UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Indoctrinating the Youth: Guomindang Policy on Secondary Education in Wartime China and Postwar Taiwan, 1937-1960

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

Jennifer Liu

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Kenneth Pomeranz, Chair
Professor Jeffrey Wasserstrom
Professor Qitao Guo

2010

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

DEDICATION

For

My parents and Lane

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

NOTE ON ROMANIZATION

The two common ways to Romanize Chinese names into English are the pinyin system used on the mainland and the Wade-Giles system utilized on Taiwan. This work primarily employs the use of pinyin in Romanizing Chinese words. Guomindang (GMD) is used instead of Kuomintang (KMT) because this study includes the GMD's years on the mainland. However, Wade-Giles does appear throughout the text in specific instances for conventional names in English of people and places such as Chiang Kai-shek, Chiang Ching-kuo, Sun Yatsen, and Taipei. Whenever a block quote from another source is used that contains Wade-Giles, it will appear unchanged. In addition, whenever a referenced work's title and/or author's name is Romanized with Wade-Giles, it too will be left in its original spelling. This was done to maintain accuracy in the references, as well as to preserve the integrity of any given author's work that contains Wade-Giles.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my advisor, Professor Kenneth Pomeranz, for his genuine kindness, patience, and consideration through the years. He guided me in formulating this dissertation from its inception, challenging me to dig deeper in my inquiries, and offering me insights and ideas with his brilliant, cutting-edge thinking. I am honored to be one of his students.

I also want to thank Professor Jeffrey Wasserstrom for imparting to me his expertise of student protests. He pointed me to many sources and supplied me with contacts from his numerous connections. I am also grateful for Guo Qitao for his suggestions to my dissertation.

In addition, I express gratitude to Professor Richard Von Glahn, who taught the first Chinese history class I took as a sophomore in college. He sparked my interest in the subject and later became my senior thesis advisor.

This project would not have been possible without funding from the Center for Chinese Studies of Taiwan's National Central Library, the Pacific Rim Mini-Grant, and the Association for Asian Studies' China and Inner Asia Council Small Grant. The University of California, Irvine also provided significant funding through the Center for Asian Studies Grant, Summer Dissertation Fellowship, Humanities Research Grant, Humanities Center Grant, and International Center for Writing and Translation Grant.

My project also benefitted from kind staff and librarians who assisted me in Taiwan at the National Institute of Compilation and Translation, the National Institute of Educational Resources and Research, the Guomindang Party Archives, the Ministry of Education, Taiwan Historica, Academia Historica, and Academia Sinica. I am especially grateful for Yu Chieng-ming and Hu Kuo-tai of the Institute of Modern Studies at Academia Sinica. Dr. Yu shared her experiences in conducting oral histories and Dr. Hu imparted his knowledge of wartime education to me, providing contacts. Besides offering funding, the National Central Library's Center for Chinese Studies also allowed me to have an individual study room and its kind, generous staff never hesitated to lend a hand. I am especially thankful to the liaison officer Liau Jane and the late material archivist Chen Chien-kuo. I deeply regret that he will not see the completed work, because he contributed so much in helping me locate documents. A special thanks to Hsiung Tzy-ching who generously provided me with materials and contacts at the China Youth Corps Headquarters. I must also thank the staff and librarians of different research institutes in China: the National Library in Beijing, Jiangsu Provincial Archives, Second Historical Archives in Nanjing, Shanghai Library, and Shanghai's Lexicographical Publishing House Library. I am also indebted to Professor Hu Cheng, Liu Qiong, and Chen Chunxiao of Nanjing University for helping me navigate the Jiangsu Provincial Archives and Second Historical Archives. I also thank Robert Culp, Megan Greene, Kate Merkel-Hess, and Gina Russo for directing me to archives, as well as the staff at Hoover Institution Archives and Library and Stanford University's East Asian Library. I express

gratitude to Elizabeth Chiang for giving me permission to use the Chiang Kai-shek diaries. Moreover, I am deeply grateful for the former China Youth Corps members and secondary school administrators, teachers, and students for who took the time to share their experiences, thoughts, and opinions with me.

The stories that I heard about my grandparents' courageous survival in the Second Sino-Japanese War and retreat to Taiwan first inspired this topic. My parents' childhood and education in Taiwan added another motivating dimension. I thank my parents for their love, unwavering support, and encouragement to explore the past. Finally, my husband Lane has been there for me every step of the way. He endured hot summers in Taiwan and believed in me when I did not believe in myself. His love, patience, and emotional support kept me going.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Jennifer Liu

Education

2010	Ph.D. in History at the University of California, Irvine
2007	M.A. in History at the University of California, Irvine
2002	B.A. in History with Honors at the University of California, Los Angeles

Appointments

2010	Assistant Professor – Central Michigan University

External Grants

2008	Association for Asian Studies-CIAC Small Grant
2008	Center for Chinese Studies Grant, National Central Library, Taiwan
2007	Pacific Rim Mini-Grant

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Indoctrinating the Youth: Guomindang Policy on Secondary Education in Wartime China and Postwar Taiwan, 1937-1960

By

Jennifer Liu

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2010

Professor Kenneth Pomeranz, Chair

Indoctrinating the Youth explores the Guomindang's (GMD or Chinese Nationalist Party) attempts to inculcate political loyalty in secondary school students through youth organizations and military training in China and Taiwan. It compares the GMD efforts on mainland China during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) with the early years following its 1949 retreat to Taiwan, where it re-established its government.

During the war, the GMD aided secondary school students who fled from Japanese-occupied territories by establishing schools for them to continue their schooling. However, the GMD's Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT) was generally a failure on the mainland, while the China Youth Corps (CYC) created in 1952 on Taiwan was a remarkable success in its formative years. The SQT never was a channel for student political activism, but instead merely served as a strategic instrument for the GMD to depoliticize youth. For the most part, student members were even excluded from taking charge of their own organization's activities. Moreover, the intra-party factions

within the GMD ultimately led to the SQT's dissolution in 1947 after a brief, nine-year existence. Meanwhile, Taiwan's China Youth Corps distinguished itself by emphasizing leisure activities, which made it more appealing to students. Compared to the SQT, the CYC took a broader approach to student life and learning, and focused more on youth concerns beyond the realm of politics.

In order to maintain discipline in youth and prepare for a Communist invasion, the GMD also mandated military training for all senior high students. Combined with CYC activities meant to foster martial spirit, military training also taught students civic duty and patriotism, enabling the GMD to successfully exert control over youth in 1950s Taiwan.

Introduction

Chinese history includes a long trajectory of civil service examination candidates and students engaging in political activism. During the Han dynasty, Imperial University students railed against the eunuchs' interference with court politics in a *coup d'état* against the regent Liang Ji (d. 159).[1] In the Song dynasty (960-1279), students at the Imperial Confucian College pushed the government not to compromise with the Mongols by conceding land. During the early seventeenth century of the Ming dynasty, Donglin Academy students rose up against the court eunuch, Wei Zhongxian, who persecuted their members and supporters. In the late imperial period, examination candidates protested their government's cessation of territories to the Japanese following China's loss in the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).

During the twentieth century, the first important youth mobilization occurred with the May Fourth Movement of 1919, which began when 5,000 students gathered at Beijing University to protest the Treaty of Versailles and its provisions ceding control of Shandong Province to Japan.[2] The May Fourth Movement sparked a patriotic outburst among young, urban intellectuals, which was aimed at their government's weakness, foreign imperialists, warlords, and Confucian traditions. In turn, many began to exalt Western ideas, particularly science and democracy.

The next manifestation of student power was the May 30th Movement of 1925, when demonstrators "were outraged by threats to China's national sovereignty and by

[1] Valerie Hansen, *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600* (New York: W. W. Norton Company, 2000), 141-142.
[2] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 14.

police repression of the protestors."[3] Although those who boycotted Japanese goods were mainly workers, students and merchants organized and publicized the demonstration. In 1926 the Guomindang (GMD, or Chinese Nationalist Party) mobilized over 100,000 students to participate in the two-year Northern Expedition, meant to consolidate a nation fragmented by warlords. Soon after, students played a major role in shaping popular outrage when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in 1931, forming propaganda groups, printing leaflets, delivering impassioned speeches, and once again boycotting Japanese goods. In 1935, Japanese plans to put large parts of North China under puppet regimes triggered students to protest in the December 9th Movement.[4]

Although student political agitation helped extend Nationalist rule and shape resistance to the Japanese, the GMD nevertheless remained skeptical of "radical" youth and considered them a dangerous force in need of tight discipline and control. Therefore, this study focuses on the GMD's attempts to contain young people through youth organizations and military training, differing from the aforementioned historical movements, in which young students and examination candidates took the initiative to exercise their political power. In particular, this dissertation concentrates on secondary school students, who have received far less attention from scholars. Yet they are an important group because all were required by the Nationalist government to join youth organizations and undergo military training.

From 1920-1960, the Party continually struggled to prevent students from becoming problematic and turn them into political assets instead. This study examines GMD efforts to inculcate political loyalty in youth, beginning with the Second Sino-

[3] Wasserstrom, 95.
[4] Wasserstrom, 158.

Japanese War in 1937 and ending in the first decade of Nationalist rule on Taiwan (1950-1960). This was a crucial period in Chinese history, highlighted by the GMD's attempts to preserve control of mainland China and the Party's subsequent 1949 transition to Taiwan. The 1937-1949 period marked the last stage of GMD's foothold on the mainland, a significant decade that provided the immediate backdrop to the Communist reforms of the early People's Republic of China (PRC). After the GMD's exile, the 1949-1960 period became a crucial decade in which the Party consolidated power on Taiwan. In terms of education policy, comparing the two periods allows for an intriguing analysis of how the Nationalists tried to mobilize youth in the two different settings, evaluating the continuities and changes in GMD policies on mainland China and Taiwan.

In particular, throughout this pivotal, violent period – during which China underwent profound changes, including a world war and a civil war that shaped its position in the modern world – the GMD ultimately failed to win the support of youth on the mainland, but successfully controlled and monitored young people on Taiwan through mandatory military training, government-sanctioned organizations, and recreational activities. On the mainland, the GMD created the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT), an organization not actually comprised solely of young people, and which failed to meet the needs of students. However, on Taiwan, the GMD established the China Youth Corps, a radically different organization that catered specifically to youth and appealed to students primarily by sponsoring popular leisure activities.

In the late 1930s and 1940s, many troubles plagued the GMD, including the Japanese invasion of China, Communist competition for the allegiance of the masses, intra-party factionalism, and a downward economic spiral caused by runaway inflation.

Within this context of war, anxiety, and chaos, the GMD reacted to youth movements by issuing numerous discipline regulations, arresting and detaining secondary school students without warrants, doling out severe punishment for anti-government activities, and accusing all who disagreed with its policies of being "Communist-directed." However, the GMD simultaneously tried to forge a more positive approach to secondary school students. During the war, the Ministry of Education organized national schools that merged the various dislocated middle schools, aiding students in continuing their education.[5] Nevertheless, in its attempts to control young people, the Party formed the Three People's Principles Youth Corps in 1938, with its name derived from the political philosophy of Sun Yatsen, the Father of Modern China, who believed that the country could be strengthened upon three principles: nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood. In 1946, the SQT's membership peaked at 1.5 million people, just one year before it was quickly dismantled.[6] Although the GMD designed the organization for youth, a large fraction of older people filled the membership and, significantly, leadership positions. Throughout the war years, young people often languished at the receiving end of directions and GMD ideological indoctrination, and many were profoundly confused about the SQT's fundamental purpose.

The political passions of some idealistic students led them not only to resent a tepid "youth organization" like the SQT, but also caused them to search for political leaders who were willing to fight the Japanese immediately. But the policy of GMD leader Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek remained "Unify first, then resist Japan" throughout the late 1930s and 1940s. Seeing unity and nationalism in the resistance to the

[5] *Di'erci jiaoyu nianjian*.
[6] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan dierjie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao, 89-90. Cited in Wang Liangqing, *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan yu Zhongguo Guomindang guanxi yanjiu, 1938-1949,* 116-117.

Japanese, many students therefore gravitated towards communism, for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) emphasized anti-Japanese sentiment to build support, helping the CCP appear more nationalistic and patriotic in the eyes of many students. But a central difference between the CCP and GMD were the fundamentally different attitudes each party exhibited towards students. The Nationalists believed in monitoring youth through tight control and discipline, while the Communists effectively co-opted and mobilized students into a broader Communist movement, allowing them to play a key role in the successful takeover of the mainland.

Following defeat at the hands of the Communists, Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan in 1949. The GMD had made many mistakes on the mainland, and some were soon rectified when it received another chance at governing on the island. However, one continuity that remained was the Party's decision to tighten its policy of controlling young people. As Taiwan's leaders began to consider national consolidation in 1950, they knew that youth would play a critical role. In 1952, the GMD founded another youth organization, the China Youth Corps (CYC), which set up activity centers throughout the island for young people. The Generalissimo's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, led the corps during the first twenty years of its establishment. The imminent threat of Communist invasion remained a grave concern in the 1950s, and as a result the CYC took boys and girls through intensive military drills. Along with this patriotic and military education, the corps also organized sports, camping, and artistic activities. Soon, the CYC offered the best-organized, government-sanctioned recreation available on the island, providing transportation and facilities to Taiwan's youth at almost no cost. These popular leisure activities truly set the CYC apart from the mundane

indoctrination of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, yet the major differences between these two youth organizations also exemplified important shifts in GMD attitudes about the role of students and popular nationalism. For in Taiwan, the GMD realized it had to establish an organization that reached out to students in an endeavor to defend the island against imminent Communist attack, attracting young people by offering fun recreational activities for them to enjoy.

It is impossible to analyze these youth organizations without examining secondary education itself, a topic often overlooked in the history of China during this period. On the mainland and Taiwan, secondary education was also known as "middle school," consisting of three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school, with students between the ages of 13 to 18. This demographic group is often neglected by standard histories. Far more scholarly attention is devoted to university students (whose voices are more readily accessible in the historical record), yet more research needs to be conducted on middle school pupils. They represent a much larger proportion of the population than university students, especially considering they outnumbered college students 10:1 in the 1930s.[7] On the eve of the war in 1937, there were approximately 500,000 secondary school students and 40,000 who had received higher education.[8] Contrary to the idea that a few students became politically active only after they reached university, Chinese secondary students at midcentury were just as active in student movements. Furthermore, in Taiwan the government actually mandated that all senior high students join the China Youth Corps and receive military training.

[7] Cong Xiaoping, "Localizing the Global, Nationalizing the Local: The Role of Teachers' Schools in Making China Modern 1897-1937" (PhD diss., UCLA, 2001), 341.
[8] Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993*, ed. Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 169.

Despite the loss of many middle schools in Japanese-occupied areas, the GMD's wartime management of secondary education remained fairly adequate. During the war, the Ministry of Education established 34 "national secondary schools" to merge middle schools that had been under the jurisdiction of city or provincial authorities. It supervised the registration of refugee students at these newly chartered schools, and also attempted to take care of the over 500,000 middle school students forced to relocate due to the fighting.[9] Surprisingly, on the eve of the war there were 3,200 middle schools and 627,000 students in China. After the war ended in 1945, there were 4,500 middle schools and 1,394,000 students, a substantial increase.[10] These figures not only pertain to the GMD-controlled region, but Communist-controlled and formerly Japanese-occupied areas.

While this study explores youth mobilization and secondary education, a third major theme centers on how both helped shape the internal politics of the GMD. Chiang Kai-shek's goal of eradicating intra-party factionalism was one of the reasons for the establishment of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT). He ordered the dissolution of the organizations formed by the Party's two main factions, the Whampoa Clique and CC Clique. Chiang had hoped to end the factionalism by bringing together both groups into the SQT. Although the Whampoa Clique and CC Clique officially disbanded their organizations, both factions remained powerful forces. The Whampoa Clique members dominated the SQT and pitted themselves against the Party machinery, which the CC Clique controlled. Thus, Chiang's purpose of eradicating intra-party factionalism was never achieved as the Whampoa Clique and CC Clique continued their

[9] "Kangzhan shiqi zhi zhongdeng jiaoyu," *Geming wenxian*, Vol. 61, 247-248 and 250-267, information originated from the *Disanci jiaoyu nianjian*, 1957.
[10] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 13.

bitter rivalry outside of the SQT, eventually contributing to the demise of the Corps. An examination of youth organizations during this period of nation-building also sheds light on the political rise of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo. On the mainland, the Generalissimo entrusted Ching-kuo with the responsibilities of leading an SQT branch, as well as directing the Central Cadre School, an institution devoted to the intensive study of Sun Yatsen's and Chiang Kai-shek's writings. By the early 1950s on Taiwan, the elder Chiang had appointed his son as head of the secret police, director of the Ministry of National Defense's General Political Warfare Department, and leader of the China Youth Corps. With these strategic positions, Ching-kuo was able to draw on a powerful base of youth support, recruiting many loyal followers from the CYC in particular. Along with the solid backing of the Generalissimo, these factors allowed Ching-kuo to eventually beat out strong contenders, including the well-respected Chen Cheng and popular Sun Liren, and succeed his father as President.

Although the historiography of twentieth-century China often slights middle school students, scholars can uncover details of GMD secondary education policy in China and Taiwan, the records of youth organizations such as the SQT and CYC, and the stories of individual teenagers in a wide range of sources. The Second Historical Archives in Nanjing is the primary depository for the records of the central government during the Republican period (1912-1949), and it houses the documents of the Executive Yuan, the executive branch of Nationalist China. These government files include GMD state reports on education in each province and major city, suggestions for educational reform, guidelines for the implementation of the Three People's Principles at all grade

levels, and special investigations of refugee students who clashed with local residents after relocation.

In addition, the National Institute of Compilation and Translation (*Guoli bianyiguan*) in Taipei preserves the Ministry of Education's curricular standards, textbooks, teacher's manuals, and educational journals. These texts not only record how many hours were spent on each middle school subject and lay out the required curriculum, but they also reveal lessons in patriotism and civic duties in a modern society. Examining textbooks reveals the GMD's positive program of shaping students into citizens. Meanwhile, the National Institute of Educational Resources and Research (NIOERAR, *Guoli jiaoyu ziliaoguan*) has the complete collection of *Yearbooks of Chinese Education* (*Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*), which include statistics of secondary schools that relocated to the interior during the War of Resistance. Also located in Taipei is the China Youth Corps headquarters, which provides commemorative volumes for each decade of its existence and a compilation of the corps' work reports. Moreover, memoirs of former CYC directors and administrators offer a personal glimpse of their experiences with young people from 1937 to 1960.

Likewise, the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University hold the Chiang Kai-shek diaries, which disclose the behind-the-scenes process of establishing the Three People's Principles Youth Corp, the Generalissimo's anguish over student protests during the civil war, and his developing trust and confidence in his son, Chiang Ching-kuo. Stanford's East Asian Library also contains Republican-era educational materials and the complete series of *Free China* (*Ziyou Zhongguo*), a political magazine that criticized the China Youth Corps and military training. Finally this study also makes use of several oral

interviews conducted by the author: when combined with documented sources, these help produce a history that is richer, more accurate, and more complete. Interviewees included former middle school administrators, faculty, and students in 1950s Taiwan, as well as staff, members, and participants in the China Youth Corps. These vivid reminiscences reveal unique, personal experiences that enrich, extend, and (sometimes) even challenge the records found in official documents.

A wealth of scholarship has strengthened our understanding of the relationship between the state and education in twentieth-century China. John Israel's *Lianda* describes how the Ministry of Education ordered three prestigious universities to move to the interior following Japan's 1937 attack on Beijing and Tianjin. This edict set in motion the process of relocation to the Southwest for those at elite universities, but many other schools – including secondary schools – migrated as well.[11] Ou Tsiun-chen's "Education in Wartime China" also indicates that most educational institutions that evacuated from the war were universities, colleges, and technical institutes. Since there were such a large number of middle and elementary schools, the Ministry of Education could assist only a few. Some schools managed to survive in the Japanese-occupied zone, while others relocated to the hinterland.[12] Unfortunately, scholars have limited their focus to higher education and neglected the significant story of secondary education in Republican China.[13] Furthermore, they have written far less on wartime education in the late 1930s

[11] Lianda was the common abbreviation for Southwest Associated University. It was the wartime union of three northern universities, Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai. John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
[12] Ou Tsiun-chen (Wu Junsheng), "Education in Wartime China," in *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, ed. Paul K. T. Sih (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), 89-123.
[13] Allen B. Linden, "Politics and Higher Education in China: The Kuomintang and the University Community, 1927-1937" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969); Hu Kuo-tai, "Politics and Higher Education in China: The Control and Development Policies of the Guomindang, 1937-1945" (PhD diss., Griffith University, 1987).

and early 1940s, concentrating instead on the late Qing, early Republican period, and Nanjing decade (1927-1937).[14] Examining this oversight is important – although the war disrupted education, many middle schools survived by relocating and setting up makeshift classrooms.

In the historiography of modern China, there is an unfortunate dearth of study on secondary versus higher education. For example, in 1941 there were only 13 Protestant colleges in China, compared to 255 Protestant middle schools.[15] In addition, high school students comprised a more accurate representation of the general population. Cong Xiaoping's dissertation, "Localizing the Global, Nationalizing the Local: The Role of Teachers' Schools in Making China Modern 1897-1937," estimates that over 50% of students in secondary schools were from rural areas.[16] In contrast, students in universities and colleges were mainly from urban, elite families. An exception to the predominant body of work on higher education is Robert Culp's *Articulating Citizenship*, which examines middle schools' civic education in the early Republican decades and touches on the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. [17] While his is an extremely valuable study, it nevertheless centers on secondary schools in the lower Yangzi region, revealing little about the massive migration of middle school students to the Southwest during the war. Culp argues that students were able to shape their own conceptions of citizenship that they encountered in schools, engaging in different modes of civic action without much

[14] Evelyn S. Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003); Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); Yeh Wen-hsin, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).
[15] "Christianity in China," *TIME*, April 28, 1941.
[16] Cong, 341.
[17] According to John Cogan, Paul Morris, and Murray Print, "civic education generally focuses on three forms of learning: the knowledge, skills, and values that are perceived as important to become an effective citizen" (John J. Cogan, Paul Morris, and Murray Print, eds., *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Case Studies Across Six Societies* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002), 4.

direction from the GMD. [18] For example, beginning in the early 1920s, middle school students throughout the lower Yangzi region commemorated the May Fourth Movement by giving lectures and parading in the streets – "ritually replay[ing] the dynamics of mass mobilization that had been central to the initial protest movement."[19]

Given what Culp has examined, an investigation of the period immediately after reveals something unexpected – during the war and following the retreat to Taiwan, the GMD tightened its control over youth activities by co-opting students into its organizations, often by force. This approach was very different from the policies of the 1912-1940 (the period Culp analyzes), when students had more freedom in choosing the level of their political engagement. For example, beginning in 1953, the GMD mandated that all senior high students in Taiwan undergo military training, taking advantage of existing student activism for its own revolutionary project. Thus, this study attempts to analyze the issues Culp left unfinished: refugee students' wartime migration to the interior, the GMD's recruitment of students in the Three People's Principles Youth Corps in the late 1930s and 1940s on the mainland, and the Nationalists' efforts to woo students in Taiwan's China Youth Corps.

In terms of government organizations targeting middle school students on mainland China, only two major works in English have examined the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT) in depth. Lloyd Eastman's *Seeds of Destruction* devotes a chapter to the Corps, while Huang Jianli's *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican*

[18] Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 2.
[19] Culp, 216-217.

China explores the youth organization at various points throughout the book.[20] Huang examines GMD efforts to manage students through the SQT during the Sino-Japanese War, and maintains that the GMD did not form the Corps specifically to deal with the problem of numerous refugee students trekking to Communist-occupied areas. Indeed, the organization was one of the many governmental and Party agencies that dealt with this issue, but its involvement came much later. According to Huang, the GMD established the Corps in order to curb students' anti-government activism and steer them towards GMD loyalty.

A different body of scholarship studies the more general growth of student activism in twentieth-century China. John Israel's pioneering work, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937*, demonstrates the increasing alienation between students and the GMD government and the burgeoning attraction of the Chinese Communist Party for many youth. Faced with serious threats from Japanese imperialism after 1931, students and the GMD disagreed bitterly over how to save their country from foreign aggression. Youth sought immediate and uncompromising solutions to national crises, rejecting the GMD government's adoption of gradual economic and social reforms to strengthen the country.[21] Israel's analysis provides the critical backdrop for this story, setting the context for the challenges over secondary education and student activism that confronted the GMD government over the ensuing twenty-three years.

