during the 1930s, destroying the overly simplistic myth of a bipolar society. It highlighted the complexity of state-party-urban elites relationships. The National Salvation Movement attracted the support of a numerically small but highly strategic and articulate section of China's urban society : intellectuals and professionals, who assumed the leadership of the Movement. These urban intellectuals and professionals were a social group who were economically strong and better organized than any other in terms of common interests. However, as in 1911, or in 1927, or later in the 1930s, it did not constitute a homogenous and coherent group in the face of the political establishment. It was incapable of forming a united front against the Nationalist regime.

Throughout this period Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government strove to create a new political order out of the ruins of the warlord period. In undertaking this task, however, the KMT was crippled by the purges of 1927-1928 which had gutted the KMT of much of its brightest and most dedicated leadership. The KMT ranks became filled with bureaucratic, self-seeking individuals, many of whom had drifted down from the old Peking governments. Throughout the 1930s Chiang Kai-shek recog-



nized the need to rekindle the fire of revolution within his movement. Strongly opposed to social revolution, he chose ideologies of the right such as his New Life Movement or his support of the Blue Shirt fascist movement.

Chiang Kai-shek was socially conservative and unwilling to adopt a mobilization or class conflict approach to building a political base. He needed a mechanism such as nationalism to attract the support and dedication of able individuals to staff his government and military. Circumstances deprived Chiang of this opportunity. The issue of nationalism worked against the Nanking government from 1932 until the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Clearly, the National Salvation Movement constituted an important aspect of the state-society relationship in the KMT era.

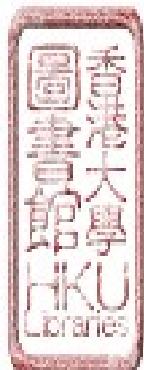


CHAPTER 9 :

CONCLUSION

NOTES

1. Text in supplement to Tsou T'ao-fen, T'an pai chi, (Shanghai : By the Author, September, 1936), pp.216-234.
2. Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, (Peking : Chieh-fang chün ch'u-pan she, 1987), Entry : Tsou T'ao-fen, p. 740.
3. Ibid., Entry : Li Kung-p'u, p. 704, and see Jen-min ying-lieh, (No place : Li-wen erh lieh-shih chi-nien wei-yüan hui, 1946).
4. See Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien, Entries : Shen Chn-ju, Shih Liang, Wang Tsao-shih, Sha Ch'i'en-li and Chang Nai-ch'i, pp. 744, 634, 596, 742, and 885, respectively.
5. Lyman P. Van Slyke, Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History, (Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967), pp. 67-71.



BIBLIOGRAPHY : WESTERN SOURCES

Akashi Yoji. The Nanyang Chinese National Salvation Movement, 1937-1941. Lawrence : The University of Kansas Press, 1970.

Alitto, Guy S. The Last Confucian : Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London : University of California Press, 1979.

Arendt, Hannah. "Society and Culture," Daedalus 89 (1960) : 278-287.

Asia (Asia Magazine), New York, 1940.

Beahan, Charlotte L. "Feminism and Nationalism in the Chinese Women's Press 1902-1911," Modern China 1:4 (1975) : 379-416.

Bebbington, David. Patterns in History. Leicester : Inter-Varsity Press, 1979.

Bergère, M.C. "'The Other China' : Shanghai from 1919 to 1949," in Shanghai: Revolution and Development in an Asian Metropolis, London: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Bianco, Lucien. Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1973.

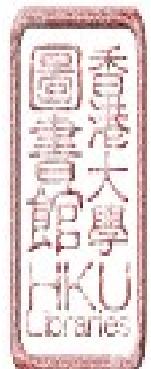
Birch, Cyril, ed. Chinese Communist Literature. New York : Praeger Publishers, 1963.

Bisson, T.A. Japan in China. New York : The MacMillan Company, 1938.

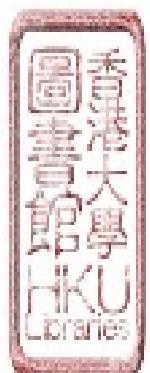
Boorman, Howard L. and Richard C. Howard, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Republican China. 4 Vols. New York : Columbia University Press, 1967-1971.

Boyle, John H. China and Japan at War, 1937-1945. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1972.

Brandt, Conrad, Benjamin Schwartz and John K. Fairbank, eds. A Documentary History of Chinese Communism. London : Allen and Unwin, 1952.



- Burton, M. E. The Education of Women in China. New York : Fleming H. Revell, 1911.
- Bush, R. Industry and Politics in Kuomintang China. New York : Garland Publishing Co., 1982.
- Cavendish, P. "The 'New China' of the Kuomintang," in Gray, Jack, ed. Modern China's Search for a Political Form.
- Chan, F. G. and T. H. Etzhold, eds. China in the 1920's. New York : New Viewpoints, 1976.
- Chan Lau Kit-ching. The Chinese Youth Party, 1923-1945. Hong Kong : University of Hong Kong Press, 1972.
- Chang, Carsun. The Third Force in China. New York : Bookman Associates, 1952.
- Chang Kuo-t'ao. The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party 1919-1927. Lawrence : University of Kansas Press, 1971.
- Chang, Maria Hsia. "'Fascism' and Modern China," The China Quarterly 79 (1979) : 553-567.
- Chen, Eoyang Eugene ed. Ai Qing Selected Poems. Beijing : Foreign Languages Press, 1982.
- Chen, Jerome. "Comments on Thomas Kampen's 'Changes in the Leadership of the Chinese Communist Party During and After the Long March'", Republican China 13:1 (1987) 49-51.
- "Resolutions of the Tsunyi Conference", The China Quarterly 40 (1969) 1-38.
- Ch'en Han-seng. "Economic Disintegration in China," Pacific Affairs 6:4-5 (1933) : 173-181.
- Ch'en, Joseph T. The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai : The Making of a Social Movement in Modern China. Leiden : E.J.Brill, 1971.
- Cheng Yu-kwei. "Japanese Exports to China after the Mukden Incident of September 18, 1931," Quarterly Review of Social Sciences 5:1 (1934) : 34-47.
- Chesneaux, Jean, Francoise Le Barbier and Marie-Claire Bergère. China from the 1911 Revolution to Liberation. Hassocks, England: The Harvester Press, 1977.



- Chiang Kai-shek. Soviet Russia in China. New York : Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957.
- Chiang Nan-hsiang, et. al. The Roar of a Nation : Reminiscences of the December 9th Student Movement Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1963.
- Ch'ien Tuan-sheng. The Government and Politics of China, 1912-1949. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1950.
- The China Weekly Review (formerly Millard's Review), Shanghai, 1917-1949.
- The China Yearbook, ed. by H.G.W. Woodhead, Shanghai: The North-China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1928, 1931-32, 1933-1937.
- The Chinese Recorder, Shanghai, 1927-1937.
- The Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Peking, 1916-1941.
- The Chinese Yearbook, Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1935, 1936-44.
- Chow Tse-tsung. The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Chu Pao-liang. Twentieth-Century Chinese Writers and their Pen Names. Boston, MA : G.K. Hall and Company, 1977.
- Clifford, Nicholas R. "Shanghai, 1925 : Urban Nationalism and the Defense of Foreign Privilege." Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 37 (1979).
- Coble, Parks M. Jr. "The Kuomintang Regime and the Shanghai Capitalists, 1927-1929." The China Quarterly 77 (1979) : 1-24.
-
- The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927-1937. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980.
- Cohen, Paul. "Christian Missions and their Impact to 1900," in Twitchett, Denis, and John K. Fairbank, General eds., The Cambridge History of China, Late Ch'ing, 1800-1911. 10:1 (1978) : 543-590.



The Communist International, New York, 1924-1940.

Croll, Elisabeth. Feminism and Socialism in China. London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978.

Crowley, James B. Japan's Quest for Autonomy. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1966.

"A Reconsideration of the Marco Polo Incident," Journal of Asian Studies 22:3 (1963) : 277-291.

Modern East Asia : Essays in Interpretation. New York Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1970.

Curtin, Katie. Women in China. New York and Toronto : Pathfinder Press, 1974.

