

# Social Upheaval in the Resistance War

Diana Lary Professor Emerita of History, University of  
British Columbia

There are two anniversaries for revolution in modern Chinese history. Both are political. The first is October 10th, 1911, which led to the establishment of the Republic of China in 1912. The second is October 1st, 1949, the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The more profound revolution in Chinese society, the upheaval that turned the society upside down coincided with neither of the political revolutions. It happened during the eight years of the Resistance War, from 1937 to 1945.<sup>1</sup>

The overtly brutal and the insidiously corrosive effects of warfare and occupation undermined much of the old Chinese society. Though the word "revolution" was not used to describe the of destruction of the old order, that is actually what was going on. For some people the social revolution was welcome, for others a disaster. For most people, between those two poles, it meant confusion, uncertainty and anxiety, as they tried to cope with an overwhelming and arbitrary process of change.

The society that emerged from the Resistance War was in chaos. It bore little resemblance to the pre-war world. Across China there were clear signs of a loss of social cohesion and of social disintegration. The war had destroyed much of the fabric of society, both the traditional society and the modern society that had been evolving before the war started. China's society was in a similar state of turmoil to Europe's. As Tony Judt described the postwar situation there, the war had "corroded the very fabric" of the society.<sup>2</sup> The war in China had lasted two years longer than the war in Europe; the state of society in China was even more dire than that in Europe. The American missionary and sinologist Frank Price gave this

## 抗戰期間的社會動盪

在現代中國的歷史上有兩個革命紀念日，都和政治相關。其一是1911年10月10日，直接導致了隔年中華民國的成立；其二則是1949年10月1日中華人民共和國的建立。但我們檢視翻轉中國社會、影響深遠的革命時，與政治革命並非同時，而是在1937到1945年八年抗戰期間發生的。

戰爭和占領的殘酷不知不覺嚴重破壞了中國傳統社會，「革命」一詞並非用來描述對舊秩序的破壞，而是對於到底發生了什麼事的敘述。對於某些人而言，他們歡迎這種社會革命，但對另外一些人而言，這種革命是一場災難。而大多數人的看法則是介於這兩極之間，對於這些人而言，當面對這種壓倒性和肆意而來的變化過程時，他們感到迷惑、不確定以及焦慮。

抗戰時所呈現的社會景象僅能以混亂來形容，和戰前的社會大不相同。整個中國當時明顯的看得出社會凝聚力喪失和崩解的跡象。戰爭摧毀了大部分的社會結構，不論是傳統社會亦或是戰前已經逐步發展的現代社會皆同。中國的社會動盪和歐洲的情況十分相似，像是 Tony Judt 所描述的戰後歐洲一樣，戰爭已經侵蝕了社會的每一個角落。中國的戰鬥比歐洲多了兩年的時間，中國社會的情況比起歐洲來又更加的可怖。1945年時美國傳教士兼漢學家 Frank Price 對於他所認知的中國社會有著如下的描述：

description of the Chinese world he knew so well. Writing in 1945 he said:<sup>3</sup>

Some may think that this war only aggravated the disturbed conditions that the Chinese people have long had to endure. Actually China had never before experienced such a severe disruption of her family and social life and of her inherited culture.

Part of the disruption was caused by the uprooting of tens of millions of people during the war. These people had been forced to flee early in the war, fleeing ahead of the invading Japanese forces or ahead of the flood that followed the opening of the dyke of the Yellow River at Huayuankou 花園口 in 1938, a strategic move that killed as many as a million peasants and forced many more to become refugees. Beyond those physically uprooted the world of almost every Chinese was disrupted. In 1945 one of the key issues was whether the old system could recover or not after the war, whether it was resilient enough to restore itself. The Guomindang (GMD) government seemed to have no stated policies or strategy on social regeneration. The social issues were so vast, so complex and so multi-faceted that it was almost impossible to know where to start. The solution in the short run was to ignore them, while the symptoms of the total disruption in society became clearer and clearer. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) believed the old order must not be revived; it wanted revolution, and saw that the war had greatly increased their chances of bringing it about. In 1972 Mao Zedong actually thanked Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei: "If Japan hadn't invaded China, the Chinese Communist Party would not have been victorious; moreover

有些人認為這場戰爭只不過是更進一步的加重了中國人民長久以來所忍受的不安狀態，但事實上中國從未經歷過這種對其家庭、社會生活和文化傳承上如此嚴重的混亂。

這種混亂部分是由於戰爭期間數千萬人民的流離失所所造成的，這些人民在戰爭初期就因為日軍的侵略，或是 1938 年黃河花園口決堤事件所引發的洪水被迫遠離家鄉，花園口決堤事件是一場讓百萬人民身亡以及更多人民淪為難民的戰略行動。

除了這些實際離鄉背井的人民外，事實上每一個中國人的世界都被破壞了。1945 年時有一個關鍵性的議題，即戰後舊秩序是否能夠回復的問題，這套舊系統是否有足夠的彈性來自我修復。國民黨政府看來並沒有明確的政策或戰略來幫助社會復甦，當時社會所面臨的問題是如此之大、複雜且多元，以至於幾乎不知道該從哪邊開始著手。可以在短期內解決的方案是忽視這些問題，然而這樣使社會混亂的症狀就變得越來越明顯。中國共產黨相信舊有的秩序不應該再復活，他們期待革命，也認為戰爭大幅增加了他們革命成功的可能性。1972 年毛澤東確實曾向日本首相田中角榮致謝：「如果日本沒有侵略中國，中國共產黨不會獲得最後的勝利，我們今天也就不會在此相會，這就是歷史的辯證法則。」

we would not have been meeting here today. That is the dialect of history.”<sup>4</sup>

## Casualties and Damage from the Resistance War

In the immediate postwar it became clear what the casualties of the Resistance War were, and what damage had been done to China. In October 1945 General He Yingqin 何應欽 reported on the military casualties of the war. 1,800,000 officers and men had been killed, another 1,770,000 wounded.<sup>5</sup>

The civilian casualties were far larger; figures as high 20,000,000 were widely cited at the time, the deaths caused by the fighting and bombing, by war-induced famine and by disease.<sup>6</sup>

Even in a population as vast as China's, these were huge losses.

Much of China's modern physical infrastructure was shattered by bombing. In addition to the major damage to the cities in unoccupied China, bombed throughout the war, there was damage in occupied China. In the last year of the war, Wuhan, was heavily bombed, the bombs delivered by US bombers. Nanjing was bombed too. Many of the railway bridges in eastern China were taken out in the last months of the war.<sup>7</sup>

China's cities were in a terrible state. Chongqing and Wuhan had been bombed almost into ruins. Shanghai had survived with little physical damage, but it was a depressed, gloomy place; most of its prewar vibrancy had gone. Hong Kong was ransacked and its population reduced to

## 抗戰的傷亡與損失

抗日戰爭甫結束，中國在抗戰中的傷亡和損失就已經統計出來了。1945年10月，何應欽將軍彙報抗戰時的軍隊傷亡，約有180萬人戰死，另有177萬人負傷；平民的傷亡就更多了，當時的估計約有二千萬人死於戰鬥、轟炸以及戰爭所帶來的饑荒和疾病，就算以中國如此多的人口來說，這也不是一筆小數目。

許多中國的現代化基礎設施都在轟炸中化為灰燼。除了在未被日軍占領地區的城市在戰爭中受到澈底的轟炸所帶來的大量損失之外，在日軍占領區像是武漢和南京也同樣的在戰爭的最後一年被美國轟炸機轟炸。中國東部許多地方的鐵路橋樑也都在戰爭的最後一個月中被破壞。

中國的大小城市都呈現出可怕的景象，重慶和武漢都被轟炸的體無完膚，幾近廢墟，上海好一點，受到的物質層面傷害較小，但戰前的活力消失殆盡，變成了一個壓抑陰沉的城市。香港遭到了洗劫，其人口還不到戰前的一半，許多香港居民在1941年末日軍進占之後就逃往廣東省尚未被占領的地區。北平和天津在戰爭中幾乎毫髮無損，但由於長期被占領，市容沒有維持和修復，也沒有新的建設，以致看來破敗寒酸。

### 土崩瓦解

中國主要的港口（廈門、福州、青島、

under half its prewar size; many of its inhabitants had fled after the Japanese occupation in late 1941, to the unoccupied areas of Guangdong. Beijing and Tianjin survived the war unscathed but were run down and shabby, after a long occupation that saw little maintenance or restoration and almost no new building.

