

Mayumi Itoh

THE MAKING OF
CHINA'S WAR WITH JAPAN

ZHOU ENLAI & ZHANG XUELIANG



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For Megumi



Map: East Asia as related to Zhou Enlai and Japan (*Source*: Constructed by author from blank map of East Asia, courtesy of Daniel Dalet, d-maps.com, http://d-maps.com/lib=east_asia_maps&num_car=77&lang=en)

NOTES ON THE TEXT

Names of people and places in Chinese are in principle given in modern spellings of Mandarin, based on pinyin; however, some historical names of people and institutions that are known by their old spellings, as well as names concerning Taiwan, are given in Wade-Giles style, as in Chiang Kai-shek and the Kwantung Army. The old names of places which are no longer in use appear with their modern names within parentheses, for example, Beiping (Beijing) and Fengtian (Shenyang). The spellings in Wade-Giles style in direct quotations are converted to pinyin for consistency with the rest of the text. For Japanese, the Hepburn style is used, with macron; however, macrons are not used for words known in English without macrons, for example, Kyoto and Tokyo. Another exception is that “n” is not converted to “m” for words where it precedes “b, m, and n”; for example, Saionji “Kinmochi,” instead of Kimmochi. Names for Japanese newspapers, such as Asahi Shimbun, are given ‘as is’ because they are their official English names.

Chinese and Japanese names are given with the surname first, except for those who use the reversed order in English. Honorific prefixes, such as doctor and mister, are not used in the text, except in direct quotations. Positions and titles, as well as ages, of individuals correspond to the time at which the event is described in the particular passage of the text, unless specified otherwise. English translations of institutions and positions are based on the ones given at the official sites of each governmental organization. The discrepant dates among sources have been cross-checked and the most plausible date in each case has been used in this book; however, where it was not possible to determine the correct date, both dates are

mentioned, as in 1924/1925, which means either 1924 or 1925. Dates of birth and death that were recorded in the traditional lunar calendar have been converted into those of the Gregorian calendar. In addition, a person's age expressed according to traditional counting—which makes the age one or even two years older than in the current system—has been converted to its equivalent in the current system.

All translations, including Zhou's poems, are by the author, in the form of paraphrases, not as literal translations, in order for the translations to make sense in English without losing the original meanings. Citation numbers for sources of information are normally given at the end of each paragraph, instead of at the end of each sentence, in order to allow a smooth reading of the text and also limit the number of citations. Regarding online sources, the dates of actual access are given unless the sources give the posting dates.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CCCPC	Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
CCYLE	Chinese Communist Youth League in Europe
CPC	Communist Party of China
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CYCPE	Chinese Youth Communist Party in Europe
IJA	Imperial Japanese Army
KMT	Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
PLA	People's Liberation Army
POW	Prisoner of War
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China
YMCA	Young Men's Christian Association

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Introduction

Japan occupied an important part of the life of Zhou Enlai (March 1898–January 1976) from his birth to death. He was born just after the first Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) and grew up in the middle of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), in which the two countries vied for the spheres of influence in Manchuria (China’s Northeast region). Zhou went to an elementary school in the former capital of Manchuria, Fengtian (current Shenyang), and observed the effects of the war. Zhou then studied at Nankai Middle School in Tianjin, where a Chinese militia group had besieged international legations of the imperial powers, including Japan (the Boxer Rebellion, 1899–1901). After graduating from Nankai Middle School, Zhou went to study in Japan in September 1917, was enlightened about communism, and returned home in April 1919.¹