Davin, Delia. Woman Work : Women and the Party in Revolutionary China. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1976.

"Democracy vs. One-Party Rule in Kuomintang China." Amerasia 7:3 (1943) : 97-120.

Dirlik, Arif. "Mass Movements and the Left Kuomintang," Modern China 1:1 (1975) : 46-74.

Mirror to Revolution : Early Marxist Images of Chinese History," Journal of Asian Studies 33:2 (1974) : 219-221.

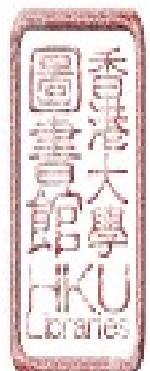
Domes, J. Die Kuomintang Herrschaft in China. (Kuomintang Rule in China) Hannover : Niedersächsische Landeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 1970.

Vertagte Revolution : Die Politik der Kuomintang in China, 1923-1937. (Postponed Revolution : The Policy of the Kuomintang in China) Berlin : De Gruyter, 1969.

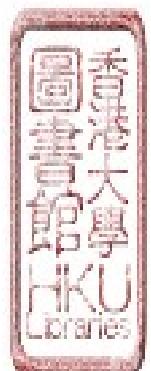
Eastman, Lloyd. The Abortive Revolution : China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1974.

"Fascism in Kuomintang China : The Blue Shirts," The China Quarterly 49 (1972) : 1-31.

"Ch'ing-i and Chinese Policy Formation during the Nineteenth Century," Journal of Asian Studies (1965) : 595-611.



- _____
 "New Insights into the Nature of the Nationalist Regime," Republican China 9:2 (1984) : 8-18.
- Eber, Irene. "Voices from Afar : Modern Chinese Writers on Oppressed Peoples and their Literature," Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 38 (1980).
- Elton, G.R. The Practice of History. London and Glasgow : Collins Clear-Type Press, 1967.
- Fairbank, John K. China Bound : A Fifty Year Memoir. New York : Harper and Row, 1982.
- Fang Fu-an. Chinese Labour. London : P. S. King and Son Ltd., 1931.
- Fei Hsiao-t'ung. China's Gentry : Essays in Rural-Urban Relations. Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1953.
- Fewsmith, J. Party, State and Local Elites in Republican China : Merchant Organizations and Politics in Shanghai, 1890-1930. Honolulu : University of Hawaii Press, 1985.
- _____
 "Response to Eastman," Republican China 9:2 (1984) : 19-27.
- Freyn, Hubert. Chinese Education in the War. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1940.
- _____
Prelude to War : The Chinese Student Rebellion of 1935-1936. Shanghai : China Journal Publishing Co., 1939.
- Furth, Charlotte. The Limits of Change : Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1976.
- _____
Ting Wen-chiang : Science and China's New Culture (Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1970).
- "Further Developments in the Peiping Student Movement." The China Weekly Review, December 28, 1935.
- Geisert, B. "Power and Society : The Kuomintang and Social Elites in Kiangsu Province, China, 1924-1937," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1979.



Gewurtz, Margo. Between America and Russia : Chinese Student Radicalism, and the Travel Books of Tsou T'ao-fen, 1933-1937. Toronto : Downsview, 1975.

"Tsou T'ao-fen : The Sheng-huo Years, 1925-1933." Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1972.

Gillin, Donald G. Warlord Yen Hsi-shan, 1911-1949. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1967.

Gray, Jack ed. Modern China's Search for a Political Form. London : Oxford University Press, 1969.

Grieder, Jerome B. "Communism, Nationalism, and Democracy : The Chinese Intelligentsia and the Chinese Revolution in the 1920's and 1930's," in James B. Crowley, Modern East Asia : Essays in Interpretation. New York : Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1970 : 207-234.

Hu Shih and the Chinese Renaissance : Liberalism in the Chinese Revolution. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1970.

Gunther, John. Inside Asia. New York : E. Hamilton, 1939.

Gustavson, Carl G. A Preface to History. New York, Toronto and London : McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955.

Hall, J. C. S. "The Yunnan Provincial Faction 1927-1937." Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Leeds, 1972.

Handlin, Joanna F. "Lu Kun's New Audience : The Influence of Women's Literacy on Sixteenth Century Thought," in Margery Wolf and Roxane Witke, ed., Women in Chinese Society. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1975 : 13-38.

Handlin, Oscar. "Comments on Mass and Popular Culture." Daedalus 89 (1960) : 325-332.

Ho Kan-chih. A History of the Modern Chinese Revolution. Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1959.



Hsia Tsi-an. Enigma of the Five Martyrs : A Study of the Leftist Literary Movement in China. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1962.

The Gate of Darkness : Studies on the Leftist Literary Movement in China. Seattle : University of Washington Press, 1968.

Hsiao, Theodore E. The History of Modern Education in China. Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1935.

Hsü Immanuel C. Y. The Rise of Modern China. New York, London and Toronto : Oxford University Press, 1970.

Hsü Shu-hsi. Japan and Shanghai. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1938.

The North China Problem. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1937.

Hsü U. T. Invisible Conflict. Hong Kong : China Viewpoints, 1958.

Hsüeh Chün-tu. The Chinese Communist Movement, 1921-1937. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1960.

The Chinese Communist Movement, 1937-1949. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1962.

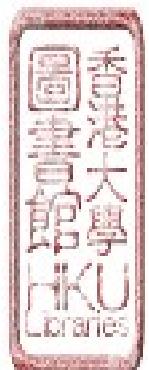
Hu Shih. "The Renaissance in China," Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs 5 (1926) : 265-283.

Huntington, Samuel P. Political Order in Changing Societies. New Haven, Conn. : Yale University Press, 1968.

Inlow, Burke. "Japan's 'Special Trade' in North China, 1935-1937." Far Eastern Quarterly 6 (1947) : 139-167.

Ip Manying. The Life and Times of Zhang Yuanji. 1867-1959 Beijing : The Commercial Press, 1985.

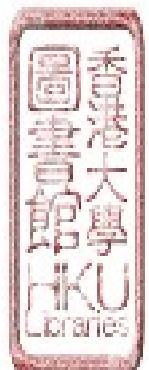
Israel, John. The Chinese Student Movement, 1927-1937 : A Bibliographic Essay Based on the Resources of the Hoover Institution. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1959.



- _____
"The December 9th Movement : A Case Study in Chinese Communist Historiography," The China Quarterly 23 (1965) : 140-169.
- _____
Ideology and Politics in Contemporary China. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973.
- _____
Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937.
Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1966.
- Israel, John and Donald W. Klein. Rebels and Bureaucrats : China's December 9ers. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1976.
- Jansen, Marius B. Japan and China : From War to Peace, 1892-1972. Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1975.
- Johnson, Carol E. "A History of the Life of Chinese Women : The Development of Chinese Feminism." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1974.
- Kampen, Thomas. "Changes in the Leadership of the Chinese Communist Party During and After the Long March", Republican China 12:2 (1987) 28-36.
- Kapp, Robert. Szechuan and the Chinese Republic : Provincial Militarism and the Central Power, 1911-1938. New Haven, CT : Yale University Press, 1974.
- Keenan, Barry. The Dewey Experiment in China : Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1977.
- Kiang Wen-han. The Chinese Student Movement. New York : King's Crown Press, 1948.
- Klein, Donald W. and Anne B. Clark, eds. Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Communism, 1921-1965. 2 Vols. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Kuhn, Philip A. "T'ao Hsing-chih, 1891-1946, An Educational Reformer," Harvard University Papers on China 13 (1959).