Both Jeffrey Wasserstrom's *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China* and Suzanne Pepper's *Civil War in China* cover the Anti-Civil War Movements, in which

[20] Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 89-107; Huang Jianli, *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican China: Guomindang Policy towards Student Political Activism, 1927-1949* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996).
[21] John Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966).

students protested China's all-out fighting between the Communists and the GMD. This movement swept through universities and middle schools in most major cities within GMD-controlled areas.[22] While Wasserstrom focuses on university demonstrations in Shanghai, Pepper looks at similar occurrences in the southwestern cities of Kunming and Chongqing. Both generally discuss university-level student participation in the anti-civil war movements, rather than the involvement of middle school students.

Notably, this study is framed to cross the "1949 line" and follow the GMD's building of the modern state in Taiwan, comparing and contrasting policies brought by the Nationalists from the mainland in regards to secondary education and youth. Although they do not cross the straits, other important histories that cross the 1949 line include Janet Chen's forthcoming book on the urban poor, Susan Glosser's work on family reform, and Gail Herschatter's landmark study on prostitution.[23]

Another body of scholarship examines the GMD's political indoctrination of students in Taiwan through the China Youth Corps (CYC) and military training. In particular, Li Tai-han's works on the CYC and student military training illuminate the inextricable connection between the two, including how the CYC oversaw the training of military instructors before they were dispatched to senior high schools throughout the island.[24] Monte Bullard's *The Soldier and the Citizen* analyzes how military personnel, youth, and adult civilians underwent political socialization in 1950s and 1960s Taiwan.

---

[22] Wasserstrom, 265-275; Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999), 42-93.

[23] Janet Y. Chen, "Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1949" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2005); Susan Glosser, *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953* (University of California Press, 2003), Gail Herschatter, *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai.* (University of California Press, 1999).

[24] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu – yijiu wuling niandai xuesheng junxun jinru xiaoyuan zhi yanjiu," 2002 and "Dangan yunyong yu lishi yanjiu – yi xuesheng junxun zai zhanhou Taiwan shi shi de yiti wei li," *Dangan jikan.* Vol. 56, no. 4 (June 2004), 1-13.

Similar to Li, Bullard relates how young people experienced this process through military training and CYC activities designed to instill patriotism and militarism.[25] Meanwhile, Thomas Brindley concentrates on the CYC's youth service mission and its relations with government organs and the GMD party, based on documentary and field research he completed from 1983-1994.[26]

This study chronologically traces Guomindang's policy on youth from the 1937 outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War to the consolidation of Nationalist power on Taiwan by 1960. Chapters One and Two focus on the GMD's management of students on the mainland, while Chapters Three and Four analyze the Nationalists' regulation of young people on Taiwan. Although China scholars have studied the Communists' Long March in-depth, most have generally overlooked the GMD's exodus to the southwest during the War of Resistance. The story of its mass migration, especially in the realm of education, is important, and warrants discussion and analysis. Chapter One follows these refugees' journey, outlining the arduous trek that middle school students, teachers, and principals embarked on during the war. Some students not only had to discontinue schooling but were also unemployed. Many did not have homes and the GMD feared that they would join the Communists. Provincial governments established bureaus in order to control these youth, and selected some for specialized job skills training. Meanwhile, Executive Yuan records reveal many cases of middle school principals and students who came into conflict with Buddhist monks, local "tyrants," farmers, and military training classes, all while traversing the unfamiliar terrain of the interior.

---

[25] Monte R. Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).
[26] Thomas A. Brindley, *The China Youth Corps in Taiwan* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999).

During the war, the GMD also sought to mobilize the youth by recruiting them into the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT). Chapter Two analyzes the factors that influenced Chiang Kai-shek's orders for the GMD's Extraordinary National Congress to adopt a resolution to create the SQT in 1938, and what finally led to its dissolution nine years later. Besides providing a new instrument to integrate the diverse intra-party factions, Chiang formed the SQT to infuse "fresh blood into the party."[27] The SQT was also useful for recruiting and disciplining the waves of refugee students driven from the northern and coastal cities by the Japanese invasion – but this concern with student drifters did not come until after the Corps' establishment. Eventually, the SQT and GMD actually became rivals, especially over recruitment after the Corps tried to enlist older members who possessed political status: the traditional recruitment grounds of the GMD party machinery. Soon, the recruitment to the SQT became incompatible with GMD membership as different factions held power over the two organizations – the Whampoa Clique controlled the SQT, while the CC Clique (under the brothers Chen Lifu and Chen Guofu), dominated the Party. This competition over recruitment, along with existing intra-party conflicts, contributed to the SQT's failure and ultimately led to its demise in 1947.

Following defeat by the Communists in 1949, the Nationalist regime retreated to Taiwan, where it established its government and searched for ways to consolidate power on the island. Chapter Three explores the GMD's formation of the China Youth Corps (CYC) and its function as an anti-Communist, pro-GMD organization in its formative years. It began as an adjunct for an authoritarian state, meant to instill patriotism and "martial spirit" in youth. The CYC was a national, institutionalized structure of social

[27] Huang, 108.

control intentionally established by the top of the GMD hierarchy in order to prevent the development of social movements that threatened to undermine the legitimacy of the Nationalist government. The youth organization soon acquired official status, allowing it to gain financial support from the government and penetrate every secondary school, college, and university on the island. Recruitment subsequently became far easier. As opposed to the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT), the CYC emphasized leisure activities for youth to enjoy, it only recruited youth in senior high school and college between the ages of 15 to 30 – unlike the SQT, which enlisted older nonstudents as well. Nevertheless, despite the improvement from its predecessor, the CYC still received criticism, ranging from attacks on mandatory membership and excessive costs, to accusations of its resemblance to the Communist Youth League and Hitler Youth.

The appointment of military personnel as military instructors (*jiaoguan*) or enforcers of proper moral behavior in senior high schools represents a key example of the direct imposition of the party state in 1950s education on Taiwan. GMD leaders considered military instructors appropriate teachers of military training because the Party exhibited a heavy military flavor especially after the Nationalists' defeat on the mainland, Chiang Kai-shek lamented how the GMD were not as tough as the Communists. The Generalissimo "told his comrades that the Communists had proved themselves 'abler and more devoted' members of a revolutionary party" and even expressed admiration for their superior discipline and morality.[28] Chapter Four examines why and how Chiang first imposed compulsory military training in schools on Taiwan during the early 1950s. With the goal of counter-attacking Communist China, Chiang turned to high school students as

[28] Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 379).

an important sector of society that the GMD could train in order to build his reserve army. He called upon military instructors, who themselves were trained in military schools and the Ministry of National Defense's General Political Warfare Department, to teach mandatory military courses to students. Government military instruction was quite gendered in 1950s Taiwan, and most schools were gender-segregated, with female military instructors at all-girls senior high schools, while all-boys senior high schools had male military instructors. Female students underwent target practice and learned nursing skills, while males received basic skills training in infantry, martial law, and map-reading. Upon high school graduation, all males were required to serve two years of mandatory military training. The instructors indoctrinated males and females alike with GMD revolutionary and military history. Military instructors' duties also included ensuring that students did not criticize the government or President and overseeing China Youth Corps activities. Importantly, the military instructors' firm control prevented major student protests against the government in the early decades of GMD rule on Taiwan. Nevertheless, like the CYC, the implementation of military training in schools also met vociferous opposition. Critics condemned it for its interference with academic studies and outdated techniques. However, in the 1950s outspoken critics of the state had to be extremely cautious under the governance of the authoritarian GMD regime in Taiwan, where they could be thrown in prison or sentenced to death.

The Conclusion explores the connections between the pre-1949 and Taiwan periods, and considers the lessons learned by the GMD from its mistakes on the mainland. The connections include the establishments of youth organizations on the mainland and Taiwan and the imposition of military training in schools on both sides of

the strait. The softer appeal of the China Youth Corps' leisure activities was part of the GMD's success on Taiwan, whereas the Three People's Principles Youth Corps failed to offer such programs. During the 1950s, CYC members enjoyed participating in recreational activities as well as learning military skills. Many of the military skills taught at the CYC camps overlapped with military training in schools, except the corps' activities were more fun, hands-on, and not supervised by tough, coercive military instructors. In particular, Chiang Ching-kuo was quite conscious of the fact that unqualified military instructors had haphazardly put students through useless drills on the mainland. Once he was in Taiwan, he ensured that military instructors underwent rigorous training before they were dispatched to all senior high schools on the island. The GMD also exhibited tighter control and discipline over youth on Taiwan than it had on the mainland through military training. It was able to mobilize young people with greater success in a smaller environment than the mainland, one where Taiwan had become a single-party state and the GMD did not have to vie with the Communists for the allegiance of young people.

Chapter 1

Survival During the War of Resistance, 1937-1945

On July 7, 1937, the War of Resistance began when Japanese forces attacked Marco Polo Bridge (Lugouqiao), capturing nearby Beijing.[1] Over the next three months, the Japanese expanded their attacks to Shanghai, and on December 13 troops first entered Nanjing, unleashing almost seven weeks of murder and rape on the defeated Chinese army and defenseless civilians.[2] In response, the Chinese Nationalists moved their capital inland, first to Wuhan, then to Chongqing, deep in Sichuan's mountains. There, perpetual fog protected the city from Japanese bombers while the narrow Yangzi gorges precluded an overland attack. As a result, Japanese troops fanned out along the eastern seaboard and stalked railroad lines throughout the interior. By the end of 1938, they occupied cities and major towns from Manchuria to Guangdong. The devastation of war impacted everyone, forcing many civilians to migrate inland to escape the fighting.

In particular, over the next eight years (1937-1945), the War of Resistance drove waves of refugee students out of Japanese-occupied cities in northern and coastal China, where officials either closed schools outright or relocated them away from the conflict. This process of migration to Southwest China critically impacted the development of GMD education policy, especially concerning primary and secondary schools. As principals and teachers struggled for physical survival, they nevertheless continued to shape curriculum and conduct lessons, while the GMD attempted to help students in dire

[1] Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999), 420.
[2] Spence, 422-423.

conditions. Meanwhile, the Party also sought to address the political threat posed by homeless students, whom many feared would join the Communists.

During the war, students migrated from renowned educational institutions in comfortable coastal cities to makeshift campuses in the harsh inland, where living conditions were poor. Before the conflict, most lived relatively secure and sheltered lives as children of the privileged, urban elite. Now they were cut off from their parents' wealth and heavily dependent on meager government stipends, which massive hyperinflation regularly consumed throughout the duration of the war. Nevertheless, the process of displacement – including the inherent insecurity and the hardship of wartime refugee establishments – also educated high school students, shaping their worldviews in important ways. In particular, the experience sharpened their awareness of China's suffering commoners during the prolonged conflict, introducing many to the ongoing GMD political and military mismanagement that exacerbated the plight of rural peasants.[3] At the war's beginning, most students supported the GMD government, yet when the Party engaged in a civil war with the Communists immediately afterwards, many eventually changed their allegiance and accused the GMD of tearing China apart.

This chapter explores how displaced middle schools coped with the War of Resistance. Some students managed to escape inland with their teachers, where the central government set up national schools to accommodate them. Others in north China and along the coast were not so fortunate under Japanese occupation, and even those that succeeded in leaving before enemy invasion encountered many hardships along the way. Some students and their principals feuded with local citizens, Buddhist leaders, farmers,

[3] Huang Jianli, *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican China: Guomindang Policy towards Student Political Activism, 1927-1949* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), 28-29.

and the military itself. Displacement also led the GMD to explore and implement several important changes in its education policy, exerting stronger centralized control over some Chinese middle schools (which traditionally were run entirely by local officials) and grappling with the relationship between schools, military education, and the Nationalist Army. However, for most students the story of mass relocation was ultimately one of remarkable tenacity, an extreme commitment to education, and triumph – for the majority were able to continue their studies amidst the destruction of war and an invasion that severely disrupted their lives.

The School System in Republican China

In 1922, fifteen years before the Japanese invasion, the National Federation of Education Associations – a professional organization of educators – and the Ministry of Education jointly developed the New School System (*Xin xuezhi* 新學制). Under this reform, secondary schooling was divided into junior high schools (*chuzhong* 初中) and senior high schools (*gaozhong* 高中), each consisting of a three-year course of study.[4] Throughout the 1920s and much of the 1930s, many senior high schools became comprehensive, offering courses in specialized academic areas, teacher training, and various technical fields.[5] The New School System also consolidated normal schools and some higher-level vocational institutions into existing middle schools at varying rates across the region.[6] The result was a dramatic decrease in the number of students choosing

[4] Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 21. Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977), 65-66.
[5] Culp, 21.
[6] *Zhejiang jiaoyu jianzhi*, 102-103, 122. Cited in Culp, 21.

the teacher-training track.[7] Instead, by 1937 most middle school students focused on regular academic programs designed to help them advance to institutes of higher learning.[8]

A large majority of schools in 1937 were "regular" (non-normal and non-vocational) middle schools. During the 1930s, they served nearly 75 percent of all secondary students in China. Consequently, education policy from 1937-1949 on the mainland, and 1949-1960 in Taiwan, was geared primarily towards regular middle schools. Meanwhile, normal schools constituted 25 to 30 percent of all Chinese secondary schools during the 1930s. Education officials also categorized secondary schools as *provincial*, *county*, or *private*.[9] Overall, there were 500,000 middle and normal school students nationwide on the eve of the war with Japan, an extremely small proportion of the country's population, conservatively estimated at 400 million.[10]

The government unit charged with serving refugee students was the Ministry of Education (MOE), which after 1937 was uncompromising in presenting youth with only two options: either continue studies, or choose to be sponsored by the MOE and join the GMD army.[11] Very few accepted the latter offer; by the end of 1940, the MOE had officially referred only 480 students to the military.[12] According to Minister of Education Chen Lifu (1938-1944), China's manpower was abundant, but on the eve of the war in 1937, secondary and college-educated students numbered only approximately 540,000

---

[7] Culp, 21.
[8] *Zhejiang jiaoyu jianzhi*, 22. Cited in Culp, 21.
[9] Culp, 22.
[10] Culp. 24.
[11] "Methods to Unify the Management of Various Levels of Educational Institutions by Government Agencies," issued on January 20, 1938 in *Jiaoyubu gongbao* (*Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*), 10.1-3 (March 1938): 9; "Methods of the Ministry of Education to Manage Students Retreating from War Zones," order #660 issued by the Ministry of Education on February 25, 1938 in *Jiaoyubu gongbao* (*Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*), 10.1-3, 17. Cited in Huang, 118.
[12] Jiaoyu bu, ed., *Zuijin jiaoyu tongji jianbian*, part of Table 10, n.p. Cited in Huang, 119.

(40,000 of whom had received higher education) in a nation of at least thirty to forty million able-bodies.[13] (It is not clear how Chen arrived at the figure of thirty to forty million "able-bodies," and whether that included people in Japanese-occupied territories. However, it most likely referred to men, since only males served in the army.) More importantly, Chen believed that the nation's future depended on young, educated people, thus the vast majority were exempt from conscription.

In another effort to tackle the problem of refugee students, the MOE exercised its central authority by increasingly taking direct control of secondary school education, which before the war came under the jurisdiction of city or provincial authorities. Beginning in November 1937, the Ministry established registration centers in key cities in order to gather wandering high school students, and the first of the "national secondary schools" (*guoli zhongxue* 國立中學) was formed the next month. With the further displacement of schools and students following the advance of Japan's invading forces, the MOE continued to establish national secondary schools, sometimes converting them from former city or provincial schools. By the end of the war, the Ministry had chartered thirty-four national schools.[14]

The Problem With Refugee Students and the GMD's Solution

During the war, students faced not only the prospect of discontinuing school, but also extreme unemployment. According to the archives of the Executive Yuan, some became homeless and the GMD was paranoid that youth would wander into CCP areas

[13] Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993*, edited by Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 169.
[14] "Kangzhan shiqi zhi zhongdeng jiaoyu," *Geming wenxian*, Vol. 61, 247-248 and 250-267, information originated from the *Disanci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*.

and join the Communists. In response, the government decided to register some youth in GMD-controlled areas, enrolling them in local bureaus that each provincial government was charged with establishing in order to monitor and control the wayward students. The Minister of Education served as *de facto* head of each office, however provincial governments first screened a select number of youth from among local refugee students to participate. Since there were many training organizations and schools under the control of the central government, all selected youth had to be "filtered" first by the provincial government. Local governments were also responsible for running a number of programs for the selected displaced students, including training classes in "skills," "thought," "physical well-being," and "job placement."[15]

When the war ended, an unknown Ministry of Education official wrote a report detailing the solution for refugee students from January 1946 to November 1947. He described how transportation and communication were difficult after the war, and admitted that the GMD did not immediately take care of refugee students. Meanwhile, the Communists set up temporary schools to fulfill their needs. This acknowledgement indicates that the GMD was conscious of the fact that it did not address the problem of refugee students adequately. As a result, it lost some of them to the Communists. The official believed that the situation was urgent. Compiling a list of the Communist-established schools, he included Huainan Middle School, Jinpu Li Xilian Middle School, Longdong Middle School, and Hexi Middle School.[16] The official strongly suggested that

[15] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Zhan di shixue qingnian zhao xun banfa gangyao jige fang zhi jianyi," File 2293, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (April 1939-July 1944), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[16] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Jiaoyubu qingnian fu xue jiu ye fudao weiyuanhui gongzuo gaikuang gaihui shi zi xunlian suo banfa" File 2294, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (January 1946-November 1947), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

the GMD take action to prevent refugee students from attending those schools, recommending instead that the GMD gather and train them.

The official laid out three basic requirements for refugee students to enter a teacher's training institute: the youth had to be older than 17, possess "good character," and pass the health examination. He suggested that students who had graduated from senior high school be placed as teachers at the national schools, with those who had graduated from junior high school, or not finished studies in senior high, could serve as substitute teachers. The official required everyone to receive six months of training. To enter into the teacher's training institute, they had to take exams in civics, Chinese, mathematics, history, geography, and science subjects (physics, chemistry, and biology). If they passed, they would go on to have interviews. Afterwards, they underwent three types of training: civics, basic subjects, and pedagogy. Refugee students interested in teacher training needed to register at local bureaus of education.[17]

The report also included figures of refugee students. The official noted that 7,901 students returned to school (although it is not clear if they were middle school or university students). After receiving training, 9,015 acquired jobs, while a third group of refugee students (4,297) entered the military. However, these figures did not represent the total number of refugee students, only a portion. The GMD also provided them with food, housing, medical care, and a transportation fee to return home.[18]

[17] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Jiaoyubu qingnian fu xue jiu ye fudao weiyuanhui gongzuo gaikuang gaihui shi zi xunlian suo banfa" File 2294, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (January 1946-November 1947), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[18] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Jiaoyubu qingnian fu xue jiu ye fudao weiyuanhui gongzuo gaikuang gaihui shi zi xunlian suo banfa" File 2294, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (January 1946-November 1947), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

National Schools

In addition to its efforts to monitor, register, and (in some cases) provide training for refugee students, the central government also directly funded the national schools established by the Ministry of Education during the war. By 1945, there were also an additional three national overseas schools and two national female middle schools. Before the war, many national colleges and universities had associated middle schools, yet they were experimental classrooms for teacher training and not considered national schools.

Students and staff at the first of the national schools began their journey in December 1937, when the Ministry of Education established Henan Temporary Middle School (*Guoli Henan linshi zhongxue* 國立河南臨時中學) to accommodate refugee students and teachers from secondary schools in Hebei, Inner Mongolia, Beijing, and Tianjin.[19] One month before, the Ministry had sent delegates to the cities of Kaifeng (開封) and Xuchang (許昌), in Henan province. There they recorded each refugee student and teacher, and prepared them to relocate further inland. Students and teachers traveled together to Zhechuan County (浙川縣), located deep in the remote, mountainous region of southwest Henan where it was certain the Japanese would not attack. Henan Temporary Middle School would remain in this location for the duration of the war, functioning as a junior high, senior high, normal school, and *jianshiban*

[19] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 1948, 31.

(簡師班, which required less years of training than regular normal schools).[20] The junior high and normal school settled in Shangji (上集), the senior high school stayed in Yongquanguan (湧泉觀), and the *jianshiban* established itself in Xiaji (下集).

Perhaps in an effort to boost morale while anticipating a long war, the Ministry of Education soon dropped the word "temporary" ("*linshi*") from the names of displaced schools in January 1938. Henan Temporary Middle School became National Henan Middle School (*Guoli Henan zhongxue* 國立河南中學), and in April 1939 it changed its name once again to National Number One Middle School (*Guoli diyi zhongxue*). Besides having its main campus in Zhechuan, the school also had branches in Xixiakou (西峽口) and Yongquanguan (湧泉觀). National Number One had 1,143 students in 1937. In January 1944, the school received additional refugee students and teachers from Shandong, Jiangsu, Henan, and Anhui provinces. Many displaced schools moved multiple times during the war, and National Number One was no different. In April 1944, as the Japanese army approached, the school moved again to Chenggu (城固) in Shaanxi province, where it remained until the war's end. By then, the number of students had dropped to 1,032, yet enrollment remained relatively consistent for the duration of the conflict.[21]

Meanwhile, in December 1937 refugee students from Nanjing and the provinces of Jiangsu, Zhejiang, and Anhui gathered in Hankou to register for another government relocation school, National Sichuan Temporary Middle School.[22] In January 1938, it

[20] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 32.
[21] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian,* 32-33.
[22] Hankou was a major city which merged with Wuchang and Hanyang to form Wuhan, the capital and largest city in Hubei province. Wuhan briefly served as the GMD's temporary wartime capital before the Nationalists leaders moved to Chongqing to flee the Japanese attacks on the city.

became National Number Two Middle School, established in Hechuan (合川), north of Chongqing in Sichuan province. Immediately, the school accepted teachers from Hankou, Yichang (also a major city in Hubei), and Chongqing. Altogether, 1,800 students and 200 teachers joined National Number Two, meeting at a main campus that was converted from an old hospital in Beipei (北碚), a city near Hechuan. While the normal school also met at the main campus, National Number Two's junior high school met in Hechuan's Confucian Temple (*Wenmiao* 文廟), while senior high grades utilized Puyuan Temple just outside the city. In January 1939, the Aquafarming School (*Shuichan xuexiao* 水▪學校) became independent from the Number Two School, becoming the National Sichuan Aquafarming Vocational School (*Guoli Sichuan shuichan ziye xuexiao*). In 1940, the normal school also separated from National Number Two to become National Chongqing Normal School. Eventually, when the Japanese surrendered in August 1945, National Number Two moved to Jiangsu province, where the majority of its students originated. Those who were not from Jiangsu returned to their home province.[23]

On November 30, 1942, an incident involving the death of a National Number Two student exposed tensions between displaced schools, central authorities, and the GMD's major youth organization in mainland China, the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (*Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan*, or SQT). According to a military police report submitted the following month, an SQT branch in Hechuan County, consisting of special military training class freshmen, organized a drama troupe to perform a play. The group had seven members in its council, including two students at National Number Two. Nevertheless, the SQT club borrowed a facility from the special military training class for

[23] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 33-34.

the performance and did not invite students from the school to attend. In response, more than a hundred National Number Two students showed up demanding tickets for the sold-out show, prompting an argument that soon escalated into violence. Someone from the special military training class fired his gun "to stop the fight," instantly killing fifteen-year old National Number Two student Zheng Xuepu.[24]

In the aftermath of Zheng's death, the central government clashed with school officials over different versions of the event and the culpability of military personnel. According to a report from the Secretariat of the Administration, the Ministry of Education believed that three National Number Two students should have been allowed to attend the play: Zhang Yanling, an SQT member and part of the drama group; Lu Shengkui, a band member in the performance; and Zhu Yongkang, who possessed a ticket for the show. The MOE also found that the military trainees had dragged Zhang Yanling away during the scuffle, unarmed students demanded that Zhang be released, and the teachers had restricted things from "getting out of hand" until the gun was fired. The Secretariat of the Administration condemned the gunfire, noting that the weapon had not been fired towards the sky, but horizontally towards the crowd. The MOE therefore called for the gunman to be held responsible for Zheng's death, along with the punishment of Fang Caiqin, chairman of the SQT branch of Special Military Training Class and branch leader of the Political Department of the Central Special Military Training Class. The report also demanded punishment of several others, including the

[24] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Guomindang zhongyang junxiao tebie xunlianban yuanbing cansha Hechuan xian Guoli di'er zhongxue xuesheng Zheng Xuepu deng jingguo qingxing," File 2300, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (December 1942), Di'er lishi dang'an guan.

director of the drama group council and the National Number Two students who "disturbed the peace."[25]

Meanwhile, National Number Two students and their principal, Yan Liyang, were outraged. According to Yan, the three students had arrived at the performance, which they deemed "a reasonable course of action." When the fight broke out, military officers exacerbated and inflated the confrontation, injuring Zhang Yanling and dragging him away. This prompted the other two students to return to school and seek help. A crowd had come back to the scene with Yan in tow, demanding the officers release their friend. Instead, the military personnel opened fire, wounding two people and killing Zheng Xuepu. The principal and students also insisted that the gunshot was located in Zheng's back, indicating he had been shot from behind while defenseless and running away.[26]

In his written report to Minister of Education Chen Lifu, Yan emphasized that public order officers "abused" three of his students who wanted to attend the performance, calling the military personnel "thugs." According to the principal, when he arrived at the scene the lead officer changed his story and accused the three students of "stirring up trouble." A third report was produced when the government sent a representative to investigate the incident, once again concluding that National Number Two held "some responsibility" because the three students had crashed the performance uninvited. It also blamed the public order officers for allowing one of the students who had a ticket to attend, but not the other two. The final report also included a doctor's confirmation that

[25] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Guomindang zhongyang junxiao tebie xunlianban yuanbing cansha Hechuan xian Guoli di'er zhongxue xuesheng Zheng Xuepu deng jingguo qingxing," File 2300, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (December 1942), Di'er lishi dang'an guan.
[26] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Guomindang zhongyang junxiao tebie xunlianban yuanbing cansha Hechuan xian Guoli di'er zhongxue xuesheng Zheng Xuepu deng jingguo qingxing," File 2300, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (December 1942), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

Zheng had indeed been shot in the back while fleeing the officers. In the end, a judge sentenced two special military training leaders, Yang Tongchen and Lei Yangmin, to three years in prison. Two others, Zhao Lunchuang and Chen Guang, were found "directly responsible" for killing Zheng and received six years.[27] The entire episode could have been avoided if the national school had relocated in the remote countryside like other middle schools, instead of in close proximity to Chongqing, where the military conducted training. However, the feud that led to the shooting – along with the disagreement over the response and charges of misinformation – all revealed the level of distrust between National Number Two students, administrators, GMD authorities, and the military.

