# Student Movements in Wartime China, 1937-1949

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Abstract

While investigating the history of a Chinese university in the Second World War for another project, I realised student movements were a window to Chinese politics in the war years. To understand why the students protested against the Nationalist government, I conducted a comparative study of student movements in China’s War of Resistance (1937-1945) and the Civil War (1945-1949), using archives in Taiwan and Nanjing, including official documents, telegraphs and newspapers. I found that while hunger remained a crucial factor throughout the twelve years, political reasons such as anti-corruption, anti-Civil War and anti-foreign sentiment undermined students’ faith in the Nationalist government. The central government’s inability to cope with such mounting dissatisfaction on campus and in the intellectual world partly accounted for its failure in 1949.

Keywords: student movement; China’s War of Resistance; Civil War; KMT; CCP.
Introduction

Chinese society underwent great changes in the War of Resistance and the Civil War. On the one hand, the reality of war inevitably affected people’s livelihood, but on the other, wartime China was by no means solely a war machine. In a collective effort to modernise China, scholars and students who returned from their study in western countries served in different positions in the government, including Premier of the Republic of China Song Ziwen (T.V. Soong), who held a PhD in Economics from Columbia University. Millions of ordinary people fled to places they deemed safe, where life soon resumed with some degree of normality. The social dynamics in wartime China, intriguing and yet largely unattended, awaits more scholarly enquiry.

My initial interest lies specifically in the National Southwest Associated University (Lianda) in Kunming, Yunnan province, not least because it was an amalgam of three top Chinese universities at the time. The interaction between the local residents and the evacuees, mostly professors and students, was fascinating. Meanwhile, the university also played an important role in the power struggle between the central government and the local government under Long Yun, Governor of Yunnan, which my archival research project was designed to examine. As an overt manifestation of disobedience to the Nationalist government, student movements in this university were a focal point of my investigation.

The field trips to archives in Taiwan and mainland China, however, called for due modification of the original research topic, primarily because of a lack of information about this

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1 In this essay, I use the pinyin transliterations. For Chinese names and places that are better known in the Wade-Giles format, I give both transliterations the first time I refer to them.

2 Professor and students performed dramas advocating for local voluntary enlistment in the army, and made donations for relief funds. See Wen Liming, Kangzhan fengyunzhong de Guoli Xinan Lianhe Daxue [The National Southwest Associated University in the War of Resistance] (Taipei: Showwe Information, 2010), pp. 175-86, pp. 206-25.
particular university. Should the scope of the topic remain focused on the National Southwest Associated University, this essay would have to rely heavily on secondary sources, which contradicts the purpose of this course. Fortunately, I have been able to obtain abundant archival sources about the student movements in the War of Resistance and the Civil War, which serves as an alternative, namely, an opportunity to analyse the causes of the student movements. By discussing and comparing the causes, this essay will demonstrate that with the advent of the Civil War, there was a significant increase in the number and scale of student movements, many of which were taking up an anti-government stand. The essay will then point out the meaning of the research on student movements, in terms of understanding the failure of the Nationalist government in 1949.

For the Common Good, 1937-1945

From 1937 to 1945, the economy of China was organised around the war with Japan. Although a social welfare and relief system was in place and a ban on extravagant consumption of alcohol and food was enforced, it was still not uncommon that the Nationalist government failed to meet the people’s needs. At that time, a major concern of the students was how to pressure the government into cashing the promised subsidy for them.

Under such circumstances, unequal distribution of resources became a catalyst of popular discontent. The Anti-Kong Movement from December 1941 to January 1942 was one of the most serious challenges staged by the students during the War of Resistance. The daughter of Vice-Premier Kong Xiangxi (Kung Hsiang-hsi) was believed to have taken advantage of her

3 Chongqing Central Daily (CQCD), 28 December, 1941.
father’s political status to move her belongings on a plane away from Hong Kong, the city being under Japanese attack as the Pacific War broke out. She allegedly took some dogs with her, irrespective of the mission of the government plane to rescue influential personages and intellectuals. Agitated by the news, students from three universities in Kunming city went on demonstrations on 6 January, 1942, and put up slogans reading ‘dadao Kongyuanzhang’ (‘down with Vice-Premier Kong’).\(^4\) Stopped by the police, they returned to respective campuses and were told not to believe the rumours.\(^5\) Students in other universities soon joined in the Anti-Kong Movement, including the National Zhejiang University in Zunyi, Guizhou province.\(^6\)