- Kuo, Thomas. Ch'en Tu'hsiu (1879-1942) and the Chinese Communist Movement. New Jersey : Seton Hall University Press, 1975.
- Lang, Olga. Chinese Family and Society. New Haven : Yale University Press, 1946.
-
- Pa Chin and His Writings : Chinese Youths Between Two Revolutions. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Lary, Diana. Region and Nation : The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925-1937. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Lee-hsia, Hsü Ting. Government Control of the Press in Modern China 1900-1949. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1975.
- Lee Hsiang-po. "Rural Mass Education Movement in China, 1923-1937." Ph.D. Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1970.
- Levenson, Josh R. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959.
- Li, Lincoln. The Japanese Army in North China 1937-1941. London, New York and Melbourne : Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Lin Yutang. A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China. Shanghai : Kelly and Walsh Ltd., 1936.
-
- "Singing Patriots in China." Asia. 41:2 February 1941.
- Linebarger, Paul. The China of Chiang Kai-shek. Boston : World Peace Foundation, 1941.
- Liu Chun-jo. Controversies in Modern Chinese Intellectual History : An Analytic Bibliography of Periodical Articles of the May 4th and Post May 4th Era. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1964.
- Liu Kwang-ching. Americans and Chinese : A Historical Essay and Bibliography. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press 1963.



- Lust, John. Index Sinicus : A Catalogue of Articles Relating to China in Periodicals and Other Collective Publications, 1920-1955. Cambridge, Eng. : Heffer, 1964.
- Lutz, Jessie G. "December 9, 1935 Student Nationalism and the Chinese Christian Colleges." Journal of Asian Studies 26:4 (1967) : 627-648.
- MacFarquhar, Roderick, ed. The Hundred Flowers Campaign and the Chinese Intellectuals. New York : Praeger, 1960.
- The Origins of the Cultural Revolution. London : Oxford University Press, 1974.
- Mao Tse-tung, et al. China : The March Toward Unity. New York : Workers' Library Publishers, 1937.
- Selected Works. 4 vols. Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1961-1965.
- Masterpieces of Modern Chinese Fiction 1919-1949. Beijing : Foreign Languages Press, 1983.
- Miller, G. E. (Pseudonym) Shanghai, the Paradise of Adventures. New York : Orsay Publishing House, 1937.
- Miner, N. "Chekiang : The Nationalists' Effort in Agrarian Reform and Construction, 1927-1937," Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, 1973.
- Morwood, William. Duel for the Middle Kingdom : The Struggle Between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tsetung for Control of China. New York : Everest House, 1980.
- Murphy, Rhoads. Shanghai : Key to Modern China. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1953.
- Nathan, Andrew J. Modern China, 1840-1972. "An Introduction to Sources and Research Aids," Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 44 (1973).
- The New York Times, New York, 1935-1937.
- Nivard, Jacqueline. "Women and the Women's Press : The Case of the Ladies Journal (Fu-nüzazhi) 1915-1931 [1] in Republican China 10 : 1b November, 1984.
- North China Herald and Supreme Court and Consular Gazette, Shanghai, 1933-1937.



North, Robert C. Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Elites. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1952.

Orchard, Dorothy J. "China's Use of the Boycott as a Political Weapon," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences (1930) : 117-124.

Osamu Ishii. "Cotton-Textile Diplomacy : Japan, Great Britain and the United States, 1930-1936." Ph.D. Dissertation, Rutgers University, 1977.

Outline History of China. Peking : Foreign Languages Press, 1958.

Pan Wei-tung. The Chinese Constitution : A Study of Forty Years of Constitution Making in China. Washington, D.C.: Institute of Chinese Culture, 1945.

Pepper, Suzanne. Civil War in China : The Political Struggle 1945-1949. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London : University of California Press, 1978.

Perleberg, Max. Who's Who in Modern China. Hong Kong : Ye Olde Printerie, 1954.

Rankin, Mary. Early Chinese Revolutionaries : Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971.

"The Revolutionary Movement in Chekiang : A Study in the Tenacity of Tradition," in Mary Wright, ed., China in Revolution : The First Phase, 1900-1913. New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1968.

Remer, C. F. A Study of Chinese Boycotts. Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University, 1933.

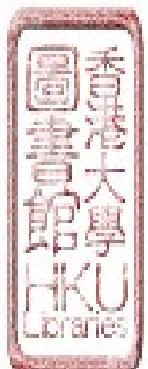
Rinden, Robert and Roxane Witke. The Red Flag Waves : A Guide to the Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao Collection. Berkeley, CA : University of California Press, 1968.

Rosinger, Lawrence K. China's Wartime Politics, 1937-1944. Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1944.

Rue, John E. Mao Tse-tung in Opposition, 1927-1935. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1966.



- Russell, Bertrand. The Problem of China. New York : George Allen and Unwin, 1922.
- Schneider, Laurence A. Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London : University of California Press, 1971.
- Schrecker, John E. Imperialism and Chinese Nationalism : Germany in Shantung. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1971.
- Schwartz, Benjamin I. Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1951.
- "The Intelligentsia in Communist China,"
Daedalus 89 (1960) : 604-621.
- Seven Contemporary Chinese Women Writers. Beijing : Chinese Literature, 1982.
- Shaheen, Anthony J. "The China Democratic League and Chinese Politics 1939-1947." 2 vols. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1977.
- Sheridan, James E. China in Disintegration : The Republican Era in Chinese History, 1912-1949. New York : The Free Press, 1975.
- Shu, Austin C.W. Modern Chinese Authors. A List of Pseudonyms. East Lansing : Michigan State University Press, 1969.
- Sih, Paul ed. Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War. Hicksville, NY : Exposition Press, 1977.
- Siu, Bobby. Fifty Years of Struggle : The Development of the Women's Movement in China (1900-1949). Hong Kong : Revomen Publications Company, 1975.
- Smedley, Agnes. Battle Hymn of China. New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 1938.
- The Great Road. New York : Monthly Review Press, 1956.
- Smith, John M. "Chang Nai-ch'i and His Critics : The Interpretation of the Hundred Flowers Movement." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1978.



Snow, Edgar. Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945.
Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1957.

_____ Red Star Over China. New York : Random House, 1938.

_____ "The Ways of the Chinese Censor."
Current History 13 (1935) : 381-386.

Stories From The Thirties. 2 Vols. Beijing : Chinese Literature, 1982.

Sutton, Donald. Provincial Militarism and the Chinese Republic: The Yunnan Army 1905-1925. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979.

Tan, Chester. Chinese Political Thought in the Twentieth Century Garden City, N.Y. : Anchor Books, 1971.

Teiwes, Frederick. Politics and Purges in China : Rectification and the Decline of Party Norms, 1950-1965. New York : M.E. Sharpe, 1979.

Thomson, James C., Jr. "Communist Policy and the United Front in China." Harvard University Papers on China 11 (1957) : 99-148.

_____ While China Faced West. Cambridge, MA : Harvard University Press, 1969.

Timperley, H. J. "The North China Federation of Students." School and Society 43 (1936) : 67-68.

Tong Te-Kong and Li Tsung-jen. The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen. Boulder, CO : Westview Press, 1979.

Tsung Hyui-puh "Chinese Translations of Western Literature," Chinese Social and Political Science Review 12:3 (1928) : 369-378.

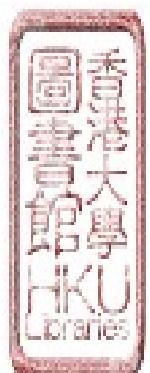
Tung, William. The Political Institutions of Modern China. The Hague : Martinus Nijhoff, 1964.

Van Slyke, L. P., Enemies and Friends : The United Front in Chinese Communist History. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1967.

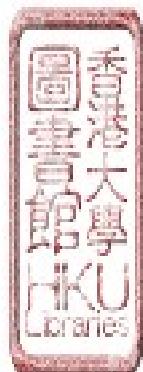
Wales, Nym (Helen F. Snow). "Is Youth Crushed Again in China?" Unpublished Manuscript. Peking, 1935.



