

# The Personalization of Politics: Diary Writing in Wartime China (1937-1945)

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Work Diary of the Bureau of Ordnance's Tactical Research Office<sup>1</sup>

During the years of the “total war of resistance” and “protracted war”, Chinese people often used diaries to make sense of political discourse and fit it into their world view. This does not mean, however, that a diary’s content always reflected the will of the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT); rather, the diary was a document in which the author thought about political matters and made them part of his or her personal story. By looking at the accounts of Revolutionary Army (RA) officers and middle school girls, it is possible to see how the modern era was one in which political concerns were made personal through the use of diary writing.

The rise of modern diary writing was enabled by at least five major conditions in the period following the Republican revolution in 1911: first, the emergence of mass politics in China (and elsewhere) that celebrated the importance of ordinary people; second, new forms of vernacular reportage that insisted on the ability of the written word to “expose truth”;<sup>2</sup> third,

## 政治議題的個人化：戰時中國的日記書寫

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在那段被稱為「全面抗戰」或是「持久抗戰」的年歲裡，中國人經常用日記來合理化他們的政治論述，並試圖將其融入自身的世界觀。但這並不表示當時的日記內容反映了黨的意志，而是作者對於政治事件的想法以及將這些事件化為自身故事一部分的紀錄文件。透過一些革命軍軍官以及女中學生的日記，我們可以發現這一個新世代的人們是如何關注這些政治議題的。

1911年辛亥革命之後，現代化的日記書寫之所以出現，至少有五個主要條件：一、在中國和其他各地出現的大眾政治，不斷稱頌一般民眾的重要性；二、新型態的「報導文學」堅持文字書寫必須要能「揭露真相」；三、新科技的發展，像是書寫工具可以大量製造、裝訂技術的進步、機械化印刷、打字技術以及更便宜的紙；四、中國政府「治理術」的逐漸成長，以及對公務人員職務紀錄義務的擴張，像是軍事文件紀錄或陣中日誌等；五、隨著公眾教育系統而逐步成長的識字率，在中國青年間掀起了一種積極性的民間共和主義的浪潮。以上這些因素，一點一滴地慢慢融合，終於在1937年掀起了一場閱讀、書寫和自我表述上的完美風暴，在此之前，中國從來沒有那麼多人對

the development of mass produced writing implements, binding technology, mechanized printing, typewriting, and cheap paper;<sup>3</sup> fourth, the growing “governmentality” of the Chinese state,<sup>4</sup> combined with the expansion of record-keeping obligations for public employees (including military documents such as “field diaries”);<sup>5</sup> fifth, rising literacy through a public education system, which emphasized proactive civic republicanism among young people in China.<sup>6</sup> These factors, minimally, converged in the years leading up to 1937 to form a perfect storm of reading, writing, and self-expression; never before had China had so many people keeping records about their lives—what we have come to call “life-writing”—and, as it turned out, considering the importance of national politics.<sup>7</sup>

Historians can be forgiven for thinking that diary writing in modern China was the past-time of a microscopically small elite, or that national affairs were a distant secondary concern when compared to local politics, religious identities, and native place associations.<sup>8</sup> I strongly suspect, however, that many Chinese people wrote diaries (or other forms of life-writing) during the years of Nationalist rule, and that these documents revealed a rapidly growing personal association with national affairs. Although the historiography of modern China has largely focused on strong continuities from the Qing Empire, in which local non-elites had little interest in national affairs, archival research increasingly does not support this view; the Nationalist period was one of rapid dislocation and change, including the prevalence of life-writing. For the reasons I listed above, diary writing was encouraged by authorities and accessible to more people than ever before. Students rich and poor in far-flung provinces like

於他們自己的生活作紀錄，也就是我們現在所說的「書寫生活」，事實也證明了，人們同時也體認到國家政治的重要性。

我想我們可以原諒歷史學家們認為近代中國的日記書寫，就像過去一樣僅反映了少數菁英階層，或是認為比起地方政治、宗教認同和同鄉會等事務來說，國家大事僅是中國人次要的關心對象的這類想法。我本人也強烈地懷疑在國民政府時期，是否真有這麼多中國人以日記或是其他方式來記錄他們的生活，並且這些日記透露出個人和國家事務間的聯結有著快速的成長。雖然現代中國史學大都關注在現代中國和清帝國間的延續性上，認為清帝國的地方非菁英階層對於國家事務的關注程度並不高；不過最近的檔案研究卻越來越不支持這種說法，而認為國民政府時期是一個急遽混亂與變遷的年代，生活書寫的流行也是這種變遷的一部分。由於上述原因，日記的書寫受到當權者的鼓勵，並且較之以往任何時候可以接觸到更多的人。在像是雲南這種偏遠省分的學生，不論貧富，都在書寫其個人紀錄以及對國家事務的看法。而地方出版社對於學生作品的出版，也顯示了日記書寫在當時的中國學校已是課程的一部分。然而，在國家層級上，一般對於保存這些日記缺乏動力，除非是教師想要在地方上出版這些日記。我們可以更進一步的將日記的書寫看作是政府想要監控並改革其官僚體系的一部份，就像它訓練自己的武裝力量革命軍直到連隊階層一般。然

Yunnan were penning personal records and writing about national affairs, and local publications of student works show that diary writing was part of the general curriculum in Chinese schools.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, as in most other national cases, there was little impulse to preserve these documents except whenever teachers wanted to publish them locally. Furthermore, reviewed diary writing was part of the government's attempt to monitor and reform its bureaucracy, as well as train its armed forces in the RA down to at least the regimental level (*liandui* 連隊). Still, many were lost in the chaos of war or simply thrown away in order to reduce the burden of documentary preservation. Finally, following the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1950, there were strong incentives to destroy personal histories that could become evidence for future persecution.

Recent studies of the first decade of CCP rule in mainland China have turned up an extraordinary number of personal diaries. This plethora of life-writing from the 1950s cannot be explained solely by the industriousness and ingenuity of the newly-formed Communist state; like so many modern Chinese institutions, the roots of popular diary writing were put down in the Republican era, even if much of the evidence was wilfully destroyed. Diary writing was part of training in Baoding, Jiangwutang, and Whampoa, and schools emphasized it heavily by the conclusion of the Northern Expedition. While most of these materials were lost, many war diaries survived conflict and revolution, so we must do our best to discover, preserve, and analyse them. If nothing else, they show us how important the Nationalist period was for making political issues personal for Chinese people.