The government took several measures to contain the situation. First, media was forbidden from reporting the movement or publicising the slogans.\(^7\) Then the students were lectured on how such demonstrations would do damage to China’s international reputation, given the intensifying cooperation among the Allied forces.\(^8\) Secretly, investigation and prosecution of initiators were carried out, as instructed by Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek) in his telegraph to the Ministry of Education.\(^9\) It is possible that the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) played a part in launching this movement, as the Organisation Department of the Kuomintang Party (KMT) identified some activists who pretended to be KMT Party members.\(^10\) Two missing students of the National Zhejiang University, He Youliang and Wang Hui, were later confirmed to have

\(^4\) KMT Party Archives (KPA), T 3/29.52. For clarification, the letter ‘T’ in the file name is short for ‘te’, which stands for ‘special’ files.

\(^5\) Ibid., T 3/29.44.

\(^6\) Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC), 5(2)-1561.

\(^7\) KPA, T 3/29.52.

\(^8\) Ibid., T 3/29.44.

\(^9\) Ibid.

\(^10\) SHAC, 5(2)-1561.
been arrested by the local authority. In the end, The Anti-Kong Movement was successfully suppressed due to strict government control.

There seemed to be fewer student movements from 1937 to 1945 when compared with the years between 1945 and 1949. Apart from state censorship and thought control as shown in the Anti-Kong Movement, a sense of national urgency also contributed to the relative tranquility. Students, together with the rest of the population, were convinced that the priority in wartime was national unity, the disruption of which was to put the survival of the nation in jeopardy. When making accusations against the president of the University of Yunnan for corruption and mismanagement, the students stated in their petition that they understood the importance of social order when the whole country was in war with Japan, and therefore their protest was only to inform the government of the punitive regulations imposed upon them by the university authority, which had become all the more insufferable. It shows the students’ unwillingness to be seen as a real threat to the government, and instead it was negotiation and mediation that the students asked for.

In summary, during China’s War of Resistance student movements were often an expression of dissatisfaction with the ways in which resources were distributed. The limited scale of these movements was partly a result of the effective government control over media and political dissent. More profoundly, however, it was due to the forcing reality of the war, which necessitated full mobilisation of the population and thereby voluntary self-containment of thought and action. Therefore, it is reasonable to think that more movements failed to come into shape for this exact reason.

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11 Ibid., 5(2)-1638.
12 Ibid., 5(2)-1702.
Towards Larger Goals, 1945-1949

The Civil War between the KMT and the CCP was a second drain on the Chinese economy, causing severe inflation across the country. Universities were stricken by a lack of funds, rendering students and professors wanting. As a result, in the spring of 1948, students at the National Wuhan University campaigned for government stipends, complaining about their starvation. At the same time, classes were suspended in the Hunan and Xiamen Universities, in order to achieve an increase in income for professors and administrative staff, in accordance with the rising commodity prices. Class suspension also took place in Kunming, Anhui and Beijing. In Tianjing, the suicide of a doctor working in an infirmary affiliated to the University of Nankai aggravated the situation, as the students attributed his death to slender pay. When Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua visited Tianjing, students there petitioned for the maintenance of the state-financed education system and an income rise for professors, staff and workers. In 1947, a university in Fujian reported hungry students assaulting the headmaster, who was suspected of corruption. As the economy worsened, hunger became a major drive for student movements nationwide.

However, it would be problematic to assume that economy was the only concern of the people. On the one hand, the two major political parties resorted to war in their struggle for

13 Ibid., 5(2)-1503.
14 Ibid.
15 Ibid., 5(2)-1748. See also ibid., 5(2)-1560.
16 Ibid., 5(2)-1503.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid., 5(2)-1672.
19 Ibid., 5(2)-1813.
power. With each breakdown of negotiation the hope for a democratic coalition government grew dimmer, and wartime restrictions on people’s thought and expression were hardly relaxed. On the other hand, China’s sovereignty and independence seemed at stake, given the continuation of foreign prerogatives and the presence of western military forces here. The worrying political environment prompted students to go on demonstrations and criticise the Nationalist government overtly, regardless of danger.