On the Move

Like National Number Two's dramatic story, it was common for schools to relocate often during the war. In the northeast (formerly known as Manchuria), some middle school students moved four times in order to continue their studies: from their hometowns in the northeast, to Beijing, Nanjing, Hunan province, and finally Sichuan province. Following the Mukden Incident on September 18, 1931, many students in northeastern China left their homes and schools to relocate in Beijing, where in 1934 the Ministry of Education established National Northeast Zhongshan Middle School (*Guoli dongbei zhongshan zhongxue* 國立東北中山中學).[28] In October 1936, a new campus

[27] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Guomindang zhongyang junxiao tebie xunlianban yuanbing cansha Hechuan xian Guoli di'er zhongxue xuesheng Zheng Xuepu deng jingguo qingxing," File 2300, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2 (December 1942), Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[28] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian,* 55. After the Mukden Incident of 1931, the Japanese forces occupied the three northeastern provinces (formerly known as Manchuria) and established the puppet state of

was built in the town of Banqiao (板橋鎮), near Nanjing, and that December a majority of the school's students migrated from Beijing to Nanjing. One year later in November 1937 (one month before the Nanjing Massacre), they moved again – this time to the city of Xiangxiang (湘鄉), Hunan, where classes began in June 1938 as the Beijing branch shut down. In spring 1938, the Japanese attacked northern Hunan, prompting the school to pick up once again and travel through Guangxi. That June, students reached Weiyuan County (威遠縣) in Sichuan, utilizing Jingning Temple (靜寧寺) as a refugee campus. In all, they would not go back to Mukden until the fall of 1946, a full fifteen years after first fleeing the Japanese. After the school finally returned, it remained a national institute and did not fall under the aegis of Liaoning province. Remarkably, the school still managed to grow significantly despite all the turmoil. It had 530 students in 1937 – by the end of the war in 1945, there were 838.[29]

Relocation impacted secondary school students not only in northeastern China but throughout the Chinese Diaspora in Asia. When the Japanese occupied Thailand and expelled overseas Chinese, the Thai government collaborated with the Japanese and specifically shut down schools, forcing Chinese students to move to China. In Baoshan (保山), a remote area in western Yunnan province near the border with Burma, the Ministry of Education established the National Overseas Chinese Middle School (*Guoli huaqiao zhongxue* 國立華僑中學) specifically for these overseas refugees – the majority displaced from Thailand. Instruction began on May 15, 1940, while at the same time the National Overseas Chinese Middle School absorbed a private school called Education

---

Manchukuo. September 18, 1931 marks the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War, but full-scale war did not start until July 1937.

[29] *Di'er Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 55.

Overseas Middle School (*Yuqiao zhongxue* 育僑中學). That first year consisted of thirteen classes in total: seven senior high and six junior high.[30] In February 1942, the school added "first" to its name as the GMD government formed more schools tailored to overseas Chinese refugees. Later in August, the Japanese bombed Baoshan and the school was hit, prompting a move to Qingzhen (清鎮), Guizhou province. In August 1944, it dismantled and merged with National Second Overseas Chinese Middle School, and the Ministry of Education sent non-overseas, senior high Chinese students to National Third Middle School in Tongren (銅仁), also in Guizhou. Meanwhile, non-overseas Chinese junior high students were dispatched to National Fourteen Middle School, near Chengdu in Sichuan.[31]

Provincial Schools

While the national middle schools relocated to escape the Japanese army, many provincial middle schools came in close contact with the enemy. The Japanese took over some provincial schools when they occupied territory, while other students and faculty were able to flee from the enemy and utilize makeshift "classrooms" while in hiding. One provincial journal, *Zhejiang jiaoyuting*, recorded an account of several Zhejiang middle schools' experiences during the early stages of the war.

In late 1937, the Japanese army conducted a ten-day campaign impacting many Zhejiang schools, beginning in November after Hangzhou surrendered to the Japanese army amidst retreating GMD forces.[32] The army bombed and destroyed many educational

[30] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 53.
[31] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 53.
[32] *Geming wenxian*, *Vol. 61*, 353. Information originated from *Zhejiang jiaoyuting* (December 1939): 29-34.

institutions, but these were mainly located in cities and towns. In addition, the Japanese captured approximately five hundred students from various schools, taking over their institutions and forbidding students to voice anti-Japanese sentiments.[33] Some students managed to escape from the hands of the Japanese and fled to GMD-controlled areas where they continued their studies. However, although the Japanese army occupied many towns in western Zhejiang (near the Anhui border), some rural areas still remained under Chinese control. On October 9, 1937, school officials decided to separate 850 students from Number One Temporary Middle School into two smaller groups and move them to a temporary campus located in western Zhejiang.[34] The first group, consisting of students from higher grades, traveled to Changqiao Hongjia (昌橋洪家), about three miles away. The other group featured younger students, and briefly settled in Xiaofengzhang village (孝豐章村) before the students were eventually sent home. The older students in Changqiao Hongjia remained, holding four classes a day and continuing their studies even on the road. Remarkably, every student carried a gun while they were moving, as enemy bombs constantly fell around them. *Zhejiang jiaoyuting* likened it to a cross between a normal high school and guerrilla warfare – students would escape when the enemy occupied the area, but return once the Japanese left. While fleeing, some preferred to leave behind their own belongings rather than abandon their guns, which they could have moved faster without. According to *Zhejiang jiaoyuting*, this type of "fighting spirit" encouraged many observers. On October 8, 1937, the Japanese continued to bomb.[35] On the morning of October 9, the students moved again, this time to the

[33] *Geming wenxian*, *Vol. 61*, 353.
[34] *Geming wenxian*, *Vol. 61*, 356.
[35] *Geming wenxian*, *Vol. 61*, 357.

wilderness. They stopped in Changhua's Lulingpu (昌化, 蘆嶺舖) that night and continued marching every subsequent day. Each teacher held seminars with small groups of students – the war itself was an obvious topic of "classroom" discussion, and they educated students about Japanese violence towards China. Before they had taught four classes a day, now they only held small seminars, always keeping the students moving. Whenever they came upon a small village hut (*zhuangwu*), they converted it into a classroom. Otherwise, if they were deep in the wilderness, class was simply conducted outdoors. *Zhejiang jiaoyuting* even celebrated how constantly moving to escape the enemy had taught Number One Temporary Middle School students "how to react quickly to problems."[36]

Financing Secondary Education

In addition to the perils of war, the uncertainty of displacement, and tension with military personnel and the central government, many refugee schools also struggled to secure basic resources and financing during the conflict. For example, even private schools in Shanghai, originally located in the Chinese section of the city, had to move to the foreign concessions as a result of the Japanese invasion. One, Shanghai Lida Middle School (上海利達中學), had consistently received government subsidies, which it relied on to stay solvent before the money suddenly stopped for ten months when the war began. The school requested the Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Education to continue sending 2,500 yuan per month, especially as costs rose dramatically after the school's relocation to the French Concession. It also experienced an increase in student

[36] *Geming wenxian, Vol. 61*, 357.

enrollment. Eventually, the Ministry of Finance distributed the subsidy to Shanghai Lida, but Chen Lifu soon established a blanket policy on stipend requests, generally offering only 79% of the money schools initially asked for.[37]

By banding together regionally, some schools were able to secure a more stable amount of funding during the war. In 1943, Chongqing's education sector formed a bureau overseeing 272 schools, including those that relocated from Japanese-occupied areas. During the war years, schools' overhead expenses increased due to inflation. However, overall funding for Chinese middle and high schools nationwide paled in comparison to other wartime priorities. Of the central government's total budget, education spending was almost non-existent. In 1945, 28 million yuan was devoted to education, less than one percent of a government budget totaling over 3.2 billion yuan.[38]

Implementing the Three People's Principles in Schools

The war's disruption not only led the GMD to exert stronger financial and administrative control over some middle schools, but it also opened the door for the central government to enact specific curriculum reforms. During the war, the Ministry of Education released detailed outlines on how to implement the Three People's Principles in each of the following: primary schools, middle schools, institutes of higher education, normal schools, institutes of social education, overseas Chinese education, and education for Mongolian and Tibetan youth. These stipulated how junior high, senior high, and other schools at the same level should "put Sun Yatsen's principles into practice," noting

[37] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge sili zhongxue qing buzhu fei," File 1951, 16J-1904, Vol. 2, Sec. 3, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[38] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge sheng shi jiaoyu shicha baogao," File 2286, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

that the first goal was to "establish the Three People's Principles as the youth's belief" and "cultivate national morality of honesty, filial piety, benevolence, and peace." The second purpose was to "pay attention to youth's character, their health situation, and psyche" and to "give them proper guidance and training." The last goal was to provide youth with "professional guidance" and "cultivate their knowledge of the profession" for a career.[39] In order to put the Three People's Principles into practice, attention had to be paid to Scouting in junior high and military training in senior high. In addition, female students were to undergo nursing training. The Ministry of Education also suggested that Sun Yatsen's sayings become mottos for various schools, including slogans such as "Everyone should get along with others, be honest, and faithful," "wisdom, mercy, and braveness," and "be moral." It recommended students make posters with these (and other) messages.[40]

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Education's policy on normal schools outlined three specific goals: 1) According to the spirit of the Three People's Principles and society's needs, have normal schools initiate the latest in scientific education, physical training, and student "mind training," in order to cultivate future teachers who can put the Three People's Principles into practice; 2) Have schools "communicate with society and create an environment of teaching, learning, and doing, combining the Three People's Principles"; and 3) Make rural education "pay attention to improving rural life and adapt

[39] Guomin zhengfu, Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," File 410, J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[40] Guomin zhengfu, Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," File 410, J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

to rural needs," insisting that schools "cultivate intellectuals who can work in rural or social education."[41]

However, despite these clear goals and ideological commitments, the MOE's recommendations for education in Mongolia and Tibet were quite different, warranting a closer examination particularly because they included suggestions that officials pay attention to cultivating national identity. The Ministry also advocated that these schools follow Sun Yatsen's principle of equality, recommending that language in Mongolia and Tibet be uniform in order to fulfill Sun's wish for "the unity of the five major ethnic groups." The MOE designed a curriculum to do just that, allowing multi-language primary-level textbooks in Mongolian, Tibetan, and Chinese, but ordering all secondary education textbooks to be published only in Chinese. The MOE also called on Mongolian and Tibetan schools to study the history of "the assimilation of China's ethnic groups," the "geographical relationship between the core and periphery," the "history and facts of imperialist aggression" in the region, the "relationship between people" in Mongolia and Tibet, the "relationship between local autonomy and democracy," and the economic relationship of the two regions.[42] In addition, the MOE laid out an outline for "training education." It listed that "people in Mongolia and Tibet should study scientific knowledge in order to get rid of their superstitions of nature." In order for that to be accomplished, it directed that the national spirit be invoked in order "to get rid of tribalism." The MOE also instructed that the residents of the two regions be educated in international affairs, and even directed them to "live in groups" (*tuanti shenghuo* 團體生

[41] Guomin zhengfu, Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," File 410-J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[42] Guomin zhengfu, Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," File 410-J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

活) in order to "cultivate the spirit of patriotism and love for ethnicity" (*ai guojia, ai minzu* 愛國家, 愛民族). As for supplies, the MOE charged that school facilities and supplies "should follow the spirit of the Three People's Principles and meet the local needs of Mongolia and Tibet," as well as "provide all kinds of books and charts about Mongolia and Tibet, and cultural and historical relics (*wenwu* 文物) from the core."[43] Thus, the MOE planned a curriculum that would foster patriotism in the hearts and minds of the people living in border regions. Such policies invariably lead to questions of how Mongolians and Tibetans responded to these decrees. Further research could be done on this topic.

Close Encounters With Locals

In addition to the challenges of wartime funding, the breakdown of community support, and the trauma of refugee relocation, displaced secondary school students and staff also encountered varying receptions from locals in the interior – ranging from sympathetic welcomes to outright hostility. Sometimes students themselves contributed to a souring of relations with local communities. On many occasions, principals and their students clashed with Buddhist monks when they attempted to convert temples into schools. By no means were these novel occurrences. Officials made an effort to convert heterodox temples into schools dating as far back as the Ming dynasty.[44] During the 1898 reform movement, the modernizing government insisted on using Buddhist and Daoist temples for education. Besides the last decade of the Qing, the state also launched an

[43] Guomin zhengfu, Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," File 410-J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[44] Rebecca Nedostup, *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 11.

"anti-superstition" campaign during the Nanjing decade (1927-1937). Historian Rebecca Nedostup's has examined how the GMD regime seized temples and "openly encouraged educators to convert civil temples to night schools and other features of mass education."[45] During the war, the fact that non-locals turned temples into schools only exacerbated the situation, making these conflicts even more explosive than earlier cases.

In Sichuan, Jiangji County Vocational Middle School students destroyed Guangshou Temple's Buddhist images and occupied the site after their principal encouraged students to convert the temple into their new school building. In response, Chongqing's office of the secretary insisted that the school compensate the temple. In another peculiar episode, a Tibetan monk, Qimiao, rented out a temple to Hunan Provincial Temporary High School, a school that served both junior and senior high grades (only the seniors used the temple). Initially, he believed that "education was very important." However, in a letter to Chiang Kai-shek purportedly written by the monk, Qimiao reported that relations soon turned south after the school refused to pay rent. In addition, the letter accused the students of pouring liquid soap into the temple's pond, poisoning 300 fish (some Buddhists bought fish or other animals, placing them in temple ponds or releasing them in the wild). According to the letter, students also ate the monks' food and stole their personal belongings, including furniture. As director of the temple, Qimiao asked that the school compensate him 600 yuan.[46]

However, the Hunan Provincial Government soon conducted an investigation and discovered that the accusations were entirely fabricated. In fact, Qimiao never even wrote the letter – rather, a local "scoundrel" had used the monk's name to concoct the entire

[45] Nedostup, 265.
[46] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

story. When government officials approached Qimao, he maintained he never wrote the letter and got along fine with the school and its students.[47] Examples such as these indicated that relocated students, staff, and local residents were all likely to contribute to tension.

In a similar incident, Hou Yongqing, a representative of Wusheng County in Sichuan, reported that Jingren Middle School students destroyed Buddhist images. In a report to government superiors, Hou agreed that the temples and Buddhist figures were "superstitious," yet argued that they still instilled fear in people and prevented them from doing "bad things." "This is something that complements laws and morals," he wrote. In Republican China, the vast majority of inland residents in rural areas did not receive adequate education. Yet Jingren students and staff had converted a local deity temple into its classrooms, desecrating the images inside. The school even took down the temple's decorations and used them for its own purposes. Hou lamented "superstitious" beliefs but nevertheless argued that the images had "aesthetic value," noting that "everyone in the county was very upset about this situation."[48]

More conflicts between high school students and Buddhist monks flared as the war dragged on. A Boy Scouts group from Pingliang Middle School (平涼中學) in Gansu province destroyed a Buddhist statue in Nantai Temple. According to the monks, while students stayed at the temple they disrupted those who were reading sutras aloud, leaping on stage and proclaiming that, "the government should preside over the rights of Nantai Temple, not the monks!" The monks reported the incident to the local court,

[47] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[48] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

which concluded that Pingliang Middle School's principal wanted to convert the temple into a school, thus encouraging his students to do "bad things" while they stayed there.

In response, the Gansu government submitted a very different report, accusing the monks of lying and placing the blame entirely on them. It deemed the monks "too traditional for believing everyone should be Buddhists" and criticized their opposition to "modernization, including students' education."[49] The Gansu government reported that the monks claimed students had beaten a seventy-three year old monk named Qing Lian, yet when provincial officials visited the temple to inspect the "so-called beaten victim," they found no wounds on his body. Consequently, Gansu officials concluded that the monks "meddled too much" in local affairs by "thinking everyone should be Buddhists" and "collecting money during the war" – in essence, they interfered with the provincial government's wartime effort, and Wang Zizhi, principal of Pingliang Middle School, along with his students were right to persuade others not to be Buddhists and oppose the monks. However, provincial government officials also believed that the principal should have kept his students under control and prevented them from acting so impulsively (*hen chongdong* 很衝動).[50] From the perspective of many interior residents, the arrival of displaced, relatively wealthy, and educated students from the Northeast and coastal areas translated into an assault on their way of life, including traditional, rural forms of Buddhism and agrarian values.

Temples were not the only sites forced to house relocated schools, often with little compensation. In Jinshi County, Hubei, the principal of a relocated junior high forced

[49] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[50] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

Wei Cigang to turn over his farm to the school and sign a contract stipulating that the school could rent his land. Wei's farm had ripened wheat, which school staff soon depleted, and he maintained that his family depended on the crop for food. Wei also argued that his farm was a bad location for school children, writing that "a school located on open land would be an easy target for bombing." He suggested that the school move to the mountains for the safety of the students, though he clearly had ulterior motives for doing so.[51]

In other places, locals responded with far more ferocity than Wei. In a letter written to the Executive Yuan, the principal of Capital Minorities School complained about a "local tyrant" after the school moved to Longche Temple in Caijia village, Ba County. There, a man named Wu Anyi threatened to murder someone at the school and set it on fire, claiming that faculty, staff, and students destroyed the temple's images. Wu gathered a number of Buddhists and demanded the school pay for the damages. In response, the school argued that Sun Yatsen himself called on his countrymen to "break down feudal superstitions and refrain from idol worship," thus the school was only following the late President's orders. The principal also wrote that Wu was raising the issue because of rural resistance to formal education, not because of Buddhism or the temple. He noted that the nearby City God Temple had become a market selling Chinese products; another temple, Haitang Temple was now a park; and a third, Wenquan Temple, was converted into the local office for the Ministry of Education. According to the principal, nobody objected to the conversion of these, but Wu and his accomplices

[51] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

resisted the school because they "opposed education."[52] Certainly, some temples in a given area were in more active use than others, and more likely to be defended by the authorities, yet not enough documented instances survive to deduce any kind of pattern in which temples became flashpoints.

Corruption Cases

Unfortunately, wartime relocation not only exposed tensions between schools and locals, but also provided opportunities for corrupt education administrators to exploit the situation for themselves. In one case, the Shanxi Association reported to the MOE that Principal Shen Disheng (沈滌生) of National Number Five Middle School failed to distribute government stipends, upsetting students. When the students rallied to demand that he provide the funds, he instead sent "henchmen" to beat the youth, putting some in the hospital. Most of the injured hailed from Shanxi province, having relocated to Chongqing.[53] Principal Shen only served the school for four months before the Ministry sent a replacement in August 1939.[54]

Such examples of financial corruption were the most common complaints. In another episode, an education supervisor reported that Principal Ge Weifen of National Number Six Middle School was guilty of malfeasance, embezzling the school's funds by increasing his own salary while reducing students' tea-drinking fee. When Ge purchased school supplies, he also pocketed some of the items. Moreover, he went so far as to fabricate the identity of teachers, adding to the faculty roster and stealing the extra

[52] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Gedi zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguanm.
[53] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Gedi zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[54] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 380.

government salaries. In addition, when sick students did not come to school to claim their stipends, Ge kept the money instead. Along with theft and embezzlement, more dramatic, bizarre forms of corruption emerged in this particular relocation school, another testament to the disruption of the war. According to the supervisor, under Principal Ge's leadership "nobody enforced order" at National Number Six and the school descended into chaos. "Student dormitories were filthy," resulting in "illnesses and even death." Besides suffering from physical deterioration, the school also experienced "moral decay." Teachers and students became involved in illicit affairs. The supervisor also raised alarms over the fact that many of Number Six's boys and girls were "dating," which was heavily frowned upon in 1940s China. Under Ge's leadership, some girls had even "become prostitutes," while others openly cohabitated with male students.[55] In yet another incident, students accused Yi Maoqin, principal of Girls' Middle School in Guangshan County, of evicting them from some classrooms and moving his family in to live. When students began criticizing him, Yi expelled a number of them. In the same county, a fire that destroyed Guangshan County Middle School was blamed on the principal's mismanagement, prompting students to demand his termination.[56]

Conclusion

The GMD generally concluded that it had managed secondary education adequately during the War of Resistance. Evaluating wartime education in 1951, Minister

[55] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Gedi zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.
[56] Guomin xingzhengyuan, "Gedi zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong," File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di'er lishi dang'anguan.

of Education Chen Lifu explained why he felt it was successful and tried to justify the expenditures on education:

> Looking back I believe that nothing in wartime education was undertaken which did not meet a current or long-range need. When hundreds of thousands of students and teachers, homeless and penniless flooded into the free zone, we could not but establish new schools to accommodate them…Superficially, we might be accused of extravagance and over-reaching; but examined carefully, everything we did would appear to have been done out of necessity.[57]

In some ways Chen Lifu considered his performance of wartime education administration to be more than satisfactory, but he also wrote to convince others of a job well done. Despite Chen's claim that the government spent a huge amount of money on education, it had its share of shortcomings. Severe limitations on the budget, inadequate makeshift classrooms, libraries, and laboratories, and malnourished students all negatively impacted learning, and Chen was quite aware of the deficiencies. In December 1939, he witnessed Lianda's students shiver as he gave an open-air speech. When he inspected a mess hall, he realized that students' diets were "grossly inadequate."[58] Thus, Chen increased the stipend for students' clothes and books. After he informed Chiang Kai-shek, the Generalissimo allocated 100,000 yuan for students' meals.[59] Yet Lianda was the wartime union of three prestigious universities (Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai), and it is not surprising that it garnered elite attention and became a major priority for the GMD leaders. One can only imagine the dire straits faced by less prestigious colleges, let alone middle schools that were generally left to fend for themselves.

---

[57] Chen Lifu, *Chan-sih chiao-yu hui-i*, 52-53. Cited in Ou Tsiun-chen (Wu Junsheng), "Education in Wartime China," in *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, ed. Paul K. T. Sih (Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), 120-121.
[58] John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 310.
[59] Israel, 310.