### Things Gone to Rack and Ruin 土崩瓦解

The major port cities (Xiamen, Fuzhou, Qingdao, Yantai) had slumped in to disrepair and inactivity during the war, as the international trade, their *raison d'etre*, first declined and then disappeared. The Manchurian cities were the only ones in China unscathed at the time of the Japanese surrender, though the construction of the grandiose new capital of Manzhouguo 滿洲國, Xijing/ Changchun 新京長春 was still a building site. The fortunate situation of the Manchurian cities continued only for a few days, until Soviet armies arrived after the Japanese surrender. The incoming Soviets quickly began to loot the cities of anything movable.

China's economy was in shambles. The fledgling modern industry had been destroyed by bombing, the decline in trade and inflation. The one industrial region not damaged by bombing or the cessation of international trade, Manchuria, was in Soviet hands and no longer functioning.

The areas in Guangdong and Fujian dependent on income from Overseas Chinese were destitute, after years in which almost virtually no remittances had got through from relatives abroad. The Overseas Chinese communities in Southeast Asia had suffered very severely under the Japanese occupation of the region. As ethnic Chinese they

煙台)也都因戰時的欠缺維修和閒置而陷入衰敗,它們在國際貿易上的地位先是逐漸低落,而後完全消失。東北地區的城市是唯一在日本投降時毫髮無傷的,但是滿州國那雄偉的新首都新京(即長春)仍只是一塊大工地而已。但是東北地區的好運也只持續了一小段日子,當日軍投降後不久俄軍即進駐此地區,隨即掠奪走了任何他們可以帶走的東西。

中國的經濟在當時也十分糟糕,剛剛才起步的現代工業在轟炸中完全被摧毀,貿易量大幅下滑,同時還出現嚴重的通貨膨脹。東北是唯一未受轟炸和國際貿易禁令影響的工業區,但已落入俄軍手中且很快地就停止運作。大量仰賴海外華人收入的廣東和福建地區也同樣變的貧困,因為好幾年來都無法從海外的親戚那邊得到外匯。東南亞的華僑社群在日軍占領期間的日子過的一樣艱困,在當地因為華人的身分,他們被視為敵人,他們的生意被沒收,生活也被摧毀。在第二次世界大戰結束時,這些海外華僑已經沒有能力匯款回去給在家鄉的親戚了。

### 通貨膨脹

經濟方面的致命弱點使得中國的復甦之夢看來遙遙無期,而國家貨幣的一瀉千里更使這個夢想更加遙遠,現在已經不能用通貨膨脹來形容了,這是惡性通貨膨脹。(註1)政府不斷的印行紙鈔來應付戰爭所需,但這卻是導致通貨膨脹的捷徑。即使通貨膨脹的

were treated as the enemy, their businesses were expropriated and their livelihoods destroyed. At the end of the Second World War they were in no position to resume remittances to their families at home.

### Inflation

The economy's critical weakness made recovery seem a distant dream. The dream receded even further as the national currency went in to free fall, now moving from inflation in to hyperinflation.<sup>8</sup> The government had funded the war by printing paper money, the quickest route to inflation. Even as the inflation worsened, there was little sign that the government grasped its significance, in economic or political terms.

Inflation undermined its own popularity and its legitimacy; they withered as the inflation got worse. The government did not plan inflation; instead it was "the crude resort of a government faced with an intricate problem of cause and effect what was not fully understood."<sup>9</sup>

Inflation dominated daily life, and even, as it intensified, hourly life. The most basic tasks - buying food, finding a place to live - became intolerably difficult. Inflation enforced self-absorption and self-protection, in the battle for survival. The anguishing effects of inflation are not edifying; they tend to bring out the worst in individuals. They also prepare people to welcome any government willing to deal with inflation.

### Property

Countless families lost their homes in the destruction of war. With the loss of the home went the loss of the family's life together. In early

情形越來越嚴重，不過無論從政治或經濟層面來看，政府都沒有掌握到其嚴重性。隨著通膨狀況的惡化，政府的支持度和合法性也受到傷害。通貨膨脹並非政府有意為之，而是「一個政府在面臨複雜且它不能全盤理解的因果問題時所產生的結果。」

通貨膨脹主導了人民的每日生活，隨著通膨的加劇，每一個小時的生活都受到影響。人民生活的基本要素像是覓食跟找個地方住，都變得令人難以忍受的困難，為了在通膨的生存戰爭中存活下來，人們變的更加關心自己和保護自己。通膨所帶來的令人苦悶的影響往往不太正面，會將人心中最糟糕的一面展露出來，另外，也使得人民準備好歡迎任何能夠處理通膨問題的政府。

### 財產

無數的家庭因為戰爭的破壞失去了他們的家園，也失去了和家人在一起的生活。1947年初藝術家豐子愷在離家十年後重回其故鄉石門灣，但這是一趟極糟的返鄉之旅，豐子愷將自己視為李伯大夢中的李伯，回到那他幾乎不認識的世界，當他沿著大運河的堤岸行走時，遇不到任何一個他認識的人，勉強才認出他過去生活的小鎮。曾經繁忙的河堤和滿布船隻的運河，如今都已荒廢，建築已成雜草蔓延的廢墟。豐子愷企圖尋找昔日他書齋之所在，但僅能發現一些小而黑的木塊，可能是門或窗的遺骸。他的書齋和他戰前的一些藝術創作都消失了。次日

1947 the artist Feng Zikai 豐子愷 went home to Shimenwan 石門灣, after almost ten years away in the west. It was a terrible home-coming. He saw himself as Rip van Winkle, coming back to a world that he barely recognized. As he walked along the embankment of the Grand Canal he met no one he knew. He hardly recognized the town. The embankment, once prosperous and busy, and the canal, once full of boats, were now desolate, the buildings in ruins, the ruins choked with weeds. He searched for anything left of his studio, but all he found were some small, blackened pieces of wood that might have been part of a door or window. The studio and a good part of his prewar art had gone. After one day he left "this overwhelmingly sad place 銷魂的地方", knowing that he would never go back.<sup>10</sup>

Other families lost their home to expropriation. Their property had been confiscated by the Japanese. In 1945 it became "enemy" property, forfeited to the state as war booty, not returned to the original owners. Others had transferred their property to friends and relatives - who did not want to hand it back after the war, leading to bitter disputes.

