

FURTHER READING

Although China's war with Japan has generated far less scholarship in English than the European and Pacific fronts of the Second World War, there is still a substantial body of work for those who wish to go further. This short guide to further reading is not intended to be comprehensive. Rather, it provides pointers to useful books and articles in the English-language scholarship that in turn could stimulate further reading and research.

OVERALL HISTORY OF THE WAR

This book has taken a new approach by examining China's war with Japan as one continuous narrative combining the viewpoints of the Nationalists, the Communists, and the collaborators. However, there have of course been previous very important accounts that bring together various of these elements, usually through combining edited essays by different authors. The volume by Lloyd Eastman et al., *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927–1949* (Cambridge, 1991), has two excellent overview essays, by Lloyd Eastman on the Nationalists and Lyman van Slyke on the Communists, that cover the wartime period. (These essays are also to be found in volume 13 of *The Cambridge History of China*.) James Hsiung and Steven Levine's volume *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937–1945* (Armonk, NY, 1992), contains superb essays by leading scholars on topics including China's wartime diplomacy, its economy, and changes in its political system. Chinese politics in the period leading up to the war is dealt with in Parks M. Coble Jr., *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931–1937* (Cambridge, MA, 1991). On the fate of Hong Kong, see Philip Snow, *The Fall of Hong Kong: Britain, China, and the Japanese Occupation* (New Haven, 2004); for a daring episode within that story, Tim Luard, *Escape from Hong Kong: Admiral Chan Chak's Christmas Day Dash, 1941* (Hong Kong, 2012). There is a wealth of literature on the Japanese side of the war in China and in the Pacific more broadly. Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London, 1987), is a compelling analysis of the key factors that led to Japan's decision for war, as well as giving a detailed account of the scholarly debates underlying this issue.

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BIOGRAPHIES

For many years there were few biographies of Chiang Kai-shek. Access to new sources, in particular the Chiang Kai-shek diaries at the Hoover Institution, has enriched the fine biography by Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA, 2007), which gives comprehensive coverage of Chiang's whole life, including his period on Taiwan. An earlier biography by Jonathan Fenby, *Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the China He Lost* (London, 2003), broke new ground in reassessing Chiang outside the existing Cold War templates.

Mao Zedong has been reassessed in several major biographies in recent years. All are marked by a great deal of assiduous research, but take different views on this most controversial of figures. Jung Chang and Jon Halliday's *Mao: The Unknown Story* (London, 2006) provides a great deal of new detail, and assesses Mao in ultimately negative terms. Philip Short, *Mao: A Life* (London, 2001), and Alexander Pantsov and Steven Levine, *Mao: The Real Story* (New York, 2012), suggest that Mao both made important contributions to the revolution and committed terrible crimes. A fine guide to the controversies over Mao is Timothy Cheek, ed., *A Critical Introduction to Mao* (Cambridge, 2010).

It is still difficult, though no longer impossible, to discuss Wang Jingwei in China without his being dismissed as a mere traitor and therefore of no further interest. One of the earliest biographies is still among the very best and most nuanced works on Wang: John Hunter Boyle's *China and Japan at War, 1937–1945: The Politics of Collaboration* (Stanford, CA, 1972). There are also useful insights in Gerald Bunker, *The Peace Conspiracy: Wang Ching-wei and the China War, 1937–1941* (Cambridge, MA, 1972).