However, Chen's confidence is boosted by some statistics. According to *The Second Yearbook of Chinese Education* (*Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*), there were 3,200 middle schools and 627,000 students in China on the eve of the war. When the war ended in 1945, there were 4,500 middle schools and 1,394,000 students, including those in Communist-controlled areas and former Japanese-occupied territories.[60] A year later, there were 4,266 regular middle schools, 902 normal schools, and 724 vocational schools.[61] Altogether, in 1946 there were 5,892 middle schools and 1,878,523 high school students in China. Thus, there was surprisingly large growth in the number of middle schools and students, proving that the GMD and CCP were successful in preserving education even with war raging in the background.

During the war, Chinese education at all levels managed to advance despite serious problems such as the loss of territory or enemy air raids. Historian Ou Tsiun-chen's "Education in Wartime China" also reveals that secondary education's number of teachers, staff, and students at secondary schools increased, even as the overall number of normal and vocational schools declined. Regrettably, he does not explain why. A tabulation in *The Second Yearbook of Chinese Education* includes two sets of figures representing the first and last year of the war. The number of middle schools increased by 803, while the numbers of normal and vocational schools decreased by 252 and 70, respectively.[62] Ou credits the growth in secondary education to the increase in the number of provincial and municipal schools operating in the nineteen provinces and

[60] *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 13.
[61] *Disanci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 13.
[62] Ou, 101-103. Ou's source is derived from the *Di'erci jiaoyu nianjian*, 1462.

municipalities under Chinese control, along with the GMD's establishment of 34 national middle schools, 28 normal schools, and 14 vocational schools.[63]

Still, other figures come from the GMD's efforts to document the middle school students who fled the occupied territories, gathered at major cities not yet invaded by the Japanese, and registered for national secondary schools. In 1941, the Ministry of Education established the Commission on Refugee Youth to receive, retrain and resettle them. Up to 1943, the Commission processed a total of 154,896 homeless youth, providing them with food, shelter, and clothing.[64]

Certainly, new, inland regions and the central government responded to the crisis of war and refugee schools, but war and displacement also drastically altered the educational landscape in the once-thriving areas of coastal and northeast China. In Japanese-occupied districts, 110 middle schools with more than 41,700 students were forced to relocate or shut down. Of the 3,264 middle schools in the country, 1,296 (40 percent) were in occupied areas. Property losses alone, not including normal and vocational schools, amounted to $65,567,783. As a result of the war, 20,510 middle school teachers and staff (one-third of the country's total) suffered tremendously, while Chen Lifu later wrote that one half of the nation's 571,800 middle school students were directly impacted in 1941.[65]

Historian Jessie Lutz notes that the migration of students during the war "announced to the world that China would survive as a sovereign nation."[66] Despite the

---

[63] Ou, 114.
[64] Ou, 119.
[65] Chen Lifu, *Four Years of Chinese Education (1937-1941)* (Chongqing: The China Information Committee, 1941), 27.
[66] Jessie Lutz, "Comments," in *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, ed. Paul K. T. Sih (Hickville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), 125.

war, resilient students did not allow the Japanese invasion to hinder their studies. Indeed, the GMD government was able to train its valuable scholars for postwar reconstruction. The Nationalists learned how wartime education could contribute to the war effort and national reconstruction, a valuable lesson. Wartime education fostered talented students to acquire useful skills that were subsequently used to rebuild war-torn China. For example, according to Ou, "thousands of engineering graduates took part in the construction in west Szechwan of a large and up-to-date airfield to accommodate long-range American heavy bombers."[67]

Besides arguing that the refugee students' wartime relocation heralded China's survival, Lutz notes that "from 1938 to 1945 there were four Chinas. There were those sectors known as free China and occupied China; within free China were territories under Kuomintang dominance and those under the Communists."[68] Furthermore, in occupied China, the Japanese controlled the cities and communication links, but there remained peasant villages beyond their grasps. Yet, these stories indicate that education in wartime China was complex, dangerous, and full of instability no matter which of the "four Chinas" a student sought schooling. Even for those students and schools operating in free China under GMD control – and especially those in the villages of occupied China that avoided the Japanese army – education remained highly unstable, with considerable conflict between local communities and refugee institutions, as well as frequent distrust between students, administrators, and the growing power of the GMD's central government. One of the clearest manifestations of this renewed centralized power was the GMD's formation of a new youth organization, the Three People's Principles Youth

[67] Ou, 121.
[68] Lutz, 124.

Corps (SQT). Meant to be an organization that would indoctrinate youth in Party ideology and suppress those engaged in anti-government activities, its origins and demise are the subjects of Chapter Two.

Chapter 2

The Three People's Principle's Youth Corps on the Mainland, 1938-1947

When the GMD controlled the Chinese mainland in the 1930s and 1940s, two of its factions, the Whampoa Clique and the Central Club (CC) Clique, competed for support on college and senior high school campuses. Each was intent on creating a core group of pro-GMD youth sympathizers that would pledge loyalty to the Party and promote factional goals. Some recent scholars and Chiang Kai-shek's contemporaries claim that the Generalissimo secretly encouraged such factionalism in order to remain the indisputable and supreme head of the Party.[1] But in 1938, Chiang came out publicly against the crippling in-fighting caused by the two camps. He ordered the dissolution of their subsidiary organizations and formed the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (*Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan* 三民主義青年團, "Sanqingtuan" for short, and hereafter "SQT").

An analysis of the SQT's founding and evolution in the late 1930s and 1940s sheds light on a number of important issues related to the history of the Chinese Nationalists on mainland China and Taiwan. In particular, this chapter provides an exploration of the SQT that minimizes the connection between European fascism and youth organization in China that many contemporaries at the time drew – and some scholars continue to espouse. It also emphasizes Chiang Kai-shek's use of the SQT to eliminate factionalism within the GMD, even as it eventually contributed directly to that

[1] Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993*, ed. Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 142-145; Pichon P. Y. Loh, "The Politics of Chiang Kai-shek: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Asian Studies,* Vol. 25, No. 3 (May, 1966), 442.

very dissension. The way in which the organization sought to distance itself from an increasingly unpopular Party, while still managing to recruit fresh members to the GMD, reveals the irony and uncertainty that lied behind this first generation of Nationalist youth organizing. Finally, the chapter also explores how the SQT became fixated on wartime refugee students, analyzing the reasons behind its successes and failures during the Second Sino-Japanese War and Chinese Civil War, and its role in establishing Chiang Ching-kuo as a national leader.

Factional Rivalry within the GMD and the "Fascist" Question

In 1925, GMD leader Sun Yatsen's death left the Party without a clear successor. Competing personalities, including Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei, and Hu Hanmin, each claimed a group of loyal followers.[2] Over the next seven years, Chiang's faction grew stronger, especially after the success of the Northern Expedition (1926-1927). By 1932, his supporters constituted the Party's most powerful group.[3] However, according to historian Huang Jianli, "Chiang's camp was far from homogeneous," and was itself subdivided into two major groups that competed for positions and influence in government: the Whampoa Clique and the CC Clique.[4] Military officers "who had had earlier been taught by, or had associated with, Chiang [during his tenure] as commandant

[2] Lloyd Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 32; Huang, *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican China: Guomindang Policy towards Student Political Activism, 1927-1949* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), 108.
[3] In the 1920s, China was fragmented into numerous regions controlled by warlords. The GMD and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) jointly established the Whampoa Military Academy in May 1924 to train an indoctrinated army to defeat the warlords and reunify China in the Northern Expedition (1926-1927). The institution produced many prestigious commanders who fought during that conflict, as well as the War of Resistance against Japan (1937-1945) and the Chinese Civil War (1945-1949). Huang, 25, 34-35, 108.
[4] Huang, 108.

of the Whampoa Military Academy" (1924-1926) headed the Whampoa Clique.[5] Huang maintains that "the strength of its membership lay in its control of the military and police forces."[6] Meanwhile, Party organization leaders, most notably brothers Chen Guofu and Chen Lifu, led the CC Clique. According to historian Lloyd Eastman, the term "CC" was "thought to represent either 'Central Club' or the 'two Chen's.'"[7] Through its control of the GMD's Central Organization Department, Huang notes that the CC Clique grew "to exert a strong influence over civilian party members and in areas such as provincial and city administrations, as well as banking, education, and journalism."[8] Besides serving as the head of the Central Organization Department, Chen Lifu was also Minister of Education from January 1938-December 1944.[9] According to historian Frederic Wakeman, after 1933 the Whampoa Clique leaders began to exert "a great deal of activity toward supplanting the Chen brothers' influence, especially in newspaper publishing and educational circles."[10]

The Whampoa Clique went by various names, including the Blue Shirts (*Lanyishe* 藍衣社), Vigorously-Carry-Out Society (*Lixingshe* 力行社), the Revolutionary Youth Comrades Association (*Geming qingnian tongzhi hui* 革命青年同志會) (RYCA), and the Revival Society (*Fuxingshe* 復興社).[11] Leaders of the faction organized into satellite organizations, front groups, and a hierarchy of three levels: from top to bottom, the

[5] Huang, 109; Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism," *The China Quarterly*, No. 150 (June 1997), 421.
[6] Huang, 109.
[7] Lloyd Eastman, Jerome Ch'en, Suzanne Pepper and Lyman P. Van Slyke, *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927-1949* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), 27.
[8] Huang, 108-109.
[9] Chen Lifu, 147.
[10] Wakeman, 422.
[11] Huang, 91; Wakeman, 421-422.

Vigorously-Carry-Out Society, the RYCA, and the Revival Society.[12] Scholars and contemporaries often refer to the Whampoa Clique as the Blue Shirts.[13] However, Huang prefers the term "Whampoa Clique," since most of its leaders were either graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy or closely associated with the school. Moreover, he argues that "'[the term] clique' best expresses the factional dimension."[14]

"Blue Shirts" is also not an appropriate term for the group, mainly because it conjures up images of Hitler's Brown Shirts or Mussolini's Black Shirts – and the Whampoa Clique was certainly not fascist. In fact, the GMD wished to disassociate itself from organizations that were known to be fascist, especially since the emergence of Chiang Kai-shek's loyalists occurred simultaneously with the rise of the Nazis.[15] Chiang himself never used the term "fascism."[16] However, he did admire Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes for a number of reasons, including their overall efficiency, the way in which the dictators emphasized patriotism and demanded loyalty to both a personal leader and political party, and the military strength of Europe's fascist armies. Chiang even spoke privately to his followers of the need to "Nazify" (*nacuihua* 納粹化) China.[17] Moreover, government records indicate that many in the Whampoa Clique were "sent to Germany and Italy for military training" and, according to Wakeman, they returned to China "full of admiration for fascism and convinced of its value under present conditions in China."[18]

---

[12] Huang, 91; Wakeman, 396-397, 411-412, 417, 421.
[13] Wakeman, 421.
[14] Huang, 91, fn 35.
[15] Wakeman, 423.
[16] Wakeman, 426.
[17] Wakeman, 396.
[18] Shepherd-Paxton Talk, in Records of the Department of State, Internal, China, 1930-1939, No. D130, 00/14127. Cited in Wakeman, 430.

Whether there was a fascist tint to the GMD has been a subject of controversy among scholars. The most important contributions to this field are Eastman's pioneering research and Maria Hsia-Chang's critique of Eastman's work.[19] Eastman and Hsia-Chang have debated whether the Whampoa Clique, the GMD faction most sympathetic to European modes of authoritarianism, deserved the label "fascist." Eastman, who adopted a broader definition of the term, argues that the Whampoa Clique fit the criteria because the methods it employed and ideas it expressed were similar to those found in Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. Members admired and emulated European fascist movements, and some of them even embarked on a conscious attempt to create a Chinese version of fascism. Hsia-Chang prefers a stricter definition of fascism and claims that Whampoa Clique leaders were not referring to the ideology when they spoke of a "fascism" that might save China. Instead, they were only alluding to "the mobilizing and control capabilities of fascism" as they attempted to create a non-fascist, mass-mobilizing dictatorship under Chiang Kai-shek.[20] Whampoa Clique leaders insisted that one must not conceive of fascism as "a type of ideology, but rather as a method... for pacifying the interior and driving out the foreign enemy."[21] Thus, when Chiang himself studied the

[19] Lloyd Eastman, "Fascism in Kuomintang China: The Blue Shirts," in *China Quarterly*, Vol. 49 (January-March 1972), 1-31; *The Abortive Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: 1974), 31-84; "The Kuomintang in the 1930's," in Charlotte Furth, ed., *The Limits of Change* (Cambridge, MA: 1976), 191-210; "Fascism and Modern China: A Rejoinder," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 80 (December 1979), 838-842; "The Rise and Fall of the 'Blue Shirts': A Review Article," *Republican China*, Vol. 13.1 (November 1987), 39-43. Support for Eastman has come from Lincoln Li, *Student Nationalism in China, 1924-1949* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 55, 72-74. Critique of Eastman's works has come from Maria Hsia-Chang, "'Fascism' and Modern China," *China Quarterly*, Vol. 79 (September 1979), 553-567; *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society: Fascism and Developmental Nationalism* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1985).

[20] Hsia-Chang, "'Fascism' and Modern China," 562-563.

[21] Liu Liang-chan, "Faxisizhuyi jiu Zhongguo" ("Fascism saves China"), *Shehui xinwen* (*Society News*), Vol. 8, No. 24 (June 12, 1933), 381. Cited in Hsia-Chang, "'Fascism' and Modern China," 563.

Nazis, he was not concerned with information about their ideology, but rather with how Hitler had achieved strict discipline and obedience among followers.[22]

The key question is not whether Eastman misused the "fascist" label, but whether the Whampoa Clique engaged in the sort of extensive mobilization associated with fascism. Huang's study indicates that, although leaders of the Whampoa Clique were "aware of and interested in the European fascist method of mobilizing mass support, it did not take any concrete action as far as students were concerned."[23] When the GMD decided to depoliticize the student population in 1930, it maintained this policy for the next nineteen years and the Whampoa Clique and other factions within the Party never seriously opposed it.[24] Moreover, the two men who actually drafted the GMD's policies restricting student activism in the 1930s were perhaps the most unlikely "fascists" in the Nationalists regime – one was among the leading liberal educators in early twentieth-century China.

Rather than a conscious emulation of European fascism on the part of Chiang, Dai Jitao and Cai Yuanpei provided an ideological basis for the GMD to begin depoliticizing youth organizations. Of the two, Dai, an important Party theorist and personal secretary to Sun Yatsen, was most responsible for nudging the Party in this new direction of limiting student activism.[25] After Sun's death in 1925, Dai became one of the most authoritative interpreters of the Three People's Principles and major polemicist of the GMD in power. Moreover, Dai was also a member of the Standing Committee, the

[22] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 40-42.
[23] Huang, 192.
[24] Huang, 192.
[25] Huang, 40.

supreme decision-making body of the GMD.[26] His initiatives later received significant support from an even more unlikely source, Cai Yuanpei, China's leading liberal educator and former chancellor of Beijing University (1917-1926) and Minister of Education (1911-1912). Educated in Germany, Cai was also a founding member and first president of Academia Sinica (1928-1940), Republican China's preeminent research institute.[27] The May Fourth Movement of 1919 occurred during Cai's tenure as chancellor, when a wave of nationalist and anti-imperialist protests swept through Chinese campuses with Beijing University as its organizational center. The students called upon the Chinese government to reject the Treaty of Versailles, and dismiss pro-Japanese officials. (The police arrested and assaulted the students after they burned down the residence of one.) Cai sought to convince students that they should attend to their studies, preparing themselves for a future as political reformers; he would rather that they avoid involving the university in overt political activities, as this threatened his vision of a university independent of political disputes. However, although Cai was opposed to violence, he was sympathetic to their cause and widely celebrated by many. Another testament to his liberalism was Cai's emphasis on the need for academic freedom in China, a constant theme in his educational writings, which also called for the independence of education from state and religious control. In opposition to the propagandistic education promoted by the state and religion, he advocated an open-minded education. It is important to distinguish between Dai's authoritarian approach and Cai's liberal position when they both appealed to students to return to their studies. Both

[26] Huang, 40-75; Robert J. Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 235.
[27] Huang, 48-75; Boorman, *Vol. 3*, 295-299.

agreed on efforts to institute Party control over students without agreeing on philosophical assumptions – yet both were clearly not influenced by fascism.

Together, Dai and Cai produced four basic policy documents the GMD eventually endorsed. The first established principles for the future organization of student unions: according to Huang, "they were to be renamed student self-governing associations (SSGAs) (*xuesheng zizhihui* 學生自治會), confined to individual schools, barred from interfering with school administration and charged with the twin objectives of inculcating the Three People's Principles as the basic spirit of student self-government and promoting the development of intellectual, moral, physical, and social education."[28] The second and third documents featured organizational charts for the proposed SSGAs at institutes of higher education and secondary schools. These documents barred the proposed SSGAs from organizing student political gatherings and limited them to promoting activities solely related to education and student welfare. The fourth document articulated rules regarding "the frequency of meetings, elections and the composition of congresses and executive committee meetings."[29] The GMD instructed all SSGAs to adhere to the fourth document when drafting their constitutions, which had to be submitted to Party authorities for approval.[30] In January 1930, the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee endorsed all four documents, formally adopting Dai and Cai's policies as an official GMD platform discouraging student political activism.

[28] "Principles in Organizing Student Organizations," in *Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*, Vol. 2.6 (February 1930), 21. *Jiaoyubu gongbao*. 教育部公報. Cited in Huang, 74.
[29] "Outline for the Organization of SSGAs," in *Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*, Vol. 2.6 (February 1930), 24-26. *Jiaoyubu gongbao*. 教育部公報. Cited in Huang, 74.
[30] "Outline for the Organization of SSGAs," 24-26. Cited in Huang, 74.

While Dai and Cai helped provide stronger limits on student political freedoms, the Whampoa Clique continued to recruit young people into their front organizations, before and after the GMD established the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT) in 1938. However, the scale of student involvement was limited. Even after the GMD launched the SQT, clique personnel dominated its leadership and operation. According to Huang, the corps "did not become a channel of political mobilization, but developed instead into an instrument for depoliticizing the students and making them focus their minds on education and moral discipline."[31]Before and after the founding of the SQT in 1938, the Whampoa Clique also attempted to use schools, the military, and the work force to instill their ideas. In particular, they expanded their influence among students through university military training programs provided in regular school curriculum and at high school summer camps, foreshadowing the China Youth Corps' military training of students on Taiwan during the 1950s. [32] From 1932 to 1937, both the Whampoa Clique and the CC Clique attempted to cultivate pro-GMD student cadres.[33] However, these activists formed only a small fraction of the two GMD camps, and they constituted an even smaller proportion when measured against the total student population. Thus, according to Huang, "their recruitment was not an exercise in large-scale political mobilization but the cultivation of a small vanguard unit."[34] Their job was to reinforce the GMD's politico-educational effort to monitor schools closely and check the influence and activities of anti-GMD student radicals.[35]

---

[31] Huang, 192.
[32] Eastman, *Abortive Revolution*, 64-65; Huang, 93; Wakeman, 397.
[33] Huang, 183.
[34] Huang, 183.
[35] Huang, 183.

The Founding of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps

In March 1938, the GMD publicly announced its intention to form the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT).[36] The following month, at Chiang Kai-shek's order, the GMD's Extraordinary National Congress adopted a resolution creating the organization.[37] Chiang officially launched the SQT on July 9, 1938 with considerable fanfare, yet the initial conception and the planning stages must have started months before the first public announcement in March.[38] The SQT's official published history from 1946, *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyi chugao* (*The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*), briefly notes that the GMD leadership considered the idea as early as May 1937, two months before the outbreak of war.[39] Eastman accepts this claim, yet several contemporary accounts place the founding of the organization sometime after the war began.[40] In an early wartime speech, acting SQT secretary-general Zhu Jiahua suggested that the idea originated in the fall of 1937, while Kang Ze, a prominent SQT leader from 1938-1944, recalled that GMD leaders began discussing the matter that September.[41] Kang was a former leading member of the officially-disbanded Revival Society, a front group of the Whampoa Clique, and he later ran the SQT as director of its organization

---

[36] Huang, 104; Chen Lifu, 143.
[37] Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 85.
[38] Huang, 104.
[39] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyi chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 1; also reprinted in *Geming wenxian* (Documents of Revolution), Vol. 62 (Taipei, 1973), 1. Cited in Huang, 104.
[40] Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 91.
[41] Zhu Jiahua, *Qingnian tuanwu zhi jinzhan* (The Development of Youth Corps Affairs) (May 1939), 12. Kang Ze, "Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan chengli de jingguo" (The Process of Forming the Three People's Principles Youth Corps) in *Wenshi ziliao* (Literary and Historical Documents), Vol. 40 (November 1963), 197. Cited in Huang, 104-5.

department. As for Chiang Kai-shek, the Generalissimo mentioned the youth corps in his diary for the first time on November 3, 1937, in which he placed the SQT, which he referred to as *qingniantuan* (青年團), first on a list of things "to pay attention to."[42] Thus, Huang is correct when he surmises that GMD leaders likely conceived of the organization within two months of the first military clash between Chinese and Japanese forces at the Marco Polo Bridge in July 1937.[43]

Contrary to scholars who insist that Chiang secretly encouraged conflict among competing GMD cliques, when the Generalissimo announced the formation of the SQT he specifically saw it as an attempt to put an end to Party factionalism once and for all. On February 4, 1938, Chiang's sixth item on his "to-do" list read: "Give a speech to the main officers of the Vigorously-Carry-Out Society. These people give me different reports. They are engaged in a power struggle. The local officials are immature and supervision is not strict enough."[44] Chiang then wrote sarcastically that, "they want to become leaders."[45] Sure enough, the following day he "thoroughly scolded the Vigorously-Carry-Out Society officers," and on April 3, 1938, he broadened his crackdown and ordered the complete dissolution of the CC Clique and Whampoa Clique.[46] That same month, Chen Lifu, Chen Guofu, and other major CC Clique leaders called together a meeting of approximately 450 followers in Wuhan, the temporary

---

[42] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, November 3, 1937, Box 39, Folder 17, Hoover Institution Archives.
[43] Huang, 105.
[44] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, February 4, 1938, Box 39, Folder 21, Hoover Institution Archives. The Vigorously-Carry-Out Society (*Lixingshe* 力行社) was a clandestine agency of the Whampoa Clique.
[45] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, February 4, 1938, Box 39, Folder 21, Hoover Institution Archives.
[46] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, February 5, 1938, Box 39, Folder 21, Hoover Institution Archives. Huang, 109; Chen Lifu, 143.

wartime capital, where they announced the dissolution of their subsidiary organizations.[47] Two months later, Whampoa Clique members also assembled in a Wuchang secondary school and decided to dismantle their faction's front groups.[48] Still, although the CC Clique and Whampoa Clique officially disbanded their satellite organizations, both factions remained powerful forces.[49]

On July 25, 1939, Chiang himself supervised an SQT membership ceremony and administered the oath of allegiance. All SQT members stood and listened as Chiang read the preface of the Party's rules and main points – the GMD rules were the exact same as the SQT. He even proclaimed that the purpose of the SQT was to establish "revolutionary character," the foundation for all GMD regulations. In total there were twelve creeds in the GMD party's rules: bravery, filial piety, love, trust, peace, courtesy, obedience, thriftiness, cleanness, helpfulness, knowledge, and persistence. All SQT members recited the twelve creeds after Chiang.[50]

The SQT devoted its first year of existence to planning and preparation. Chiang himself assumed the organization's directorship and appointed General Chen Cheng his secretary-general. Although Chen formally held this post, his many other duties prevented him from assuming full-time leadership of the corps.[51] By mid-1938, he was already serving as commander of the Ninth Military Area, dean of the Army's Central Training Corps, and governor of Hubei province.[52] His nominal appointment to the SQT

---

[47] Huang, 109.
[48] Huang, 109.
[49] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son,* 86.
[50] "Speech for the Oath of Members Joining the Corps," *Speeches of the President of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*, Three People's Principles Youth Corps Central Headquarters, April 1942, 25-29. "團員入團宣事訓詞," 團長訓示, 三民主義青年團中央團部一印.
[51] Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 91.
[52] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 86.

simply signaled that he was on course for high political office.[53] Consequently, Zhu Jiahua served as acting secretary-general, and in 1940 Zhang Zhizhong took over the position. However, regardless of the secretary-general, effective leadership of the corps usually fell to lesser subordinates. Both Chen and Zhang were former instructors at the Whampoa Military Academy, but the person who essentially ran the SQT (as director of its organization department) was Kang Ze, a former Whampoa student. Kang ranked lower than Chen and Zhang in terms of seniority, but he was the dominant personality in the corps until 1944, whereupon Chiang Ching-kuo took a leading role.[54]

Kang's removal from SQT leadership proves, once again, that Chiang aggressively rebuked those who promoted factionalism between the old "cliques." By May 1945, Chiang was infuriated with Kang for pitting the SQT against the Party.[55] On one occasion, during the Sixth National Party Congress on May 18, 1945, Kang and his followers feuded directly with Chen Lifu and Chen Guofu over a proposal to increase GMD party representatives from 360 to 480, knowing well that added members would benefit the CC Clique.[56] The situation turned so ugly that Chiang himself was forced to host the meeting because he feared the controversy would prevent the election from taking place (Different groups usually took turns hosting the Congress meetings). Chiang agreed to a compromise by decreasing the number of representatives to 460, a proposal that passed by a majority ruling.[57] Nevertheless, the Generalissimo was terribly upset

[53] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 86.
[54] Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 91.
[55] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 19, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.
[56] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 19, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.
[57] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 19, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.

with Kang and called him a "scum" or "renegade" (*bailei* 敗類) in his diary.[58] Chiang thought that Kang had intentionally used the SQT in the fight against the CC Clique. As its primary leader, Kang was prohibiting the organization from cooperating with the Party, and Chiang identified him as the main person responsible for the division between the two GMD units. On May 26, 1945, Chiang made a note to himself "to pay attention to what Kang Ze says and does," and expressed how he was "frustrated thinking about the Kang Ze problem."[59] By this time, he had grown extremely distrustful of Kang.