Upon returning to Tianjin, Zhou participated in the May Fourth Movement, the first nationwide popular uprising of nationalism in China, was arrested, and was expelled from Nankai University. Zhou then went to Europe in November 1920 and joined a Chinese communist cell in France in the spring of 1921. Thus, a young Chinese revolutionary and future leader of the People’s Republic of China (PRC or “China” hereafter) was born. Zhou returned to China and moved up the ranks in the Communist Party of China (CPC), while fighting the Beiyang warlords during the first United Front between the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) and the CPC. The CPC then fought the KMT, ruled by Chiang Kai-shek (October 1887–April 1975), and then the Imperial Japanese Army (IJA) until winning the war with Japan (the second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1945),

and the civil war in 1949. After the establishment of the PRC, Zhou dealt with Japan as the Chinese premier (and foreign minister) until his death in 1976. Thus, from his impressionable years and throughout his adult years, Zhou lived a life concerned with Japan, dealing with Japan, or fighting with Japan.²

This work constitutes part two of a three-part study of Zhou Enlai and Japan by this author. Part one examined Zhou's involvement with Japan during his early years and investigated his study years in Japan. Part two in turn analyzes Zhou's relations with Japan during his mid-career, from his participation in the May Fourth Movement and his years in Europe to his involvement in the Xi'an Incident and the formation of the second United Front between the KMT and the CPC against Japan, which paved the way for the Chinese victory in the second Sino-Japanese War.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Early Career of Zhou Enlai

Despite the significance of Zhou's involvement in the May Fourth Movement and his activities in Europe, this formative period of Zhou's career is not well documented in his biographies in English. *Zhou Enlai: A Biography* by Dick Wilson (1984) and *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years* by Chae-jin Lee (1994) have chapters on this period; however, they are relatively short and contain misunderstandings. In turn, a Japanese diplomat, Ogura Kazuo, wrote a more reliable book in Japanese on Zhou's life in Europe entitled *Pari no Shū Onrai: Chūgoku-kakumeika no Seiō-taiken* (Zhou Enlai in Paris: A Chinese Revolutionary's Experiences in Western Europe, 1992).³

Meanwhile, the definitive official biography, *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai, the "Official Biography" hereafter), was published in China. The original one-volume version, covering his life until 1949, was first published in 1989. Then the new version, with the addition of the second volume covering his life from 1949 to 1976, was published in 1998. The actual content of volume one of the 1998 version is almost identical to that of the 1989 version, with major changes in the formatting of footnotes. Both versions were edited by the Central Committee of the CPC (CCCPC) Party Literature Research Office (the official name in English) and they clarify many misunderstandings and speculations made in the previous studies of Zhou's life.⁴

Zhou Enlai and the Xi'an Incident

In addition, the critical roles Zhou played in the Xi'an Incident of December 1936 and in the subsequent formation of the anti-Japanese united front between the KMT and the CPC are not well documented in English. Moreover, the Xi'an Incident itself is still shrouded in mystery, and the previous studies are fraught with misunderstandings, even wrongly speculating that it was a conspiracy of the CPC or of the Third International ("Comintern," hereafter). The Official Biography of Zhou Enlai (1989 and 1998) and the Official Chronology of Zhou Enlai (1989) clarify these misunderstandings by providing more accurate accounts of Zhou's involvement in the incident, as well as that of the CPC and the Comintern. Although they might not have disclosed everything, sources provided for each passage include specific telegrams exchanged among Zhou, Mao Zedong, other CPC leaders, and the Comintern headquarters, with specific dates.⁵

In addition, one of the earliest biographies of Zhou Enlai in any language, written by Matsuno Tanio (1961), provides a credible account of the Xi'an Incident. Matsuno, a reporter for the major Japanese daily *Asahi Shimbun*, resided in Beijing for half a year until the end of August 1957, when he was forced to leave China, as a quid pro quo for the Japanese government's refusal to admit Chinese reporters to enter Japan. During his stay, Matsuno met Zhou many times and gathered information about him. Upon returning home, he wrote an excellent biography of Zhou up to the ten-year anniversary of the founding of the PRC. Although it was written more than half a century ago, it still sheds light on many important aspects of the Xi'an Incident and the secret missions Zhou engaged in for the peaceful settlement of the incident and on the formation of the second KMT-CPC United Front.⁶