而，許多這些日記因為戰爭所造成的混亂而遺失，抑或是單純為了想減輕文件保存的負擔而丟棄。最後在 1949 年 10 月中華人民共和國成立之後，人們有了更強烈的動機來銷毀這些個人史料，因為這可能會變成將來被迫害的證據。

近來對於中國共產黨統治大陸第一個十年的研究，發現了數量極其龐大的個人日記，這種過多的生活書寫並不能單單以這個新成立共產國家人民的勤勉與創造力來解釋，就跟許多現代中國的典章制度一樣，日記書寫的普遍性也要追溯到國民政府時期，雖然許多這方面的證據已經被故意銷毀了。在保定軍校、講武堂以及黃埔軍校，寫日記是日常訓練的一部分，北伐勝利之後在學校更是被強調。然而這些日記材料大部分都遺失了，有許多戰時日記在中國的衝突和革命中殘存下來，因此我們必須竭盡全力去重新找出、保存並分析這些材料。沒有意外的話，這些日記將會告訴我們，在將政治事務和個人做連結這點上，國民政府時期扮演了多麼重要的角色。

#### 事實與虛構：國民政府官員和戰場經驗紀錄

這種將政治個人化的日記寫作方式，常見於和國民革命軍與國民黨關係密切的成年男性身上。在北伐之後，國民黨軍官的日記通常結合了之前戰場日誌中的事實描述（像是天氣、兵力、部隊駐紮地點等等），以及深受戰爭報導文學影響的一種新文體。

#### Fact and Fiction: Chinese Nationalist Officers and Records of Battlefield Experience

The personalization of politics in diary writing is most easily seen in the records of adult men who were closely tied to the RA and the KMT. After the Northern Expedition, Nationalist officer diaries combined the factual records of previous military diaries (e.g., weather reports, troop strength, unit position, etc.) with an increasingly literary style influenced by war reportage. Although few RA officer diaries included descriptions of private feelings and personal history, they were increasingly specific about combat experience as the genre evolved, including soldiers' sensations on the battlefield.

Many diaries written by RA officers were formalistic, following generic patterns from the late Qing and early Republic, and focused entirely on operational activities. Changes in handwriting suggest that some texts were in fact group projects rather than the work of a single officer. Consequently, attributing actual authorship can be difficult in these documents, which were ostensibly accounts of unit activities and not private confessions. For example, a summary of the 116<sup>th</sup> Division's field diary provides very little detail on battle experience:

##### Overview of the May 1944 Field Diary

17th: According to scouting and intelligence reports, the enemy's 56th Division is code-named 'Heroic'. Major General Mizukami is in command, the front line command centre is at the bridge, and the Division's central command is inside Tengchong.

24th: This afternoon we launched a pursuit

雖然少數國民革命軍軍官的日記中也會記載私人情緒或是個人事件，不過越來越具體的還是他們所參與的戰役的戰鬥經驗，也包括了士兵在戰場上的感想在內。

許多國民革命軍軍官所寫的日誌都非常的流於形式，遵循著由晚清到民國初期的通用模式，將焦點集中在他們的職務活動上。筆跡的改變顯示了這些日誌事實上是集體工作，而非出自單一軍官之手。因此，要分辨這些材料的實際作者十分困難，因為他們都是表面上記載了其單位的活動，而非個人敘述。舉例來說，以下這件一一六師陣中日誌的節錄其實對於戰場經驗的細節著墨甚少：

#### 三十三年度五月份陣中日記摘要

十七日：據諜報偵知敵五六師團，代字為智勇敢，少將師團長水上。前方司令部駐橋頭，師司令部駐騰衝城內。

二十四日：本日午後移於追擊狀態，三四六團為追擊隊，向斎公房方向追擊前進。三四八團掃蕩戰場；三四七團為預備隊、師指揮所推進[?]三官殿。

然而，除了這些敘述之外，國民革命軍軍官們的陣中日誌還受限於另一個基本現實，即他們所受的戰術與戰略訓練，此點同樣也發生在其他國家如普魯士或明治維新後的日本。對於這些陣中日記作者的背景有必要更進一步的深究。（例如是否保定軍校的畢業

using the 346th Regiment. The pursuit advanced toward Qigongfang, with the 348th Regiment mopping up the battlefield. The 347th Regiment was in reserve, and Division command centre advanced [?] Sanguandian.<sup>10</sup>

Even outside of these overviews, however, field diaries by RA officers could be restricted to the basic facts considered relevant to the study of tactics and strategy; this was true in other contexts as well, including Prussia and late Meiji Japan. More research is needed regarding the institutional background of these authors (e.g., investigating whether Baoding graduates were more formal and Huangpu graduates more literary in their field diaries). It is noteworthy, however, that by 1937 Chinese officers described a combination of drilling, “spiritual” training, and documentary practice that had come to define the RA’s military culture:

After investigating this unit’s recent exercises in riverbank defence, there was a rigorous examination of officers’ and soldiers’ tactics and fighting capabilities, and simultaneously the unit élan and discipline while at rest. Cadres at every level must follow the regulations, and study the principles pointed out here for carrying out such exercises; we must also prepare all of the unit’s schedules, orders, reports, and other documents, and we should particularly carry out these tasks in the following fashion. It is desirable that each unit commander exhort his subordinates to observe [these directions]. Do not neglect these orders.<sup>11</sup>

生在撰寫時較嚴謹，而黃埔生的陣中日誌則較富文學性等等。) 然而，值得關注的是，1937年時中國軍官所描述的一次結合了精神訓練和文件記錄的演習，定義了國民革命軍的軍隊文化：

查此次施行河防部隊大演習，固首在測驗及級官兵戰術與戰鬥能力，同時對於部隊精神紀律亦當在放際之列。各級幹部除應按照典範、今所示諸原則切實研究預行演習，並預為準備各種團表命令報告等文件外，茲特別舉數事如後，希各部隊長叮囑所部遵照。毋忽為要。

基本體能操練、軍事訓練、政治教育以及撰寫紀錄，以上種種皆是中國士兵的戰時經驗。同時國民革命軍也保持了日誌必須傳閱的傳統，已強調嚴格的記錄「事實」。但對許多中國士兵而言，這並不足以讓他們吸取戰場經驗。

國民革命軍中的日記作者們經常會停下來反思他們由戰場或是同伴的失敗中所吸取的大量經驗。在1937年8月上海周邊的激烈衝突時，一位陣中日誌的作者偏離了冷靜記述事實的原則，而在日誌中加上了豐富的戰場描述：

八十八師以主力……攻擊往返爭奪傷亡甚重……一處已犧牲近一營之眾而攻日本坟山之部於上午十一時攻入後，

Physical exercise, military training, political education, and written record all came to define the Chinese soldier's war experience. Meanwhile, the RA embraced a tradition of diary writing, subject to potential review (*chuanyue* 傳閱), which emphasized the strict record of "facts," but for many Chinese soldiers this would not be enough to capture the war experience.