## Social Leveling/Elite Upheaval

The Resistance War brought a degree of social upheaval usually associated with deliberate revolution. An uncoordinated, haphazard social revolution was under way. The old structures at the roots of rural society withered; the extended family, the lineage, the village were compromised by warfare, the absence of key members, inflation, and the insecurity of wartime. Many of the activities critical to social cohesion were in

他便離開了這「銷魂的地方」，並且知道他永遠不會再回來了。

其他的家庭因為軍隊的徵用而失去了他們的家園。他們的財產被日本人沒收，1945年後就變成了「敵軍」產業，被國家充作戰利品且再也不會物歸原主。另外一些家庭將他們的財產轉讓到朋友或親戚的名下，但是戰後這些朋友親戚卻不願意歸還，這也導致了激烈的爭論。

## 社會平衡／菁英動盪

抗日戰爭也帶來了一定程度的社會動盪，而這通常和有意為之的革命有關。一場未經協調且偶然發生的革命正在進行中，根植於農村社會的舊結構正慢慢枯萎，大家庭、宗族關係和村莊結構也因為戰爭、缺少核心成員、通貨膨脹及戰爭所帶來的不安全感而逐漸削弱。許多可以增強社會凝聚力的關鍵活動都被擱置，像是教育、就業、對孤兒、寡婦及老人等有需要或貧困之人的關懷、維持公眾秩序以及舉辦慶典和儀式等等。

這些活動過往都是由鄉裡中的菁英階層舉辦，但老一代的菁英已經在這數十年中慢慢衰微，1905年科舉制度的廢除導致了紳士這個階級地位被剝奪，而這種地位是和通過科舉相關的。現在的「菁英」不再和文化優勢有關，更常見的是指財主，通常是商人或擁有土地的家庭。1930年代 Martin Yang

abeyance: education; employment; care for the needy or destitute (orphans, widows, the elderly); maintaining public order; arranging ceremonies and rituals. <sup>11</sup>

These activities had been managed in the past by the rural elite. The old elite had already been in decline, for several decades. The abolition of the imperial examination system (1905) had deprived its members of the formal designation of gentry 紳士, a status associated with examination successes. Now "elite" no longer carried connotations of cultural superiority; it often meant "money bags 財主", and described a merchant or land-owning family. Martin Yang's affectionate description of his home village, Taitou (near Qingdao, Shandong) in the 1930s showed the traditional institutions eroding; he cannot have imagined how much the war would accelerate the process.

Nowhere in China was the breakdown of the old order more apparent than in Shandong, where only the main cities were occupied by the Japanese armies, and chaos and violence descended on the rest of the province. This crippling collapse of public order was a major factor in the spread of communism in rural Shandong. From the beginning of the Resistance War the CCP, far away in remote Yan'an 延安, recognized the strategic importance of Shandong. Over the course of the war the CCP was able, often through harsh measures, to transform an ill-disciplined scattering of communist activists in the Shandong hills into a disciplined, tough organization, with secure hill bases. The CCP filled part of the vacuum created by the collapse of provincial and local government.

At the end of the war the old rural elite could not recoup its prewar positions; they were done

對他的故鄉台頭鎮（近山東省青島市）的深情描述可以看出傳統架構正在慢慢削弱，但他沒法想像的是戰爭如何加速了這個過程。

在中國，舊秩序的破壞沒有比在山東更明顯的了，山東只有主要的城市被日本軍隊占領，但騷亂和暴力活動卻擴及了整個省境。公眾秩序的癱瘓與崩潰是共產黨能在山東鄉間傳播的一個主要因素，打從抗戰剛開始，還遠在延安的共產黨就已經意識到山東在戰略上的重要性，在抗戰的過程中，共產黨透過嚴苛的手段，將山東丘陵區紀律鬆弛且分散的共黨分子轉化為有組織、有紀律且還有安全的山區基地倚仗的部隊。共產黨的出現適時填補了省政府和地方政府瓦解時所留下來的部分權力真空。

戰爭結束後，老一代的鄉村菁英們已經無法取回戰前他們曾經擁有過的地位，他們的權威因為沒有辦法應對戰爭所帶來的壓力而縮減。部分在戰爭一開始就逃離的鄉村菁英們也因為放棄了他們的社群而失去威信；那些留在家鄉的菁英同樣也沒了威信，因為他們常常自願或被迫的為日本軍隊工作，這些工作包括了提供女性做為軍妓以及年輕男性作為苦力，鄉村領導人們常被憤怒和充滿怨氣的農民們視為背叛者，儘管這些農民以前曾經非常尊敬他們。共產黨接管一座村莊後第一件做的事通常就是舉行「反奸訴苦」大會，表面上是對這些叛徒的攻擊。這些攻擊也同時傷害了鄉村菁英階層。共產黨將這些攻擊稱為「翻身」。

for.<sup>12</sup> Its authority has been compromised by its inability to deal with the stresses of war. The members of the rural elite who had fled early in the war were compromised by their abandonment of their communities. The elite members who had stayed were even more compromised; they had often been drawn into working for the Japanese armies, willingly or by force. When this meant providing girls for the military brothels, or young men to work as slave labor, village leaders were seen to be betraying their own people, bringing fury and bitter resentment from peasants who had once respected them.<sup>13</sup> The first stage of the Communist takeover of a village was often to launch an "anti-traitor drive 反奸訴苦", ostensibly an attack on traitors. These campaigns were concurrently attacks on the rural elite. Their effect was what the CCP called *fànshēn* 翻身, in English "turning upside down".<sup>14</sup>

The urban elite did not come through the war much better than the rural elite. The war led to the impoverishment of much of the urban elite and middle class. In the commercial world merchants saw their businesses ruined by the direct damage of warfare and by the decline of trade. In a society without insurance, material losses were total. Salaried workers, including most of those who worked in the public sector, could not keep up with inflation. Those who had savings saw the value of their holdings dwindle. Those who held money in one of the occupation currencies saw their money disappear completely. Once-wealthy or middle-class families were now poor.

Intellectuals suffered terribly from inflation. They had nothing with which to barter for food or rent. Those on monthly salaries (in universities or schools) were often destitute, since their salaries never kept up with inflation. Writers were



城市中的菁英過的也沒有比鄉村菁英好多少，戰爭導致了許多城市菁英及中產階級的貧困化。商業上來說，商人們看見的是他們的生意毀於戰火的直接摧殘和貿易量的下降，在這個沒有保險的社會中，物資上的損失就是一切。而對受薪階級，包含大部分在公共部門工作的人來說，他們追趕不上通貨膨脹的速度，那些節約度日的人們看見自己的資產日漸減少，那些曾投資某項貨幣的人們也發現自己的錢完全消失，曾經富裕或小康的家庭現在變的貧困。

知識分子也因為通貨膨脹而吃盡苦頭，他們沒有任何方法來換取食物或是房租，這些在大學或一般學校領月薪的人也都變得窮困，因為薪水成長的幅度永遠跟不上通貨膨脹的速度。作家們的作品在這個時候已成為一種奢侈品，也許這正解釋了為何 1940 年代並非文學的盛世。藝術家們的日子好過一些，傳統水墨畫的畫家因為他們的畫卷在逃難時便於攜帶而稍占便宜，同樣的因素也適用於小件的古玩，像是玉器或是錢幣。

## 暴力

伴隨著戰爭的破壞而來的是暴力的盛行。在日軍占領區暴力事件和通過謠言傳播的暴力消息有增加的趨勢。這類暴力事件部分是有政治性的，但大多數是隨機發生的，因為日軍僅控制了城市和鄉鎮，而其他地區則陷入了無政府狀態。

在政治領域而言，游擊隊對日軍的攻

producing something that had become a luxury, perhaps why the 1940s was not a great period for literature. Artists were a little better off. Those who painted in traditional styles had the advantage that their scrolls were portable; they could easily be carried away when someone had to flee. The same was true of small antiquities, such as jades and coins.