Zhang Xueliang's Record of Repentance

In turn, the "culprit" of the Xi'an Incident, Northeastern Army commander-in-chief Zhang Xueliang (courtesy name, Hanqing, June 1901–October 2001), wrote a report on the incident in 1954 (or 1955 or 1956, depending on the source) by order of Chiang Kai-shek, who had placed Zhang under house arrest since December 1936, transferring him to various places across China and then to Taiwan in 1947. Chiang later gave the report to his son, Chiang Ching-kuo. Then the

whole account was leaked and was published as an article entitled “*Xi’an-shibian chanhui-lu*” (“Record of Repentance for the Xi’an Incident”) in the journal *Xiwang* (Hope) in Taipei in July 1964. This caused a political storm and Zhang protested against the publication. Chiang Kai-shek in rage banned the journal, held Chiang Ching-kuo responsible, and punished those who were involved in the publication. Although most of the copies were recalled, some were smuggled to Hong Kong and republished in *Mingbao* (Light Report) in September 1968 (No. 32–34).⁷

Subsequently, this article was compiled in several collections of Zhang’s writings published in China, under the title “*Xi’an-shibian huiyi-lu*” (Memories of Xi’an Incident). Although this account is significant as the sole record of the incident written by Zhang himself, and appears to be accurate overall, it should be read with a grain of salt because it was written for Chiang by his order.⁸

Oral History of Zhang Xueliang

Then in 1990, shortly after the Taiwanese government had rehabilitated Zhang and had given him a complete recovery of his freedom on his 90th birthday (according to the traditional Chinese age counting), Zhang gave an interview to the Japanese public broadcast station, NHK, in Taipei on June 17 and then on August 3–5, 1990. During the interviews, Zhang candidly spoke about his life and his views of Japan, such as “Japan ruined my life.” Soon, a translation of the interviews was published in China and caused a sensation there. In addition, Columbia University history professor, Tang Degang (August 1920–October 2009), interviewed Zhang in January–May 1990 and the transcripts were compiled in *Zhang Xueliang koushu-lishi* (Oral History of Zhang Xueliang, 2009, 2013, and other versions). Then, Zhang’s death in 2001 resulted in another surge in interest in Zhang in China, and a plethora of biographies of Zhang, as well as collections of his oral history and writings, were published in China.⁹

In contrast, notwithstanding the significance of the Xi’an Incident to the contemporary history of China and East Asia, there is no book in English that fully examines the incident. For that matter, there is no biography in English of Zhang Xueliang to the knowledge of this author, with one exception: *Zhang Xueliang: The General Who Never Fought*, written by Aron Shai (2012).¹⁰

SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Through the new and old literature in Chinese, English, and Japanese, this book reexamines Zhou Enlai's mid-career against the backdrop of Japanese imperialism. This book does not go into detail about the actual warfare during the second Sino-Japanese War because this particular subject is already well documented in literature in English.¹¹ Instead, this study focuses on lesser known and unknown aspects of Zhou's involvement in the Xi'an Incident and the formation of the second KMT–CPC United Front against Japan, as the basis for how China fought with Japan in the war. While it is virtually impossible to write a book totally free of errors, especially biographies of political leaders whose careers are marked by secrecy, including that of Zhou Enlai, this book strives to leave as accurate a record as possible of Zhou's mid-career. This work was made possible only because of the herculean efforts of the previous scholars and writers who tried their best to understand this enigmatic Chinese leader. This book is therefore a synthesis of all of the previous works on Zhou Enlai.

NOTES

1. Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989, 1–28.
2. Ibid., 28–843; Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1949–1976* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1949–1976), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1997.
3. Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, New York: Viking, 1984; Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994; Ogura Kazuo, *Pari no Shū Onrai: Chūgoku-kakumeika no Seiō-taiken* (Zhou Enlai in Paris: A Chinese Revolutionary's Experiences in Western Europe), Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992.
4. Jin Chongji, ed. (principal editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan 1898–1949* (Biography of Zhou Enlai 1898–1949), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Renmin-chubanshe and Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1989; Jin Chongji, ed. (principal editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, 2 vols., Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998.