- _____The Chinese Communists. Westport, CT : Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972.
- _____The Chinese Labour Movement. New York : John Day Company, 1945.
- _____Notes on the Chinese Student Movement (mimeographed) Madison, CT, 1959.
- _____Red Dust. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1952.
- Wang Ming (Ch'en Shao-yü). "The Key to the Salvation of the Chinese People," The Communist International 14:5 (1937).
- Wang Tsao-shih. "A Salvationist's View of the Sino-Japanese Problem." The China Quarterly 2:4 (Special Fall Number, 1937) : 681-689.
- Wang, Y. C. Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949. Chapel Hill, NC : University of North Carolina Press, 1966.
- Who's Who in China : Biographies of Chinese Leaders. Shanghai : the China Weekly Review, 1936. (Fifth Edition)
- Who's Who in Communist China. Hong Kong : Union Research Institute, 1969-1970.
- Witke, R. H. "Transformation of Attitudes Towards Women During the May Fourth Era of Modern China." Ph.D. Dissertation University of California, 1970.
- Woodhead, H.G.W. ed. The China Yearbook. Shanghai : The North China Daily News and Herald Ltd., 1936.
- Wright, Mary, ed. China in Revolution : The First Phase, 1900-1913. New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1968.
- Wu, Eugene (comp.) Leaders of Twentieth Century China : An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Bibliographical Works in the Hoover Library. Palo Alto, CA : Stanford University Press, 1956.
- Wu Tien-wei. "The Sian Incident : A Pivotal Point in Modern Chinese History." Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 26 (1976).



- Yang Ming-ru. "Qiu Jin, Poet and Revolutionary Martyr," Chinese Literature 7 (1972).
- Yen, James Y. S. "New Citizens for China," Yale Review 18:2 (1929).
- Young, G. M. Victorian England : Portrait of an Age. London : Oxford University Press, 1960. (Second Edition)
- Young, Marilyn. "Women in China," Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 15 (1973).
- Yueh Sheng. Sun Yat-Sen University of Moscow and the Chinese Revolution. Lawrence : The University of Kansas Press, 1971.



BIBLIOGRAPHY : CHINESE SOURCES

Chan-hsien (Resistance)

戰線

Chan-mei. Chung-kuo fu-nü fen-tou shih-hua. (A History of Chinese Women's Struggle). Chungking : Publisher not known, 1943.
陳梅，中國婦女奮鬥史話

Chang Chih-i. K'ang-chan chung ti cheng-tang ho p'ai-pieh (Political Parties and Groups in the War of Resistance). Chungking : Tu-shu sheng-huo ch'u-pan she, 1939.
張執一，抗戰中的政黨和派別

Chang Hui and Pao Ts'un eds. Shanghai chin-pai-nien ko-ming shih-hua (Talks on the Last Hundred Years of Shanghai's Revolutionary History). Shanghai : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1962.
章回、包村等、上海近百年革命史話

Chang Nai-ch'i. Chang Nai-ch'i lün-wen hsuan (A Selection of Chang Nai-ch'i's Essays). Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1934.
章乃器，章乃器論文選

Chang Ta-chün. Chung-kung jen-ming tien (Who's Who of Communist China), Kowloon: Freedom Press, 1956.
張大軍，中共人名典

Ch'en Shao-yü. Ch'en Shao-yü [Wang Ming] chiu-kuo yen-lün hsuan-chi (Selected Addresses of Ch'en Shao-yü [Wang Ming] on National Salvation). Hankow : Chung-kuo ch'u-pan she, 1938.
陳紹禹，陳紹禹（王明）救國言論選集

Ch'en Tung-yuan. Chung-kuo fu-nü sheng-huo shih (History of the Life of Chinese Women). Shanghai : Chung-hua shu-chü, 1936. Reprint.
Originally published 1928.
陳東原，中國婦女生活史

Ch'en Ying-hsing, ed. Chung-hua min-kuo hsing fa chieh-shih t'u piao chi t'iao wen (Explanatory Charts and Articles on the Criminal Code of Republican China). Min-kuo : Shang-wu she kuan, 1936.
陳應性，中華民國刑法解釋圖表及條文

Ch'eng Chai-fan. Chung-kuo hsien-tai nü-tzu chiaoyü shih (History of Modern Chinese Women's Education). Shanghai : Chung-hua shu-chü, 1936.
程謫凡，中國現代女子教育史



Chiao-fei chan-shih (History of the War to Exterminate the Bandits). 6
Taipei : Chung-hua ta tien pien-yin, 1967.
剿匪戰史

Ching-nien yün-tung hui-i-lu (Reminiscences of the Youth Movement). 2.
Peking : Chung-kuo ch'ing nien ch'u-pan she, 1979.
青年運動回憶錄

Chiu-kuo pan-yueh k'an (National Salvation Semi-monthly). 1 Canton : May
1935.
救國半月刊

Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao (National Salvation Bulletin). Shanghai :
1936-1937.
救亡情報

Chiu-wang chou-k'an (National Salvation Weekly). 1 Shanghai : 1936-1937.
救亡週刊

Chiu-wang pao-tao (National Salvation Report). 4 Peking : December 9,
1936.
救亡報導

Chiu-wang san-jih k'an (Tri Daily National Salvation Magazine). Peking:
1935-1936.
救亡三日刊

Chiu-wang shou-ts'e (A Handbook of National Salvation). Shanghai :
Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1939.
救亡手冊

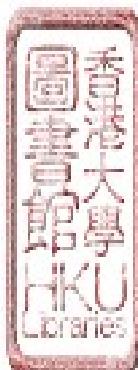
Ch'iu Chin Shanghai : Shanghai jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1980.
秋瑾

Chou Leng-chieh. Lien-yü (Purgatory). Shanghai : Publisher unknown,
1936.
周愣伽，煉獄

Chou Tien-tu, ed. Chiu-kuo hui (The National Salvation Association).
Peking : Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsüeh ch'u-pan she, 1981.
周天度，救國會

Chuan-chi wen-hsueh (Biographical Literature). Taipei : 1962 -
傳記文學

Ch'u'an-kuo Chung-ven ch'i-k'an lien-ho mu-lu (National Union List of
Chinese Periodicals). Peking : Peiching t'u-shu-kuan, 1961.
全國中文期刊聯合目錄



Ch'un ch'iu (Observation Post). Hong Kong : 1957-
春秋

Ch'un-chung hsin-wen (Mass News).
羣眾新聞

Chung-hua min-kuo erh-shih-wu (liu, ch'i) nien Shanghai-shih nien-chien
(The City of Shanghai Yearbook 1935 [36,37]). Shanghai :
Shanghai shih t'ung-chih kuan, 1935-37.
中華民國二十五(六、七)年上海市年鑑

Chung-kung tang-shih chien-ming tz'u-tien (A Concise Dictionary of the
Chinese Communist Party's History). Peking : Chieh-fang chun
ch'u-pan she, 1987.
中共黨史簡明詞

Chung-kung tang-shih jen-wu chuan (Chinese Communist Party History
Biographies). 43 Sian : Shensi jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1990.
中共黨史人物傳

Chung-kuo chiao-yü-chia chuan-lueh (Biographical Sketches of Chinese
Educators) Kunming : Yunnan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1983.
中國教育家傳略

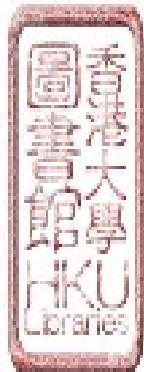
Chung-kuo chin-tai shih tz'u-tien (A Dictionary of Modern Chinese
History). Shanghai : Shanghai t'zu shu ch'u-pan she, 1982.
中國近代史詞典

Chung-kuo chin-tai shih wen-ta i-pai t'i (Questions and Answers of
Chinese Modern History : One Hundred Questions). Honan : Honan
jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981.
中國近代史問答一百題

Chung-kuo fu-nu (Chinese Women). Peking : 1950-57.
中國婦女

Chung-kuo hsien-tai she-hui k'o-hsueh chia chuan-lueh (Biographical
Sketches of Contemporary Chinese Social Scientists) Taiyuan :
Shansi jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1982.
中國現代社會科學家傳略

Chung-kuo hsien-tai tso-chia chuan-lueh (Biographical Sketches of
Contemporary Chinese Writers). 2 Vols. Hsüehow : Hsüehow
Teachers' College, 1980.
中國現代作家傳略



Chung-kuo hsien-tai wen-hsueh tso-che pi-ming lu (A Record of Contemporary Chinese Literary Writers' Psedonyms) Changsha : Hunan wen-i ch'u-pan she, 1988.
中國現代文學作者筆名錄

Chung-kuo ko-ming shih chiang-i (Teaching Materials on Chinese Revolutionary History). 2 Vols. Peking : People's University, 1979-1980.
中國革命史講義上下