RA diarists would often pause to reflect on the extraordinary experiences they had in battle or the loss of their comrades. In the heat of the conflict around Shanghai in August 1937, the author of one field diary deviated from the sober delineation of facts to include a richer description of battlefield conditions:

The main force of the 88th Division ... attacked and fought, back and forth, taking very heavy casualties ... one section sacrificed a number close to an entire battalion, and assaulted the Japanese unit at Fenshan at 11am. After the attack commenced, because they suffered flanking enemy machine gun fire, they were ordered to withdraw, leaving a large amount of dead and wounded. Before dusk, the forward northwest front faced an enemy counter-attack and was immediately beaten back ... From about 8am, Commander Zhang, accompanied by Commander Yang and Division Commander Dong went to observe the front line [?] the 88th Division Artillery base to the 87th Division. They saw that the élan and spirit of sacrifice were both very high. From 12pm to 4pm the front line saw unceasing rifle reports, and our air force attacks were very heroic ...<sup>12</sup>

因受敵側防機關槍射擊示撤退出死傷尤多。日沒前北西面受敵反攻已被擊退……張司令官偕楊司令、宋師長自上午八時許至前線視察[?]八十八師砲兵陣地，至八十七師所見官兵士氣及樂於犧牲精神均極良好，前方攻擊狀況自十二時至下午四時槍聲不絕，又我空軍動作亦甚勇敢……

陣中日誌由單純的官方戰鬥紀錄變為士兵個人經驗的紀載，這種轉變是由於新式的戰爭報導而來，戰爭報導認為這樣的方式更值得記錄下來，甚至是當同袍因意外身亡時也一樣，就像林佐駕駛伊－16型飛機遭遇引擎事故時，革命軍的日記作家們認為必須讚揚這樣的犧牲，於是負責記錄空軍第三大隊日誌的曹世榮對林佐的死有如下描述：

記事：上午七時五十五分鐘……林副大隊長駕 5866 號機升空演習不幸殉職。查林副大隊長佐，籍廣東遂溪縣新村鄉。父健存，親慈早逝，繼母亦健……塾時，有神童之稱，弱冠負笈廣州灣中學，就讀二年旅轉學八桂中學，於民國十七年畢業。適廣東航空學校……為林副大隊長服務黨國之始，時年剛二十三歲也，見習六個月期滿後，以其成績優越……抗日軍興以來，每次戰役，無不[?]參，厥功極偉。尤以樊城之役，單機禦寇，為敵機九駕包圍，從容應付，

This signalled the shift from diaries as mere bureaucratic records of military progress to texts in which the personal experiences of Chinese soldiers, informed by the new language of war reportage, were deemed worthy of historical consideration. Even when a comrade died due to an accident, such as the unfortunate engine failure in the Polikarpov I-16 plane piloted by Lin Zuo 林佐, RA diarists felt the need to eulogize their “sacrifice.” Cao Shirong 曹世榮, who appears to have been responsible for writing a field diary for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Flight Group, described the death of Lin thus:

Note: At 7:55am ... Deputy Commander Lin's No. 5866 aircraft ascended for a drill but he unfortunately died in line of duty. Examining Deputy Commander Li's file, we found that he was from Guangdong Province, Suixi County, Xincun Village. His father is still healthy, his mother has passed away, and his stepmother is well ... In school he was called the Wunderkind, and at age twenty he took up his studies at the Guangzhou Bay Middle School, studying for two years before transferring to Bagui Middle School. In 1928 he graduated, attending the Guangdong Flight Academy ... Deputy Commander Li began to serve the Nationalist government when he was twenty three, and after six months his record was superior ... With the military mobilization for the War of Resistance, in every battle, there was nothing he would not [?] participate, and everything he did was extremely valorous. Especially in the battle for the town of Fan, he attacked his enemies alone and,

卒將敵擊潰，全軍無不欽其神勇。

在此處，這種陣中日誌和一般讀者、特別是西方讀者所預期看到的作者私人經驗描述完全不同，而中國人在面對日本時的種種掙扎情狀都透過這種日誌形式和文字深刻地表露出來。

想從中國軍人的戰場日誌中找出私人片段並不容易，特別是在大部分的內容必須被傳閱及集體寫作模式之下。然而，我們也可以發現到制式的戰場日誌也影響到私人日記中的自我表述，特別是在讓政治議題出現在一般我們認為是私領域的日記中這點上。國民革命軍的軍官們多半將其私人日記（雖然看起來比較像戰場日誌）視為在抗戰期間自律的一種表現。我們舉王文榮為例，他是國民革命軍第一〇六師的一名軍官，在1944至1945年間駐紮在陝西省，他就在日記中認為寫日記是一種在國際戰爭期間自律的表現：

在1944年這年中，國際間西歐是有了驚人的勝利，同時中國戰場也有了使人意想不到的失利。而我個人呢，雖然不是怎麼的順利，但比以前那個倒霉是小的多了。茲值歲序更新之際，除對過去檢討外，在對今歲之事作一簡單之計畫：……日記希望能天天寫……自從新年過後，日記中斷了一月整……為曾寫過日記，也可以算是自己替自己放了一

surrounded by nine Japanese planes, he handled it coolly, in the end scattering his foes. In the entire army there was no one who did not admire his courageous spirit.<sup>13</sup>

Here, the diary is neither private nor focused on an individual author's experience, which is what many readers, particularly in the West, expect from such a text; nevertheless, the Chinese struggle against Japan is represented in deeply personal terms and in the diary form.