THE NATIONALISTS: THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL,
AND MILITARY HISTORY OF WARTIME

Perhaps the most significant military history of the war in recent years is Hans J. van de Ven, *War and Nationalism in China, 1925–1945* (London, 2003), which draws important revisionist conclusions on a whole variety of topics from the relationship between Stilwell and Chiang to military and food security during the war, embedded in an argument that revises

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the view that the Nationalist war effort was unimportant and ill-managed. For details of individual campaigns, Mark Peattie, Edward Drea, and Hans van de Ven, eds., *The Battle for China: Essays on the Military History of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA, 2011), is essential. These works are in some sense a response to the classic works of an earlier generation: Lloyd Eastman's *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937–1949* (Stanford, CA, 1984), is condemnatory of a regime that he characterizes as already flawed and doomed to collapse, and Hsi-sheng Chi, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937–1945* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1982), details the way that military disaster fueled the disintegration of the government. Aaron William Moore, *Writing War: Soldiers Record the Japanese Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), has powerful new material from Nationalist soldiers. John Garver's *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945: The Diplomacy of Chinese Nationalism* (Oxford, 1988) deals ably with the diplomacy of the period between China and the USSR.

Morris Bian, *The Making of the State Enterprise System in Modern China: The Dynamics of Institutional Change* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), and Mark W. Frazier, *The Making of the Chinese Industrial Workplace: State, Revolution, and Labor Management* (Cambridge, 2002), are examples of revisionist work that attributes significant social formations in the post-1949 era to wartime changes under the Nationalists.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WEST AND CHINA

Revisionist views of the alliance between the Western powers and China during the Second World War are covered in Van de Ven, *War and Nationalism*, and Taylor, *Generalissimo*. The more long-standing view that Chiang's regime was an unworthy ally for the West is detailed in Barbara Tuchman's *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911–1945* (New York, 1971). Older works, including Herbert Feis, *The China Tangle: The American Effort in China from Pearl Harbor to the Marshall Mission* (Princeton, NJ, 1953), also expose how raw the wounds of the experience in China were in American public life during the early Cold War. Tom Buchanan, *East Wind: China and the British Left, 1925–1976* (Oxford, 2012), charts the mobilization of British leftist opinion in favor of the Chinese war effort; and Christopher Thorne, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War against Japan, 1941–1945* (Oxford, 1978), shows how fraught relations between the US and Britain often left China caught in

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the middle. The Burma campaign is dealt with in brilliant, horrific detail in Christopher Bayly and Tim Harper, *Forgotten Armies: Britain's Asian Empire and the War with Japan* (London, 2004). Frank McLynn, *The Burma Campaign: Disaster into Triumph, 1942–1945* (New Haven, CT, 2011), gives compelling portraits of the Western commanders. There is a very thoughtful essay on China's wartime relations with the wider world in chapter 7 of Odd Arne Westad's *Restless Empire: China and the World since 1750* (London, 2012).

WAR ATROCITIES

On the Nanjing Massacre, rigorous studies have emerged in recent years that give a clear account of what the historically valid parameters of debate on these and related questions are. Among them are Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, *The Nanking Atrocity, 1937–1938: Complicating the Picture* (Oxford, 2007); Joshua Fogel, ed., *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography* (Berkeley, CA, 2000); Takashi Yoshida, *The Making of the 'Rape of Nanking': History and Memory in Japan, China, and the United States* (New York, 2006); and Daqing Yang, "Convergence or Divergence? Recent Historical Writings on the Rape of Nanjing," *American Historical Review* 104:3 (1999). Although some of this work takes issue with it, a significant proportion of the Anglophone debate in the 2000s was stimulated by the publication of Iris Chang's *The Rape of Nanking* (New York, 1997). Accounts of other war atrocities are to be found in Diana Lary and Stephen R. MacKinnon, eds., *The Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China*, and James Flath and Norman Smith, eds., *Beyond Suffering: Recounting War in Modern China* (Vancouver, 2011).

THE COMMUNISTS AND THEIR REVOLUTION

The origins of the Communist peasant revolution in wartime China have been a central theme in the study of modern Chinese political and social history for some decades. The debate was started by Chalmers Johnson's classic *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937–1945* (Stanford, CA, 1962), which argued for the CCP's ability to stimulate anti-Japanese nationalism as the key factor in the rise of the Communists. This was answered by Mark Selden in *The Yen'an Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge, MA, 1971), which argued instead for social revolution and a more self-sufficient economic model as the reasons for Mao's success. A variety of important studies

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then added nuance to the debate in the following years, for example Kathleen Hartford and Steven M. Goldstein, eds., *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions* (Armonk, NY, 1989). The debate on the origins of the rural revolution is synthesized very effectively in Suzanne Pepper, "The Political Odyssey of an Intellectual Construct: Peasant Nationalism and the Study of China's Revolutionary History: A Review Essay," *Journal of Asian Studies* 63:1 (2004).