Demanding peace, democracy and freedom

In the contemporary eyes, the Civil War was not only an economic burden but utterly unnecessary in the first place. Public opinion urged the ruling KMT, the CCP and other small political parties to form a democratic coalition government through negotiation instead of war.20 Anti-Civil War student movements broke out in major cities such as Kunming,21 Shanghai and Chengdu.22 In November 1945, a joint representative meeting was held by the students’ unions of the National Southwest Associated University, the Yunnan University and other universities and colleges in Kunming. They advocated for a truce and suggested that the conflicts be investigated by a delegation of independent parties and individuals.23 In the next month, slogans were put up in the city, appealing to the students and the mass population to unite against the Civil War and campaign for a coalition government, by means of bake (suspending class), bashi

20 Yunnan Guanchahao (YNGCB), 7 September, 1945.
21 SHAC, 5(2)-1559.
22 Ibid., 5(2)-1632.
23 Ibid., 5(2)-1558.
(closing business) and bagong (going on strikes).\textsuperscript{24} It is nevertheless noteworthy that by the end of 1945 the students were criticising both the KMT and the CCP for waging the Civil War, rather than blaming solely the KMT-led Nationalist government.\textsuperscript{25}

Gradually the student movements went towards an anti-government direction in pursuit of democracy and freedom. Even before the war with Japan came to a close, some of the regional newspapers had been proselytising the freedom of speech against media censorship.\textsuperscript{26} On 25 November, 1945, a meeting on current affairs in the National Southwest Associated University was interrupted by shots of guns and artillery,\textsuperscript{27} despite which Wen Yiduo and other professors continued their speech.\textsuperscript{28} The official explanation attributed the incident to a bandit alert,\textsuperscript{29} which was regarded by many as unconvincing and insulting. Although no casualties were reported, the indignant students refused to be intimidated and submitted a list of demands to the government, including the punishment of culprits and an assurance of freedom of assembly.\textsuperscript{30} Class suspension was organised during the process of negotiation between the students and the government, mediated by the university.\textsuperscript{31} By the end of November, the situation seemed to have been brought under control.\textsuperscript{32}

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{25} Several newspaper articles held both parties responsible for the Civil War and stated that they should publicise the details of their negotiations. See Chongqing Ta Kung Pao (CQTKP), 10 and 12 November, 1945.

\textsuperscript{26} YNGCB, 12, 13 and 19 January, 15 February, 1945.

\textsuperscript{27} SHAC, 5(2)-1703.

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., 5(2)-1558.

\textsuperscript{29} Kunming Central Daily (KMCD), 26 November, 1945.

\textsuperscript{30} SHAC, 5(2)-1558.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid., 5(2)-1703.

\textsuperscript{32} Class resumption was already on the agenda, according to KMCD, 30 November, 1945.
\end{footnotesize}
However, the government made a fatal move and fell out of favour with students before long. On the first day of December, several universities in Kunming were attacked by soldiers with grenades and clubs, resulting in five deaths.\(^33\) What followed was the December First Movement, with full-scale student strikes not only in Kunming but also throughout the country. Students raised donations by performing on the streets of Kunming, and cinemas hosted charity screening for three days.\(^34\) Particularly alarming to the central government was the students’ attempt to rally the local people with reference to the unexpected reorganisation of the Yunnan government, which was effectively a central takeover and was resented by many Yunnanese.\(^35\) A number of sympathetic professors at the National Southwest Associated University and the Yunnan University threatened to go on a strike.\(^36\) In January 1946, students in Tianjing also went in procession in mourning of the dead, carrying images of the CCP leader Mao Zedong to demonstrate their anger towards the KMT rule.\(^37\) Memorial service was held in universities and schools, and both the government and the army were pressured by the public, seeking a satisfying explanation.\(^38\) One of the major outcomes of the December First Movement was the resignation of Garrison Commander Guan Linzheng,\(^39\) the removal of whom was demanded by the students. Class gradually resumed in late December,\(^40\) but clearly the execution of some

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\(^34\) SHAC, 5(2)-1557.

\(^35\) Ibid. For a detailed account of the relationship between the central government and Governor of Yunnan, Long Yun, see Yang Weizhen, *Cong hezuo dao juelie: lun Long Yun yu zhongyang de guanxi, 1927-1949* [From Cooperation to Disintegration: On the Relations between Lung Yun and the Central Government, 1927-1949] (Taipei: Guoshiguan, 2000).

\(^36\) CQTKP, 6 December, 1945.

\(^37\) SHAC, 5(2)-1546.