Accounting for the personal turn in Chinese military diary writing is not an easy task, especially when most of the narratives were subject to potential review or written collectively. Nevertheless, in personal diaries it is evident that the formal field diaries influenced self-expression, and in particular enabled the integration of politics into what we might consider a "private" space. First, RA officers considered their personal accounts, much like the formal field diaries, as a form of self-discipline necessary at a time of total war. Wang Wenrong 王文榮, for example, who was an officer in the RA 106<sup>th</sup> Division (stationed in Shaanxi Province in 1944 to 1945), discussed diary writing as a form of self-discipline in the context of international wartime politics:

In this year of 1944, there were truly shocking victories internationally on the Western European front, but at the same time the Chinese battlefield has witnessed unimaginable losses. As for myself, although I can't say things have gone smoothly, at least I've improved a little bit from that loser I was before. On the occasion of a New Year, apart from reflecting upon the past, I shall make a

月的假，從今天起要接著自己以往的精神，陸續寫下去。

像王文榮這樣的軍官們會定期涉入政治工作和部隊內的教育工作，同時將其和鍛鍊身體以及其他他們認為可以增進自身的活動，視為其世界觀中不可或缺的一部分，於是王文榮花了大量時間將這些工作鉅細靡遺地記載在其日記當中。很類似的，我們可以從余韶的日記中發現，這種對政治課題以及自律的看法，在中國影響力所能及的最偏遠地帶依舊瀰漫。余韶畢業於雲南講武堂，他在九十六師師長任內帶領部隊穿梭雲南和緬甸之間，向當地非漢人的族群領袖們宣講國民黨「持久抗日」的任務，在這當中他記載道：

晚法王司具餐迎余至其家，出所房男丁排班迎接，撰一夷父頌詞當眾宣讀後，恭呈於余。語余至各家改其生活情形，復言自此至孟綏原皆漢地，渠組父常與言漢人戰爭。近聞漢方有將緬北交回中國之說，渠甚願重見漢朝官儀。又云聞中國有蔣委員長，以三民主義救世，吾夷族亦救否？余告以三民主義以決助世界弱小民族為懷，夷族與漢族有悠久歷史關係，當然得救。彼聯頌其首。

就像余韶日記所顯示的，政治議題曾經是、也還是很難和個人在戰場上的經驗分割。這

simply plan for the future: ... I want to write in my diary every day ... But after New Year's I interrupted the diary for one month ... Not writing the diary is like taking a vacation from myself for a month. From now on I must adopt the right attitude and continually write every day.<sup>14</sup>

Officers like Wang routinely engaged in political work and education within the ranks, which were paired with physical exercise and other acts intended to improve the self; these were inseparable in Wang's view, and he spent a great deal of time detailing them in his diary. Similarly, the personal diary of Yu Shao 余韶 reveals the suffusion of political discourse and discipline even in the furthest corners of Chinese influence. A graduate of Yunnan's Jiangwutang Military Academy, Yu wrote his diary while in command of the 96<sup>th</sup> Division. While marching through Burma and Yunnan, Yu engaged with non-Han ethnic groups and their leaders, explaining the mission of the KMT's "War of Resistance" against Japan:

In the evening, Wang held a banquet to welcome us. When I arrived at his house, at the exit, a company of several young men were lined up to receive me. Out came an Yi elder who read aloud a formal address, after which he said to me: 'People have come to our homes and said we must change our way of life, and that the Menghuan lains are Han territory. The Liang ancestors have often said we fought with the Han, and now we hear that the Han claim that northern Burma will be given to China. The Liang [clan] are ready to observe the rites of the Han officials',

些具有保定軍校、講武堂或是黃埔背景的軍官們在抗戰期間大舉接受國民黨傳遞的政治訊息，並將其記錄在個人日記中。

雖然假設國民黨享受這種絕對的意識形態一致性（甚至在其軍隊中也一樣）是一件荒謬的事，但是從王文榮的日記當中我們可以發現，在像國民革命軍這樣龐大的組織當中，對於個人紀律的要求也是不太一致的：

青年軍優秀的知識青年組成的，他們按道理講，應當不用政治工作，可是事實不是這樣，他們的政訓工作比一般的部隊更重、也更困難。推其原因，因為他們要求比一般士兵為高，一般下級軍官決不能滿足他們的求知慾，所以必須有政工人員來輔助他們。青年軍的內部組織，也和一般部隊不同，也還有班自治會的組織。

不像其他國民黨的日記作者，王文榮在日記中還記載了一些私人記憶，像是關於他的母親，以及由戲院狂歡晚歸後自己的惱怒和他本身的健康狀況等等。毫無疑問的，王文榮深深地感覺到他個人和對戰爭的努力息息相關，特別是國民黨將對戰死者的尊敬和對戰爭的努力連結在一起時。

午飯後在辦公室寫信，後來寫完後樊君來約我到村外去玩，放下筆同他到村西五十七師公墓去玩。墓的四週圍以土

and he also said ‘I hear that Chiang Kai-shek will use the Three Isms [of Sun Yat-sen] to save the world. Will we Yi people also be saved?’ I said, ‘The Three Isms will absolutely save the world, and that the weak and small peoples will especially be looked after. The Yi and Han have a long historical connection, so of course they must be saved.’ They bowed their heads together.<sup>15</sup>

As Yu's diary shows, political discourse was, and is, difficult to separate from personal experiences on the battlefield. Officers with backgrounds in Baoding, Jiangwutang, and Huangpu (Whampoa) largely embraced the political message of the KMT during the war years, and inscribed it into their diary accounts.

Nevertheless, it is foolish to assume that the KMT enjoyed absolute ideological conformity, even within the ranks of its armed forces. Wang's diary reveals how uneven commitment to personal discipline was within a massive organization like the RA.