The Purpose of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps

The SQT's founding rules mimicked those of the Nationalist Party, yet within a few years its leader was feuding with the Chen brothers and the organization was refusing to "cooperate" with the Party. What exactly then was the SQT's purpose? On June 16, 1938, Chiang delivered a speech addressed to all of China's youth on the occasion of the SQT's organization. In it, he stated three main reasons for establishing the corps: to "complete the task of Resistance and Reconstruction," "secure a concentration of fresh strength for the National Revolution," and "give concrete expression to the Three Principles of the People."[60] On the other hand, Chen Lifu, who controlled the Party, maintains in his memoir that the GMD created the SQT because it wanted to abolish the Party's probationary membership system – "probationary members participated in small group meetings to learn about the party, but the party never held a formal basic training

[58] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 19, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.
[59] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 26, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.
[60] "Book Instructing the Entire Nation's Youth," *Speeches of the President of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*, Three People's Principles Youth Corps Central Headquarters, April 1942, 2-4. "告全國青年書," 團長訓示, 三民主義青年團中央團部一印; *President Chiang Kai-shek's Selected Speeches and Messages, 1937-1945* (Taipei: China Cultural Service, 1949), 27-29.

program for new members."[61] When the GMD elected Chen to draft the SQT's rules, he proposed that "all probationary party members first had to join the Youth Corps."[62] After turning twenty-five, they would automatically become regular Party members.[63] Chen frowned on having the SQT become a separate entity from the Party, and believed instead its only purpose was to train the Party's young people, thus preventing disputes between the SQT and Party members.[64] However, in 1938 Chiang Ching-kuo proposed that SQT members be made equal in status to full-time Party members.[65] Adding to Chen's chagrin, Kang Ze was unwilling to even allow corps members to become Party members when they reached twenty-five, and as SQT's head of organization division, Kang was permitted by Chiang Kai-shek to sign a directive in 1938 allowing members to remain in the SQT after turning twenty-five and not requiring them to join the GMD.[66]

This ruling led to considerable friction between the SQT and the GMD. Chen felt that Chiang made a grave mistake, and later wrote that when he initially drafted the SQT rules he explained to Chiang that "an independent unit must not be created outside the party."[67] According to Chen, the SQT represented "new blood" while the Party grew "old and weak."[68] These two autonomous entities became greater adversaries, with the Whampoa Clique supporting the SQT and the CC Clique, led by Chen Lifu and his brother Chen Guofu, controlling the Party. In particular, Chen blamed the ambitions of

---

[61] Chen Lifu, 143.
[62] Chen Lifu, 143.
[63] Chen Lifu, 143.
[64] Chen Lifu, 143.
[65] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son,* 85.
[66] Chen Lifu, 143; Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 85. June 15, 1996 (Nanjing). Ms. Ai was head of the women's unit in the first class of the Youth Cadre School under Chiang Ching-kuo in 1944. Interview conducted by Jay Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 459, fn 44. Ai Ch'i-ming.
[67] Chen Lifu, 144.
[68] Chen Lifu, 144.

two major Whampoa Clique figures, Chen Cheng and Kang Ze, for coveting the SQT leadership in hopes of taking over the Party some day.[69] From the start in 1938, almost all SQT members belonged to the Whampoa Clique and the youth organization became independent from the Party. In response, the Party resisted the SQT's nature as a separate entity by attempting to exert control over the corps. What began as a cooperative effort to build a strong student organization sympathetic to the GMD in 1938 had quickly devolved into a bitter political rivalry by 1945.

In addition to Chiang and Chen's explanation of the SQT's founding mission, Huang offers another reason for the SQT's establishment. He argues that the GMD formed the corps to assist with political rejuvenation in two major ways: "first, by providing a new instrument to integrate the diverse intra-party factions and, second, through the infusion of fresh blood into the party."[70] By 1937, as many as 90% of the Party's two million members were reportedly "inactive," meaning there were no documented examples of their participation in Party work.[71] GMD leaders were concerned with the situation, and at the opening session of the Extraordinary Congress on March 29, 1938, Chiang Kai-shek warned that the GMD had "become virtually an empty shell, without any real substance; the form of the party persists, but the spirit of the party has almost completely died out."[72] Similarly, Chiang made it clear in his later speeches and writings that he had organized the SQT to "give a new life to the GMD," and even

---

[69] Chen Lifu, 144.
[70] Huang, 108.
[71] *Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China,* Vol. 1 (Washington D.C., 1970), 236. The estimate here has been attributed to Chen Lifu. Cited in Huang, 106.
[72] Zhu Zishuang, *Zhongguo Guomindang lizi quanguo daibiao dahui yaolan* (Successive national party congresses of the Chinese Guomindang) (Chongqing, 1945), 70. Cited in Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction*, 89.

likened the GMD to the nation's main artery, with members of the SQT fresh corpuscles within that artery.[73]

Concurrent with the SQT's establishment, the GMD's deputy leader, Wang Jingwei, co-sponsored a resolution prohibiting the establishment of sub-organizations within the Party.[74] Together with Chiang, Wang pushed through a resolution that laid out six basic principles for the structure of the SQT, one of which prevented the organization from becoming a tool for behind-the-scenes, factional politics. The corps' constitution prohibited members from participating in other political parties and factions (with the obvious exception of the GMD). Despite the SQT's subsequent role in fomenting GMD infighting, it is clear from these measures that Wang and the other supporters of the resolution initially conceived of the SQT just as Chiang had noted in his diary – as an organization that would integrate intra-party factions or, at the very least, stand apart from them.[75] Thus, Huang is correct in noting that the GMD's original objective in 1938 was to use the SQT to reform the parent party, both "by providing a platform in which diverse factions could work together and by acting as a medium through which fresh talent could be inducted."[76]

Furthermore, GMD leaders deliberately de-emphasized the relationship between the Party and the SQT when the student organization was formed. According to Huang, when General Chen Cheng and other leaders toured battle zones during the early part of the war, they encountered disparaging remarks such as "the GMD has no sacrificial spirit

[73] Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny*, 214 and 220 in the English edition translated by Wang Chung-hui (New York, 1947), and 216 and 223 in the English edition, with notes and commentary by Philip Jaffe (London, 1947).
[74] Wang Jingwei subsequently defected and went on to collaborate with the Japanese in setting up a puppet government in the occupied areas of China.
[75] Huang, 110.
[76] Huang, 113.

and is no longer revolutionary," or soldiers and civilians insisting that "the CCP and not the GMD is leading the battle against the Japanese" – a reflection of the Party's poor image that continued to circulate and contribute to the leadership's decision to reform.[77]

Thus, the GMD made deliberate efforts to enhance the SQT's appeal among young people by publicly distancing it from the Party. Despite its connection to the GMD, the official title of the SQT intentionally remained "The Three Principles of the People Youth Corps." Some proposed to prefix it with the name "Guomindang," but this idea was deliberately suppressed – officially because omitting the name of the Party would broaden the appeal of the SQT to those not necessarily committed to the GMD.[78] Yet certainly underlying this decision was the concern that the Party's poor image would put off potential SQT recruits.[79] A number of Party members even attempted to do away with the prefix "Three People's Principles," the official ideology of the GMD. But others managed to ward off these endeavors by arguing that even the CCP had publicly declared its dedication to the Three People's Principles as the "highest guiding principle in the war of resistance against Japan."[80] Interestingly, Chiang's diaries note that Zhou Enlai quickly refused the invitation to have CCP members join the SQT.[81]

Analyzing the SQT's founding mission reveals much about GMD leadership and factionalism in the late 1930s, but it is equally important to understand how and why the

---

[77] Chen Cheng, *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhi xingzhi ji qi zhanwang* (The Nature and Outlook of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps) (April 1939), 35-36. Cited in Huang, 112.
[78] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Dang yu tuan de guanxi* (The Relationship Between the Party and the Corps) (May 1940), 51. Cited in Huang, 112.
[79] Kang Ze, "Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan chengli de jingguo" ("The Process of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps Establishment"), 197-198. Cited in Huang, 112.
[80] "The Rallying of Youth During the War of Resistance," in *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 62, 2. Cited in Huang 112; Huang, 113.
[81] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, February 10, 1938, Box 39, Folder 21, Hoover Institution Archives.

organization's purpose shifted and evolved within a few short years. A vital purpose of the SQT was to recruit and discipline the waves of refugee students driven from northern and coastal cities by the Japanese invasion, but this concern with student drifters did not come until after the corps was established. According to Huang, many of the displaced students held "strong patriotic reactions to the Japanese invasion," which were "seen by the GMD as something of a problem, if not potentially dangerous."[82] In spite of the need to mobilize support for the war effort, the GMD remained apprehensive about mass participation in politics. For instance, on February 6, 1938, acting on a personal order from Chiang Kai-shek, the Ministry of Education (MOE) secretly ordered all schools to prohibit political speeches or discussions without first subjecting participants to careful scrutiny, regardless of their credentials.[83] Similarly, when the Student Federation for the Salvation of China (*Zhongguo xuesheng jiuguo lianhehui* 中國學生救國聯合會) sought the MOE's permission and sponsorship of its second congress on March 20, 1938 to debate the issue of "saving-the-nation-through-studies," it was rejected.[84] The MOE replied that such an event was unnecessary, and that wartime students had only two options: continue their studies or join the military and paramilitary services.[85]

Huang also discusses how the GMD attempted to constrain student activism through direct political measures, such as "indoctrinating students with GMD values, cultivating a small group of pro-GMD student activists, and expanding the [SQT] in

---

[82] Huang, 118.
[83] Letter from Chiang Kai-shek to Chen Lifu on February 6, 1938 and circular from the Ministry of Education dispatched on February 12, 1938, at the Second Historical Archives in Nanjing, File 5-2/1420. Cited in Huang, 116.
[84] Letter from the Student Federation for the Salvation of China dated March 15, 1938, at the Second Historical Archives in Nanjing, File 5-2/1501. Cited in Huang, 116.
[85] Reply from Ministry of Education official Wu Junsheng on March 19, 1938, at the Second Historical Archives in Nanjing, File 5-2/1501. Cited in Huang, 116.

schools."[86] The GMD tried to indoctrinate its values mainly through political education in the classroom, including compulsory lessons on the ideology of the Three People's Principles, other teachings of Sun Yatsen, and Party policies adopted at its various plenary meetings. The GMD aimed to make students understand and appreciate the Party's ideology and policies, yet despite the political overtones of these measures, Huang argues that "they [did] not constitute a signal for students to indulge in political activism."[87] Instead, the GMD wanted them as tools to check student radicalism and become politico-educational instruments in molding "a new generation of students who shared the GMD's political outlook, including its wish for students to shun activism and concentrate on academic pursuits and self-cultivation."[88]

Reports of young people migrating to the CCP stronghold in northwestern China heightened GMD worries over this problem of placating wartime students. The SQT was one of the many government and Party agencies which addressed the dilemma of refugee students drifting to Communist-occupied areas, but it was not the organization's main goal and its involvement came much later. Significantly, there was no reference to any links with drifter students on the occasion of the SQT's launching.[89] According to Huang, it was not until four months after its inauguration that the corps became involved, "when it began to establish a network of youth reception centers (*qingnian zhaodaisuo* 青年招待所) aimed at providing free accommodation for refugee students, recommending them for jobs, and enlisting them for social and wartime services."[90]

---

[86] Huang, 183.
[87] Huang, 183.
[88] Huang, 183.
[89] Huang, 120.
[90] Huang, 120.

The Composition of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps

Although the Three People's Principles Youth Corp was officially the youth group of the GMD, actual "youth" occupied a small percentage of the organization's composition in its early years. Initially, it barred people from even joining until they turned eighteen. In July 1939 the minimum age was dropped, but only to sixteen. "Youth" usually refers to young people in their teens or early to mid-twenties – given these restrictions and the average age of its membership, the SQT in its formative years looked more like an organization for the middle aged.[91]

Under the SQT's first constitution, people up to age 38 were eligible for ordinary membership.[92] It is unclear who determined that rule, or why, especially considering that the GMD never enforced an age limit in its entire history. If establishing such a limit distinguished the SQT from the GMD, the fact that it was so high (38) also set it apart from other prominent youth organizations around the world, another indication that the Chinese were not following Western models. The SQT's maximum age was twenty years more than that imposed on Germany's Hitler Youth. Eighteen was also the age limit for Boy Scouts of America (BSA) in the 1930s and 1940s, as it has always been from the BSA's founding in 1910.[93] However, the SQT's age limit only applied to ordinary membership, and a constitutional clause allowed cadres and special categories (such as educators and those who had "contributed to the cause of revolution under the GMD

[91] Huang, 123.
[92] Huang, 123.
[93] Huang, 123; David Macleod, *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 296.

leadership") to be exempted from the age restriction.[94] Therefore, it was technically possible (although not common) for SQT members to be over 40 or 50.[95]

Comprehensive figures on the age composition of SQT members in its first two years are unavailable, but later data allows for inferences. In July 1939, the organization revised its constitution to reduce the maximum age limit from 38 to 25.[96] Taking this change into account, Huang estimates that possibly more than half of all SQT members in its first two years exceeded 26 years of age.[97] In September 1947, when the SQT merged with the Party, twenty percent of the corps members were over the age of 30 – a large proportion considering the organization was meant for young people.[98]

Adapted from Huang, Table 1 displays the occupations of SQT members. Apart from the 1947 figures, which are only available to April, the rest indicate data at the end of the calendar year. Slight variations appear in other sources, but this particular set is the most comprehensive and likely most reliable.

---

[94] Draft of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, reproduced in Wang Liangqing, *A Study of the Relationship Between the San-min Chu-I Youth Corps and the Kuomintang 1938-1949* (Taipei: Kuomintang History Library No. 4, Historical Commission, Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Modern China Publishers, 1998). 王良卿. 三民主義青年團與中國國民黨關係研究 (一九三八- 一九四九). 台北: 中國國民黨黨史研究叢書, 第四種, 近代中國出版社.

[95] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyi chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 4-5. Cited in Huang, 124.

[96] Huang, 124.

[97] Huang, 124.

[98] "20% of China Youth Corps More Than 30 Years Old," *New York Times*, September 12, 1947, 10.

Table 1

Occupational Composition (%) of Three People's Principles Youth Corps Members

	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Students	8.1	13.7	31.61	36.99	40.28	44.87	46.6	46.21	46.59
Trainees of Political & Military Courses	37.1	25.7	15.98	12.67	11.51	9.29	8.27	7.31	6.79
Government & Party Administrators	15.3	18.2	14.78	14.07	13.53	13.1	13.06	13.01	12.83
Military & Police Personnel	17.2	19.6	14.41	12.21	11.31	9.82	9.09	9.9	9.76
Educators	9.9	11	9.87	9.01	8.58	8.34	8.29	8.25	8.43
Workers, Peasants, & Merchants	3.3	4.5	6.75	7.25	7.28	7.65	7.91	8.49	7.84
Self-Employed & Others	9.1	10	6.79	7.81	7.51	6.98	6.78	6.8	6.76

Source: Adapted from *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu* (The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), S*anmin zhuyi qingniantuan dierjie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Second Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps) (August 1947), 90-92. Cited in Huang, 125.

Trainees of political and military courses comprised the largest number of SQT members before 1941: more than a third in 1939 and about a quarter in 1940. During the war, these trainees taught short-term courses aimed at effectively implementing wartime policy objectives. The GMD drew most of the trainees from the existing pool of civil servants, Party political organizers, military and police personnel, and a tiny number of refugee students who had decided to abandon their studies. In Chiang Kai-shek's inaugural speech to China's youth on June 16, 1938, he proclaimed that the SQT "aims to bring together the best youths of the whole nation, whether soldiers, laborers, farmers, merchants, or students," thus categories for military personnel, workers, peasants, and

merchants are also found in Table 1.[99] However, students from secondary schools and universities, who were probably the most suitable representatives of traditional "youth," were actually quite neglected in early recruitment drives. By December 1939, one and a half years after the SQT's launching, only 8.1% of its members were students.

This imbalance in the organization's composition, with public servants and trainees of various sorts making up more than 70% of the membership, immediately raised alarm among some SQT leaders, who warned that this was "not only erroneous, but a serious danger because such a development will drive a wedge between us and the mass of young people."[100] But the SQT did not seriously begin a massive recruitment of students until early 1941. The reason for the slow pace of student recruitment partly lies in the debate of the SQT's Standing Committee over whether members should recruit in schools. In October 1938, the committee passed a set of guidelines to establish SQT branches and sub-branches in colleges and universities, which was later approved by Chiang Kai-shek.[101] However, official statistics released in 1945 reveal that not a single SQT branch was established in a higher education institute in 1938.[102] The lack of action was due to the GMD's decision to abandon the temporary wartime capital of Wuhan in late October 1938 in the face of fierce Japanese attacks. Like almost everyone else in Wuhan, once the evacuation order was issued, the majority of personnel based at the SQT

---

[99] *President Chiang Kai-shek's Selected Speeches and Messages, 1937-1945*, 34.
[100] "The Organizational Work of 1940" in *Tuanwu tongxun* (Communication on Corps Affairs), Vol. 2.4 (April 1940): 21. Cited in Huang, 126.
[101] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanshi ziliao diyi chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 208-209. Cited in Huang, 127.
[102] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui* (The Central Executive Committee of Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan qinianlai tuanwu gongzuo zongbaogao* (General Work Report on the Previous Seven Years of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (ca. May 1945), 109-110; *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 63 (Taipei, 1973), 4-5. Cited in Huang, 127-128.

headquarters also started retreating to Chongqing. Due to geographical obstacles and a congested transport network, the SQT headquarters' move turned out to be a difficult three-month journey, arriving in Chongqing in Sichuan province on January 9, 1939.[103] The entire SQT organization more or less ground to a halt while its command center was relocating. Moreover, many schools and their students were also busy packing and retreating towards the safety of the Sichuan basin and the surrounding southwestern corner of China. It was only after conditions had become more settled in early 1939 that SQT branches appeared at higher education institutions.

The SQT also attempted to expand its organization into senior high schools. Students in primary and junior high schools participated in Scouting. Reverend Yan Jialin founded the first Chinese Boys Scout group at Wuchang Wenhua Academy on February 25, 1912, shortly after the 1911 Revolution.[104] The first Chinese Girls Scouts was established in 1919, the same year that England formed the Girls Scouts.[105] Under GMD rule, Scouting quickly expanded in schools in Southeast and Central China. Historian Robert Culp argues that Chinese educators and GMD leaders advocated Scouting because it provided students with lessons on "etiquette and hygiene rooted in Euro-American culture with skills training and the promotion of civil service… [which] encouraged forms of cultural citizenship."[106] In 1934, the Ministry of Education even made Scouting a required class in all junior high schools.[107] Meanwhile, the SQT targeted senior high school students who were usually between the ages of 16 and 18. It was not until July

[103] Huang, 127.
[104] Guoli bianyiguan, *Tongzijun xunlian*, *Vol. 1*, 12.
[105] Guoli bianyiguan, *Tongzijun xunlian, Vol. 1*, 14.
[106] Culp, 178.
[107] Culp, 183.

1939, when the SQT constitutional restriction prohibiting recruitment below 18 years of age was formally amended to 16, that the corps could even recruit secondary students. Notably, SQT units in senior high schools were placed under the charge of local SQT branches, while higher education institutions were directly affiliated with the headquarters, an indication of the lesser importance placed on secondary education students.[108] As a leader in the SQT organization of small neighborhood groups in the wartime capital, Te Fang Chou Ch'ien later recalled her youth in Chongqing during the Japanese bombings from 1937-1939. She led several marches, military drills, and mock warfare practices, similar to the activities that future China Youth Corps members participated in during the 1950s. Ch'ien was a leader of the women's corps in her high school. As part of the curriculum, young male students pursued military training while young women received nurse's training and rifle practice.[109] This type of training would also continue in the senior high schools of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Besides their focus on attracting senior high school and college students, SQT leaders also began seeking young people outside of the formal education system. In September 1939, the SQT Standing Committee met three times and affirmed its interest in recruiting "social youth" (*shehui qingnian* 社會青年), the term used to describe young people who were not enrolled in school.[110] Thus, the SQT's emphasis on students did not come until the end of 1939. Ironically, the SQT's reorganized mission and growing

---

[108] Huang, 130.

[109] Interview, Te Fang Chou Ch'ien. December 23, 1991 (Huntsville, Alabama). Cited in Thomas A. Brindley, *The China Youth Corps in Taiwan* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 20.

[110] Chen Cheng, *Gao quantuan tuanyuan shu – lingdao qingnian de zhenglu* (Message to All Corps Members – The Proper Way of Leading Youth) (September 1939), 7; *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 63, 83. "Policy on the Guidance of Social Youth," passed by the Standing Committee on September 5, 1939 in *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 62, 48-51. Cited in Huang, 130-131.

attempt to recruit younger members directly contributed to the GMD factionalism it was meant to stop. Zhu Jiahua, who was intermittently acting secretary-general of the SQT on behalf of Chen Cheng, had himself sounded the alarm about "some comrades...who either talked of the SQT as a different entity from the party or said that the SQT was meant to replace the party."[111] The extent of this situation was serious enough to prompt Chiang Kai-shek to issue a stern warning that "no one should feel...that the SQT is intended as a replacement for the party," and that this attitude was "absolutely an erroneous view."[112] But this reassurance was insufficient to curb the Party rank and file's resentment towards the SQT. After all, it was Chiang himself who had absolved SQT members from the requirement to leave the organization at 25 and join the GMD.