## Violence

A terrifying accompaniment of the destruction of the war was violence. Across the occupied areas there were dramatic increases in violence, and in reports of violence spread through the rumor mill. Some of the violence was political, much of it was random. The Japanese controlled the cities and towns, the areas in between fell in to anarchy, with no working government.

In the political arena, guerrilla actions against the Japanese, Japanese punitive raids, and clashes between GMD and CCP guerrillas all produced horrific violence, somehow justified as part of a larger, political goal. Random violence was a product of the anarchic situations that prevailed in many rural areas. Women and girls were not safe, and had to be kept at home. The few peasant girls who might have gone to school were not longer able to do so.

*Red Sorghum* 紅高粱 (Hong gaoliang), the finest novel by Mo Yan 莫言, describes the ferocity and the con fusion of the struggles between Japanese forces and their "puppet" troops and the shifting groups of local guerrillas, disbanded soldiers, bandits and tough young men. The outcomes are tragic for all of them; the only certainty is death, often a brutal one. The novel and the film based on it are saved from complete

擊、日軍對游擊隊的報復以及國民黨與共產黨游擊隊之間的衝突都產生了恐怖的暴力行為，不過在某些程度上這可視為更遠大的政治目標的一部分。隨機性的暴力行為則是許多鄉村地區普遍存在的無政府狀態下的產物，婦女和小孩的安全無法被保障，只能待在家中，少數在之前可以上學的農村女孩現在也不能去學校了。

莫言最傑出的小說《紅高粱》便描述了日軍和其「傀儡」部隊與地方游擊隊、散兵游勇、無賴漢及年輕人之間鬥爭的殘酷與混亂，鬥爭的結果對所有人而言都是悲劇，唯一可以確定的是死亡，而且往往是最殘酷的死法。這本小說以及後來拍的電影以黑色幽默、豪飲與激情的愛情故事來呈現這種完全的蒼涼感。1987年紅高粱的電影版由當時中國最著名的兩位影星鞏俐與姜文擔綱演出當中的情侶主角，並由當時最紅的導演張藝謀執導。

暴力事件的肇事者可想而知，那些年輕人們早已習於暴力。戰爭中如雨後春筍般地出現了許多心性未定且心懷不滿的年輕男子，他們大多數沒有受過多少教育，也很少人結婚，幾乎都已脫離原生家庭或是早在戰爭中失去了他們的家庭，他們投身武裝部隊，在整個淪陷區中橫行。他們憤世嫉俗，又習於暴力，因為他們就是暴力行動的執行者及受害者。這批人就是共產黨招募的重點，共產黨認為這批人可以組織起來並將其憤怒引導到革命事業上。

bleakness by black humor, a great deal of drinking and a passionate love story. The 1987 film starred two of China's best-known film stars, Gong Li 鞏俐 and Jiang Wen 姜文 as the lovers. It was directed by the leading director Zhang Yimou 張藝謀.<sup>15</sup>

The perpetrators of violence were predictable: young men inured to violence. The amorphous body of disaffected young men mushroomed in the war. Most had little education, few were married and all were detached from their home societies. Some had lost their families in the war. They attached themselves to the armed units that roamed throughout the occupied areas. They were angry, and inured to violence, as perpetrators and as victims. They were a key element in CCP recruitment: they could be organized and their anger channeled in to service of the revolution.

## The Social Outcomes of the Resistance War

At the end of eight years of war it was clear that the mass social confusion and the loss of legitimacy in the old elite had created social chaos. It's symptoms were clear.

### Social Fragmentation

The old society broke down in the war. The old social securities were gone. Noxious new social strata emerged. In the cities and the commercial world war and inflation gave birth to a raft of opportunists, black marketers, hoarders and profiteers, quick, slippery people who saw their chance to get rich quickly and seized it. Black marketers traded in any goods in short supply.

## 抗戰造成的社會演變

在 8 年的抗日戰爭結束後，很明顯的，大規模的社會集體迷惘和舊世代菁英合法性的喪失都使得社會混亂，社會混亂的徵狀十分明顯。

### 社會分裂

舊社會在戰爭中被摧毀了，社會保障也隨之消失。接著出現的是新的有害的社會階層，在城市中及商業界中，戰爭和通貨膨脹催生出一票投機主義者、黑市商人、囤積商及奸商，這些靈活且滑溜的人們嗅到了快速致富的機會並且牢牢地把握住。黑市商人交易任何市面上短缺的貨物，囤積商看來稍可寬恕，他們大量購買貨物並囤積，等到通貨膨脹將價格帶起來以後再售出，奸商則遊走於任何可獲利的市場，不過主要是在貨幣市場。

出版業在此時仍可自由發行，新聞報導和四處流傳的小道消息都揭露了這些貨幣經濟的弊端，以及那些受騙者長期以來的憤怒。政府注意到這個情形，但是對於黑市商人、囤積商及奸商的行動收效甚微。未能有效的控制這些人似乎顯示了政府支持，至少是默許他們這樣的行為。這樣的貪腐也使得國民黨和城市的中產階級、知識分子、商人、學生這些應該會自然支持國民黨的人們分離開來，因為這些人都是貪腐行為的受害者。

Hoarders, slightly less venial, bought up goods, stored them away and then sold them on when inflation had taken the prices up. Profiteers played all markets, but especially the currency markets.

The press was still free at this time, and news reports, plus rampant gossip, revealed the abuses to those in the money economy, and kept many in states of chronic outrage about how they were being cheated. The government was aware of the situation, but its actions to rein in the black marketers, hoarders and profiteers had little effect. The failure to control them seemed evidence that the government was enabling their activities, or at least condoned them. The taint of corruption separated the GMD from what should have been its natural constituencies, the urban middle class, intellectuals, business people, students, the people who bore the brunt of corruption.

### Separation and the Breakup of the Old Family System

The disruption of the war attacked the foundation of Chinese society, the family. The sociologist Sun Benwen 孫本文 believed that the war had distorted the family, the building block of society that looked after the economic and social needs of its members, cared for the young and the elderly and connected the past to the present.<sup>16</sup>

### The Family is Scattered 妻離子散

The long years of the war created family separations that dragged on and on; until the last months of the war there seemed no prospect of them ever ending. The loss in family cohesion was felt most keenly by the elderly and the traditionally-minded. The war cost them their families by dividing them.