The Youth Corps are made up of elite, educated young men, and they always speak rationally, but they engage in useless political work—this is not so, in fact, their political training is even more important than [the work of] a typical unit, and more difficult. Moreover, because their demands are higher than that of an ordinary soldier's, ordinary low-ranking officers can't possibly meet their high hopes, so we need political commissars to come help them. The internal organization of the Youth Corps are also different from

牆，牆內荒塚：塚前有一塔，塔前種有小洋槐多樣……使人觀之傷心！這些無名的民族戰士，我祝你們安眠吧。這點抗戰的紀念物，我希望當地的政府及父老妥為深管才能使已死的將士安心呢！

王接納了國民黨的宣傳而景仰戰死者這點絕非少見，然而值得注意的是，這樣的情緒出現在個人的日記當中，而且這種觀念在國民革命軍的軍官中是很普遍的。這種與抗日動員或承諾有關的修辭廣泛散布在每一個中國士兵的日記中，不管是私人日記或是會被傳閱的陣中日誌。這使我們了解為何國民黨可以團結中國內部並持續和日本對抗八年，然而關於國民黨的政治宣傳是如何瀰漫在中國平民間，這又是另一個故事了。

### 三位女學生對政治的看法

北伐結束之後，全中國的學校都急於想證明自己的「革命」性質，將便宜好用的書寫工具帶給國民革命軍軍官的同一股力量也同樣作用於年輕人身上。同時，許多學校開始強調書寫自述的重要性，其表現形態出現在作文、修身養性或是嚴厲的反省上。這是一個中國人民逐漸開始開化的時代，同時也造成了人民開始接觸國政的結果。無論是當時的時代氛圍或是學校教育造成這樣的影響，從日記中我們可以發現年輕人很明顯地較之過去對政治問題有更多的思考。雖然

an ordinary unit's; they even have a self-government group inside their ranks.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike most diarists in the KMT, Wang also recorded personal memories about his mother, petty aggravations like being woken up by revellers returning late from the theatre, and the vicissitudes of his health. There was little doubt, however, that he felt a deeply personal connection to the war effort, especially when this was bound up in the KMT's reverence for the war dead.

I wrote letters after lunch in the office. After finishing that Fan came around and said we should go for a trip to the village, so I put down my brush and followed him to the 57th Division's graveyard there. The graveyard was surrounded by earthen walls on all four sides, but inside it was unkempt and overgrown: in front of the memorial stone there was a pillar, and in front of the pillar there were all kinds of tiny flowers ... It really made a man's heart weep! All of you nameless heroes of the Chinese people, I hope you are resting well. I hope that the local government and elders are carefully managing this monument to the War of Resistance so that those warriors who have perished can rest in peace!<sup>17</sup>

Wang's embrace of KMT propaganda that venerated wartime martyrs was hardly unique; what is important to note here, however, is that such sentiments found their way into a personal diary, and that these views were common among RA officers. Rhetorical mobilization and commitment to the resistance was widespread among Chinese soldiers, both in personal and reviewed diaries, which helps us to understand

在國民政府時期女性依然被視為二等公民，但女學生們卻用前所未有的方式接受國家政治語言。

為了達到將國家政治置入個人敘述的目標，必須將人們的想法和經驗直接轉換入文本，在國民黨時期的中國，教育家們堅持年輕人必須要將「真實」寫入日記當中，即不要嚴格地記錄每天的生活，還假定了可以將生活經驗直接轉換成文字的可能性。

我們……審查過去生活的缺陷，那麼日記正是最好的解剖器，我們從那些真實的自我口供裏，可以檢點過去、惕勵未來、把握現在。又正像記着流水帳，到一個時候，可以清算自己、反省自己……日記的內容，即是作者個人每天的見聞、行為、心得及感想等。包括起來說，即所謂整個的生活……但學校規定學生寫日記，須送教師審閱。因此，有許多話不肯直說。寫日記養成了虛偽的，不嚴厲的態度，這實在是最大的弊害。寫日記的第一要義是真實、第二要義也是真實、第三要義仍是真實。寫真實是日記的靈魂，在日記離開了真實，只是空具形骸了。

在此處編者明確的透過自律的基礎方法，將「真實」的記錄私人經驗和個人的轉變連結起來。由於現代印刷文化的革新，教育家們可以讓年輕女性們接觸到各種不同的文本：

why the KMT was able to organize domestic resistance against Japan for eight long years. The extent to which KMT politics suffused the diaries of civilian Chinese, however, is another matter.

### Three Schoolgirls Think about Politics

After the conclusion of the Northern Expedition, schools throughout China struggled to demonstrate their “revolutionary” character. The same forces that brought cheap and sturdy writing implements to RA soldiers also made such tools available to young people. Simultaneously, many schools emphasized the importance of writing self-narratives as both a form of composition exercise (*zuowen* 作文) and self-cultivation (*xiuyang* 修養) or critical self-reflection (*fanxing* 反省). This was a time when Chinese people were increasingly educated and, as a consequence, exposed to national politics. Whether the influence of the times or the schools, from the diary evidence it is clear that young people were thinking more about politics than ever before. Although women were still treated as second-class citizens in the Nationalist period, schoolgirls adopted the language of national politics in unprecedented ways.

In order to achieve the imposition of national politics into personal narratives, the direct transmission of thought and experience into text was necessary. In Nationalist China, educators insisted that young people should write “truthfully” into their diaries, which meant not only a strict record of daily life, but also presumed the possibility of the direct translation of lived experience into written language.

When we ... investigate the faults in our past life, the diary really is our best tool

地方文庫和市政檔案中的審判紀錄、從自然主義到浪漫主義風格的改變、軍官日記到資產階級的成長小說等等，在1949年以前的中國廣為流傳。在國民黨時期的中國，這是一整套青年人可以接觸到的思路及論點。

與此同時，五四運動以來文人們在爭辯記錄「真實」並不是嚴格的限制所記錄的事實，像是當天的天氣或晚上就寢的時間；而應該要包含像是內心想法或感受等等的性質。這種表達內在想法的能力聽起來像是由共產主義作家所寫的一本資產階級小說，或是更廣義的報導文學的傳統。這兩者都十分認真的在描述情緒，也就是他們所認為值得記錄下來的另一種「真實」。嚴格來說，吳大年《小難民自述》一書並不算是一本日記，但其用編年的形式描述了她在戰時由嘉定逃出來的經驗，並同時包含了「事實」的描述以及她對生活經驗的情緒：