Chung-kuo shih-hsueh lun-wen so-yin (Index to Articles on Chinese History). 2 Vols. Peking : K'o-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1957.
中國史學論文索引

Fan-kung chiu-kuo t'e-k'an (Special Issue on Anti-Communism and National Salvation). 1 Peking : February 9, 1936. This was published by the Peking anti-Communist student organisation, "the Peking Students' Anti-Communist National Salvation Society".
反共救國特刊

Feng Yu-hsiang chiang-chün hun kuei chung-hua (General Feng Yu-hsiang's Soul Returns to China) Peking : Wen-shih tsu-liao ch'u-pan she, 1981.
馮玉祥將軍魂歸中華

Feng Yu-hsiang yu kuo-min chün (Feng Yu-hsiang and the Nationalist Army). Peking: Chung-kuo she-hui k'o-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1982.
馮玉祥與國民軍

Fu-nü (Women). Shenyang, 1983.
婦女

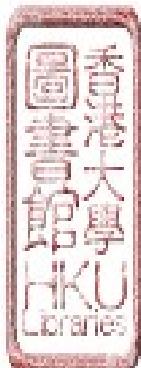
Fu-nü nien-chien (Women's Yearbook). Shanghai : 1924.
婦女年鑑

Fu-nü sheng-huo (Women's Life). Shanghai : 1935-1939.
婦女生活

Hsien-cheng shou-ts'e (Constitutional Government Handbook). Kwangtung : Chung-kuo wen-hua shih-yeh chu, 1933.
憲政手冊

Hsin ch'ing-nien (New Youth) Shanghai : 1919-1921.
新青年

Hsin-sheng chou-k'an (New Life Weekly). Shanghai : 1934-1935.
新生週刊



Hsuan hsiang (Anxious Thoughts). Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-chu¹¹, 1933.

(Author unknown).

懸想

Hsu Tsung-yuan ed. T'ao Hsing-chih Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1988.

許宗元、陶行知

Hu Nai-ch'iu. T'ao-fen ti liu-wang sheng-huo (T'ao-fen's Exile Life).

Peking : San-lien shu-tien, 1979.

胡耐秋，韜奮的流亡生活

Huang I-chih, ed. Tsou T'ao-fen Shanghai : Commercial Press, 1950.

鄧韜奮

Hung-ch'i p'iao-p'iao (The Red Flag Waves). Peking : Chung-kuo

ch'ing-nien ch'u pan she, 1957.

紅旗飄飄

I-erh-chiu i-hou Shanghai chiu-kuo hui shih liao hsuan-chi (Selected

Historical Data on the Shanghai National Salvation Association

After December Ninth). Shanghai : Shanghai she-hui k'o-hsueh

yuan ch'u-pan she, 1987.

一二九以後上海救國會史料選集

I-erh-chiu man-yu (Casual Words on December Ninth). Peking. San-lien

shu-tien, 1981.

一二九漫語

I-erh-chiu yun-tung (The December Ninth Movement) Peking : Jen-min

ch'u-pan she, 1954.

一二九運動

I-erh-chiu yün-tung hui-i-lu (Reminiscences of the December Ninth

Movement). Peking : Peiching ch'u-pan she, 1981.

一二九運動回憶錄

I-erh-chiu yün-tung shih (A History of the December Ninth Movement).

Peking : Peiching ch'u-pan she, 1980.

一二九運動史

I-ho-t'uan yün-tung tsai tung-pei (The Boxer Rebellion in the

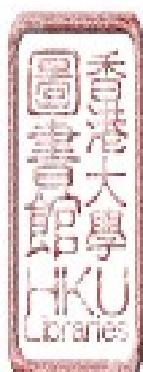
North-East). Vol. 1-9. Changch'un : Jen-min ch'u-pan she,

1980-1983.

義和團運動在東北

Jen-min jih-pao (People's Daily). Peking : 1950-57.

人民日報



Jen-min ying-lieh (People's Heroe). No place : Li-wen erh lieh-shih chi-nien wei-yuan hui, 1946.

人民英烈

K'ang-jih chan-cheng shih-ch'i chieh-fang ch'u kai-k'uang (A Survey of the Liberated Areas in the Period of the War of Resistance Against Japan). Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981. (Reprint) Originally published 1953.

抗日戰爭時期解放區概況

K'ang-jih chan-cheng shih-jian jen-wu lu, (Events and Figures in the War of Resistance). Shanghai : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1986.

抗日戰爭事件人物錄

Ko-ming i-shih (Non Official History of the Revolution). 3 Taipei : Commercial Press, 1978.

革命議史

Kuo-wen chou-pao (National News Weekly). Shanghai : 1930-37.

國聞週報

Li Kung-p'u. K'ang-chan chiao-yü ti li-lun shih-chien (Theory and Practice of Education in the War of Resistance). Hankow : Tu-shu sheng-huo ch'u-pan she, 1938.

李公樸，抗戰教育的理論實踐

Li Shou-t'ien. Chung-kuo ti ko-tang ko-p'ai (The Various Parties and Groups in China). Shanghai : Ching-wei shu-chü, 1946.

李受天，中國的各黨各派

Li Shou-tung, ed. Chiu-kuo wu tsui ch'i chun-tzu shih-chien (National Salvation is not a Crime. The Affair of the Seven Worthies). Shanghai : Publisher unknown, 1937.

李守東，救國無罪七君子事件

Li Yun-han. K'ang-chan-ch'i'en Chung-kuo chih-shih fen-tzu ti chiu-kuo yün-tung (The National Salvation Movement of Chinese Intellectuals before the War of Resistance). Taipei : Chiao-yü pu she-hui yü-ssu, 1977.

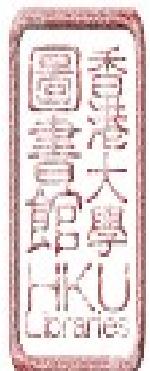
李雲漢，抗戰前中國知識分子的救國運動

Liang Kung-ts'ang. T'ung-lu-jen ti p'ei-chü (The Tragedy of Fellow Travellers). Taipei : Kuang-hua ch'u-pan she, 1961.

同路人的悲劇

Liang Shu-ming, and Chou Hsin-min. Li [Kung-p'u] Wen [I-to] pei hai chen hsiang (The Real Facts About the Victims Li [Kung-p'u] and Wen [I-to]). No place : Publisher unknown, 1946.

梁漱溟，周新民，李聞被害真相



Lu Pi. Lun Chang Hsueh-liang (Evaluation of Chang Hsueh-liang). Hong Kong : Shih-tai p'i-p'ing she, 1948.
魯泌，論張學良

Ma Hsiang-po. Ma Hsiang-po [Liang] hsien-sheng nien-p'u (Biography of Ma Hsiang-po). Reprint. Taipei : Wen hai ch'u-pan she, 1971.
馬相伯，馬相伯（良）先生年譜

——— Ma Hsiang-po wen-chi (Collected Works of Ma Hsiang-po). Reprint. Taipei : Wen hai ch'u-pan she, 1972.
馬相伯，馬相伯文集

Mai Ch'ing. T'ao Hsing-chih. Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1949.
麥青，陶行知

Mao Tse-tung, et al. T'ung-i chan-hsien hsia tang-p'ai wen-t'i (The Question of Parties and Groups under the United Front). Yenan : Shih-shih hsin-wen pien-i she, 1938.
毛澤東，統一戰爭下黨派問題

Min-i (Public Opinion) Hankow and Chungking : 1937-1938.
民意

Ming-pao yueh-k'an (Ming-pao Monthly). Hong Kong : 1968.
明報月刊

Mu Hsin. Tsou T'ao-fen. Reprint. Hong Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1959.
穆欣，鄒韜奮

Peiching chou-pao (Beijing Review). Peking : 1977-82.
北京週報

Peiching ta-hsueh chi-nien chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang liu-shih chou-nien lun-wen- chi (A Collection of Theses of Peking University Commemorating the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party). Peking : Peiching ta-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1982.
北京大學紀念中國共產黨六十週年論文集

Peiping shih hsueh-sheng chiu-kuo lien-ho hui ti-i t'zu hsuan-yen (First Manifesto of the Peking Students' United Association for National Salvation). Peking : April 25, 1936.
北平市學生救國聯合會一次宣言

San-i-pa chi-nien t'e-k'an (March 18th, Memorial Special). No Place, no date.
三一八紀念特刊



San-min chu-i (Three Principles of the People). Taipei : San-min shu-chü, 1973. Reprint.