5. Ibid. (both); Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949*.
6. Matsuno Tanio, *Chūgoku no shidōsha: Shū Onrai to sono jidai* (A Chinese Leader: Zhou Enlai and His Time); Tokyo: Dōyūsha, 1961.
7. Zhang, Xueliang, “Xi’an-jiken zange-roku” (Record of Repentance for the Xi’an Incident), translated and annotated by Ōishi Tomoyoshi, *Chūgoku*, No. 103, June 1972, 56–82; Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang koushu-zizhuan* (Oral Autobiography of Zhang Xueliang), edited by Wang Shujun, Elmhurst, NY: Xiangjiang shidai-chubanshe, 2004, 386; Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang koushu-lishi* (Oral History of Zhang Xueliang), edited by Tang Degang, Taiyuan: Shanxi renmin-chubanshe, 2013, 164.
8. Zhang Xueliang, “Xi’an-shibian Huiyi-lu” (Memories of Xi’an Incident), in Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang wenji* (Writings of Zhang Xueliang), edited by Bi Wanwen (principal editor), Beijing: Xinhua-chubanshe, 1992, Vol. 2, 1191–1204; Zhang (2004), 386–400; Zhang (2013), 163–169.
9. Zhang (2013), 11; NHK shuzai-han and Usui Katsumi, *Chō Gakuryō no Shōwa-shi saigo no shōgen* (Last Testimony of Shōwa History by Zhang Xueliang), Tokyo: Kadokawa-shoten, 1991, 16–18 and 260; Zhang Xueliang, *Jianmo wushi-yunian Zhang Xueliang kaikou-shuohua: Riben NHK-jizhe zhuan-fanglu* (Zhang Xueliang Gives Interviews to Japanese NHK Reporters after Fifty Years of Silence), trans. by Guan Ning and Zhang Youkuan, Shenyang: Liaoning renmin-chubanshe, 1992; Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang yigao: Youjin-qijian zishu · riji he xinhan* (Posthumous Manuscript of Zhang Xueliang: His Statements of House-Arrest Period · Diary and Letters), edited by Dou Yingtai, Beijing: Zuoqia-chubanshe, 2005; Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang de jinsheng jinshi* (Life of Zhang Xueliang), edited by Wang Shujun, Beijing: Tuanjie-chubanshe, 2011.
10. Aron Shai, *Zhang Xueliang: The General Who Never Fought*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
11. See, for instance, William G. Beasley, *Japanese Imperialism, 1894–1945*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1991; Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931–1945*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996; Rana Mitter, *China’s War with Japan, 1937–1945: The Struggle for Survival*, London: Allen Lane, 2013.

May Fourth Movement and Early Career of Zhou Enlai

Having failed in the entrance exams of the First Higher School and the Tokyo Higher Normal School and with the prospect of studying at a Japanese higher school becoming dim, Zhou Enlai decided to go home and sailed from Kobe on April 11 or 15, 1919. He had just turned 21 a month earlier. Within a few weeks after he returned home, the May Fourth Movement occurred, and subsequently Zhou engaged himself in a student movement, rather than in academic study. Before long, he emerged as a leader of the student movement until he was arrested and detained in January 1920. Upon release in July, he sailed to France in November 1920, in order to study at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. This chapter examines highlights of this period of Zhou's life, as well as lesser known aspects of it.

MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

The time when Zhou Enlai returned to China coincided with the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, the first nationwide grassroots movement against imperial power in Chinese history. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 after World War I, the Chinese government requested the rescinding of Japan's Twenty-One Demands of 1915 (which secured Japan's sphere of interest in China against other imperial powers such as Russia) and the restoration to China of the interests in Shandong peninsula (Qingdao) that Japan had taken from Germany during World War I. When the peace conference acceded to Japan's inter-

ests in the Shandong province, the Chinese people were humiliated and infuriated. On May 4, more than 3,000 students at Peking University and other universities in Beijing held a demonstration in the Tiananmen Square, calling for the rejection of the Treaty of Versailles and dismissing pro-Japanese government officials, such as Communications minister Cao Rulin (January 1877–August 1966, Bank of Communications president), Currency Bureau director Lu Zongyu (July 1876–June 1941, former minister to Japan), and the incumbent minister to Japan Zhang Zongxiang (January 1879–October 1962), denouncing them as traitors. The demonstration turned violent as some students stormed Cao’s residence and burned it down. Cao hid himself and escaped the attack, but Zhang, who happened to be at Cao’s residence during his home leave, was injured by the protesters.¹

As the Metropolitan Police Department arrested more than 30 students, the remaining students in Beijing went on general strike. In response, students, merchants, and workers in other cities launched strikes in their locales and the anti-imperialism and anti-Japanese protest movement spread nationwide. In the end, the Qian Nengxun cabinet (one of the Beiyang warlord governments) dismissed Cao, Lu, and Zhang from their government positions and decided not to sign the Treaty of Versailles. The Chinese chief representative to the Paris Peace Conference was Gu Weijun (January 1888–November 1985; one of the most prominent diplomats in modern China, known as V. K. Wellington Koo in the West). This popular uprising reflected a call for democratic and egalitarian values by intellectual leaders, such as the *Xinqingnian* (New Youth) editor and Peking University professor Chen Duxiu (October 1879–May 1942) and his colleague Li Dazhao (October 1888–April 1927), who had launched the New Culture Movement in 1915. The prominent writer Lu Xun (real name, Zhou Shuren; September 1881–October 1936) was one of the major contributors to the journal. The May Fourth Movement paved the way for the foundation of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in July 1921 by 12 members in Shanghai, 6 of whom—Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Li Da, Dong Biwu, Li Hanjun, and Zhou Fohai—had studied in Japan. Notable activists/journalists who were influenced by this movement include Zou Taofen (known by this penname; real name, Zou Enrun; November 1895–July 1944) and Du Zhongyuan (1897–September 1943, see Chap. 6).²

ZHOU RETURNED TO CHINA BEFORE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

To be accurate, Zhou did not return to China because he was inspired by the May Fourth Movement and wanted to participate in it, as many studies have stated. He actually returned home before the outbreak of the movement. Moreover, he did not participate in the initial stage of the movement, let alone being a leader. To state otherwise lends a hand to the creation of a false legend about Zhou Enlai. Zhou left Kobe port, Japan, either on April 11 or April 15, 1919. He most likely sailed first to Yingkou, a port city in Liaoning province peninsula (via Dalian), and then visited his fourth uncle Zhou Yigeng and his friends in Fengtian (Shenyang) and Harbin before returning to Tianjin. Zhou arrived in Tianjin toward the end of April, as the Nankai Middle School newspaper *Xiaofeng* issue dated April 30, 1919, reported: “Our alumnus, Mr. Zhou Enlai, returned to Tianjin from Japan the other day....He is planning to take the entrance exams of Tsinghua School or Peking University.” The fact remains that the May Fourth Movement was not the reason for Zhou to return home.³

The primary reason for Zhou’s decision to go home was to study at a new university that was to open in the fall of 1919 at his alma mater, Nankai Middle School (“Nankai” hereafter): Nankai University. Since he was a graduate of Nankai, he was qualified to enroll in the university without taking the entrance exams. Nankai University would serve as his Plan B should he fail in the entrance exams of Peking University or Tsinghua School. Having heard of Nankai’s plan toward the end of 1918 or in early 1919, he eventually gave up the idea of studying in Japan, where he had failed in the entrance exams for two higher schools, and decided to go home.⁴