### 分離與舊家庭系統的破壞

戰爭的破壞也動搖了中國社會的基礎——家庭。社會學家孫本文相信戰爭已經扭曲了傳統的家庭觀念，即家庭應照顧其成員的經濟與社會需求，對於長者及幼者的關心與連結過去到現在，而這些正是社會的基石。

### 妻離子散

長年的戰爭使得家庭成員分離，且這種分離看來遙遙無期，直至戰爭的最後幾個月為止，這種分離看來都還不會停止。家庭凝聚力的喪失對於老人家和心態比較傳統的人而言感受最深，戰爭以分裂家庭的方式讓他們失去了家庭。在戰爭剛結束的時候，結束這種分離的可能性突然真實了起來，人們渴望回到他們的家鄉，再次見到他們的家人，並在戰爭期間過世的親戚墳前致意。許多人也真的回到他們的故鄉，但經過這樣長久且動盪的時光，有些隔閡是沒有辦法彌補的。社會學家費孝通在戰後對於他和他美麗的故鄉——揚子江南岸的魚米之鄉的永久分離寫下了深深地感嘆。無論是費孝通、他的三個兄弟或是跟他一起離開家鄉念書的七個人都沒有在開戰後回到家鄉，他們都向西逃亡，留下他們年邁的父母在家鄉。

在淪陷區，老人家們渴望他們分別已久的孩子們回家，回來做什麼呢？開墾荒廢已久的土地、重建被摧毀的建築物，

In the immediate aftermath of the war, the possibility of ending separations suddenly seemed real. People longed to get back to their homes, to see their families again, and to pay their respects at the graves of relatives who had died during the war. Many did make it home, but such a long and turbulent time had elapsed that some separations could not be repaired. Just after the war the sociologist Fei Xiaotong 費孝通 wrote with deep sadness of his permanent separation from his home in the beautiful "land of fish and rice" south of the Yangzi. Neither he nor his three brothers nor any of the seven people from his home county who had studied abroad went home after the war. All of them had fled in to the west at the beginning of the war, leaving their elderly parents at home:<sup>17</sup>

In the occupied areas the old people longed for the return of their children from whom they had been separated for so long. To do what? To reclaim the derelict land, to rebuild the destroyed buildings. The whole of the shattered countryside had to be restored. But what did they get? Was it their own sons who came back, the ones in whose veins their own blood flowed? No. Things had changed. It was ruthless outsiders who came and brought even greater hardships.

The now-adult sons had, because of the war, been permanently detached from home. The ruthless outsiders were the carpet-baggers and the profiteers who came in to clean up the areas that had been occupied.

The generational divide had another cause besides separation: the disgust that many young people felt for the state of Chinese society and politics, for which they blamed both the Japanese

整個破碎的農村需要重建。但他們等到什麼呢？等到他們血脈相連的子孫們回鄉嗎？不，狀況早已改變了，回來的是冷酷無情的外地人，還帶回來了更多的難題。

那些已經成年的子孫們因為戰爭的因素永久的離開了家庭，那些冷酷無情的外來者都是投機客，奸商們也來「清理」這個淪陷區。

除了長久的分離外，這種世代代溝還有其他因素存在：年輕人們對於中國的社會和政治現狀感到厭惡，他們將這種狀況歸諸於日本侵略者以及舊社會秩序下的保守主義。這些年輕人的長輩現在日子也過的窘迫，無法再利用經濟壓力控制年輕世代。社會學家許烺光在戰前就曾寫道：

徵兵、破壞與新的機會結合起來，推動或引導青少年遠離家鄉，並且粉碎了傳統父權的最後一個據點，即對年輕一代的經濟控制。

在心理上年輕世代和老一輩也出現了隔閡，年長的人們已經疲累，且經常對戰爭的結束冷嘲熱諷，但大多數的年輕人仍充滿激情，且已經準備好接受政治激進主義。

## 戰爭的心理影響

invaders and the crippling conservatism of the old social order. Many of their elders were now hard-up, and no longer had financial control over the younger generations. The sociologist Francis Hsu 許烺光 wrote earlier in the war:<sup>18</sup>

Conscription, devastation, and new opportunities have combined to drive or induce young people away from home and shatter the last stronghold of patriarchal authority, that is the financial control over the younger generation.

There was also a mood divide between old and young. Older people were tired and often cynical at the end of the war. Many of the young were full of passion and ready to embrace political radicalism.

## The Psychosocial Effects of War

### Religion and beliefs

In the war there were few places to which people in distress could turn to for help. Even the gods seemed to let people down. The deities of Buddhism, Taoism and of folk religion did not protect people from the ravages of the war. Many lost faith in them, even to the point of anger. William Hinton observed an attack on a Buddhist deity, led by CCP activists but also a demonstration of popular fury that the god had not helped the peasants, despite all the reverence and the donations he had been given. Young men and women from the Peasants' Association led the action:<sup>19</sup>

They went to the temple, pulled the god out

### 宗教與信仰

在戰爭中遭遇不幸的人們可以尋求幫助的地方甚少，神明似乎也讓人們失望，不論是佛教、道教或是民間信仰的神靈都不能保護人民免於戰爭的蹂躪。許多人都失去對宗教的信仰，甚至是對宗教感到憤怒。William Hinton 觀察到一次對於佛教的攻擊行動，為首的是激進的中共黨員，但這些人同時也可以代表當時人民的憤怒，認為神明接納了人們的崇敬和奉獻，卻沒有幫助農民。這樣攻擊行動是由農民互助會的少年男女們所領導的：

他們到廟裡，將神像拉下神壇，帶到村辦公室中，在群眾面前數落神像揮霍了他們敬獻的財富，卻沒有提供相應的保護，接著他們用棍棒和石塊砸碎了泥塑的神像。

抗日戰爭中的傷害和損失似乎象徵的對神明的控訴，認為神明根本不在乎信眾們的感受。

當宗教不能安撫人民時，人們可能會轉向世俗的信仰體系，但是現行的三民主義思想對於痛苦及困惑的人民所能提供的幫助有限，國民黨對於恢復舊秩序也無法提供任何希望。蔣夫人宋美齡曾推動她虔誠信仰的基督教，並聲稱這是一種「復活」，但是這種想法在中國傳播的有多廣十分令人懷疑。

當時提供了一條清晰且明確的道路的是

of his shrine, and carried him to the village office. Before a mass meeting they "settled accounts" with him by proving that he had squandered their wealth without giving them protection in return. Then they smashed his mud image with sticks and stones.

The damage and losses of the Resistance War seemed an indictment of the gods who seemed to be indifferent to the suffering of the people who worshipped them.

People might turn to secular belief systems when religion failed them. There was little help for people in distress and confusion from the established political thought system, the *Three People's Principles*. The GMD was unable to offer any hope of revival of the old order. Madame Chiang Kai-shek promoted her devout Christian beliefs and called for resurrection, but it is doubtful whether this message spread very far.

The ideology that offered a clear way forward was communism, a fierce task-master that promised a new world for China. It appealed to many in the rural areas, where communist activists promised land to the peasants. In the cities it was less successful, lacking activists and organization. It was the subject of powerful negative government propaganda campaigns, that would have been more effective if urban residents had not been so burdened down by the daily pressures of life caused by the rampant inflation.