三民主義

Sha Ch'ien-li. Ch'i jen chih yü (The Imprisonment of Seven People). Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1937.

沙千里，七人之獄

Shanghai hsueh-sheng yün-tung shih ta shih chi 1919-1949 (A Chronicle of events of the Shanghai Student Movement 1919-1949). Shanghai : Shanghai Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981.

上海學生運動史大事記（一九四五—一九四九）

Shanghai-shih nien-chien (Shanghai City Yearbook). Shanghai : Shanghai-shih t'ung-chih kuan, 1935-37.

上海市年鑑

Shanghai T'ao-fen chi-nien kuan, ed. T'ao-fen ti tao-lu. (The Way of Tsou T'ao-fen). Peking : San-lien shu-tien, 1958.

上海韜奮紀念館，韜奮的道路

Shen-pao ("The Shun Pao"). Shanghai : 1936-1937.

申報

Shen-pao nien-chien (The Shen Pao Yearbook). Shanghai : 1936.

申報年鑑

Shen-pao yueh-k'an (Shen Pao Monthly). Shanghai : 1932-1936.

申報月刊

Sheng-huo chou-k'an (Life Weekly). Shanghai : 1931-1933.

生活週刊

Sheng-huo jih pao (Life daily) Shanghai : 1936.

生活日報

Shih-chieh chih-shih (World Culture). Shanghai : 1934-1936.

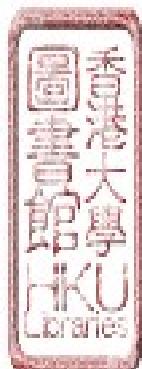
世界知識

Shih-chieh chih-shih she, ed. Chung-Jih wen-t'i chiang-hua (A Guide to Sino-Japanese Problems). Shanghai : Sheng-huo shu-tien, 1936.

世界知識社，中日問題講話

Shih Liang, Wo-ti cheng-chih sheng-huo (My Political Life) in Tsung-heng (Length and Breadth) Vol. 1 and 2. Peking : Wen-shih tzu-liao ch'u-pan she, 1985.

史良，我的政治生活



Shih-tai ai-kuo ming-jen tz'u-tien (An Historical Dictionary of Eminent Patriotic People) Place unknown : Hupeh jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1985.

史代愛國名人辭典

Soong (Sung) Ch'ing-ling. Wei hsin Chung-kuo fen-tou (The Struggle for a New China). Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1952.

宋慶齡，為新中國奮鬥

Ta-chung sheng-huo (Life of the Masses). 1-16 Shanghai : 1935-36.

大眾生活

Ta-kung pao ("L'Impartial"). Shanghai : 1935-37.

大公報

Ta-Kung pao shih ti chou-k'an. ("L'Impartial" History and Geography Weekly). Tientsin : 1934-37.

大公報史地週刊

Tagore, R. Fei-niao chi ("Stray Birds" Collection). Shanghai : Shanghai i-wen ch'u-pan she, 1981. Originally published in English, 1955.
飛鳥集

Tai Po-t'ao. Hui-i T'ao Hsing-chih hsien-sheng (In Memory of Mr. T'ao Hsing-chih). Reprint. Peking : Chung-hua shu-tien, 1948.

戴白韜，回憶陶行知先生

—— T'ao Hsing-chih ti sheng-p'ing chi ch'i hsueh-shuo (T'ao Hsing-chih's Life and Doctrine). Peking : San-lien shu-tien, 1949.

戴白韜，陶行知的生平及其學說

Tang-tai fu-nü (Contemporary Women). Shanghai : Shen Pao, 1936.

當代婦女

Tao Hsing-chih chi-nien wen-chi (Collected Works in Memory of Tao Hsing-chih). Chengtu : Szechuan jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1982.

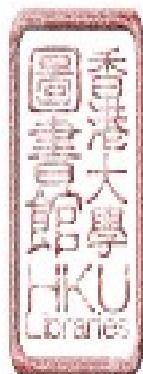
陶行知紀念文集

T'ao Hsing-chih. Chih-hsing shu-hsin (Correspondence of [T'ao] Chih-hsing). Shanghai : Publisher unknown, 1931.

陶行知，知行書信

—— Chung-kuo hsiang-ts'un chiao-yu chih ken-pen kai-tsao (Fundamental Reform of Chinese Rural Education). 16:10 No place : 1927 : 1-5.

陶行知，中國鄉村教育之根本改造



"Sheng-huo chi chiao-yü," in Wei chih-shih chieh-chi
 "Life and Education," in (The False Knowledge Class). Peking :
Sheng-huo chiao-yü she, 1950.

陶行知，生活及教育，偽知識階級

T'ao Hsing-chih hsien-sheng chi-nien chi (A Collection fo Essays
 Commemorating Mr. T'ao Hsing-chih). No place : T'ao Hsing-chih
hsien-sheng chi-nien wei-yuan hui, 1949.
 陶行知先生紀念集

T'ao Hsing-chih nien-p'u (A Biography of T'ao Hsing-chih). Peking :
chiao-yü k'o-hsueh ch'u-pan she, 1982.
 陶行知年譜

T'ao Hsing-chih nien-p'u kao (A Biographical Sketch of T'ao Hsing-chih).
 Hefei : Anhui chiao-yü ch'u-pan she, 1985.
 陶行知年譜稿

Teng T'ai, ed. Lün hsien-tai wo-men-ti wen-hsueh yun-tung (On Our
 Current Literary Movement). Shanghai : Ch'ang Chiang shu-tien,
 1936.
 登太，論現代我們的文學運動

Ti-k'ang (Resistance) Shanghai, 1937.
 抵抗

Ting Shih-min, ed. Chiu-wang yen-lün chi (A Collection of Statements on
 National Salvation). Second Edition. No place : Publisher
 unknown, January 1938.
 丁石民，救亡言論集

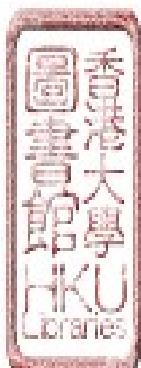
Tou-cheng (Struggle) Kiangsi : 1933-1936.
 門爭

Tsou T'ao-fen. Huan-nan yü-sheng chi (A Record of an Age of Troubles and
 Tribulations) Yenan : T'ao-fen shu-tien, 1946.
 鄒韜奮，患難餘生

T'an pai chi (A Collection of Straight-forward
 Statements). Shanghai : By the Author, 1936.
 鄒韜奮，坦白集

T'ao-fen wen-chi (Works of Tsou T'ao-fen). 3 Vols. Hong
 Kong : San-lien shu-tien, 1957.
 鄒韜奮，鄒韜奮文集，上、中、下

T'ao-fen wen-lu (Selected Writings of T'ao-fen). Shanghai
 : San-lien shu-tien, 1949.
 鄒韜奮，鄒韜奮文錄



Tsung-heng (Length and Breadth). Peking : Wen-shih tzu-liao ch'u-pan she, 1985.

縱 橫

Ts'ung ya-pien chan-cheng tao wu-szu yün-tung (From the Opium War to the May Fourth Movement). Peking : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981.

從鴉片戰爭到五四運動

Tu-li p'ing-lun (Independent Critic). 5:1-225 Peking : 1933-1936.

獨立評論

Tu-shu sheng-huo (Study Life). Shanghai : 1934-1936.

讀書生活

Tung-fang tsa-chih ("The Eastern Miscellany"). Shanghai : 1936-37.

東方雜誌

Tung-fang tsa-chih tsung-mu (Cumulative Table of Contents of "The Eastern Miscellany"). Peking : 1957.

東方雜誌總目

Wai-chiao p'ing-lun (The Foreign Affairs Review). Nanking : 1932-1937.