The concentration on Mao is understandable, but runs the danger of ignoring important Communist activity outside Yan'an. On Communist base areas and resistance outside Yan'an see, for instance, Gregor Benton's monumental *Mountain Fires: The Red Army's Three-Year War in South China, 1934-1938* (Berkeley, CA, 1992), and *New Fourth Army: Communist Resistance Along the Yangtze and the Huai, 1938-1941* (Berkeley, CA, 1999); David Goodman, *Social and Political Change in Revolutionary China: The Taihang Base Area in the War of Resistance to Japan, 1937-1945* (Lanham, MD, 2000); Pauline Keating, David Goodman, and Feng Chongyi, eds., *North China at War: The Social Ecology of Revolution* (Armonk, NY, 1999); Pauline Keating, *Two Revolutions: Village Reconstruction and the Cooperative Movement in Northwest China, 1934-1945* (Stanford, CA, 1997); Dagfinn Gatu, *Village China at War: The Impact of Resistance to Japan, 1937-1945* (Vancouver, 2008); Chen Yung-fa, *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley, CA, 1986); Odoric Wou, *Mobilizing the Masses: Building Revolution in Henan* (Stanford, CA, 1994); and Sherman Xiaogang Lai, *A Springboard to Victory: Shandong Province and Chinese Communist Military and Financial Strength, 1937-1945* (Leiden, 2011).

The opening of new sources in Russia and China has revived a debate about how far Mao's revolution drew on Stalin and how far it was indigenous. Although it is clear that neither explanation is sufficient in itself, a necessary and useful corrective to any idea that Mao's revolution was entirely separate from that of Stalin's is Michael Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, NJ, 1997).

INTELLIGENCE

Wartime China was the scene of a variety of murky intelligence operations, many of which remain mysterious to this day. The China sections of Richard Aldrich, *Intelligence and the War against Japan: Britain, America, and the Politics of Secret Service* (Cambridge, 2000), are very useful

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for understanding the position from the Western point of view, as is Yu Maochun, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (New Haven, CT, 1997). Chinese intelligence efforts are detailed in essays in the special edition of *Intelligence and National Security* 16:4 (2001), ed. Hans van de Ven. Dai Li's role is analyzed in Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service* (Berkeley, CA, 2003).

COLLABORATION WITH THE JAPANESE

This remains a touchy subject, and for political reasons it has mostly not yet developed the nuance that has marked studies of European wartime collaboration. A path-breaking work is Timothy Brook, *Collaboration: Japanese Agents and Chinese Elites in Wartime China* (Cambridge, MA, 2005), which discusses the messy reality of local compromise in the Yangtze delta in the years after the invasion. A very useful edited volume is David Barrett and Larry Shyu, *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932–1945: The Limits of Accommodation* (Stanford, CA, 2001). Christian Henriot and Wen-hsin Yeh, eds., *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation* (Cambridge, 2004), gives vivid details of the fate of Shanghai after 1937. For the occupation and subsequent collaboration that set the stage for the invasion of China, see Rana Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance, and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley, CA, 2000). A compelling insight into the mind-set that led to “collaborationist nationalism” is Margherita Zanasi, *Saving the Nation: Economic Modernity in Republican China* (Chicago, IL, 2006). Brian G. Martin, “Shield of Collaboration: The Wang Jingwei Regime’s Security Service, 1939–1945,” *Intelligence and National Security* 16:4 (2001), and “Collaboration within Collaboration: Zhou Fohai’s Relations with the Chongqing Government, 1942–1945,” *Twentieth-Century China* 34:2 (April 2008), provide a comprehensive view of the use of intelligence and security by Wang Jingwei’s government to try to solidify its position.