在不斷的寫書中「小難民自述」終於脫稿了。它是我年來逃難生活的寫真，也就是敵人礮火所促成的產品……至於「他」產生的目的，那是在使後方小朋友們知道戰區中同胞的痛苦，同時也更為了紀念我自己，由於大戰的促使，使我走遍了半個中國，遍覽各地風俗。

然而，在講述出過去經歷的「事實」和個人的成長方面需要更進一步的細節，因此，中國的作家們也許出於自覺，或是受到教育體

for dissection. From those facts within our personal testimony, we can examine the past, protect the future, and comprehend the present: also, in keeping an accurate record of time gone by, at some point, we can take stock of ourselves, critically evaluate ourselves ... The content of a diary is what the author, as an individual, sees and hears every say, [his] actions, realizations, thoughts, and feelings, etc., including, for example, everything about daily life ... But schools require students to keep a diary, and it is necessary to give it to a teacher for review, so there are a lot of things that cannot be written directly. Writing a diary [thus], it becomes a lie, and one's attitude is not very strict, and this is actually the greatest harm. Diary writing's greatest duty is to the truth; its second greatest duty is also the truth; its third still is the truth. Writing the truth is the soul of the diary, so when a diary departs from the truth, it really is an empty shell.<sup>18</sup>

Here the editors explicitly link the “truthful” record of private experience to a form of personal transformation, which was an essential method of self-discipline. Educators exposed young women to a variety of texts, which was enabled by innovations in modern print culture; judging from regional libraries and municipal archives, genres from naturalism to romanticism, military diaries to bourgeois bildungsroman, circulated widely in the years before 1949. This was the set of ideas and arguments to which young people were exposed in the period of Nationalist rule.

Meanwhile, literary figures since the May Fourth period argued that a record of “truth” was

系的影響，大量地使用現實主義和文學自然主義的風格。這種書寫的型態在年輕人學習經典時被大量使用，就像受到像是古典詩和繪畫的影響一樣。即使像是李冬生這樣年輕的女學生，都可以熟練地運用美學語言來描述她身邊的環境，並花費相當多的時間來描寫她周圍的風景、聲音以及氣味等等：

十一月二十九日 晴

一輪火紅的太陽，由地底湧出，紫紅色的光浪，漸漸的擴大、擴大，鑽到每個地方，射至四面八方，驅除了黑暗，帶來了光明。一池子的綠水，漸漸的明顯了，三兩棵老柳桺立在岸旁，柔軟的枝條，輕浮在水面，使人想起了他舊日的豐采。

很相似的，在吳大年四處旅行的過程中，她也注重這段旅程中物理方面的描述，像是中國地形的多樣性也成為她故事的一部分。為了要捕捉這位戰時年輕女孩的內在與外在，吳大年的《小難民自述》像是一本源於中國自然主義的綜合體，有筆記、日記、報導和遊記等等，這些都是她在受教育時所接觸到的文本形式。戰爭本身和對其家庭的重要性，也許沒那麼重要，但仍出現在吳大年的故事當中：

此時的我，心裏是像刀絞般的悲痛，我的腦是脹得似乎要爆炸，我真不願離開

not strictly limited to facts such as the weather or time one went to bed, but now included qualities such as expressions of inner thoughts and feelings. The ability to articulate interiority may sound like an aspect of bourgeois fiction, but writers on the left, or more broadly within the reportage tradition, also put an emphasis on the earnest description of emotions—which was, they claimed, another kind of “truth” worthy of record. The *Account of a Little Refugee* (*Xiaonanmin zishu* 小難民自述) by Wu Da'nian 吳大年 was not, strictly speaking, a diary, but it covered her experience fleeing Jiading during the war years in a chronological format, and included both the importance of emotion and the “factual” record of lived experience:

At last, my constant writing project, A Little Refugee’s Autobiography, has been submitted. It is a true reflection of my years fleeing [the war], and it is also a product borne of enemy fire ... As for the purpose behind my giving birth to ‘him’, that is to have other children in the rear areas know the suffering of their compatriots in the war zones; at the same time, it is also to memorialize myself because, due to the war, I have travelled across half of China, and seen various places and customs.<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, telling the “truth” of past experience and personal development required further detail, and so writers in China, consciously or as a by-product of education, used the tools of realism and literary naturalism.<sup>20</sup> This form of writing would have been a major part of young people’s education in the classics, as well as being influenced by other genres such as classical poetry and other media such as painting. Even a young schoolgirl like Li Dongsheng 李冬生

我的唯一親愛的哥哥，我真不願！……現在呢，甚麼也沒有，沒有愉快、沒有美麗，只有離別的愁恨，佔據了每一個人窄狹的心……再會了，親愛的哥哥，時間不允許我們暢談，國難不允許我們長聚！我為了求學，同時也為了前程，必須跋涉到西南山國；你為了責任嗎？為了偉大的前程和事業，必須留守在大眾的武漢，此後何時才能見面，無從知道，但願你努力。保重！我亦從今日起，努力奮鬥！

在吳大年的故事中，戰爭經常是距離遙遠，但卻會直接影響到她生活的事情。她幾乎完全忽略了造成她眼下生活的政治力量的重要性。對其他年輕人而言，政治和個人經歷的連結是那樣地直接，就像另一位女孩所描述的一樣：

今天，我看見蘇地來的難民，到我徽州不少。我說，很可憐，難民夜裡睡的稻草被，一天三餐也沒有一餐飯。難民也是沒有法子，但是見他們這樣難苦，不由我的眼淚，也就掉下來了。唉！……南京、上海都是日本人佔去，我國地方失去不少，也要快亡國了。聞說日本人在富陽上，離我徽城路，只有一百五十里，一日也緊一日了。看見十五、六歲的小孩子，犧牲也不少了。

excelled in using aesthetic language to describe her surroundings, spending considerable time describing the sights, sounds, and smells of the world around her.