\(^38\) Ibid., 5(2)-1557.

\(^39\) KMCD, 8 December, 1945. See also, CQTKP, 10 December, 1945.

\(^40\) CQTKP, 20-26 December, 1945.
scapegoats appeased very few. Many students were now inclined to believe that the KMT government was essentially a reactionary one.\footnote{SHAC, 5(2)-1557.} This was in distinct contrast to the criticisms directed towards individual officials during the War of Resistance.

Such an opinion was again validated when the Ministry of Education issued a series of regulations on the students’ unions and ordered their reshuffle under the supervision of university authorities in 1947.\footnote{Ibid., 5(2)-1421.} Seven universities in Beijing responded fiercely by protesting directly to Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua, who had to turn to Hu Shi (Hu Shih), a renowned scholar and diplomat, for his help with the persuasion of students.\footnote{Ibid., 5(2)-1662.} Zhu was again confronted by the students at the National Wuhan University, who acutely pointed out that the restrictions imposed upon the students’ unions were in fact an act out of fear.\footnote{Ibid., 5(2)-1678.} After the North China Federation of Students was outlawed in early 1948, students remonstrated through media and by suspending class.\footnote{Ibid., 5(2)-1503.} The government then ordered the arrest of twelve students of the University of Beijing, who were charged with aiding and abetting, but it only resulted in wider protests across Beijing.\footnote{Ibid.} The students and professors refused to hand the twelve over to the police, and Professor Hans H. Frankel declared that if the Beijing authority insisted on the arrest, he would accompany the students to prison.\footnote{Ibid.} The government eventually gave in to the immense pressure from the students and the public. Nevertheless, throughout the period from 1945 to 1949,
suppression was a more common method adopted by the Nationalist government, which in turn gave rise to new waves of movements under the slogans of peace, democracy and freedom.

Defending national sovereignty and independence

Students were no less averse to the foreign presence and prerogatives that were regarded as harmful to China’s sovereignty and independence. After the Allied victory in Asia, the government of British Hong Kong planned to build a new airport in Ping Shan, New Territories, which drew fierce opposition from local residents. In 3 January, 1946, the Consulate General of France in Shanghai took the liberty to arrest a French Nazi without notifying the Shanghai authority of this operation. Students in Shanghai and Chongqing marched on the main streets, demanding a hard-line declaration from the Nationalist government.\(^4^8\) The most widely and strongly denounced was the overstaying of American troops. They were seen as ‘partisans of Jiang Jieshi’ by the Chinese,\(^4^9\) who believed that their mission here was to aid the Nationalist army in the Civil War and to consolidate the one-party rule of the KMT.\(^5^0\) The Shen Chong case in 1946 added more fuel to the Anti-American sentiment in China, particularly among university students, as the victim of rape was a female student of the University of Beijing.\(^5^1\) According to reports delivered to the Ministry of Education, student protests adopted the methods of demonstrations, propaganda posters and dramas, as well as boycotting American commodities.\(^5^2\)

\(^4^8\) Ibid., 5(2)-1561.


\(^5^0\) SHAC, 5(2)-1558.

\(^5^1\) Shaffer, ‘A Rape in Beijing, December 1946,’ pp. 31-64.

\(^5^2\) SHAC, 5(2)-1535.
Slogans such as ‘Get Out, U. S. Army’ were painted outside government buildings. The Shen Chong case, together with its scheduling before ‘an American military court rather than a Chinese court’, reminded the students bitterly of the unequal treatment by the West since 1840, to which their predecessors opposed drastically in the May Fourth Movement of 1919.

Much grievance was also fired towards the Soviet Union. In 1946, not only did the students in Chongqing urge the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Manchuria, but they also blamed the CCP army for ‘colluding’ with the Soviet Union. Specifically, the murder of a KMT official Zhang Shenfu allegedly in the hands of the CCP soldiers in Manchuria sparked an outcry among students in Chongqing. They declared that should the presence of Soviet troops in Manchuria be prolonged, China should not hesitate to go to war with the Soviet Union. However, no sooner had the Nationalist government used the anti-CCP tendency to their advantage than the students quickly recalled the loss of Outer Mongolia. With the disclosure of details concerning Outer Mongolia and Manchuria on the Yalta Conference and in the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship and Alliance, the KMT and the Nationalist government were denounced as traitors. The foreign military presence reinforced the image of a weak and suppressive government, incapable of safeguarding either its people or the national sovereignty.