In its initial two and a half years of operation, the SQT preferred to recruit from more mature sectors of the population, and as a result, more than two-thirds of its early members came from the civil service, as well as the military, policy, and political training academies. For instance, in 1940 the SQT tried to recruit more mature members who possessed political status. In fact, these were the traditional recruitment grounds of the GMD party.[113] The Party accused the SQT of engaging in unethical encroachment, bringing their rivalry to a boiling point. However, the Party itself was also guilty of poaching, for it too had expanded aggressively into schools during the war in order to recruit young students as members. Both the GMD party headquarters' Central Social Department and the Central Organization Department, which were led by Chen Lifu,

[111] Zhu Jiahua, Qingniantuan tuanwu zhi jinzhan (The Development of Youth Corps Affairs), May 1939, 23-25. Cited in Huang, 131-132.
[112] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanshi ziliao diyiji chugao (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 141. Cited in Huang, 132.
[113] Huang, 133.

spearheaded Party expansion to confront subversive Communist activities in schools. As a gesture of Chinese unity against the Japanese invaders, the GMD and CCP had formalized a united front at the beginning of the war and both sides tried to avoid confrontations by attempting to maintain a congenial relationship. But these feeble attempts at cooperation were further weakened once the GMD completed its retreat inland and resettled in the wartime capital of Chongqing. By January 1939, there were already signs that the GMD had begun to renew its open hostility towards the CCP.[114]

Table 2: Number of GMD Party Members and SQT Members and Their Ratio (1938-1947)

	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947
Number of GMD Party members	633402	471227	1139928	1745697	–	2144147	2777972	3114638	3563063	3800773
Number of SQT members	9207	89664	259147	421161	537706	620461	887865	1245001	1545944	1340255
Party members vs. SQT members ratio	68.8 – 1	5.3 – 1	4.4 – 1	4.1 – 1	–	3.5 – 1	3.1 – 1	2.5 – 1	2.3 – 1	2.8 – 1

Source: Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1938-1939: Zhongguo Guomindang dangyuan shinian lai de fazhan qushi 中國國民黨黨員十年來的發展趨勢 (Ten Year Developmental Trend of China's Guomindang Party Members), Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1940: Zhongyang zuzhibu tongjishi (zhi) 中央組織部統計室(製) (Central Organization Department Statistics), Zhongguo Guomindang diwujie diqi zhong quanhui hou dangbu zuzhi ji dangyuan tongji tiyao 中國國民黨第五屆第七中全會後黨部組織‧黨員統計提要(Fifth Plenum of the Seventh Central Executive Committee Party Organization and Party Members Statistical Abstract of the Guomindang), Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1941: Zhongguo Guomindang dashidian 中國國民黨大事典 (Collection of Guomindang's Major Events), 591. Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1945: Diliujie zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui dierci quanti huiyi zhongyang zuzhibu dangwu tongji baogao 弟六屆中央執行委員會弟二次全體會議黨務報告 (Report from the Sixth Plenum of the Third Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang). Data for 1943-1944

[114] Huang, 133.

are determined by the number of recruitments in 1945 and the number added in previous years. Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1946: Diliujie zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui disanci quanti huiyi zhongyang zuzhibu dangwu tongji baogao 弟六屆中央執行委員會弟三次全體會議黨務報告 (Report from the Sixth Plenum of the Third Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang). Statistics for GMD Party Members in 1947 are difficult to determine because the Party and SQT had been combined. Statistics for SQT members (1938-1946): Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan dierjie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao 三民主義青年團第二屆中央幹事會工作報告 (Second Plenum of the Central Executive Committee of the Three Principles of the People Work Report), 89-90. Cited in Wang, Liangqing, *A Study of the Relationship Between the San-min Chu-I Youth Corps and the Kuomintang 1938-1949* (Taipei: Kuomintang History Library No. 4, Historical Commission, Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Modern China Publishers, 1998), 116-117.王良卿. 三民主義青年團與中國國民黨關係研究 (一九三八- 一九四九). 台北: 中國國民黨黨史研究叢書, 第四種, 近代中國出版社, 1998, 頁 116-117.

Table 2, adapted from historian Wang Liangqing, provides a look at the demographic relationship between the GMD and SQT. The total number of Party members listed does not include those living overseas or in the military. Yet the SQT data is drawn from the actual recruitment numbers. The number of GMD party members in 1942 is unknown, while the number for 1947 is based on figures gathered in November. During that time, the SQT was dissolved and its members joined the GMD (although there were many who were already members of both organizations), thus the 1947 data is not accurate. The number of Party members decreased from 1938 to 1939 because the GMD required all Party members to re-register in 1939. Since some people did not, the figures went down.

To achieve this rising number of recruits in subsequent years, the SQT not only expanded its activities in the schools and lowered its age limit, but Chiang Kai-shek himself also offered guidance and strategies on how to attract potential members. On July 17, 1940, Chiang delivered a speech to the Central Executive Committee about how to recruit future members. According to Chiang, the GMD's goal was to save the country during the War of Resistance, while the Communists were not concerned with the nation.

The speech was full of pro-GMD propaganda. For example, Chiang exhorted SQT members:

> Whether or not the Communists have many people and strategies, they cannot defeat us. We have to prevent the Communist movement and their use of young people… Those who have been numbed by the Communists, no matter where they go, they always mention international issues and do not speak about nationalism. We can easily ask them, 'Are you Chinese?' The Communist party tried to allure young people to be spies in underground conspiracies against the GMD. All these kind of actions are neither fair nor just. For those who were deceived, we can ask them, 'Do you feel disgraced?' … In terms of recruiting new members, we need to be cautious in order to avoid opposite results. We rather have few good people than many bad people. The SQT members who teach at schools should follow the New Life Movement in routine activities. We need to be positive, serious, clean, and disciplined so ordinary teachers will respect us and ordinary students will be influenced by our spiritual mood and be willing to accept our leadership. We should not compete with the Communists based on numbers. Especially on how to serve society, we must be the frontrunners and take responsibilities …We need to be different from the Communists so others will follow us.[115]

Chiang even accused Communists of being unpatriotic because "they were preoccupied with international affairs," namely those of the Soviet Union, instead of focusing their attention on China. In addition, he continually repeated that SQT members should cultivate their own character in order to influence others to change. Thus, he urged teachers who belonged to the SQT to carry out "New Life Movement" practices in schools in order to influence other teachers and students to follow the GMD. This referred to a movement that emerged from a February 19, 1934 speech at Nanchang, in which Chiang had called for a "movement to achieve a new life" for China. The New Life Movement's program of moral reform was based on traditional Chinese virtues and on similar Christian virtues, such as frugality and simplicity. Its purpose was to curb the spread of Communism by revitalizing the spirit of the Chinese people, thus enabling

---

[115] "The Way to Recruit Members in the Future – Part 1," *Speeches of the President of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*, Three People's Principles Youth Corps Central Headquarters, April 1942, 59-71. "今後發展團務的途徑 (上)," 團長訓示, 三民主義青年團中央團部一印.

China to achieve true national unity. Although in 1934 the movement made some progress toward achieving its aims, it lost momentum thereafter.[116] Still, Chiang saw the New Life Movement as a model for building and maintaining SQT membership.

After Zhu Jiahua took over as head of the Central Organization Department in December 1939, the GMD party quickened its expansion into schools. Zhu differed from most of the other Party bureaucrats in that he had exceptionally strong ties with the education system.[117] He taught at Beijing University, served as president of Sun Yatsen University and Central University, held the position as Minister of Education twice from 1932-1933 and 1944-1948, and later headed Academia Sinica from 1940-1957. Zhu was particularly keen on expanding Party influence further into the schools, and by the end of 1941 the Central Organization Department boasted 13 area Party branches (*qudangbu* 區黨部) and 434 area sub-branches (*qufenbu* 區分部) in schools, claiming a total active membership of 12,417.[118]

Therefore, both the Party and SQT expanded their respective organizations rapidly during the initial years of the war. In their simultaneous effort, they became enmeshed in a fierce competition for the same pool of potential recruits. Along with this rivalry, the loose talk about the SQT replacing the GMD and the ongoing CC Clique and Whampoa Clique factional struggle all contributed to a growing, bitter relationship between the Party and the corps. This crisis eventually forced the SQT to focus its energy almost exclusively on the student community.

---

[116] Boorman, *Vol. 1*, 328.
[117] Boorman, *Vol. 1*, 437-440.
[118] Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui (Central Executive Committee of the Guomindang) *Zhongguo Guomindang dangwu tongji jiyao* (Statistical Abstracts on Party Affairs of the Guomindang) (July 1942), 1, 4. Cited in Huang, 135.

Measures to lessen the conflict between the Party and SQT, and turn the corps' focus on students, emerged in July 1939 at the fourth plenum of the Preparatory Youth Corp Central Executive Committee. The first step came in the form of an amendment to the SQT's constitution: the original age limit of 18-38 was changed to 16-25. The official draft history of the SQT stated plainly that this was aimed at "making the ages of Youth Corps members more compatible with entry requirements of the GMD, and thus defining more clearly the relations between the SQT and party."[119] However, following the SQT's establishment, entry requirements for the GMD no longer included any regulations; there had never even been any maximum age limits in the Party's history. With regard to minimum age requirements, the amended GMD constitution in March 1929 permitted those above the age of 20 to join as full members after one year of probationary training. These minimum age limits and the probationary system were abolished altogether following the formation of the SQT in 1938.[120] The real significance of this constitutional amendment lay in the changing of the maximum age limit from 38 to 25 and its intended effects on improving relations between the SQT and the Party.

The rivalry between the two organizations was most intense in their competition for new recruits. Taking advantage of the high upper age limit of 38, the SQT recruited aggressively from the civil service as well as the military, police, and political training academies – all the usual grounds for Party recruitment. The SQT's new maximum age limit of 25 was therefore closer to the common definition of youth, reducing the area of

---

[119] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyiji chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 103-104. Cited in Huang, 137.

[120] *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 70 (Taipei, 1976), 78-79, 93-94, 133. Huang, 137-138, fn 45.

overlapping recruitment and lessening the degree of rivalry. In return, the Party reciprocated by agreeing not to recruit members unless they were over 25 years old.

In November 1940, three related developments revealed that the SQT headquarters had decisively reoriented itself towards the student population. First, the Central Executive Committee issued a program of activities for the corps, covering topics including organization, training, propaganda, and social services. Under organization, the program called for a recruitment emphasis on "youths at schools."[121] The second development was the Standing Committee's passing of a set of combined instructions on the promotion of SQT activities in senior high schools and institutions of higher education on November 21, 1940.[122] These instructions systematically laid out the order of establishing sub-units or branches in schools and the proper lines of authority governing them. Finally, four days later the Standing Committee of the GMD Central Executive Committee passed a new set of guidelines aimed at resolving the conflict between the Party and its youth wing. Three out of the seven points in the guidelines called for a warmer relationship between the two, and the document asked the SQT to submit itself to the Party's leadership and requested the Party's assistance in the corps' development. According to the guidelines, the SQT was supposed to concern itself

[121] "Work Program of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps," in *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyiji chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 136-138. Cited in Huang, 140.
[122] "Method of Promoting Corps Affairs in Schools," *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan faling jiyao* (Abstracts on Laws and Regulations of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps) (March 1943), 117. Cited in Huang, 140.

primarily with education and focus its activities on students, leaving politics and general society (including working youth) to the Party.[123]

This almost exclusive emphasis on students represented a turning point in the SQT's short history, and the organization's recruitment of students became systematic and widespread after 1940. The tension between the Party and the corps was responsible for forcing the SQT to shift its attention to students, while the ruling that the SQT should concern itself primarily with education, leaving politics to the Party also signaled that the corps was not to serve as a channel for student political activism even after its recruitment reorientation.

The GMD decided that the SQT would serve as a wartime instrument to constrain student political involvement. The corps' role in depoliticizing students began with limiting student representation in leadership positions and the range of activities provided for student members. At the highest level, where officials formulated policies and supervised operations, students were virtually unrepresented. Young members under the age of 30 had little voice in either the SQT Central Executive Committee or the Central Supervising Committees, while on the national level only eight percent of the representatives to the first national congress of the corps held in March 1943 were students.[124] At the lower level of SQT branches in senior high schools and universities, student cadres held positions (no more than 5.26%), revealing how excluded youth were

[123] "Method of Promoting Corps Affairs in Schools," *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan faling jiyao* (Abstracts on Laws and Regulations of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), March 1943, 117. Cited in Huang, 140.
[124] *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyi chugao (*The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 439. Cited in Huang, 145.

from deciding their own activities, even within local chapters.[125] This rejection of student leadership at every level demonstrated how GMD leaders intended the corps to play more of an educational role rather than serve as a channel for student consciousness.

SQT Activities

Such an emphasis was also reflected in the range of activities provided for SQT members, for most centered on the theme of political education. At group meetings, student members read and discussed compulsory works, mostly on GMD ideology and policy. The SQT instructed schools affiliated with the corps' branches to set up "Chiang Kai-shek libraries" (中正室 *zhongzhengshi*) as part of the propaganda effort, designed to encourage students (especially SQT members) to study Sun Yatsen's teachings and Chiang Kai-shek's speeches in greater depth. The range of publications stored in such mini-libraries was limited to works of this nature.[126] The SQT also encouraged essay and oratorical contests, but topics were usually limited to Sun and Chiang's teachings, government policies on resistance and reconstruction, and defense science.[127] Similarly, on Taiwan, the future China Youth Corps also held oratorical contests on Sun Yatsen's Three People's Principles in the 1950s. The SQT also permitted youth drama groups and

[125] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan diyijie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), 52-53. Cited in Huang, 146.
[126] "Method of Establishing Kai-shek Libraries at Directly Affiliated School Branch Corps," approved on April 16, 1941, in Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan faling jiyao* (Abstracts on Law and Regulations of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), March 1943, Vol. 1, 33-34. Cited in Huang, 147.
[127] "Method of Organizing Youth Essay Writing and Oratorical Contests at Various Levels of the Corps," approved on February 20, 1943, in *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan faling jiyao* (Abstracts on Law and Regulations of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), March 1943, Vol. 1, 29-30. Cited in Huang, 147.

choirs, but prohibited scripts and songs that were "ideologically incorrect" or threatened to endanger morals and manners.[128]

In addition, SQT activities included summer and winter camps. Chiang Kai-shek first suggested youth camps in a personal order dated May 30, 1939.[129] The SQT organized two camps that year, with a total of eight hundred students, and within three years there were seven camps hosting 5,408 students. By 1943, 7,072 students visited twelve camps.[130] During camp, students participated in five main kinds of activities: "spiritual training" (*jingshen xunlian* 精神訓練), technical skills, medical and rural services, recreation, and military tasks.[131] Of these, the bulk of the program was allotted to "spiritual training," which included a heavy dose of political lectures and small-group discussions.[132] The "Record of Training Events at the 1942 Guan County Summer Youth Training Camp of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps" declared that the youth

---

[128] "Method of Organizing Youth Essay Writing and Oratorical Contests at Various Levels of the Corps," approved on February 20, 1943, in *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan faling jiyao* (Abstracts on Law and Regulations of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), March 1943, Vol. 1, 29-30. Cited in Huang, 147.

[129] Huang, 148.

[130] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang changwu ganshihui gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), April 1940, 23; Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu baogao* (Work Report of the Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), November 1942, 4-5; Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan diyijie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao*, (Work Report of the First Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), November 1939, 70-71. Cited in Huang, 148.

[131] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan ershiba niandu Chongqing qingnian xialingying xunlian jishi* (A Record of Training Events at the 1939 Chongqing Summer Youth Camp of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), April 1940, 45-51. Cited in Huang, 148.

[132] Speech by Kang Ze on "The Process and Reflections of Organizing Summer Camps," in Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan ershiba niandu Chongqing qingnian xialingying xunlian jishi* (A Record of Training Events at the 1939 Chongqing Summer Youth Camp of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), April 1940, 23. Cited in Huang, 148.

camps' objective was "to cultivate disciplined life," "increase political understanding," "improve physical and mental health," and "stimulate an attitude of good service."[133] According to the SQT's own published history, these camps were well-designed to "complement the effectiveness of formal education" by changing "the romantic life of university and secondary school students" and "correcting their confused thinking."[134]

The most controversial and political SQT activity was the student members' surveillance and suppression of Communist and other anti-GMD suspects in schools.[135] SQT student cadre monitored Communist and dissident influences in schools throughout the war. However, at the same time the GMD leadership tried to dampen the SQT's political operations. Chiang Kai-shek explicitly opposed the growth of such spying activities and spoke out against them repeatedly. At a dinner party hosted for the SQT plenary meeting on July 19, 1939, he emphasized, "We should not even ask corps members to perform surveillance and investigative tasks...As for special tasks such as investigation, if there is a need for them, we would train a [separate] group of people to

[133] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), November 1942, 4; Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan sanshiyi niandu Guanxian qingnian xialingying xunlian jishi* (A Record of Training Events at the 1942 Guan County Summer Youth Training Camp of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Chongqing, 1942, 24. Cited in Huang, 148.

[134] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), November 1942, 4; Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu (The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan sanshiyi niandu Guanxian qingnian xialingying xunlian jishi* (A Record of Training Events at the 1942 Guan County Summer Youth Training Camp of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Chongqing, 1942, 24. Cited in Huang, 148.

[135] Huang, 148.

handle this..."[136] Four years later, on April 15, 1943, Chiang reacted to reports of increased political strife in schools by issuing a special order on the "future direction of the student movement." He criticized the SQT leaders and cadres for engaging in "unnecessary conflicts" and insisted that the "management of reactionaries" should be the responsibility of school principals and party branches, with the corps merely assisting. "Henceforth," Chiang instructed, "our corps should neither indulge in sporadic fights nor duplicate the work of party branches." To "replace the past manner of contest [against the CCP] by force, surveillance, and spying," Chiang ordered the SQT to focus on two main activities: 1) improving the welfare of students through the promotion of labor services and cooperatives, as well as through physical health and self-governing activities, and 2) preparing students for future roles in the reconstruction of China, such as engineers and pilots.[137] Consequently, the discouragement of political activities badly affected the morale of many SQT branches in schools, ultimately leading to an identity crisis where most members became confused about the purpose and nature of their mission.[138] Despite corps leaders' early detection, this identity crisis was never satisfactorily resolved

[136] Part II of Chiang Kai-shek speech on "Path for the Future Development of Corps Affairs," in *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan tuanshi ziliao diyiji chugao* (The First Draft of Volume One of Historical Materials on the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Part I (Nanjing, 1946), 179. Cited in Huang, 149.
[137] Order #16980 "Future Guiding Principles for the Student Movement" in Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan diyici quanguo daibiao dahui huiyi jilu* (Minutes of Meetings of the First National Congress of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), March-April 1943), 336-337; Reprint available in *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 62, 156-157. Cited in Huang, 149-150.
[138] The Central Corps of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, *Work Report of the Standing Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*, April 1940, 41. Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuanbu, *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan changwu ganshihui gongzuo baogao.* 三民主義青年團中央團部 ed., 三民主義青年團常務幹事會工作報告. Cited in Huang, 152.

throughout the SQT's lifespan.[139] A 1945 official publication reviewing the SQT's performance over the previous seven years honestly confessed:

> What is the nature of the corps? What is its position? Hitherto these [issues] remained unconfirmed and unclear... Regarding the nature of the corps, some people consider the corps as a social organization and hence believe it ought to have social services as its central activities. Some others deem the corps to be an educational organization and hence believe it ought to have the training of youth as its sole function. There are others who think that the corps is a political organization and therefore advocate participation in political activities. There are even those who regard the corps as a spy organization and hence adopt the attitude of "keeping a respectful distance."[140]

Although the problem remained unresolved as late as 1945, many GMD institutions and leaders explained to SQT members and the general public that the corps' political content ought to be limited and emphasized its educational role. For example, the Ministry of Education was clear that its endorsement of the organization's expansion into senior high schools and institutions of higher education was "to improve the atmosphere in schools," a term frequently used by GMD authorities to describe the restraint of political restlessness in schools, and to properly guide students in their "thought, conduct, studies, as well as physical and mental health."[141] In the ministry's view, the SQT was the national youth organization most suitable for the task of moral education in schools.[142]

---

[139] Huang, 152.

[140] The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, ed., *General Work Report on the Previous Seven Years of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps* (May 1945), 260-261. Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui ed., *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan qinianlai tuanwu gongzuo zongbaogao* 三民主義青年團中央幹事委員會 ed., 三民主義青年團七年來團務工作‧報告. Cited in Huang, 152.

[141] Republican Government (Ministry of Education), *A Survey of Important Work of the Ministry of Education for the Previous Year*, February 1939, 3 and 36. Guomin zhengfu (jiaoyubu), Yinianlai jiaoyubu zhongyao gongzuo gaikuang 國民政服 (教育部) 一年來教育部重要工作概況. Cited in Huang, 152.

[142] Republican Government (Ministry of Education), *A Survey of the Nation's Higher Education* (March 1939), 74-75. Guomin zhengfu (jiaoyubu), Quanguo gaodeng jiaoyu gaikuang. 國民政服 (教育部) 全國高等教育概況. Cited in Huang, 152.

The Merger

In 1945, amid the closing stages of the war with Japan and as part of the GMD effort to implement major constitutional changes for China, Chiang Kai-shek again reviewed the SQT's functions and studied the Party's organization plan.[143] According to the Generalissimo's diaries, he contemplated "immediately merging the SQT with the Party and establishing the SQT under all levels of the Party: central, provincial, and county."[144] One of the factors was the need to resolve the persistent rivalry between the SQT, dominated by the Whampoa Clique, and the Party, controlled by the CC Clique. The agreement reached by late 1940 pushed the SQT to concentrate on student recruitment and turn its direction towards socio-educational activities. While the number of students increased significantly to constitute the core of the organization's membership, they were by no means the only members. Even by 1945, more than half of the SQT members were not students.[145] Indeed, the SQT did not always abide by the age limits agreed upon in 1940. Both the organization and the Party continued to breach each other's domain to poach members.[146]

There were even reports of murders between SQT members and Party cadre. For instance, in mid-1947 both the SQT and Party created branches in the western region of Hunan province. Western Hunan had a notorious reputation for its lawlessness.[147] After the arrival of the SQT and Party, crime became organized in the region. On May 7, 1947,

[143] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, May 27, 1945, Box 44, Folder 6, Hoover Institution Archives.
[144] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, July 9, 1945, Box 44, Folder 8, Hoover Institution Archives.
[145] See Table 1.
[146] Huang, 171.
[147] For more information on Western Hunan, see Jeffrey C. Kinkley, *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen* (Stanford University Press, 1987), a biography on the May Fourth Movement (1919) writer who wrote about his native region.

violence broke out between the two rivals.[148] On January 28, 1948, Party members killed a county magistrate, Huang Yingchuan (▪ 穎川), in Dayong, Western Hunan. Huang had sided with the SQT. For three days, both sides fired shots at each other.[149]

Another situation that involved SQT and Party violence occurred on Taiwan. During the 2-28 Incident, Party members charged some SQT members as left-wing insurgents.[150] Chiang sent an army division to the island on March 8, 1947. The army killed many SQT leaders and members because they had leftist leanings. Since the Party and SQT were already locked in a bitter struggle, the youth organization sided with the insurgents against the provincial government in Taiwan. GMD officials also took advantage of the 2-28 Incident to crush the SQT on the island. In a cable to Chiang Kai-shek on March 29, the director of the Central Investigation Bureau, Zhang Zhen (張鎮), accused Taiwan's former SQT regional director Li Youbang (李友邦) of being a Communist and a behind-the-scenes 2-28 conspirator.[151] According to Zhang, the SQT, which had branches operating in Kaohsiung and Taipei, led this insurgency. Zhang sent

---

[148] *Shanghai Wenhuibao* (上海文匯報) May 13, 1947. Cited in Wang Liangqing, *A Study of the Relationship Between the San-min Chu-I Youth Corps and the Kuomintang 1938-1949* (Taipei: Kuomintang History Library No. 4, Historical Commission, Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Modern China Publishers, 1998), 341-343. 王良卿. 三民主義青年團與中國國民黨關係研究 (一九三八-一九四九). 台北: 中國國民黨黨史研究叢書, 第四種, 近代中國出版社, 1998, 頁 341-343.

[149] Wang, 361.

[150] The February 28 Incident, also known as 2-28, was an anti-government, anti-Chinese uprising in Taiwan that began on February 28, 1947. Two years of GMD administration led to the widespread impression among Taiwanese that the government was plagued by nepotism, corruption, and economic failure. Tensions increased between Taiwanese and the new regime. The straw that broke the camel's back came on February 27, 1947 in Taipei when a dispute between a female cigarette vendor and an officer of the Office of Monopoly triggered civil disorder and open rebellion, lasting for several days. The GMD army violently suppressed the uprising, resulting in many civilian deaths. Estimates of the number of deaths vary widely from under one thousand to tens of thousands or more. The Incident marked the beginning of the White Terror period in Taiwan in which thousands more Taiwanese, including mainlanders who the GMD suspected were dissenters, either vanished, were killed, or placed in prison. In the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident, martial law was declared in 1948 and stayed effect until 1987.

[151] Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February, 1947* (Stanford University Press, 1991), 155.