#### 29 November, Clear

The sun is a circle of fire floating up from the ground, with red and purple beams radiating forth, gradually getting bigger, and bigger, until it pierces every corner of the earth. Sunbeams reach north, south, east, and west, chasing out the darkness by bringing light. A pool of blue-green water is gradually illuminated; three old willow trees standing on the bank, with their gentle branches, float lightly on the water's surface, making people recall scenes from the olden days.<sup>21</sup>

Similarly, during the course of her many travels, Wu Da'nian focused on the physical aspects of great journeys, including the topographical diversity of the Chinese interior, which became integral parts of her story about herself. In order to capture the interior, and exterior, elements of being a young girl during the war, Wu's account was a syncretic experiment rooted in Chinese naturalism, *biji* 筆記, diaries, reportage, and travelogues (*youji* 遊記), which would have been texts made available to her as part of her education. Of lesser importance, but still present in her story, was the war itself and its significance for her family:

At this time, it felt like I had been stabbed through the heart, and like my brain was going to explode. I couldn't leave him, my only beloved elder brother, I just couldn't! ... And now? Nothing, no joy, no beauty, only the sadness of parting

隨著戰事的進行，年輕人們開始可以識別出英雄和受難者的形象，加上所受教育的轉變以及印刷書寫科技的進步，他們可以將政治個人化，在早些年的中國，這是十分困難的事情。

倒也不是每一個女學生都能感覺到自己和戰事的緊密連結，事實上，政治不僅限於對戰爭的討論。在國民黨統治時期的中國還有許多其他的爭論，包含了對於女權的要求。即使在抗戰爆發之前，年輕人們就已經在他們的日記上討論起這些政治議題了，像是這位中學二年級的女生曾璐孫就在日記中這樣寫道：

婦女們究竟解放了沒？究竟和男子一樣的平等了嗎？這點在形式上似乎是平等了，但是在我們本身方面，却還沒有平等。這點可不是社會給與我們的不平等，而是女同胞們自己作成的。老實說一句，我們女同胞們，在學問、勇氣、毅力等方面，實在此不上男子。而且有些人總以為只要嫁個可靠的丈夫，就甚麼事不用去作了……

不論是否為這場由國民革命軍所發動的長期、整體戰爭的支持者，有數量驚人的女學生們了解到世界比起地方政治或是同鄉會組織大的太多。換句話說，在戰時並非第一次年輕人大量的開始思考政治。國民黨統治的年代，打從一開始在南京建立開始，就使

occupies this person's miserable little heart ... Goodbye, my beloved brother, time didn't allow us to talk freely, and this time of national emergency does not allow us to stay long together. I must go to school, and for my future path, I must journey to the mountainous country in the southwest [Sichuan]; your responsibilities lie in [your own] future path, and your work requires you to stay and defend the populous Wuhan. After this, perhaps we'll see each other again, but no one can know; I hope you work hard and stay safe! I shall also work hard and struggle from this day forward!<sup>22</sup>

In Wu's account, the war is often distant but always directly influential, and she hardly ignores the importance of political power in shaping her life. For other young people, the connection between politics and personal experience was more direct, as in the case of another teenage girl's diary:

Today I saw refugees from Jiangsu, many of them are coming to our Huizhou. I said, how sad, the refugees cover themselves in grass to sleep at night and they don't have three meals per day—sometimes not even one. They have no choice. When I see their suffering, I can only cry, tears coming down my face. Oh! ... Nanjing, Shanghai, they're all taken by the Japanese. Our country's lost territories are many, and so we must quickly save China from destruction. I heard that the Japanese are in Fuyang [Zhejiang Province], only one hundred and fifty li from the walls of Huizhou. Day after day, I see 15 to 16 year

青年人對於之前的議題討論的更加廣泛。特別是年輕女性更急於將新時代的價值觀寫入個人紀錄當中，對於想要瞭解清朝是如何過渡到中華人民共和國的人來說，這些例子是十分重要的。

### 結語：戰時中國的日記和政治個人化

1937年日本的入侵似乎在許多方面都激發了中國人民，包括了運用日記作為體現個人自律的方式，當時的民族領袖像是蔣介石是這樣要求的，因其認為這樣對於整體抗戰有益。表面上看來，國民革命軍的軍官和女學生們對於戰時生活史的書寫走向了完全不同的主題取向，然而對比他們的日記仍可發現些許共同性，這些是受到國民黨統治時期教育以及抗戰所啟發的，這也包括了些許對於日後中華人民共和國有助益的部分。

首先，體裁對於形成現代中國的日記書寫形式而言十分重要，這點看似平凡，但讓我們考慮一下醞釀此點背後的力量，包括：報導文學、在同儕間傳閱的日誌、文學風潮（浪漫主義、自然主義與寫實主義）、大眾教育的融合以及在此時於中國逐漸發展的大眾政治。對中國的個人日記作家而言，這樣的公眾討論強調了他／她在國家歷史發展中的重要性，而多元化的風格也影響了個人書寫如何表達「真實」和經驗。對於那些主張戰時中國地方主義和同鄉會組織實力仍然雄厚的人而言，從晚清的上述現象到中華人民共和國時期民族主義發展之間的這

old kids, many of them have been lost.<sup>23</sup>

As the war progressed, young people identified recognizable figures among its heroes and victims; in addition to the transformation of education in the modern era and advances in printing and writing technology, this allowed them to personalize politics in ways that had been more difficult in prior periods of Chinese history.

Not every schoolgirl felt a personal connection to the war experience. Indeed, politics need not be restricted to commentary on the war, as the period of Nationalist rule also brought about many other struggles, including the demand for women's rights. Even before the War of Resistance began, young people were discussing such political subjects in their diaries. As one 2<sup>nd</sup> year middle school student, Zeng Lusun, put it in her diary:

Have women really been liberated?  
After all, do we have equality with men?  
Formally, it would appear that we do,  
but in my life there is no equality. This is  
perhaps because society doesn't treat me  
equally, or maybe my fellow women bring  
this on themselves. I always hear people  
say, we women in fact never overcome  
men in study, courage, perseverance, etc.,  
and some people always think: 'If only I  
can marry a reliable husband, then I can go  
about doing nothing ...'<sup>24</sup>

Whether a supporter of the prolonged, total war waged by the Nationalists' Revolutionary Army or not, a surprising number of teenaged girls understood that the world was much larger than local politics or native place associations. In other words, while the war years were hardly the first time in the modern era that young people,

段空白，將永遠是個謎團；但對於曾深入閱讀過國民黨統治時期的日記材料的人來說，無數的中國人曾運用日記將政治議題個人化。

（翻譯／邱鐘義）

on a mass scale, began to think about politics, the Nationalist regime, once it had established itself in Nanjing, enabled previous discourses regarding youth agency to spread more widely. Young women seemed, in particular, eager to write the new regime's values into their personal records, and this precedent is important if we are to understand the transition from the Qing to the PRC.