53 Ibid.
55 SHAC, 5(2)-1567.
56 Ibid.
58 SHAC, 5(2)-1567.
In the years of the Civil War, the students’ pursuit of such ideals as peace, democracy and liberty, as well as their defense of national sovereignty and independence, led to multitudes of social protests and movements against the Nationalist government as well as foreign powers in China. The government’s effort to settle the unrest, more often than not by force, backfired on it, driving more students to take an anti-government stand and inevitably, to ally with its political rivals, the CCP in particular.

Conclusion

From 1937 to 1949 China endured two wars, accompanied by numerous student movements for economic and political purposes. While hunger created a huge incentive for a majority of student movements throughout the whole period, two observations can be drawn from a comparison between the years before and after 1945. Firstly, there seemed to be more student movements in the Civil War than during China’s war with Japan, despite the policy of media censorship in both wars. A major reason is the self-containment exercised by many as part of their war effort against Japanese aggression, which was later abandoned in the unwanted Civil War. The second observation is a growing anti-government tendency in these movements. Before 1945, criticisms of government officials were seldom elevated to a case of no confidence in the government. To be sure, the anti-Civil War protests reprimanded both the KMT and the CCP for non-cooperation and intransparent negotiation. However, the Nationalist government’s suppressive rule and contrasting weakness in foreign affairs enraged the students, who began to re-evaluate the legitimacy of the regime.
Admittedly, evidence suggests that the CCP played a crucial role in many of the aforementioned student movements. Such discussion has been left out on two grounds. Firstly, it was the causes of student movements, rather than the manipulators of the causes, that are examined here, and such causes were, in fact, subject to exploitation of both parties. Secondly, this research suffers from a lack of information on the CCP’s role in the student movements, due to limited time and access to the archives concerned. Nevertheless, this topic deserves more scholarly attention and further investigation.

Finally, the research on the student movements from 1937 to 1949 has an important implication. It sheds light on how the Nationalist government lost the confidence of students and the wider public. In the prevention of student movements, the Nanjing government offered a total amount of three billion fabi (the currency of the Republic of China) as scholarships. More often, however, police and troops were deployed to contain the situation by force, and spies were sent down to monitor the activities of students and professors. Assassination was perhaps the most detested means. The murder of two left-wing activists Li Gongpu and Wen Yiduo not only failed to intimidate the students but instead triggered a new round of demonstrations. The insensitive and suppressive approach adopted by the nationalist government and the KMT no doubt resulted in their unpopularity among the masses, which in turn accounted significantly for their defeat by the CCP in 1949.

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59 Ibid., 5(2)-1426.

60 Students were beaten up by the police in the Northwest University, according to ibid., 5(2)-1726. In Beijing, students were assaulted and kidnapped by armed personnel. See ibid., 5(2)-1659.

61 Ibid., 5(2)-1461.
APPENDIX

1421 Jiaoyubu tongling gexiao tingzhi xuesheng zizhihui huodong bing yu jiesan gaizu deng youguan wenshu, 194708-194804. [students’ unions; reshuffle]

1426 Nanjing Shi xunweihui guanyu fadong kuoda xuanchuan sanshiyi jiangxuejin shoumai xuesheng fangzhi xuesheng yundong de wenshu, 194803-. [scholarships]

1461 Jiaoyubu wei yanjia fangfan Gongchandang jie Kunming ‘LiWen anjian’ Shandong fengchao shi zhi Shandong Sheng jiaoyuting deng midian, 194608-194610. [LiWen case]

1503 Gedi xuechao jianbao, 194803-194804. [student movements]

1535 Gedi xuesheng yin Beijing daxue xuesheng ‘Shen Chong shijian’ juxing fankang Meijun baoxing de youguan wenshu, 194701-194710. [Shen Chong case]

1546 Zhongtongju jiansong Tianjin xuesheng youxing fandui zhenshen bing zhuidao Kunming sinan xuesheng qingbao ji youguan wenshu, 194601-194805. [memorial service]

1557 Zhongtongju deng jiansong Kunming xueyun mibao ji youguan wenshu, 194512-194810. [Kunming student movements]

1558 Guomindang dangju zhenya Kunming xuesheng yundong shimo, 194512-194807. [Kunming student movements; government suppression]