外交評論

Wang Chien-min. Chung-kuo kung-ch'an-tang shih kao (Draft History of the Chinese Communist Party). 3 Vols. Taipei : Wang Chien-min, 1965.

王健民，中國共產黨史稿

Wen-hua chiao-yü yen-chiu hui, ed. Ko k'ang-Jih tang-p'ai ti hsüan-ch'üan huo-tung (The Propaganda Activities of Various Anti-Japanese Political Parties and Groups). Chungking or Yenan : (same) Publisher unknown, 1941.

文化教育研究會，各抗日黨派的宣傳活動

Wen I-to chi-nien wen-chi (The Collected Works in Memory of Wen I-to).

Peking : San-lien shu-tien, 1980.

聞一多紀念文集

Wen I-to tso-pin hsin shang (An Appreciation of the Literary Works of Wen I-to). Nanning : Kwangsi jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1982.

聞一多作品欣賞

Wu-san-shih yün-tung shih-liao (Historical Data on the May Thirtieth Movement). Vol. 1. Shanghai : Jen-min ch'u-pan she, 1981.

五三十運動史料

Wu-szu shih-ch'i ti she t'u'an (Mass Organizations of the May Fourth Period). 4 Vols. Peking : Hsin-hua shu-tien, 1979.

五四時期的社團

Wu T'ieh-ch'eng. Wu T'ieh-ch'eng hui i lu (The Memoirs of Wu



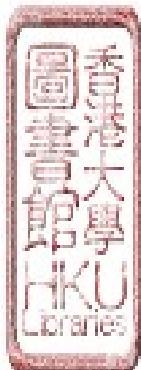
T'ieh-ch'eng). Taipei : San-min shu-chū^u, 1971. Second Edition.
(First Edition, 1968).

吳鐵城，吳鐵城回憶錄

Yang Tzu-lieh. Chang Kuo-t'ao fu-jen hui-i-lu (Memoirs of Mrs. Chang
Kuo-t'ao). Kowloon : Tzu lien ch'u-pan she, 1970.

楊子烈，張國燾夫人回憶錄

Yung-sheng (Eternal Life). 1936.
永生



GLOSSARY

Ai-kuo wu tsui [Patriotism is not a crime]

愛國無罪

Ai-kuo wen-hsueh (Patriotic Literature)

愛國文學

Ai Ssu-ch'i

艾思奇

An-nei jang-wai [Internal pacification before resistance against external aggression]

安內攘外

Chang Chih-jang

長志讓

Chang Ch'un

張羣

Chang Han-fu

章漢夫

Chang Hsing-sheng

張梓生

Chang Nai-ch'i

章乃器

Chang Hsueh-liang

張學良

Chang Tao-fan

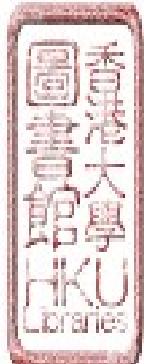
張道藩

Chang Ting-fu

張定夫

Ch'en Pu-lei

陳布雷



Ch'en Tu-hsiu
陳 獨秀

Cheng Chen-to
鄭 振鐸

Ch'i chun-tzu
七君子

Chiang Kai-shek
蔣介石

Chiang Ping-chih [Ting Ling]
蔣冰之（丁玲）

Chiang Wen-yü
江問漁

Ch'ien Chun-jui
錢俊瑞

Ch'ien Yung-ming
錢永銘

Chien-kuo
建國

Chih-hsing ho-i [the unity of knowledge and action]
知行合一

Chih-shih fen-tzu [knowledgeable elements, intellectuals]
智識分子

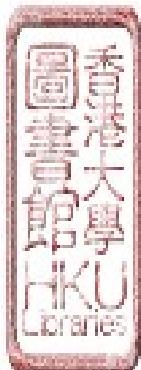
Chin Chung-hua
金仲華

Ch'ing-i [Pure Ideals]
清議

Ch'iu Chin
秋瑾

Chiu-kuo
救國

Chiu-kuo chen-hsien [National Salvation Front]
救國陣線



Chiu-kuo hui [National Salvation Association]
救國會

Chiu-kuo ju-yu yun-tung [National Salvation Enter Prison Movement]
救國入獄運動

Chiu-wang ch'ing-pao [Bulletin of National Salvation]
救亡情報

Chiu-wang chou-k'an [National Salvation Weekly]
救亡週刊

Chiu-wang pao-tao [National Salvation Report]
救亡報導

Chiu-wang wen-hsueh [National Salvation Literature]
救亡文學

Chiu-wang yun-tung [National Salvation Movement]
救亡運動

Chou Chien-jen
周建人

Chou En-lai
周恩來

Chou Hsin-min
周新民

Chou Li-po [Li Po]
周立波 (立波)

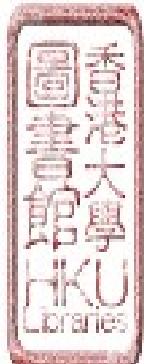
Chou Tso-jen
周作人

Ch'u Ching-lai
諸青來

Ch'u-an-kuo Chung-wen ch'i-k'an [All China Chinese Periodicals]
全國中文期刊

Ch'u-an-kuo ko-chieh chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [All China National Salvation Federation]
全國各界救國聯合會

Ch'un-chung hsin wen [Mass News]
羣眾新聞



Chung-hua ch'üan-kuo fu-nülien-ho hui [All China Women's Federation]
中華全國婦女聯合會

Chung-hua ko-chieh lien-ho hui [The National Federation of All Circles]
中華各界聯合會

Chung-hua min-kuo kuo-nan chiu-chi hui [Society for the Relief of the
National Crisis of the Chinese Republic]
中華民國國難救濟會

Chung-hua nü-chieh lien-ho hui [The Chinese Women's Federation]
中華女界聯合會

Chung-kuo min-chu cheng-t'uan ta t'ung-meng [The Grand Alliance of
Chinese Democratic Parties]
中國民主政團大同盟

Chung-kuo min-chu t'ung-meng hui [The China Democratic League]
中國民主同盟會

Chung-kuo min-ch'üan pao-cheng t'ung-meng [China League for the
Protection of Civil Rights]
中國民權保障同盟

Chung-kuo nü-pao [Chinese Women's Paper]
中國女報

Chung-kuo tso-i tso-chia lien-meng [China League of Left-Wing Writers]
中國左翼作家聯盟

Chung-kuo t'ung-meng hui [China United League]
中國同盟會

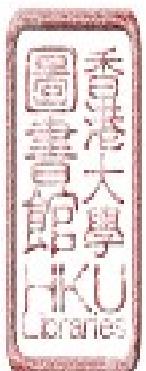
Chung-kuo wen-t'i ti fen hsi [An Analysis of the Problems of China]
中國問題的分析

Fan-jih [Oppose Japan]
反日

Feng Yu-hsiang
馮玉祥

Fu-nü chih sheng [The Voice of Women]
婦女之聲

Fu-nü lien-i hui [Women's League]
婦女聯誼會



Fu-nü sheng-huo [Women's Life]
婦女生活

Fu Tso-i
傅作義

Han Fu-chu
韓復渠

Ho Chen
何震

Ho Chia-huai
何家槐

Ho Hsiang-ning
何香凝

Ho Wai-lu
侯外廬

Ho Wei
何偉

Ho Ying-ch'in
何應欽

Hsia Yen
夏衍

Hsiang Ching-yu
向警予

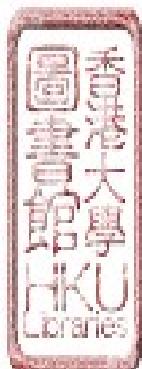
Hsiao-chuang
曉莊

Hsiao-chuang shih-yen hsiang-ts'un shih-fan hsueh-hsiao
曉莊實驗鄉村師範學校

Hsieh Liu-i
謝六逸

Hsieh Mu-ch'iao
薛慕橋

Hsin-sheng chou-k'an [New Life Weekly]
新生週刊



Hsü⁴ Chieh

許 傑

Hsü⁴ Mou-yung

徐 懲 庸

Hsü⁴ Tao-lin

徐 道 麟

Hsü⁴ Teh-heng

許 德 玘

Hsü⁴ Tsung-han [Hsü⁴ Ch'ing]