CREATION OF TIANJIN STUDENT FEDERATION

Meanwhile, as soon as the news of the arrest of the demonstrators in Beijing reached Tianjin on May 5, Peiyang School of Law and Politics (currently Tianjin University) officials sent a telegram to Peking University and to the Chinese president Xu Shichang, in support of the student demonstration in Peking. Then, on May 7, students in Tianjin held a demonstration, while the Tianjin government issued a martial law decree. It was National Humiliation Day for China: the four-year anniversary of the day the Japanese government gave China an ultimatum on the Twenty-One

Demands in 1915 (the day Yuan Shikai accepted them, May 9, was also National Humiliation Day in China). Subsequently, on May 14, student representatives created the Tianjin Student Federation of Schools Above Middle Schools (“Tianjin Student Federation” hereafter) and elected Chen Zhidu (1896–1975, Tianjin Higher Technology School student) as president and one of Zhou’s closest friends and his debate-club teammate at Nankai, Ma Jun (September 1895–February 1928, of Hui Muslim nationality), as vice president. Then, on May 23, more than 10,000 students at 15 universities and middle schools in Tianjin boycotted classes.⁵

Further, on May 25, female student activists at the Tianjin Zhili First Women’s Normal School (“Zhili” refers to “directly administered by the central government”; Zhili province was renamed Hebei province when the KMT established the Nanjing government in 1928), such as Guo Longzhen (March 1894–April 1931, of Hui origin), Zhang Ruoming (February 1902–June 1958, the school’s Student Council president), and Deng Yingchao (February 1904–July 1992, the future wife of Zhou Enlai), established the Tianjin Society of Patriotic Comrades in Women’s Circles. The school alumna, Liu Qingyang (February 1894–July 1977, of Hui origin), became its president. Then, on June 5, the Tianjin Student Federation organized a patriotic rally at Nankai, in which they called for the Chinese government to nullify the Twenty-One Demands and release the student leaders. On June 10, all the stores in Tianjin closed in protest, and the Tianjin Federation of All Circles was established on June 18. On June 27, ten representatives of Tianjin, including Ma Jun and two female leaders (Liu Qingyang and Zhang Ruoming), went to Beijing to join representatives of other regions in petitioning President Xu Shichang to reject the Treaty of Versailles. With the Chinese government decision not to sign the treaty and the arrival of the summer recess, the May Fourth Movement subsided.⁶

During this period, Zhou essentially remained an observer, just as he had been during the student protest movement in Japan a year earlier. Zhou was not among the ten representatives who went to Beijing to petition the government. He only went to Tianjin train station to see Ma Jun and others off to Beijing. As he did in Tokyo, however, Zhou kept close contact with leaders of the movement, specifically with Ma, and even might have lent a hand in drafting petitions. This reflects the cautious character of Zhou (which affected many of the critical choices he made in his life and even saved him from persecution and execution), as well as his unstable status. Just as he was not a student at a proper school in Japan

(he was a student of a preparatory school called the East Asian Higher Preparatory School), he was not enrolled in any school in Tianjin and therefore was not a member of the Tianjin Student Federation. (Nankai University would not open until September.) In addition, he was still weighing his options between studies and political activism. His heart might have been gravitating toward the latter, but his sense of family obligation dictated him to earn a degree and have a respectable career.⁷

INAUGURATION OF TIANJIN STUDENT FEDERATION NEWSLETTER

One of the first major projects in which Zhou took part in the student movement was the publication in July 1919 of the daily newspaper of the Tianjin Student Federation—*Tianjin Student Federation Newsletter*. Knowing Zhou's journalistic expertise honed during the Nankai years, Ma Jun asked Zhou to become editor. Zhou in turn asked one of his classmates at Nankai, Pan Shilun (courtesy name Shuan, February 1898–January 1983, from Zhejiang province), whom Zhou referred to as Little Brother Shu (*shudi*), to stay in Tianjin and help him edit the newsletter. Pan was studying at Jinling University (University of Nanking) in Nanjing at that time, but was visiting Tianjin during the summer recess. Zhou wrote an announcement for the publication of the newsletter, which appeared in the Nankai Daily (*regan*) on July 12, 1919 (No. 35). It read:

Regarding present national student voluntary enterprises, they are not rare in the world, but we seldom see them in our East Asia. The Rice Riot in Japan and the Korean independence movement are reverberations of the waves of new thinking in the world. People's self-awareness has only slightly increased in the history of East Asia. The knowledge of [Chinese] students is very shallow and their thought is decayed.⁸

Zhou then listed 20 principles for the newsletter in the announcement, which included reform of mind, innovation, democracy, and pro-activism. Zhou and Pan Shilun worked day and night for the publication of the newsletter. The inaugural issue of the *Tianjin Student Federation Newsletter* appeared on July 2; however, the Tianjin police censored the newsletter several times and suspended its publication in September 1919. When the police raided the editorial office, Zhou managed to escape and took refuge at the house of Nankai University secretary-general Kang

Nairu. Kang was the chemistry teacher at Nankai Middle School when Zhou was a student there and they developed a strong bond, which was more than an ordinary teacher–student relationship. In October 1919, the publication of the *Tianjin Student Federation Newsletter* was restored. Despite the censor and suspension, Zhou kept writing for the newspaper. Zhou also consolidated major student newspapers in Tianjin and created the Tianjin Federation of Student Publications in August.⁹

TIANJIN STUDENT FEDERATION JOINS THE DEMONSTRATION IN BEIJING

Meanwhile, in early August, the Martial Law Commander of Shandong province, Ma Liang (Beiyang military clique leader and former prime minister Duan Qirui’s protégé), proclaimed martial law, cracked down on local patriotic demonstrations, and arrested and killed three Moslems, including Moslem Society to Support National Salvation president Ma Yunting. In response, the Tianjin Student Federation and the Tianjin Society of Patriotic Comrades in Women’s Circles again sent ten representatives, including two female leaders, this time Liu Qingyang and Guo Longzhen, to Beijing to protest against the brutal suppression. The police arrested all 10 representatives, along with 15 representatives of Beijing on August 23. The remaining student representatives in Tianjin became extremely agitated by the news, but Zhou cautioned them to remain calm and to keep on with their patriotic movement as they had planned. Yet, he also stated that “we have the responsibility to work out a way to rescue the arrested” and published an extra issue of the *Tianjin Student Federation Newsletter*, in order to inform local students of the incident.¹⁰

Subsequently, on August 26, more than 2,000 Tianjin and Beijing students held a massive demonstration in Beijing, with Ma Jun as general commander, and encircled the President’s Office, the Parliament, and the State Council Office. They held rallies for three days until the Metropolitan Police Department superintendent-general mobilized several thousand armed men of the police, the army, and the security force, which drove the protesters into Tiananmen Square, injured more than a hundred students, and arrested student representatives, including Ma Jun. At Tiananmen Square, Ma and other representatives from Tianjin, such as Liu Qingyang (the female leader), made fiery speeches, for which Ma was given the nickname “Tianan” and was referred to as Ma Tianan afterward. In response,

several hundred students in Tianjin headed to Beijing in order to rescue the arrested leaders. This time, Zhou joined in the action and went to Beijing—the first known case in which he actively engaged himself in the student movement. Even Nankai principal Zhang Boling, Tianjin Zhili Fishery School president Sun Ziwen (close friend of Yan Xiu), and other educators in Tianjin went to Beijing in support of the students. Consequently, they held overnight sit-ins in front of the President's Office, along with representatives of various circles of Beijing, until the arrested representatives were released on August 30.¹¹