1559 Jiaoyubu chaosong Kunming xuesheng yundong qingbao xi qieshi zhuyi fangfan daidian ji youguan xunling deng wenshu, 194508-194807. [Kunming student movements]

62 Instead of listing the files in the bibliography, here I provide file names in the pinyin format, followed by keywords translated into English.
1560 Jiaoyubu chaosong Kunming Shi gexiao jiaozhiyuan yaoqiu bufa xinjin tiaozheng daiyu yunniang bajiao qingbao ji youguan wenshu, 194611-194702. [student stipends]

1561 Jiaoyubu guanyu xuechao wentsu de wenshu (neiyou Kong Xiangxi weifa, Ying Fa qinfan Zhongguo zhuquan, Meijun qiangjian nü xuesheng, Shanghai xuechao deng wenshu), 194203-194706. [Anti-Kong Movement; Britain; France; America (rape case)]

1567 Zhongtong guanyu Fudan xiaoyouhui, Chongqing Shaci Qu xuesheng fanSu yundong ji Kunming gejie aiguo youxing de qingbao, 194602-194603. [Anti-Soviet movements]

1632 Jiaoyubu xiafa duiyu xuesheng jinbu huodong ying miqie zhuyi yanjia fangfan xunling ji youguan wenshu, 194401-194809. [student movements]

1638 Jiaoyubu guanyu Zunyi guoli Zhejiang daxue xuesheng ‘daoKong’ fengchao yipping yu Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui deng laiwang wenshu, 194201-194203. [Anti-Kong Movement]

1659 Jiaoyubu guanyu Beida dengxiao xuesheng bei ouda bangjia de wenshu, 194804. [assaults on students; kidnap]

1662 Zhu Jiahua guanyu Beida, Qinghua, Yanjing, Zhongfa, Shiyan, Nankai, Beiyang deng qi yuanxiao lianmeng fandui bu ban zizhihui zhangcheng zhi Hu Shi de wengao, 194802-. [objection to regulations on students’ unions]

1672 Jiaoyubu pingjin qingnian fuxue Jingye fudaochu baogao chuli Nankai daxue xuechao jingguo qingxing de youguan wenshu, 194701-194804. [Nankai student movement]
1678 Guoli Wuhan daxue quanti xuesheng guanyu Jiaoyubu ling xiuzheng xuesheng zizihui guize de yijian zhi Zhu Jiahua de wenshu, 194802. [Wuhan University students; letter to Zhu Jiahua]

1702 Yunnan daxue xuesheng Qiu Rongchang bei’ou’an ji gaixiao xuesheng lianming konggao xiaowu fubai deng wenshu, 194003-194410. [Yunnan University; president; corruption]

1703 Yunnan daxue quanti jiaoshou baogao Kunming xuesheng baoke fasheng liuxue can’an jingguo qingxing, 194512. [class suspension; clash and violence]

1726 Xibei daxue xuesheng lizheng chengli zizihui zuzhi ji junjing oushang xuesheng qingkuang de wenshu, 194409-194712. [Northwest University; students’ union; assaults on students]

1748 Guoli Kunming shifan xueyuan quanti zhiyuan xuanyan ji gao shehui renshi shu, 194904. [National Kunming Normal University; students’ declaration]

1813 Guomin diyi qiaomin shifan xuexiao chengbao xuesheng jinian ‘Wusi’ jihui, zhangtie biaoyu, sanfa xuanyan ji bake fandui xiaozhang Chen Yongkang tanwu duzhi jingguo qingxing, 194111-194811. [Fujian province; student movements; corruption]
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Te 3/29.52 ‘Long zhuxi Yun shang Jiang weiyuanzhang dian’ [‘Telegraph from Long Yun to Jiang Jieshi’], 6 January, 1942.

Second Historical Archives of China (SHAC), Nanjing, China

5(2) Jiaoyubu dang’an [Ministry of Education Archives]

Taiwan Historica, Nantou, Taiwan63

131 Chongqing Central Daily (CQCD)

650 Yunnan Guanchabao (YNGCB)

325 Chongqing Ta Kung Pao (CQTKP)

128 Kunming Central Daily (KMCD)

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63 The newspaper collections owned by the KMT Party Archives are temporarily located in Taiwan Historica, Nantou, Taiwan. Here I give catalogue numbers with which the newspapers concerned can be retrieved from the storage there.
SECONDARY SOURCES