### The Young

The Resistance War had a liberating effect for people who wanted to escape from the restrictions and limitations of traditional society. This was most apparent in a new preoccupation of the

共產主義，其來勢洶洶，並承諾帶給中國一個新世界。共產主義出現在許多鄉村地區，因為共黨分子承諾要將土地回歸給農民，不過由於缺乏活躍分子及組織，在城市中共產主義並未取得太大的成功。如果城市中的居民不需負擔因為通貨膨脹所帶來的沉重壓力的話，這本來可以更有效的成為政府的負面宣傳戰主題。

### 年輕人

對於那些想要逃離傳統社會的拘束和限制的人們來說，抗日戰爭達成了他們的渴望，特別明顯的是這代的年輕人有一個新的當務之急——他們的浪漫情懷，年輕人想要追尋自己的愛情和終生伴侶，這可是戰前那些斯文的年輕人想都不敢想的事情。翻譯家楊憲益和他於牛津認識的外籍妻子戴乃迭結婚之前並未徵求楊母的同意，楊母當時待在淪陷區，而楊憲益則是身在重慶。儘管對楊憲益的母親和戴乃迭的雙親而言，這段婚姻讓他們十分痛苦，但這是一段經歷過許多考驗（特別是在文化大革命期間）的幸福婚姻，直到戴乃迭於 1999 年逝世為止。

自由選擇結婚對象這點是和傳統式家長包辦婚姻的澈底決裂，對於年輕夫婦而言，這當然是一種巨大的進步，但對年邁的雙親而言，這種狀況不太容易處理，兒子的自由婚姻讓他離開家庭，留下自幼訂親的童養媳（未婚妻）給父母照顧。

那些信仰社會主義和革命的年輕人們對

young, romance. Young people looked for love and chose their own marriage partners, something unthinkable for respectable young people before the war. The translator Yang Xianyi 楊憲益 could not seek his mother's permission for his marriage to Gladys Tayler, whom he had met at Oxford. His mother was in the occupied areas and he was in Chongqing. Despite the anguish the marriage caused to his mother and to Gladys' parents, it was a very happy marriage, which survived many trials, especially during the Cultural Revolution, until Gladys died in 1999.<sup>20</sup> The choice of one's own partner was a complete break with the traditional pattern of arranged marriage by parents. For the young couples it was a huge advance, but for the parents the break was less easy to cope with. The free marriage of a son left the parents at home caring for his bride (or fiancée) from a marriage arranged in the son's childhood.

Those young people who believed in socialism and revolution were even more enthusiastic about the decline of the old order. They were ideologically opposed to the old order, to the point often of hatred. One of the reasons that men like Mao Zedong had turned towards socialism in their youth was their hatred for the old Confucian order, which they had experienced as an agent of repression in their own families. The CCP's idea of the family was the new, revolutionary family, a small unit whose first aim was not the preservation of the traditional family but the promotion of socialism. The Party came ahead of the family.

### Give Your Heart to the Party 把心交給黨

Seventy years later the instruction seems bizarre, almost absurd, in a political environment where the old order is now revered, even

於打倒舊秩序更為熱衷，他們打從心裡反對舊秩序，甚至到了憎恨的程度。像毛澤東這樣的人之所以在年輕時就轉向社會主義，對於傳統儒家秩序的厭惡是其中一個理由，對這些人而言，在其原生家庭中這就是壓迫的代名詞。共產黨對於家庭的觀念是一種全新的、革命性的家庭，以小家庭為單位，首要目的並非保持傳統家庭，而是對於社會主義的促進，黨必須置於家前。

### 把心交給黨

從 70 年後的今天看來，這樣的口號看來十分離奇，甚至近乎荒誕，雖然共產主義今日仍是官方意識形態，且現在的政治環境是崇尚舊秩序的。11 月時，我在北京國際機場還買到雙語的《論語》兒童讀本。

### 安全與信任

戰爭年代對於人們的安全感和心理健康產生了永久性的影響。戰爭最顯著的長期影響是造成人們的不安全感，以及由自我保護延伸出來的強烈的自我參與感，這種自我保護是在戰時存活下來的基本要件。在不安全感當中生存意味著打破許多社會上的不成文規範，為了照顧自己以及和自己最親近的人，人們必須放棄舊有的社會規範，他們去黑市、囤積貨物，或是當機會出現時，或偷或搶都要把機會抓在手上。

這種解離的過程因為無所不在的暴力行為而加劇，大多數的中國人當時都生活在暴

with communism still the official ideology. In November I purchased a bilingual children's book on the *Analects* at Beijing International Airport.

### Security and Trust

The war years had a permanent affect on people's sense of security and psychological well-being. The overwhelming long-term effects of the war were insecurity, and intense self-involvement derived from the self-protection that had been essential for wartime survival. Living in insecurity meant breaking many of the unwritten norms of society; to look after oneself and those closest to one, one had to abandon old niceties of social behavior, to go on the black market, to hoard goods and to loot or steal as the occasion arose.

The fragmentation was intensified by the omnipresence of violence. Most Chinese lived under the threat of violence, many actually experienced it. Tony Judt wrote, "Violence precipitated cynicism. As occupying forces the Nazis and Soviets precipitated a war of all against all. They discouraged not just allegiance to the authority of the previous regime or state, but any sense of civility or bond between individuals, and on the whole they were successful."<sup>21</sup> This was equally true of those parts of China under Japanese occupation.

One of the most insidious psychosocial outcomes of the war was the spread of a general lack of trust, except of the immediate family and very close friends. The extended family lost much of its force, could no longer be relied on for financial help. The old circles of trust, based on hallowed ties (fellow-student, fellow-local 老鄉, fellow-provincial) lost their viability. And the old courtesies and customs that had oiled the



力威脅當中，還有很多人其實面對暴力的經驗。Tony Judt 寫到：「暴力催生出認為人皆自私的心態，納粹和蘇聯的占領促成一場人人相互為敵的戰爭，他們不只阻止人效忠前一政權或國家已消失的權威，還阻止人與人以禮相待或是建立情誼。整體來說，他們很成功。」上述這段話對於日本占領區內的中國人來說也一樣真實。

戰爭所帶來最隱密的心理後果是除了直系親屬和非常親近的朋友外，普遍對人都存在不信任感，大家庭制度失去了大部分的力量，人們也不能依賴大家庭帶來的財政支援。舊有的以同學、同鄉、同省這樣的結合為基礎的信任圈也失去了活力。同樣的，在傳統社會中扮演潤滑劑角色的禮儀和習俗也都消失了。這類由戰爭所帶來的態度和行為在之後的內戰當中依然持續著，且更加痛苦且劇烈，外敵已經消失，現在的敵人同樣是中國人。

## 傳記

戰後大多數人的焦慮和無力感可以從以下的三份傳記當中窺見端倪，這些傳主試圖發現他們可以掌握的未來。其中一人承認已失去的東西很多，但嘗試以積極的態度去面對事物；第二位感到完全沮喪；第三位則加入了共產黨一方。這些人以及家庭告訴我們抗戰對於中國社會的影響有多大。

traditional society were gone. Now the dominant need was to survive. The attitudes and behaviors created by the war continued in to the civil war period, but with a bitter intensification; the foreign enemy had disappeared and the enemies now were other Chinese.

## Biographies

The postwar sense of anxiety and powerlessness felt by so many is encapsulated in these three biographical accounts, people who were trying to see what the future might hold. One of them recognized how much had been lost but tried to put a positive face on things. The second felt totally depressed. The third went over to the communist side. The experiences of individuals and families tell us a great deal about the impact of the Resistance War on Chinese society.