徐 宗 漢 (徐 清)

Hu Feng-hsiang

胡 風 翱

Hu Tzu-ying

胡 子 豫

Hu Shih

胡 適

Hu Yu-chih

胡 愈 之

Hu Yeh-pin

胡 也 頻

Huang Fu

黃 郭

Huang Yen-p'ei

黃 炎 培

Huo-hua tu-shu hui [Sparks Reading Society]

火 花 讀 書 會

I Han-sung

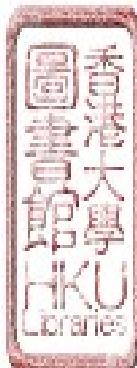
易 寒 松

Jen-min (Popular)

人 民

Jen Sung-kao

任 頌 高



Jen Tsung-kao
任 崇 高

Jih-pen [Japan]
日 本

Kang-jih [resist Japan]
抗 日

Ko t'uan-t'i chiu-kuo lien-ho hui [Federation for National Salvation]
各 團 體 救 國 聯 合 會

Ku Chung-i
雇 仲 繫

Ku Liu-hsing
顧 留 馨

Ku Ming
顧 名

Kuang Ming [Bright light, intelligent]
光 明

Kuang-fu hui [Restoration Society]
光 復 會

Kung'ai hui [Common Love Society]
公 愛 會

Kuo Mei-shu
郭 梅 淑

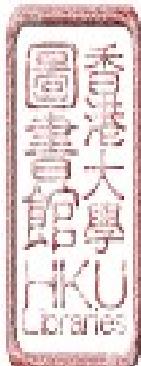
Kuo-min chou-k'an [National Weekly]
國 民 週 刊

Kuo-Mo-jo
郭 沫 若

Kuo-wen chou-pao [National News Weekly]
國 聞 週 報

Li Kung-p'u
李 公 樸

Li-liang [Power, strength, force]
力 量



Li Lieh-chün
李烈鈞

Li Ping-hsin
李平心

Li Tsung-jen
李宗仁

Li-yung [used]
利用

Liang Shu-ming
梁漱溟

Liao Chung-k'ai
廖仲凱

Liao Mou-ju
廖茂如

Liu Chien-chün
劉健羣

Liu Ch'ing-yang
劉精陽

Liu-chün [Six Gentlemen]
六君

Liu Ch'un-hsien
劉羣仙

Liu Kuang-han
劉光漢

Liu Liang-mo
劉良模

Liu Wang Li-ming
劉王麗明

Lo Ch'ing
羅青

Lü Hsun
魯迅



Ma Chan-shan

馬占山

Ma Hsiang-po [Ma Liang]

馬相伯（馬良）

Ma Hsu-lun

馬鼓倫

Mao Tse-tung

毛澤東

Min-chung [masses]

民眾

Min-tsu [National]

民族

Nieh Kan-nu

聶紺弩

Nien-chien [year book]

年鑑

Niu Lan-fu

牛蘭夫

Ou Yang Yu-ch'ing

歐陽予倩

Pai Ch'ung-hsi

白崇禧

P'an Kung-chan

潘公展

P'an Ta-k'uei

潘大達

P'eng Wen-ying

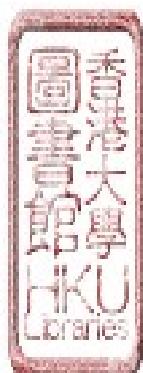
彭文應

Sha Ch'ien-li

沙千里

Sha T'ing

沙汀



Shanghai fa-cheng hsueh-yuan [Shanghai College of Law and Political Science]
上海法政學院

Shanghai K'ang-Jih chiu-kuo ta-t'ung hui [Shanghai National Salvation League for Resistance to Japan]
上海抗日救國大同會

Shanghai ko ta chung-hsueh hsueh-sheng chiu-kuo hsüan ch'u'an t'u'an [All Shanghai University and High School National Salvation Propaganda Group]
上海各大中學學生救國宣傳團

Shanghai shih nien-chien [Shanghai City Yearbook]
上海市年鑑

Shen Ch'i-yu
沈起予

Shen Chun-ju
沈鈞儒

Shen Hsi-ling
沈西苓

Shen Tz'u-chiu
沈慈九

Shen Yen-ping [Mao Tun]
沈雁冰(矛盾)

Sheng-huo chiao-yü [Life Education]
生活教育

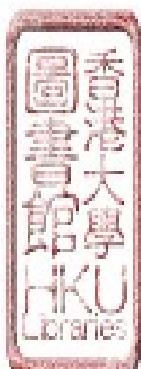
Sheng-huo chou-k'an [Life Weekly]
生活週刊

Shih chien [Incident]
事件

Shih Chih-ang
石志昂

Shih Liang
史良

Shih t'ai lin [Stalinist]
史太林



Shih Ying

施瑛

Sun Fo (K'o)

孫科

Sun Hsiao-ts'un

孫曉村

Sun Huai-jen

孫懷仁

Sun Shih-i

孫師毅

Sun Yat-sen

孫中山

Sung Che-yüan

宋哲元

Sung Ching-ling

宋慶齡

Ta chung sheng-huo [Life of the Masses]

大眾生活

Ta-hsüeh shan [Great Snow Mountains]

大雪山

Tai Li

戴笠

Ta-Kung pao ["L'Impartial"]

大公報

Tang-pu [Party department]

黨部

T'ang Tao-keng [Ai Wu]

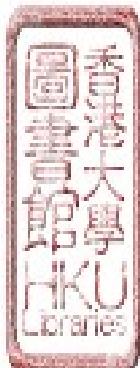
湯道耕 [艾蕪]

T'ang Yu-jen

唐有壬

T'ao Hsi-chin

陶希進



T'ao Hsing-chih
陶行知

Teng Yen-ta
鄧演達

Teng Ying-ch'ao
鄧穎超

T'ien Han
田漢

Tou-cheng [Struggle]
鬥爭

Tsai Ch'ang
慘案

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei
蔡元培

Ts'an-an [Tragedy]
蔡暢

Ts'ao Chu-jen
曹聚仁

Tsao Meng-chün
曹孟君

Tsou-T'ao-fen
鄒韜奮

Tu Chun-hui
杜君慧

Tu Chung-yüan
杜重遠

Tu-li ping-lun [The Independent Review]
獨力評論

Tu-shu sheng-huo [Study Life]
讀書生活

T'u-sha [Butchery]
屠殺



Tu Yueh-sheng
杜月笙

Tung-fang tsa-chih ["The Eastern Miscellany"]
東方雜誌

T'ung-i chien-kuo t'ung-chih hui [The United National Construction League]
統一建國同治會

T'ung-meng hui [The United League]
同盟會

Wang Chi-hua
王紀華

Wang Ching-wei
汪精衛

Wang Fu-chuan
汪馥泉

Wang Fu-yen
王夫演

Wang Hsiao-lai
王曉賴

Wang Hsiao-ying
王孝英

Wang Tsao-shih
王造時

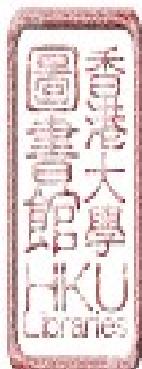
Wang Yang-ming
王陽明

Wei Chin-chih
魏金枝

Wen-hua yueh-k'an [Literature Monthly]
文化月刊

Wen I-to
聞一多

Wu Ch'ing-yu
吳清友



Wu Ch'iu-shan
吳秋山

Wu P'ei-fu
吳佩孚

Wu T'ieh-ch'eng
吳鐵城

Wu Yao-tsung
吳耀宗

Yang Ching-ts'ai
楊經才

Yang Ch'u-an
楊惲

Yang Hsing-fo
楊杏佛

Yang Hsiu-feng
楊秀峰

Yang Hu-ch'eng
楊虎城

Yang K'ai-hui
楊開慧

Yeh Ch'u-ts'ang
葉楚倉

Yin Ju-keng
殷汝耕

Yu Hsia-ch'ing
虞洽卿

Yu Yu-jen
于右任

Yuan [dollar]
圓

Yuan Ching-wei
袁清偉