ARTS AND CULTURE

The war saw the transformation of the cultural and artistic world in China. So far there has been more work on the Communist contributions to cultural change during that period than on the Nationalists. Chang-tai Hung, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937–1945* (Berkeley, CA, 1994), analyzes a variety of wartime cultural forms including the press, cartoons, and performance art. The dilemmas of literary

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figures in occupied Shanghai are considered in Edward M. Gunn Jr., *Unwelcome Muse: Chinese Literature in Shanghai and Peking, 1937–1945* (New York, 1980), and Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai* (Stanford, CA, 1993). Jonathan Spence's *The Gate of Heavenly Peace: The Chinese and Their Revolution, 1895–1980* (New York, 1981) brings to life the journeys of artistic figures who spent time in Yan'an during the war. John Israel's *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford, CA, 1998) focuses on the difficult lives of intellectuals who made the journey to the Nationalist areas of China.

SOCIAL HISTORY

The social history of wartime China is developing strongly as new sources open up. Aside from work on the Communist areas (discussed above), there is stimulating new work on social change in the Nationalist zones. A pioneering work on labor history in wartime Chongqing is Joshua H. Howard, *Workers at War: Labor in China's Arsenal, 1937–1953* (Stanford, CA, 2004). Gender issues are addressed in Danke Li, *Echoes of Chongqing: Women in Wartime China* (Chicago, 2009) and Nicole Huang, *Women, War, Domesticity: Shanghai Literature and Popular Culture of the 1940s* (Leiden, 2005). Essays in the following two special journal issues also deal with aspects of China's wartime social and economic history: *Modern Asian Studies* 45:1 (March 2011), special edition "China in World War II, 1937–1945," ed. Rana Mitter and Aaron William Moore; and *European Journal of East Asian Studies* 11:2 (December 2012) special edition "Welfare, Relief, and Rehabilitation in Wartime China," ed. Rana Mitter and Helen Schneider.

One important subfield of wartime social history is the new history of refugee flight in China. Important work includes Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Wuhan 1938: War, Refugees, and the Making of Modern China* (Berkeley, CA, 2008), and R. Keith Schoppa, *In a Sea of Bitterness: Refugees during the Sino-Japanese War* (Cambridge, MA, 2011). A powerful social history of wartime Chinese experience that engages with refugee experience is Diana Lary, *The Chinese People at War: Human Suffering and Social Transformation, 1937–1945* (Cambridge, 2010). A fascinating study of the links between ecological change and refugee flight is Micah S. Muscolino, "Refugees, Land Reclamation, and Militarized Landscapes in Wartime

China: Huanglongshan, Shaanxi, 1937–1945,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 69:2 (2010).

LEGACY

The legacy of the conflict between China and Japan has been explored in a variety of studies. James Reilly’s *Strong Society, Smart State: The Rise of Public Opinion in China’s Japan Policy* (New York, 2011) and Peter Hays Gries’s *China’s New Nationalism: Pride, Politics, and Diplomacy* (Berkeley, CA, 2004) give insights into the links between memory of wartime and contemporary international relations. Caroline Rose’s *Sino-Japanese Relations: Facing the Past, Looking to the Future?* (London, 2004) and *Interpreting History in Sino-Japanese Relations* (London, 1998) give valuable insights into the relevance of the “history debates” between the two sides in the present day. Yinan He’s *The Search for Reconciliation: Sino-Japanese and German-Polish Relations since World War II* (Cambridge, 2009) gives a welcome comparative perspective. War and memory in China and in the region more widely is addressed in Sheila Jager and Rana Mitter, eds., *War, Memory, and the Post-Cold War in Asia* (Cambridge, MA, 2007).