### Liang Sicheng and Lin Huiyin

The effects of the war on society are encapsulated in the story of Liang Sicheng 梁思成 and Lin Huiyin 林徽因, in the 1930s a poster couple for the new China. Both were from wealthy and influential families (Liang's father was the great reformer Liang Qichao 梁啟超), both were highly intelligent, foreign-educated, and multilingual. They met, fell in love and married while they were studying in North America. They were both architectural historians, passionately involved in preserving the Chinese built past and adapting it to the modern world. At the start of the war their affluent, cultivated life disappeared. With the members of their institute of the Academia Sinica 中央研究院 they fled to the west, and lived for

### 梁思成與林徽因

戰爭對於中國社會的影響可以由梁思成和林徽因的故事中窺見部分。他們是 1930 年代新中國的明星夫妻，兩人都來自富裕且有影響力的家庭（梁思成的父親是著名的改革家梁啟超），兩人都是受外國教育、精通多國語言的高知識分子，他們在北美相遇、相戀並踏入婚姻，兩人都是建築史學家，熱心的保存中國傳統建築並使這些建築被現代社會接受。在戰爭剛開始時，這對夫妻富裕且優雅的生活便結束了，他們隨著中央研究院的同事遷往西部，並在戰爭期間大都住在四川偏僻的河畔村莊李莊，過著清苦的生活。這對曾經富裕的年輕夫婦自己動手做家務、煮飯、縫衣服、照顧孩子及彼此。林徽因和當地的幾個居民長期感染結核病，又因為惡臭的氣候而惡化，而這種病在當地是無法醫治的。雖然梁思成和林徽因夫婦能用良好的幽默感來面對日益困窘的環境，但許多和他們一起逃難的同胞們並沒有。在他們所住的「孤島」社區裡有著永無止境的爭執和爭吵，林徽因在給她的密友 Wilma Fairbank 的信中曾提到這些事情，戰爭剛結束時，林徽因就寫信給 Wilma，談到了戰爭對於她們夫妻及共同朋友們的長期影響：

經歷過這種特殊的貧窮和疾病，我們都老了很多，在忍受了長時間的戰爭和溝通不足後，我們現在正面對龐大的國家路線之爭以及艱困的未來……我們被

most of the war in Li Jiang, a remote riverside village in Sichuan, in primitive conditions. The once-privileged young couple did their own housework, cooked, sewed their own clothes, cared for their children and for each other. Lin and several other members of the community were chronically ill with tuberculosis, exacerbated by the fetid climate; there was no medical help for the sick. Though Liang and Lin coped with their diminished circumstances with good humor, many of their fellow exiles did not; there was constant bickering and frequent quarrels in their "lonely island" community. Lin recounted some of this in her letters to her close friend Wilma Fairbank. Just after the end of the war she wrote to Wilma about the long-term effects of the war on themselves and on mutual friends:

We have all aged greatly, gone through a peculiar form of poverty and sickness, endured long wars and poor communications and are now apprehending a great national strife and a difficult future.... We are torn and shattered. We have emerged through various trials with new integrity, good bad or indifferent. We have not only tasted life but been tested by its grimness and hardship. We have lost much of our health though none of our faith. We now know for certain that enjoyment of life and suffering are one.<sup>2</sup>

### Lao She

The great writer seemed exhausted and pessimistic about the future of China at the end of the war. He had been an active and patriotic voice throughout the war, but he had been separated from family and his beloved Beijing for the whole

撕碎了。我們通過了層層的考驗，擁有了新的道德標準，但我不知這是好是壞亦或是讓人無動於衷。我們不僅品嚐了生活，也被生活所帶來的嚴峻與困苦考驗著，健康上我們失去了很多，幸好還沒有失去信仰，現在我們懂了，享受生活跟忍受生活是一體兩面。

### 老舍

在戰爭結束後，這位偉大的作家似乎筋疲力盡，且對中國的未來感到悲觀。在戰爭期間，這位作家是一位積極的愛國者，但他被迫遠離他的家庭與他心愛的北京。戰爭的結束並沒有讓他得到慰藉，對於未來他並未抱持太多的積極與樂觀。在老舍於 1946 年開始連載的著名小說《四世同堂》中，這種悲觀的情緒充斥於字裡行間。

我們傳統的格言「升官發財」，我們的封建思想鼓勵人們做大官，但是同時也成為知足的奴隸。我們的家庭制度、教育方法和那可恥的不計代價追求安全的想法，這些都是代代遺傳的國家疾病。

這類的「國家疾病」在戰爭期間變得越來越嚴重，而且在戰後的不安全感瀰漫的情形下，似乎沒有治癒的可能性。儘管老舍在戰爭期間和他的家人分隔兩地，但戰後他還是選擇遠離家庭，老舍選擇離開中國來化

war. The end of the war gave him no comfort; he could see little positive or optimistic for the future. His pessimism appeared in the words of a character in his great novel, *Four Generations under one Roof* 四世同堂, which started to appear in installments in 1946:<sup>23</sup>

Our traditional maxim of "climbing up the official ladder and making a fortune", our feudalistic thinking, which encourages one to become a high official but at the same time a contented slave, our family system, our educational methods and our habit of seeking shameful security at whatever cost - all these are hereditary national diseases.

These "national diseases" had become worse, not better, during the war. There seemed to be no possibility of them being cured in the post-war insecurity. Even though Lao She had suffered during the war from his separation from his family, he now left them again. He resolved his gloom about China by leaving China. He accepted an official invitation from Washington to visit the USA. He stayed away for several years, to return in the early years of the Mao Era. It was a terrible mistake. His writing life was over. In 1966 he killed himself in after being viciously attacked in the Cultural Revolution.

### Chen Lian

Chen Lian,<sup>24</sup> the brilliant daughter of Chen Bulei 陳布雷, Chiang Kai-shek's amanuensis, went over to the CCP during the Resistance War. While she was a student at Xinan Lianda she married an underground CCP organizer in Kunming. In early 1941 the couple was ordered by the CCP to leave Kunming to take part in more

解他對中國的悲觀，他接受了華盛頓方面的正式邀約，到美國參訪，並在美國待了好幾年，直到毛澤東統治時代初期才回到中國，不過他的回國是個可怕的錯誤，他的寫作生涯到此結束。1966年，老舍因為文化大革命中對他惡毒的攻擊而自殺。

### 陳漣

陳漣是蔣介石的文膽陳布雷的女兒，她在抗戰期間投向中國共產黨。在她於西南聯大就學時，在昆明嫁給了一位中共的地下成員。1941年初，中共命令這對年輕夫婦離開昆明，參與更直接的政治活動，這也意味著她將失去學生身分的掩護。陳漣在寫給她妹妹的「最後一封信」中，告訴妹妹這是一齣「排演悲劇」，她將要和她的家庭斷絕關係，她知道這會給她的家庭帶來多少麻煩和傷悲，並且懇求妹妹好好安撫她們的父親（她們的母親已經過世）：

讓所有我愛的人都忘了我吧，或是恨我也行，但是別讓他們因為我而受苦。妹妹，我要去一個很遠的地方，也許此生都不會再見面了，我選擇的道路相當艱困，但是為了我們祖國的自由，我沒有別的話好說。

陳布雷因為女兒的行為遭受很大的打擊，他一直沒有克服和孩子分離的哀傷，以及陳漣的選擇所造成的父女隔閡。然而，陳

direct political actions; this involved blowing their cover as students. Chen Lian wrote what she called a last letter 最後一封信 to her sister, to tell her about the "rehearsal of a tragedy 排演悲劇": she was going to have to break off relations with her family. She knew what trouble and sorrow this would cause the family, and begged her sister to especially comfort their father (their mother was already dead):

Let all the people I love forget me, or hate me, but don't let them suffer because of me. Sister, I am going to a very distant place; we may never meet again.

The road [I am taking] will be very hard, but for the freedom of the motherland there is nothing else I can say.