### Conclusion: The Diary and Personalized Politics in Wartime China

The Japanese invasion of 1937 seems to have galvanized the Chinese people in many ways, including the use of the diary as a means to effect personal discipline that was useful for the total war of resistance demanded by national leaders like Chiang Kai-shek. Superficially, RA officers and Chinese schoolgirls were radically different subjects to have studied when examining life-history writing in wartime China; nevertheless, the comparison of their diaries reveals some commonalities that are instructive for the period of Nationalist rule and wartime resistance, including the instrumental role of this period for later PRC history.<sup>25</sup>

To begin with, genre has been extraordinarily important in determining the final form of diary writing in modern China. This may seem a banal point, but consider the forces at work here: reportage, peer-reviewed diary writing, literary trends (romanticism, naturalism, and realism), and mass education all converged while the era of mass politics in China was also in development. For the individual diarist in China, this meant that public discourse emphasized his or her importance in the nation's historical development, and there

were multiple genre influences on how “truth” and experience could be expressed in a personal document. For those who would insist on the enduring hegemony of early modern native place associations and localism in wartime China, the lacuna between those phenomena in the late Qing and the nationalism of the PRC will forever be a mystery. For those of us who read the diaries from the Nationalist period closely, it is clear that countless Chinese people used diaries to make politics a personal matter.

**[Notes]**

1. 重慶市檔案館藏，檔號：0174-9-577~579。
2. Charles Laughlin, *Chinese Reportage: The Aesthetics of Historical Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002).
3. Christopher A. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Honolulu, HI: Hawai'i University Press, 2003); Barbara Mittler, *A Newspaper for China? Power, Identity, and Change in Shanghai's News Media, 1872–1912* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004).
4. William C. Kirby, “Engineering China: Birth of the Developmental State, 1928–1937,” in Wenshin Yeh, ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000), pp. 137–160.
5. Aaron W. Moore, “Talk about Heroes: Expressions of Self-Mobilization and Despair in Chinese War Diaries, 1911–1938,” *Twentieth Century China*, v. 34, no. 2 (April 2008), pp. 30–54.
6. Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912–1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 2007). On self-expression among Chinese children and youth, see M. Colette Plum, “Orphans in the Family: Family Reform and Child Citizenship during the Anti-Japanese War,” in James A. Flath and Norman Smith, eds., *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China* (Vancouver, BC: University of British Columbia Press, 2011), pp. 194–215, and “Lost Childhoods in New China: Child-Citizen-Workers at War, 1937–1945,” *The European Journal of East Asian Studies* (December 2012), pp. 237–258; Aaron W. Moore, “Growing up in Nationalist China: Self-Representation in the Personal Documents of Children and Youth, 1927–1949,” *Modern China*, Prepublished 27 March 2015, doi:10.1177/0097700415574676; Lanjun Xu, “Little Teachers: Children’s Drama, Traveling, and Ruptured Childhoods in 1930s and 1940s China,” *Twentieth-Century China*, forthcoming.
7. For more on “life-writing” in English, visit the Wolfson College, Oxford, website: <https://www.wolfson.ox.ac.uk/clusters/life-writing>.
8. For an opinion in contrast to the one offered here, see R. Keith Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness: Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011).
9. Student autobiographies (*zizhuan* 自傳) from Kunming, Yunnan, are still preserved. 「省府及本廳關於保送昆明師範學院學生名學附成績一覽表」(1946年)，雲南省歷史檔案館藏，檔號：12/4/75. Similar texts can be found in Beijing, Shanghai, Chongqing, and other major cities. The Kunming Municipal Library has dozens of entries for locally and nationally published life-writing by students. These are, unfortunately, currently unavailable in digital formats.
10. 「滇西作戰日記」(1944年5月17日、24日)，中國第二歷史檔案館藏，檔號：787/11883/514。
11. 「淞滬、無錫等地陣中日記」(1937年7月)

- 30日），中國第二歷史檔案館藏，檔號：787/16111；
12. 「淞滬會戰作戰日記」（上海作戰日記）（1937年8月17日），中國第二歷史檔案館藏，檔號：787/7470/16J-323。
13. 「空軍第三大隊陣中日記」（1938年5月25日），《國防部史政編譯室》，國家發展委員會檔案管理局藏，檔號：B5018230601/0028/540.4/3010.8。
14. 王文榮，「工作日記」（1945年1-2月份），石家莊市檔案館藏，檔號：022-1-30。
15. 余韶，「緬甸戰役日記」（1942年6月8日），中國第二歷史檔案館藏，檔號：787/11826/510。
16. 王文榮，「工作日記」（1945年2月26日）。
17. 王文榮，「工作日記」（1945年5月18日）。
18. 參見浙江大學圖書館藏：陳福照編，《戰時中學生日記：中學生課外讀物》（浙江增智書局，1944年），頁1-2。
19. 參見中央研究院近代史研究所圖書館藏：吳大年，《小難民自述》（重慶：商務印書館，1940年），頁73-74。
20. For a brief summary of naturalism, realism, and autobiographical fiction in modern China, see Ching-mao Cheng, "The Impact of Japanese Literary Trends on Modern Chinese Writers," in Merle Goldman, ed., *Modern Chinese Literature* in the May Fourth Era (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977), pp. 63-88. Also see Marston Anderson, *The Limits of Realism: Chinese Fiction in the Revolutionary Period* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992).
21. 參見南京圖書館藏：李冬生，《冬生日記》（重慶：少年學園社刊，1944年），1942年11月29日條。
22. 吳大年，《小難民自述》，頁54-55。
23. 王振忠，〈徽州女童的戰爭日記—1937-1938年的『[眷]正日記』抄本〉，《安徽師範大學學報》，第33卷第2期（2005年3月），1937年11月22日、12月30日條。
24. 參見中國國家圖書館藏：曾璐孫，「日記」，收入汕市女中學校編，《汕市女中學生日記選》（自費出版，1936年），1936年5月8日條。
25. For more on the period's importance in generating an awareness of national affairs, see Hans van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China* (London: Routledge, 2003); Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War; Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937-1945* (Cambridge University Press, 2010); Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).