CREATION OF AWAKENING SOCIETY

On the train back to Tianjin from Beijing on September 2, Zhou and six student activists, including two female leaders, Guo Longzhen and Zhang Ruoming, discussed the problem that female and male students could not work in the same group because men and women were not allowed to be present together in public according to the tradition in Chinese society. Therefore, female students could not join the Tianjin Student Federation and created the Tianjin Society of Patriotic Comrades in Women's Circles, instead. In order to break this bind, Zhang proposed to merge the two groups. Zhou in turn proposed to create a more rigorous organization than a mere student union, made up of core members of the two groups, and to publish a periodical focusing on the study of science and new thought. Others concurred. This was the origin of *Juewushe* (the Awakening Society).¹²

On September 16, 1919, Zhou joined 19 student leaders (including school alumni) of the Tianjin Student Federation and Tianjin Society of Patriotic Comrades in Women's Circles in the creation of the Awakening Society. True to their advocacy for gender equality, the 20 founding members consisted of 10 men and 10 women. Male members included Chen Zhidu, Ma Jun, Pan Shilun (Shuan), and another Nankai alumnus, Xue Hanyue (also known as Xue Zhuodong), who went to Japan at the same time as Zhou. Zhou referred to Xue by his courtesy name Yinshan and listed him as one of his best friends in his diary in Japan, along with Pan Shilun and several others. In addition, a Nankai student, Zhao Guangchen (Danwen, died in Taiwan), who had helped Zhou publish the *Tianjin Student Federation Newsletter* as a reporter, also joined the society. In turn, female members included Li Xijin, Li Yitao, Liu Qingyang, Guo Longzhen, Zhang Ruoming, and Deng Yingchao, who was the youngest

member of the society at age 15. The Awakening Society also elected nine “friends” of the society, including Huang Zhengpin (Huang Ai), Tao Shangzhao (Nianqiang), and Li Yuru (also known as Li Xizhi), who was Pan Shilun’s fiancée (see Table A.1).¹³

ACTIVITIES OF AWAKENING SOCIETY

The Awakening Society’s action guidelines included self-awakening and self-determination, as well as self-sacrifice and mutual help. The group also published its own journal, *Juewu* (Awakening), in which members were only referred to by a number in order to conceal their identities from the authorities. Zhou drew No. 5, out of 1 to 50, in the lottery, and wrote under the pseudonym Wuhao (No. 5). In December 1919, for instance, Wuhao wrote “Declaration of ‘Awakening,’” calling for reform of mind and innovation, which appeared in the inaugural issue of *Juewu* on January 20, 1920. Despite the fact that Zhou played a major role in the creation of the society, he declined to assume the position of president, just as he had done during the Nankai years. In addition to being a rational observer and a realistic pragmatist, this modesty is another characteristic of Zhou, which might very well have saved his life in the series of power struggles. Zhou’s forte as a strategist and organizer rather than a theorist and ideologue was already pronounced in the Awakening Society. For him, theory and ideology were the means for political action and movement, not vice versa.¹⁴

Moreover, the Awakening Society played an indispensable role for Zhou as his first solid group of comrades, with the same commitments and missions, many of whom he had lasting relationships with after the establishment of the PRC (Deng Yingchao being a prime example). In fact, four society members and two “friends” would go to Europe to study during the same period as Zhou (Li Yuru went a little earlier than Zhou, while Zhao Guangchen, Guo Longzhen, Zhang Ruoming, and Tao Shangzhao went with Zhou, and Liu Qingyang a little later, see Chap. 3). Also, 14 out of the 20 members would become members of the Chinese Socialist Youth League and/or the CPC.¹⁵

One of the events to celebrate the foundation of the Awakening Society was a seminar held on September 21, 1919, with Peking University professor Li Dazhao as a guest speaker. On that morning Zhou went to the Wesley Methodist Church in the French concession to hear Li’s lecture on the Bolshevik Revolution and then escorted him to a group discussion at the Awakening Society in the afternoon. Li’s speech was based on his