Chen Bulei was devastated by his daughter's actions; he never got over the departure of his child, and the gulf that her choice created between father and daughter. He still protected her, however. She was arrested in Beiping by the GMD in early 1948, as a communist, but then mysteriously released. There was no reunion, however, between her and her family. In November Chen Bulei killed himself, perhaps because the GMD that he had served so loyally was losing the Civil War, perhaps because he could not get over his betrayal by a beloved child. During the Cultural Revolution the connection between father and daughter was revived, in a hideous way. Chen Lian was persecuted because of who her father had been - i.e. a senior member of the GMD. She herself was done to death.

## Conclusion

布雷還是一直在保護女兒，1948年初，陳漣因為是共黨分子，在北平被國民黨逮捕，但是很快的就被秘密釋放。不過陳漣並沒有和家人再相聚，同年11月陳布雷自殺，也許是因為他忠心侍奉的國民黨在內戰中失敗的緣故，也可能是因為他始終無法克服他深愛的孩子背叛他的事實。文化大革命期間，這段父女關係以一種最可怕的方式復活了，因為父親曾是國民黨高級官員的緣故，陳漣被迫害，最後被折磨至死。

## 結論

在抗戰結束70年、共產黨取得政權66年、文化大革命開始50年、改革開放35年之後，中國共產黨現在又接受了「偉大的傳統」——儒家思想。

在物質上，中國大部分地區已經變的讓人認不出來，當我坐著計程車沿著北京的五環道前進時，我完全認不出這個地方，甚至懷疑我是否真的曾經到過此處。重新確立中國作為世界中心的激情推動了這種變化的速度，這種激情可以追溯到1937年到1949年間那些恐怖的戰爭，以及從1949年到文化大革命結束的25年間折磨著中國的瘋狂政治運動。這段日子被一位終生致力於這場革命的人的女兒稱為「黑暗的年代」。這些過去大部分都被嚴實的封印起來，現在我們可以討論八年抗戰，但是隨後的內戰和毛澤東時期的一連串政治運動仍是禁忌話題。越

Seventy years after the end of the Resistance War, sixty-six years since the Communist Party came to power, five decades after the start of the Cultural Revolution, three and a half decades since the beginning of "Reform and Opening Up 改革開放", the Communist Party is now espousing the ideals of Confucianism, the "great tradition".

Physically much of China has changed out of all recognition. As my taxi crawled along the Fifth Ring Road round Beijing, I recognized nothing; I wondered if I had ever been there before. The speed of change has been driven by a fervor to re-establish China as the centre of the world. This fervor can be traced back to the terror of the war from 1937 to 1949, and to the insanity of the political movements that racked China from 1949 for two and a half decades, culminating in the Cultural Revolution, a time described by the daughter of a man who had devoted his life to the revolution as "the dark days". Much of this past is kept firmly sealed. The eight years of the Resistance War can be talked about now, but not the Civil War, even less so the political movements of the Mao Era. The more recent past must be passed over in silence, as if it had not happened, even though the ghosts of that past are standing in the shadows.

1. I do not include the years from 1931 to 1937, after the Japanese occupation of Dongbei (Manchuria), since that occupation did not much affect Chinese society beyond Dongbei.
2. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005), p. 34. This brilliant study captures the complete destruction brought by war in Europe. Much of what he says refers equally to China.

靠近現在的過去必須在沉默中慢慢的被忽略，就像它們從未發生過一樣，但這段過去的幽靈仍然站在陰影中。（翻譯／邱鐘義）

【註釋】

1. 當物價月增率超過 50% 時稱為惡性通貨膨脹。
2. 同前註。
3. Frank Price, *China: Twilight or Dawn?* (New York: Friendship Press, 1948), p. 30.
4. Quoted in Geremie Barme, “Mirrors of history: on a Sino-Japanese moment and some antecedents”, *Japan Focus*, (May 4th, 2005).
5. *China Newsweek*, 159 (October 18th, 1945), p. 4.
6. Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 171-173; and Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1949-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 20.
7. Victor Odlum to MacKenzie King, April 1945, Monthly Reports, p. 349076. National Archives of Canada. Odlum was the first Canadian ambassador to China, a retired general and a personal friend of Prime Minister King, to whom he wrote with disarming frankness.
8. Hyperinflation occurs when the monthly rate of price increases exceeds 50%.
9. Chang Kia-gnau, *The Inflationary Spiral: the Experience of China, 1939-1950* (Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1958), p. 342.
10. Feng Zikai 豐子愷, “勝利還鄉 (Record of going home after the victory)”, in 豐子愷遊記 (*Feng Zikai's Travels*)(Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 49-52.
11. Martin Yang, *A Chinese Village: Taitou: Shantung Province* (New York: Columbia, 1945), p. 135.
12. Yang Wu, “A Revolution’s Human Face: the changing social make-up of Chinese Communist Party members and their relationship to the larger national organization in two Jiaodong counties” (Ph.D., University of British Columbia, 2013), pp. 202-205.
13. Two recent studies deal with these extremely painful issues. Peipei Qiu, Shu Zhiliang and Chen Lifei, *Chinese Comfort Women: Testimonies from*

- Imperial Japan's sex slaves* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013); Ju Zhifen, "Labor conscription in North China," Stephen MacKinnon, Diana Lary, Ezra Vogel eds, *China at War: the regions of China, 1937-45* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), pp. 207-226; and Zhuang Jianping, "Japan's exploitative labor system in Qingdao, 1933-1945", loc. cit., pp. 227-246.
14. Fanshen is the title of a book by William Hinton, about the CCP takeover of a village in northwest China. *Fanshen: a documentary of revolution in a Chinese village* (New York: Monthly Press, 1966). This once-influential book was based on Hinton's long stay in the village just after the war. Hinton was a Yankee radical, the nephew of the romantic revolutionary writer Ethel Voynich. The translation of her novel *The Gadfly* 牛虻 (published 1897) was one of the most popular western books in China in the Mao era.
15. Mo Yan, *Hong Gaoliang* (Beijing: Jiefangjun chubanshe, 1986); Hong Gaoliang 紅高粱, dir. Zhang Yimou 張藝謀, 1987. *Red Sorghum*, trans. Howard Goldblatt (New York: Viking, 1993). A TV series started in 2014.
16. Sun Benwen 孫本文, *Xiandai Zhongguo shehui wenti* 現代中國社會問題 (China's Contemporary Social Issues) (Chongqing: Shangwu, 1943), pp. 202-204.
17. Fei Xiaotong 費孝通, *Fei Xiaotong wenji* 費孝通文集 (Fei Xiaotong's Collected Writings) (Beijing: Qunyan chubanshe, 1999), p. 465.
18. *Asia*, September 1942, p. 508.
19. William Hinton, *Fanshen* (New York: Monthly Review, second edition, 2008), p. 190.
20. Yang Xianyi, *White Tiger* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2002).
21. Judt, p. 34.
22. Wilma Fairbank, *Liang and Lin: Partners in Exploring China's Architectural Past* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), pp. 144-145.
23. Quoted in C. T. Hsia, *A History of Modern Chinese Fiction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 373.
24. Yang Zhesheng 楊者聖, *Chen Bulei* 陳布雷 (Shanghai: Shiji, 2010), pp. 273-275; and Ho Dahpon, "Night Thoughts of a Hungry Ghost Writer: Chen Bulei and the Life of service in Republican China", *Modern Chinese Literature and Culture*, XIX, 1 (Spring 2007).