Li Youbang to Nanjing to be tried; the latter was found not guilty but the trial ruined his political and military career.[152] This fierce, sometimes violent rivalry between the SQT and GMD party in Western Hunan and Taiwan particularly alarmed Chiang Kai-shek, and by 1945 virtually every provincial GMD headquarters and local SQT branch were in conflict with one another. Chiang ultimately decided to dissolve the SQT and merge it with the Party in 1947.[153]

At the Sixth Plenum of the Third Central Executive Committee, Peng Guojun (彭國鈞) and seven people, mostly CC Clique members, proposed two solutions: first, dissolve the SQT, convert all its members into Party members, establish a youth department in the Party, and form youth groups in every province and city. The second solution was to completely separate the SQT from the Party.[154] Zhang Jiong (張炯), the Party leader of Hunan branch, also suggested that the SQT merge with the Party or become subordinate to the Party.[155]

Apart from the need for unity, financial limitations constituted another major reason for the SQT-GMD merger. While Party spending, especially on the military, contributed to the severe problem of run-away inflation, it was, at the same time, a victim of the vicious cycle of rising prices and diminishing monetary value. In 1945, the GMD's move towards constitutionalism compounded the problem of inadequate funding for Party activities. It forced the GMD to make a clearer distinction between its Party organs

[152] Chen Cuilian, *Paixi douzheng yu quanmo zhengzhi* (派系鬥爭與權謨政治), (Taipei: China Times Press, 1995), 254, 268-269, 271, 279-280.
[153] Chen Lifu, 144.
[154] Wang, 347, fn 25, 26.
[155] Wang, 347.

and government agencies.[156] The state treasury refused to finance expenditure for Party affairs and thus called for the GMD to reduce its Party organization expenses and become self-financed. As part of the cutback, the GMD leadership considered it necessary for the SQT to merge with the Party because the national education budget included the corps.[157]

On May 14, 1947, Chen Cheng, Chen Lifu, Sun Ke, Dai Jitao, and seven other senior GMD officials met with Chiang Kai-shek to suggest that the SQT should amalgamate with the Party.[158] On June 8, Chiang met with Ching-kuo to discuss the SQT.[159] Ching-kuo contributed a report with suggestions on how to reform the SQT, which the elder Chiang noted in his diaries was "very good" and "detailed."[160] At this point, Ching-kuo was his father's most trusted aide.[161]

Three months before the merger, Chiang Kai-shek wrote that "the root of the revolutionary crisis lay in the GMD's corruption and people's distrust."[162] He lamented how "the Party officers were corrupt and had lost [the people's] trust, and were undisciplined (*fuhua yu shixin sanman* 腐化與失信散漫)."[163] Moreover, he deemed the SQT "ineffective (*shixiao* 失效)" and considered a thorough reform.[164] On June 27, he summoned Chen Lifu, head of the GMD Central Organization Department, and Chen

---

[156] Huang, 172.
[157] Qian Anyi, "Sanqingtuan Guiyang qutuanbu gaikuang" (General Conditions of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps Branch at Guiyang) in *Wenshi ziliao* (Literary and Historical Documents), Guiyang, 3 (April 1982), 98. Cited in Huang, 172; Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (University of California Press, 1978), 60.
[158] *Liujie zhongchanghui jilu* (六屆中常會紀‧ Minutes of Meetings of Sixth Plenum of Central Committee), May 14, 1947, 402-403, 419, 432. Cited in Wang, 348.
[159] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 8, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[160] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 20, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[161] Cho-yun Hsu, "Historical Setting for the Rise of Chiang Ching-kuo," in Shao-chuan Leng, ed., *Chiang Ching-kuo's Leadership in the Development of the Republic of China on Taiwan*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 9 .
[162] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 25, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[163] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 25, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[164] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 25, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.

Cheng, secretary-general of the SQT, and decided that the SQT should merge with the Party. Chen Cheng agreed, and the following day he gathered his high-ranking officers and told them that the two entities would combine.[165] The following night, he invited the Central Executive Committee members to dinner and instructed them with key points on how to change the SQT and the Party.[166] On June 30, 1947, Chiang ordered the SQT to be integrated into the Party. However, the civil war delayed the merger.[167]

The merger finally took place on September 12, 1947 when a motion was carried at the fourth plenary session of the Sixth Congress of the Central Executive Committee.[168] Chiang expressed how pleased he was with the smooth passing of the bill. It boosted his confidence that nation-building would be successful because it was accomplished "for our Party, our SQT, our officers, and our country to save our Party and ourselves. It is not for my own gain in status but all for the interest of revolution, sacrifice, and spirit."[169] Chiang continued the lofty praise of the swift passing of the bill by stating that it "comforts the souls of the President (*zongli* 總理) and the martyrs in heaven" (referring to the late President Sun Yatsen.)[170]

Rather than seeing the SQT's disbandment as a moment of failure – recognizing how the organization's founding had been compromised from the start – Chiang instead had high expectations for the merger. Urging his followers not to dwell on the potentially divisive issue of "personnel allocation" and instead to focus on "formulating concrete

---

[165] Wang, 351; Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 28, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives; Wang, 351.
[166] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 29, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[167] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, August 9, 1947, Box 26, Folder 11, Hoover Institution Archives.
[168] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, September 12, 1947, Box 26, Folder 12, Hoover Institution Archives; Chen Lifu, 144.
[169] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, September 12, 1947, Box 26, Folder 12, Hoover Institution Archives.
[170] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, September 12, 1947, Box 26, Folder 12, Hoover Institution Archives.

revolutionary plans," he hoped that the merger would turn out to be an act of political revolution and not merely a technical or routine restructuring.[171] Unfortunately, his wish was not fulfilled. By the time that documents finalizing the merger were drafted in September 1947, two major CCP forces had already breached GMD defense lines and crossed the Yellow River.[172]

Later, after the defeat and exile of the GMD from the mainland, Chiang remained adamant in 1950 that the Nationalists' demise was not because the CCP was strong, but rather because his own Party suffered from disintegration in organization, breakdown in discipline, and collapse in morale.[173] He specifically lamented that the September 1947 merger between the SQT and the Party had turned out to be a merely superficial, technical reorganization. Although the merger brought an end to the SQT's existence as a formally autonomous organization, Chiang called it an "absolute failure" because intra-party factional rivalry continued unabated and became hopelessly irreversible.[174]

With the merger, the SQT leaders as well as the rank and file merely transferred their membership over to the Party without any changes in duties and policies. SQT leaders at the levels of corps headquarters and branches were simply absorbed into the enlarged executive and supervisory committees at the respective levels of the Party, keeping essentially their original duty of overlooking youth affairs because most were placed with a newly-created "Central Youth Department" at the Party headquarters and

---

[171] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan dierjie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao* (Work Report of the Second Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), September 1947, 47-60, 49-50; *Geming wexian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 69, 446-448. Cited in Huang, 173.
[172] Huang, 173.
[173] Huang, 174.
[174] *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution), Vol. 69, 446-448. Cited in Huang, 174.

freshly-established "youth movement committees" at the provincial, county, city, and local branch levels.[175] The Party leaders did not issue any new instructions on student political activism and the newly-formed youth department carried on activities very much as before. Prior to the merger, the SQT served as an instrument to depoliticize students, now the Party's Central Youth Department and its youth movement committees took over this role.

SQT Suppression of Student Protest During the Civil War (1945-1949)

During the eight years of war against Japan (1937-1945), there was not a single major student protest. However, this was not a sign of the success of GMD student policy but a reflection of the circumstances created by the war.[176] The decision to fight Japan was an enormously popular one among the public, including most young people. It was a unifying force in China and offered the GMD relief from student demonstrations that had occurred before the war began.[177] The wartime removal of students from renowned educational institutions in comfortable coastal cities to makeshift, inland campuses also contributed to diminishing activism. Although this period was a relatively quiet time for student activism, it prepared many to become anti-civil-war protesters during the late 1940s. When the GMD decided to wage war against the Chinese Communists

[175] Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang ganshi weiyuanhui (The Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan dierjie zhongyang ganshihui gongzuo baogao (Work Report of the Second Central Executive Committee of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps), September 1947, 72-76 and 79. Cited in Huang, 174.
[176] Huang, 193.
[177] Huang, 193.

immediately following the eight-year War of Resistance, student activism quickly erupted across the country.[178]

At the point of the Japanese surrender, before student protests exploded across China, Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua (1944-1948) wrote to Chiang Kai-shek insisting that the existing Student Self-Governing Associations (SSGAs) regulations were adequate. He had faith that the provisions of SSGAs regulations prevented students from interfering with the school administration and participating in organizations and activities off campus.[179] However, wave after wave of anti-GMD student movements soon dispelled Zhu's belief. Despite the vehemence of these protests, the GMD never considered abandoning the SSGA regulations, and decided to tighten them more. In December 1947, Zhu's Ministry of Education unveiled a modified set of SSGA regulations that imposed a greater degree of control.[180] The spirit of these new rules remained the same as those issued in January 1930. Once again, the main goal was to ensure that SSGAs concentrated on channeling student energy towards the promotion of scholarly accomplishments and not participate in active politics.[181] As in the 1930 version, the 1947 SSGA regulations had explicit clauses confining student organizations' activities to within individual schools, prohibiting them from having inter-school connections and participating in outside activities.[182] The most notable difference between these December 1947 regulations and that of January 1930 was the addition of

---

[178] Huang, 28-29.
[179] Letter from Zhu Jiahua to Chiang Kai-shek dated August 24, 1945, in Zhongguo kexueyuan lishi yanjiusuo disansuo, "Zhongguo xiandi zhengzhishi ziliao huibian," Vol. 3, part 88. Chiang's reply is not available. Cited in Huang, 174-175.
[180] "SSGAs Regulations" issued by the Ministry of Education, in *Central Daily News* (*Zhongyang Ribao* 中央日報), December 9, 1947. Cited in Huang, 175.
[181] Huang, 175.
[182] Huang, 175.

numerous clauses to allow school authorities overwhelming direct control over the SSGAs.[183] The GMD appointed school teachers to sit in and supervise all SSGA meetings and other activities to ensure that they operated within the defined parameters. Its use of the SQT to promote GMD policies in schools and to attempt to exert control over SSGAs actually turned many of the country's young intellectuals against it.

During the civil war, the GMD subscribed to the misconceived notion that if it could root out Communist agitators among the students, campuses would automatically be quiet again. It refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the protests' opposition to the civil war by deeming it an underground Communist plot. Unfortunately, the GMD's misconception and suppression led the public to criticize the GMD rather than the Communists for the civil war.[184]

Chiang Kai-shek's personal writings throughout the civil war years reveal his frustration with the waves of student protests and his desire to "clean up Communists in schools."[185] GMD authorities planted informers and secret agents in schools where students were most active.[186] Besides these, political scientist Suzanne Pepper notes that pro-GMD students, including SQT members, also were charged with "organiz[ing] and lead[ing] student activities as loyal Nationalist supporters."[187] However, she writes that "it was common knowledge that the brightest and more energetic student leaders in the country's best schools were all critical of the government and its war policy."[188] During 1947-1949, A. Doak Barnett traveled in China as a Fellow of the Institute of Current

[183] "SSGAs Regulations." Cited in Huang, 176.
[184] Suzanne Pepper, "The KMT-CCP Conflict, 1945-1949" in John Fairbank and Albert Feuerweker, eds. *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13* (Cambridge University Press, 1986), 746-747.
[185] Chiang Kai-shek diaries, June 1, 1947, Box 46, Folder 9, Hoover Institution Archives.
[186] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 746-747.
[187] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 746-746; Huang, 176.
[188] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 747.

World Affairs and correspondent of the *Chicago Daily News* foreign service. When he attended a March 1948 luncheon with a group of professors from several leading Beijing universities, they agreed that "the most brilliant students are Leftist, and they are the most popular ones also."[189]

That popularity frequently translated into large-scale gatherings and public events. On the evening of November 25, 1945, 6,000 students in Kunming in Yunnan province, which had a large concentration of schools during the war, attempted to hold a forum on Lianda campus to protest the civil war.[190] GMD troops and policemen disrupted the meeting by firing guns over the heads of demonstrators, throwing hand grenades, and cutting off the microphone. Infuriated, Lianda's Student Self-governing Association (SSGA) organized over 30,000 students from 31 universities, high schools, and technical institutes to boycott classes from November 26-28, 1945.[191] The Communist Party's Labor Committee in Yunnan (*Zhonggong Yunnan sheng gongwei* 中共雲南省工委) oversaw Lianda's Student Self-governing Association (SSGA), which was an underground Communist organization. During the strike, Lianda's SSGA called for all workers, farmers, businessmen, and students to unite against the civil war to fight for

---

[189] Doak A. Barnett, *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover* (New York: Praeger, 1963), 46. Born to missionary parents in Shanghai in 1922, Barnett became a leading scholar and government adviser on China during the Johnson and Nixon administrations.

[190] "Students Strike in Kunming as Protest Against Civil War," *Xinhua News*, Nov. 29, 1945, *Chinese Press Review*, U.S. Information Service, Chongqing, 6-8. Lianda was the commonly abbreviated name for the National Southwest Associated University, the wartime union of China's three prestigious northern universities – Beijing, Tsinghua, and Nankai – which moved to Kunming, the capital of Yunnan province in the remote and mountainous southwest to escape Japanese occupation. When the war ended with victory over the Japanese, the Lianda community, which had entered the war fiercely loyal to Chiang Kai-shek's government, emerged in 1946 as a critic of the Guomindang party. Within three years, the majority of the Lianda academics and intellectuals, had returned to their north China campuses, and leaned towards accepting Communist rule. For more information on Lianda, see John Israel, *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).

[191] Shi Huiqun, *A History of Chinese Student Movements, 1945-1949* (Shanghai People Publishing Company, 1992), 28. 施惠群, 中國學生運動史, 1945-1945 (上海人民出版社, 1992).

peace, democracy, and unity. It implored the GMD to abolish the ban prohibiting the freedom of speech and assembly. Students put up posters and bills with slogans against the civil war on the walls of Lianda, Yunnan University, and other colleges. They sent an appeal to students all over China, asking for support in the anti-civil-war position. On December 1, Zhou Shen (周紳), the SQT Secretary of Yunnan province and chief of propaganda, along with over a hundred GMD military officers entered Lianda, Yunnan University, and other campuses, beating the students with wooden sticks and destroying their posters.[192] GMD authorities tossed hand grenades and fired into student crowds, wounding many and killing three students and one teacher by the end of the day. The victims were Miss Pan Yen (潘琰) and Mr. Li Lulian (李魯連) of Teacher's College; and seventeen-year-old Mr. Zhang Huachang (張華昌) of Kunhua Industrial Institute; and Yu Zai (于再), a music teacher from Nanjing Middle School.[193]

In yet another incident, on February 22, 1946, 7,000 university and high school SQT members in Chongqing participated in an anti-Soviet, anti-Communist protest demanding that the Soviet Union withdraw from Manchuria. When the students marched on Minsheng Road, they destroyed the offices of *Xinhua News*, the official Communist newspaper. On February 23, the SQT launched the Shanghai Student Protect the Country's Sovereignty Movement. Purposely on that date, when the Shanghai Consulate General held a reception in honor of the twenty-eighth anniversary of the Russian Red Army's establishment, around 1,500 SQT students surrounded the Consulate General and chanted, "Immediately withdraw the Manchurian Red Army, protect Manchuria's

[192] Shi, 29.
[193] "Kunming Students Killed in Anti-Civil War Strike," *Xinhua News*, December 4, 1945, China Press Review, U.S. Information Service, Chongqing, 4; Shi, 30.

sovereignty!" "Down with any treacherous parties!" "Down with the Soviet Union!" "Down with Stalin!"[194]

According to Huang, a variety of law enforcement personnel drawn from the police and the army (including members of the military policy and the demobilized youth army) assisted the pro-GMD students, who produced posters and publications depicting the Party in a glowing light and denigrating the CCP and its Marxist policies.[195] A favorite topic of their propaganda attack was the CCP's land confiscation program in rural China.[196] In his study of student protests in Shanghai, historian Jeffrey Wasserstrom reveals how SQT members on the city's campuses "stag[ed] loyalist rallies, disrupt[ed] radical gatherings, organiz[ed] anti-radical student associations, [and ran] for election to school councils...to protect [Chiang Kai-shek's] prestige and gain converts to their cause."[197]

Meanwhile, Pepper notes that GMD "decision makers remained constricted by their belief that if only the very few 'real' Communist agitators among the students could be eliminated, their movement could be controlled."[198] Yet Chen Lifu explained the difficulty of rooting out actual Communists: "The problem is to uncover and deal with real Communists without making mistakes about people who are not…It is a great problem in student groups."[199] Leaders of the student activists, particularly SSGA officials, were "the chief targets of beatings, arrests, and abduction by an assortment of

---

[194] Shi, 49; Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth Century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 247.
[195] Huang, 176. Accounts of these student activists could be found in Beijing City Archives (Beijingshi danganguan), *Jiefang zhanzheng shiqi Beiping xuesheng yundong.* Cited in Huang, 177.
[196] Huang, 177.
[197] Wasserstrom, 169-170.
[198] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 747.
[199] Barnett, 50. Chen Lifu expressed this view in an interview with Doak Barnett.

law enforcement personnel." Informers tipped off law enforcers who drew up "blacklists of activists and suspected underground Communists." At times, "these students, if not caught off campus, might be apprehended in night raids on school dormitories." They would often be tortured, executed, or they simply "disappeared."[200]

The involvement of some GMD students with law enforcement agencies in anticommunist repression sometimes caused more harm than good. They certainly succeeded in eliminating some actual Communist agitators, but certainly not all. Student anti-war protests continued, and the harsh methods employed to subdue the protests further alienated many students and fostered wider resentment.[201] The government's attempts to restrain the protests only intensified students' opposition towards the GMD and their refusal to support the war against the CCP. The student protests begun as a movement to demand a peaceful solution to the GMD-CCP conflict, but it developed into one that challenged GMD authority. As Pepper notes, since the GMD government was China's legitimate ruler at the time, the general public believed that it "alone had the power to reform itself and end the war."[202] Thus, anti-war protesters blamed the GMD more than the CCP for the responsibility of the war and directed their efforts against it in hopes of compelling it to act.

Ultimately, the GMD regime failed to win support from both intellectuals and students. The Communists had gained significant ground in military battle, occupied territory before Chiang Kai-shek's army struck back, and had moved swiftly among the peasants. At the same time, the CCP infiltrated universities and colleges, particularly in

[200] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 747.
[201] Beijing City Archives (Beijingshi danganguan), *Jiefang zhanzheng shiqi Beiping xuesheng yundong*, 26, 222. Cited in Huang, 177. See also Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 747.
[202] Pepper, "KMT-CCP Conflict," 747-748.

Beijing. There, cadre and individuals encouraged students to oppose the policies of the GMD government, and as early as 1946 student protests began to merge with the dissent and disgust that intellectuals directed towards GMD rule. According to historian Jessie Lutz, "[The] student movement of 1945 to 1949 contributed to the acceptance of the Chinese Communists as the only alternative to the Nationalists. The students moved from specific protests addressed to the [Guomindang] as legitimate authority to confrontation politics designed to embarrass and destroy the regime."[203] In this way, the Communists were much more successful in wooing large numbers to their cause, thus effectively counteracting GMD efforts to capture youth allegiance to the Nationalist government. In response, GMD leaders vowed never again to make the same mistake on Taiwan.

Chiang Ching-kuo's Political Career on the Mainland: Dean of the Cadre Training School in Gannan and the Central Cadre School in Chongqing

The SQT was not only central to shaping the GMD and Nationalist youth during the late 1930s and 1940s, it also became important to the developing relationship between Chiang Kai-shek and his son, Chiang Ching-Kuo, who would use his management of student organizations to win his father's respect and, ultimately, achieve leadership of the Party on Taiwan. In the spring of 1938, Chiang appointed twenty-eight year old Ching-kuo deputy director of the Provincial Peace Preservation Corps in Nanchang, largely at the suggestion of Xiong Shihui, governor of Jiangxi.[204] When the SQT was launched in July 1938, Ching-kuo became a member of its central committee and director of its

[203] Jessie Lutz, "The Chinese Student Movement of 1945-1949," *Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, no. 1, November 1971, 90-91.
[204] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 85.

Jiangxi branch.[205] However, Ching-kuo's principal responsibility in Jiangxi was the government position that Xiong had especially created for him. The governor also opened a political training institute in Nanchang and reassigned Ching-kuo as commander of Military Education and deputy director of the Education and Training Department, as well as the position of director of training for new draftees in the Peace Preservation command. In this new position, Ching-kuo soon found himself approving the execution of a deserter, the first time he had taken responsibility for a person's death.[206] Later, as head of the secret police (1950-1965) in Taiwan he would order thousands of people to prison and execution.

The elder Chiang strategically sent his son to Gannan (贛南), the southern region of Jiangxi province, because it had been Mao Zedong's Soviet base (1931-1934). Determined to eliminate the Communists, the Generalissimo had them surrounded by October 1934, prompting the Long March from Jiangxi in the southeast to Shaanxi in the northwest of China. As retired Foreign Service officer Jay Taylor notes, in order to administer his territory and carry out his reforms in Gannan, Ching-kuo "needed trustworthy subordinates, specifically a corps of incorruptible inspectors to assure that the local officials [implemented] his programs."[207] He felt the best way to obtain such followers was to open his own cadre school. The elder Chiang agreed, and in March 1939 he appointed Ching-kuo director of the Cadre Training School of the SQT's Gannan

[205] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 85.
[206] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 85.
[207] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son,* 97.

branch to train Party cadres in the local area.[208] The Central Military Academy selected 72 of the 1,000 graduates of the political training classes of that year to attend the Cadre Training School that Ching-kuo opened in Chizhuling (赤硃嶺), a mountainous village.[209] Another 72 students enrolled in the school through an examination. Ching-kuo regularly spoke at the school, where some classes met in caves. Occasionally, he even slept in the barracks with the students, rising at dawn and leading them in their oaths of allegiance to the ROC and his father.

In late May 1939, Chiang Ching-kuo received a telegram from his father ordering him to come to the wartime capital of Chongqing.[210] During this trip, Ching-kuo formally became a GMD party member.[211] The SQT had a Youth Cadre Training Class (*Sanqingtuan de qingnian ganbu xunlianban* 三青團的青年幹部訓練班) in Chongqing, and in 1944 the elder Chiang summoned Ching-kuo back from Jiangxi and appointed him dean of education (*jiaoyu zhang* 教育長) of the school, with the elder Chiang himself serving as president.[212] With this appointment, Ching-kuo immediately went from a regional to a national leader. The Youth Cadre Training Class grew to become the Central Cadre School (*Zhongyang ganxiao* 中央幹校) (CCS).[213] The SQT had played a crucial role in elevating Ching-kuo's status in the GMD, and his involvement with youth organizations would continue to shape both his standing with his father, as well as his popularity and acceptance within the Party.

---

[208] Lee Wei-song, "The Study of Chiang Ching-kuo and the China Youth Corps (1969-1988)," Master's thesis, National Central University, 2005. 李偉松, "蔣經國與救國團之研究 (1969-1988)," 國立中央大學, 碩士論文, 2005, 35, fn 76.
[209] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 97.
[210] Lee, 35, fn 76.
[211] Lee, 35, fn 76.
[212] Hsu, 7; Lee, 35.
[213] Lee, 35.

On May 5, 1943, the Central Cadre School formally opened its doors, with 256 students in its first class training to be future teachers.[214] Local SQT chapters recommended 297 students to receive one-year training in Chongqing.[215] The Central Cadre School was a one-year cadet training ground, somewhat resembling Sun Yatsen University, which Ching-kuo had attended in Moscow.[216] In 1925, Ching-kuo had traveled to Moscow on his own and spent five years studying Communism at the University, a Comintern school that trained Chinese revolutionaries from both the GMD and Communist parties. Although Chiang Kai-shek initially opposed his son's Moscow plan, he later agreed.[217] At the time, the GMD and the CCP were allied in the First United Front in preparation for the Northern Expedition. Chiang needed Soviet support – according to Taylor, "sending his son to Moscow served his political and professional interests and was quite consistent with his ideological bent at that time."[218] Sun Yatsen University educated students on the basic theories of Marxism and Leninism. It also taught them methods of mobilization and propaganda, as well as theoretical and practical military instruction. In all, Ching-kuo spent twelve years in the Soviet Union before he returned to China with his Belarusian wife, Faina, or Fang-liang.

As dean of the Central Cadre School (CCS), Ching-kuo was responsible for building a curriculum from scratch. He determined that the courses would focus on intensive study of Sun Yatsen and Chiang Kai-shek's thoughts.[219] Concerned with the fate of the country, the CCS tried to implement Sun's Three People's Principles doctrine

[214] Lee, 35.
[215] Hsu, 7-8.
[216] Hsu, 8.
[217] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 25.
[218] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son,* 26.
[219] Hsu, 8.

as its guiding educational philosophy, cultivating revolutionary spirit and skills. Ching-kuo also invited prominent professors from Central University to give lectures on philosophy, history, mathematics, English, and Chinese classics.[220] He introduced to the CCS a style of discipline which he had experienced in Russia.[221] Ching-kuo also tried to combine Leninist revolutionary methods and Neo-Confucian traditional ethics to cultivate a group of followers loyal to his father and committed to GMD ideology, encouraging each student to adopt a good attitude and social skills, and not to practice nepotism or favoritism towards friends and family when choosing future leaders.[222] The latter teaching was particularly ironic, considering Ching-kuo himself had secured each of his appointments through his own father.

Central Cadre School students later became Ching-kuo's loyalists, his most powerful supporters for the remainder of his subsequent political career. As head of the CCS, he had the chance to recruit followers to form his own personal group for the first time.[223] Many alumni, including Lee Huan (李煥), who later served as director of the China Youth Corps (1973-1977) and premier of Taiwan (1989-1990), stayed loyal to Ching-kuo even after they graduated from the CCS. [224] Another faithful CCS alumni, Pan Zhenqiu (潘振球), later held the position of Taiwan's Commissioner of Provincial Department of Education (*jiaoyu tingzhang* 教育廳長) (1964-1972), as well as director

[220] Hsu, 8.
[221] Hsu, 8.
[222] Hsu, 8; Shi Ming, *Four Hundred Years History of Taiwanese*, (Taipei: 1980), 527. 史明, <<台灣人四百年史>>, 台北: 蓬島文化出版, 1980 年出版, 頁 527. Cited in Lee, 36.
[223] Wu Nai-teh, "The Politics of a Regime Patronage System: Mobilization and Control Within an Authoritarian Regime," Ph.D. Diss., University of Chicago, 1987, 158.
[224] Lee, 64-69; Lin Yin-ting, *Followed for Half a Century: Lee Huan and Mr. Ching-kuo,* (Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing Co., 1997). 林蔭庭, 追隨半世紀—李煥與經國先生天. 台北: 下文化出版設, 1997.

of the China Youth Corps (February 13, 1979 - March 16, 1987).[225] Throughout his life, Ching-kuo recruited many to work for him, yet the CCS graduates remained his most trusted followers.[226]

Unfortunately, Ching-kuo did not have the opportunity to conduct the Central Cadre School training program for a second year. When the Japanese surrendered in 1945, his father dispatched him to the Soviet Union to negotiate a new Sino-Russian Treaty with Stalin and regain control of Manchuria.[227] Stalin demanded that the Nationalists force the immediate pullout of all American soldiers from China before he was willing to seek a Soviet deal in Manchuria.[228] According to Taylor, when Ching-kuo reported this proposal to his father, the Generalissimo "was not about to swap still generous American assistance for vague promises from Stalin."[229]

Thus, from the late 1940s into the 1960s, at least two major contenders vied to succeed Chiang Kai-shek as leader of Nationalist China – Chiang Ching-kuo and Chen Cheng. The latter was a longtime trusted associate of the Generalissimo. In 1924, he met the elder Chiang for the first time at Whampoa Military Academy. Consequently, he joined the National Revolutionary Army and fought alongside Chiang in the Northern Expedition (1926-1927), the War of Resistance against Japan, and the Chinese Civil War against the Communists. In 1949, Chiang appointed Chen as Governor of Taiwan with plans for the island to become one of the GMD's strongholds. After the GMD retreated to Taiwan, Chen went on to hold key civilian government positions such as Vice-Executive

[225] Lee, 69-77.
[226] Hsu, 9.
[227] Hsu, 8-9; Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 137.
[228] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 138-140.
[229] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 140.

of the GMD, Vice President, and Premier of the ROC. In the regime's early years on Taiwan, Chen was second to Chiang Kai-shek, and the Generalissimo's followers identified him as the most likely successor.

Meanwhile, Chiang Ching-kuo's status in the regime was relatively low compared to his father's colleagues, including men like Chen Cheng. They had been members of the GMD party for far longer than he had, and they had fought various battles right alongside his father. The only power Ching-kuo wielded in the 1950s was his role as head of the secret police, leader of the General Political Warfare Department in the Ministry of National Defense, the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese Youth (the League), and, finally, his position as director of the China Youth Corps (CYC). Chiang Kai-shek appointed his son director for all four units, and Ching-kuo, who placed emphasis on politics and ideology, often came into direct conflict with Chen, who favored military power. Along with other issues, both leaders disagreed over education and management of the military.[230] Ultimately, on December 15, 1963, in the face of a substantial build-up of political power on the part of Chiang Ching-kuo, Chen resigned the premiership of the government and died of cancer of the liver two years later.[231]

Therefore, it is important to understand the two youth organizations that Chiang Ching-kuo directed on Taiwan – the League and the China Youth Corps (CYC) – and the role they played in his ascendancy to political power on the island. In particular, the CYC has survived much longer, and was more successful, than both the League and the SQT. Unlike its predecessors, the rise of the CYC also marked a dramatic new relationship between Nationalist youth organizations and the GMD, for the CYC completely focused

[230] Lee, 35-38.
[231] Boorman, *Vol. 1,* 160.

on becoming a traditional "youth" organization – by 1945 the SQT still drew more than half its members from other sectors of society, even after the push to concentrate on student recruitment in 1940. The China Youth Corps would prove to be a watershed in the relationship between Nationalist politics and Chinese youth, drawing its largest support from students, devoting itself to providing recreational, service, and social activities for youth, and benefiting from the higher percentage of young people attending school in 1950s Taiwan, compared to the mainland. While the SQT was enmeshed in an intense rivalry with the Party throughout the late 1930s and 1940s, the CYC would become a cheerleader for its parent party, mobilizing mass support for the regime in times of crisis, inculcating political loyalty in a new generation of Chinese students, and ushering Ching-kuo's rise to power.

Chapter 3

The China Youth Corps in Taiwan, 1952-1960

> This patriotic youth organization was established in accordance with the glorious public declaration by our president of a 'great anti-Communist patriotic youth union,' under the guidance of the loftiest precepts of the Three Principles of the People. The Youth Corps will make great efforts to strengthen faith in revolution, increase revolutionary knowledge, master military skills, and train strong young physiques. Its purposes are to overthrow Soviet imperialism and thoroughly eliminate the bandit gang of Zhu De and Mao Zedong; to strive for our country's independence, freedom, and national survival, and development; and to establish a wealthy, strong, healthy, and joyful new China under the Three Principles of the People.
>
> Excerpt from the China Youth Corps' Statement of Purpose, 1952

The Three People's Principles Youth Corps ultimately failed because of its rivalry with the GMD party. However, when the regime retreated to Taiwan in December 1949 it had an opportunity to rectify its past mistakes. According to political scientist Monte Bullard, as Party leaders began to consolidate their rule on the island in 1950, they knew that Taiwanese youth would play a critical role. "After all," wrote Bullard, "many... had been among the students of the May Fourth Movement, the Northern Expedition, and the student movements of the 1930s."[1]

Since the GMD recognized how much the Communists had emphasized their Youth League on the mainland, it was quick to recruit students in youth organizations. For over twenty-nine years, the GMD struggled with the Communists for the allegiance of young people, a battle it ultimately lost.[2] The Communist Youth League, originally

[1] Monte R. Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 135.
[2] Bullard, 134.

called the Socialist Youth League, was founded in October 1920, even before the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) formed in July 1921. By April 1949, it had a membership of 200,000 – a large number, but quite small for a country of China's size.[3] Neither party was particularly successful in recruiting youth during the 1930s and 1940s, but the CCP still maintained a clear advantage over the GMD. By the end of 1950, Youth League membership grew "to 3 million…to 9 million in 1953, 20 million in 1956, [and] 25 million in 1959."[4]

On Taiwan, the GMD established the China Youth Anti-Communist Save (Our) Country Corps, also known as the China Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps (*Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguotuan*, 中國青年反共救國團) in 1952 in order to combat the Communists and indoctrinate Taiwan's youth through extra-curricular education and training. Most citizens referred to it simply as "Save (Our) Country Corps" (*Jiuguotuan,* 救國團) or China Youth Corps (CYC) in English.[5] The CYC succeeded the Three People's Principles Youth Corps, which the GMD organized on the mainland.[6] In addition to the CYC, the GMD also founded a short-lived predecessor in 1950 – the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese Youth, or "the League" (*Zhongguo qingnian fangong kang-e lianhehui* 中國青年反共抗俄聯合青年會).

---

[3] James Pinckney Harrison, *The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-1972* (New York: Praeger, 1972), 454.
[4] Harrison, 454.
[5] Bullard, 135; Allen Chun, "From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan." In *Chinese Nationalism*, ed. Jonathan Unger (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996), 142; Jong Huh Huang, "A Configurational Study of the Nonprofit Learning Organization: A Case Study of China Youth Corps in Taiwan," DPA diss., University of Southern California, 1994, 99. On October 25, 2000, "Anti-Communist" was dropped from the CYC's official name.
[6] Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Formed by Chiang," *New York Times*, November 9, 1952, 6.

Several scholars have touched on both groups as part of larger projects, yet it is especially important to analyze them together because the CYC successfully wooed Taiwan's youth in its formative years by avoiding the mistakes of the League and antecedents on the mainland. In addition, an examination of the organization's leadership and political implications reveal how the CYC played a major role in helping the ascendancy of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Ching-kuo, in the GMD government. The organization's growth gave crucial political power to Ching-kuo during an important period in which he struggled for national leadership, eventually gaining total control of the GMD regime on Taiwan. Finally, in addition to government sources and political speeches, evidence ranging from underground publications and personal interviews, to popular CYC pamphlets and music, all reveal several other important issues: how students themselves utilized the CYC for their own purposes; the organization's impact on gender and teen culture in Taiwan's conservative postwar society; CYC attempts to instill a sense of unity and "Chineseness" on an ethnically-diverse island; the organization's role in helping a generation of young people explore Taiwan's geography and recognize its natural beauty; and finally, how 1950s GMD critics, opponents of the two Chiangs, and pro-democracy activists all recognized the centrality of the CYC in shaping the island's future.

The League (1950-1952)

Scholars have addressed the China Youth Corps in Chinese, yet they have paid little attention to its direct predecessor, the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese Youth. In particular, political scientist Wu Nai-Teh and historian Li Tai-han

have written on the subject.[7] Wu's brother, Wu Nai-ren, is currently the Secretary-General of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the main opposition party to the GMD. He had close ties to ex-Taiwan President Chen Shui-bian, the former chairman of the DPP, and has strong reasons to be skeptical about Guomindang claims of success and spontaneous support.[8]

On April 9, 1950, a meeting was held in Sun Yatsen Hall (*Zhongshan tang* 中山堂) in Taipei to prepare the establishment of the League – among the attendants were officials from National Taiwan University (NTU), Taiwan Teachers College (later renamed National Taiwan Normal University), Chengchi University, and Taipei Industrial College.[9] Two days later, the new organization invited several important figures to serve as guiding members, including Chiang Ching-kuo and Fu Sinian. Fu was one of the leaders of the May Fourth Movement. As a heralded educator and linguist, he was serving as president of National Taiwan University during the time of the League's establishment.[10]

The League officially formed on April 27, 1950. Initially, college students (most from the mainland and recent NTU alumni) constituted the majority of the organization's workforce; specifically, NTU students and graduates were the largest group of staff members. The youth delegates first convened on October 31, 1950, Chiang Kai-shek's birthday. During the opening ceremony, Chiang himself was present, proclaiming that the

---

[7] Wu Nai-teh, "The Politics of a Regime Patronage System: Mobilization and Control Within an Authoritarian Regime" (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1987); Li Tai-han, "Cong qingnian lianhui dao Jiuguotuan chengli de guocheng – yijiuwushi niandai chuqi – Guomindang duiyu qingnian yundong de chouhua yu zhangkong" *Taiwan wenxian*, Vol. 56, no. 3.
[8] On September 11, 2009, a Taiwan court convicted Chen Shui-bian on graft charges during his 2000-2008 presidency and sentenced him to life in prison.
[9] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian* (*Green Flag Waves for Thirty Years*), 48.
[10] Li Tai-han, 132.

new organization's task was more important than the goals of other youth groups in the past. Afterwards, he met and shook hands with each young delegate. Chiang's actions at the League's founding communicated to students the value he placed on the new organization.[11]

The League also adopted a slogan to uplift young people's spirits: "If China is ancient Greece, then Taiwan is Sparta. If China is Germany, then Taiwan is Prussia."[12] With allusions to classical Greece's most militarized state, the slogan clearly demonstrated the League's emphasis on the military. By referencing Prussia, the core kingdom of the German empire and the key to political unification in Germany, it also highlighted Taiwan's importance to political reunification with the mainland under the Republic of China (ROC). Furthermore, 1950s students on Taiwan held popular notions that Prussians were authoritarian, militaristic, and extremely orderly – stereotypes characterized by their army's unswerving obedience. It was slightly odd that the League voluntarily compared Taiwan to Prussia considering it was the immediate aftermath of World War II. Rather than play down such overt militarism, the League's slogans indicated that the GMD government was unafraid to embrace the image of an authoritarian regime during the martial law period (1949-1987).[13]

Financial support for the League came from the General Political Warfare Department of the Ministry of National Defense, which Chiang Ching-kuo directed, and

[11] Li Tai-han, 130.
[12] Li Tai-han, 133.
[13] In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek imposed martial law, banning the formation of any new political parties. It gave the military censorship and was used by military courts to convict thousands of civilians of sedition and other crimes. Under Chiang Ching-kuo, the GMD government ended martial law in 1987.

Taiwan Provincial Government's Department of Education (*Jiaoyuting* 教育廳).[14] Taiwanese historian Li Tai-han has also written extensively on military training and education on the island. According to Li, in late July 1951, the League sent 2,500 youth representatives to military camps operated by the Army, Navy, and Air Force.[15] By summer 1952, the numbers increased to 4,650 youth in 155 teams.[16] At the army camps, League members sang, performed plays, delivered anti-Communist lectures and current news reports, and read books and newspapers to illiterate soldiers.[17] For example, in September 1952, a team of thirty-seven students from Taichung First Provincial High School, accompanied by a leader and two reporters, stayed at an army camp in the central city of Nantou (南投) for twenty-one days.[18] According to an Army newsletter, county officials and local military officers welcomed the League team – it was a special occasion that drew much attention and fanfare in the region. The League emphasized military volunteerism and encouraged civilian youth to interact with soldiers, which ultimately became a hallmark of the CYC in the later 1950s.

In addition to mobilizing students to serve among soldiers, the League also organized teams of young men to guard restaurants and movie theaters in Taipei, constantly advising passers-by "not to indulge in luxuries."[19] If League members spotted women riding in vehicles to the market or children sent to school in cars, they would

---

[14] In the 1950s, all the secondary schools and some colleges fell under the aegis of the *Jiaoyuting.*
[15] Li Tai-han, 134.
[16] "How to Serve in the Military," *Central Daily News* (中央日報), May 10, 1952, 4. Cited in Li Tai-han, 135.
[17] "Summer Military Service of Youth," *Central Daily News* (中央日報), June 9, 1952, 5. Cited in Li Tai-han, 135.
[18] "Military Service in Nantou" newsletter (軍中服務在南投), September 16, 1952. Cited in Li Tai-han, 135.
[19] Yao Shun, "A Memory of the League," *Young Lion Monthly*, No. 11, 33. Cited in *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian* , 48.

reprimand them for overindulging and wasting fuel. During this period, most people could not afford to own private cars, therefore high-ranking officials borrowed vehicles from the government.[20] Some League students even recorded the license plate numbers of vehicles that they deemed were "whirling around" too much, condemning the drivers in public and publishing the plate numbers in local newspapers.[21] In some ways, these actions echoed the tactics of youth groups that persuaded people to boycott foreign goods in China during the 1920s and 1930s, when supporters stamped "traitor" on the clothes of Chinese caught riding Japanese ships.[22] As historian Karl Gerth notes, mainland boycotters harassed merchants who sold foreign products by "picketing stores, confiscating goods, sending intimidating anonymous letters and postcards, disrupting distribution channels, pasting posters on storefronts, and forcing shopkeepers to place advertisements in local newspapers in which they vowed not to sell imports."[23] By the 1950s, young Chinese on Taiwan were conducting similar campaigns to reduce consumption as a way to foster nationalism.

Chiang Ching-kuo's Rise to Power Through Youth Organizations

The League and China Youth Corps played important roles in Chiang Ching-kuo's political ascendancy. According to Wu, the League was a powerful tool for Ching-kuo, who otherwise held little power before the GMD retreat to Taiwan in 1949.[24] His leadership of the League foreshadowed how he would later use the CYC to advance his

[20] Li Tai-han, 133.
[21] Wu, 128.
[22] Karl Gerth, *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 160-161.
[23] Gerth, 178.
[24] Wu, 158.

political ambitions. Compared with Chiang Kai-shek's colleagues, who had served longer in the GMD party and fought various battles alongside the elder Chiang, Ching-kuo's status in the regime was relatively low. During the Nanjing decade (1927-1937) when other ambitious Party members were gaining political experience and building their networks, Ching-kuo was living in the Soviet Union (1925-1937). His relationship to his father was sufficiently complicated that he could not count on full support during that period. While in Russia, Ching-kuo denounced his father as an "enemy" and "counter-revolutionary" after Chiang Kai-shek's bloody purge of Communists in Shanghai in April 1927.[25]

Wu argues that "the most important political dimension of the CYC in the political arena may be the role it played in [Chiang Ching-kuo's] struggle for national leadership."[26] He maintains that the CYC is inextricably tied to the story of how Ching-kuo defeated other competitors for national leadership and gained control of the regime. While the GMD was still on the mainland in 1940, Chiang Kai-shek appointed Ching-kuo as director of the Cadre Training School at the Three People's Principles Youth Corps' (Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan 三民主義青年團, "Sanqingtuan," for short, and hereafter "SQT") branch in Gannan (贛南), the southern region of Jiangxi province, which had been a Communist stronghold. Four years later, the Generalissimo assigned his son the greater task of directing the SQT's Central Cadre School (CCS) in the wartime capital of Chongqing – this new position allowed him a leadership role on a national scale, whereas

[25] "Foreign News: Father Flayed," *Time*, April 25, 1927, 44. Debate still continues as to whether Chiang Ching-kuo had been forced to write the editorial criticizing his father's actions. Joseph Stalin held Ching-kuo as a "hostage" in the Soviet Union and used him as leverage in Sino-Soviet relationships.
[26] Wu, 158.

his previous duty was confined to the regional level. From the ranks of CCS graduates he personally trained, Ching-kuo recruited his "most trusted" and loyal followers.[27]

According to Wu, when the GMD retreated to Taiwan, "many powerful faction leaders within the regime either retired from politics or were purged by the Leader [Chiang Kai-shek] and went abroad."[28] The only contender left for the national leadership was Chen Cheng, whom many of Chiang Kai-shek's followers viewed as the most likely successor.[29] During the early years of the regime on the island, Chen held key civilian government positions, such as Vice-Executive of the GMD, Vice President, and Premier of the ROC. Although Chen Cheng was first in line of formal succession to Chiang Kai-shek, factional opposition to him remained active. On December 15, 1963, in the face of a substantial build-up of political power on the part of Chiang Ching-kuo, Chen resigned the premiership of the government and died of cancer of the liver two years later.[30]

Meanwhile, outside of the military the China Youth Corps was the only source of power in Ching-kuo's hands, and he subsequently used the group's success to launch his own political career. In 1950, Chiang Kai-shek appointed Ching-kuo director of the General Political Warfare Department of the Ministry of National Defense, intentionally setting up the position for his son in order to bolster his military power. Wu asserts that the CYC was placed under the General Political Warfare Department (GPWD), "even though its function had nothing to do with national defense," yet the move was certainly

---

[27] Hsu Cho-yun, "Historical Setting for the Rise of Chiang Ching-kuo," in *Chiang Ching-kuo's Leadership in the Development of the Republic of China on Taiwan*, ed. Shao-chuan Leng (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 8.
[28] Wu, 158-159.
[29] "Militant Nationalist," *New York Times*, September 12, 1963, 5.
[30] Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China, Vol. 1* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 160.

more coordinated.[31] According to Bullard, Ching-kuo designated the GPWD as the agency responsible for the political socialization of youth because the military was "one of the most disciplined organizations at the time, had the experience and knowledge to integrate youth activities into the national defense effort." The army also had "the necessary equipment (trucks, weapons, first-aid equipment, etc.) and physical facilities (camping areas)" to accommodate thousands of potential youth participants in summer and winter camps.[32] As head of the GPWD, Ching-kuo was charged with a secret police corps aimed at strengthening counterintelligence, purging Communist influence in the military, and exerting more GMD influence within the armed forces.[33] Placing the CYC under the auspices of the Ministry of National Defense was therefore a useful tool in this process.

When Chiang Ching-kuo directed the League, he specifically targeted the youth, a group not yet controlled by other organizations within the GMD regime in the early

---

[31] Wu, 126-127.
[32] Bullard, 135.
[33] Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan,* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 195. It is noteworthy that Chiang Kai-shek also appointed Ching-kuo as director of the secret police (1950-1965). Throughout the years that martial law was enforced on Taiwan (1949-1987), political opponents of the GMD were routinely harassed, imprisoned, and even put to death. In 1949, Ching-kuo established a Political Action Committee in Kaohsiung, Taiwan to coordinate the intelligence and secret police operations on the island. Some Taiwanese estimate that during that year, the secret police arrested 10,000 Taiwanese for interrogation, while military courts sentenced many to long detentions, and execution squads put more than a thousand to death. In the first half of 1950, Ching-kuo took a more active leadership role in internal security. He and his father now focused every possible resource on preparing for the Chinese Communists' mass invasion of the island expected in early summer. Thus, the secret police began to focus almost entirely on uncovering CCP agents who had come over during the chaotic influx in 1949. In fact, CIA reports indicate that Mao Zedong's intelligence units were concentrated heavily on infiltrating the GMD military. Those who were arrested by the GMD secret police were either executed or imprisoned at a re-education school, the New Life Institute (*Xinsheng jiaosuo* 新生教所), located on Green Island off the east coast of Taiwan. The re-education school was reminiscent of the New Man rehabilitation school he established in southern Jiangxi (Gannan 贛南) on the mainland. Ching-kuo frequently visited the New Life Institute to check on living conditions and treatment of the "students." Even to this day, his activities as director of the Political Action Committee and secret police have widely been criticized for violating human rights in Taiwan. Taylor, 191-192.

1950s. The League established regional branches all across the island, trying to woo local political elites into Ching-kuo's support base.[34] At its zenith, the League was active in fifteen geographic locations – besides the main island of Taiwan, the organization also created branches on the smaller islands of Penghu, Jinmen, and Mazu.[35] The League was even active in the Dachen Islands, an archipelago located off the coast of Zhejiang province, where GMD and Communist forces continued fighting in the mid-1950s (including the Battle of Dachen Archipelago in January and February 1955). After the Communists took the islands, 14,500 civilians evacuated to Taiwan.

Despite the League's establishment throughout Taiwan and its offshore islands, several factors hindered its overall ability to mobilize young people. It was ineffective in garnering legal or governmental status and obtaining financial aid from the state. More importantly, according to Wu "it also lacked an ideology to mobilize and organize the students and the young."[36] Wu goes on to note that it was only a few years after the February 28 Incident, and tensions between the GMD regime and the Taiwanese were still high – especially among the educated.[37] Secondary school students needed strong incentives in order to enroll in GMD-sponsored organizations.

---

[34] Wu, 127.
[35] Li Tai-han, 134.
[36] Wu, 127.
[37] The February 28 Incident, also known as 2-28, was an anti-government, anti-Chinese uprising in Taiwan that began on February 28, 1947. Two years of GMD administration led to the widespread impression among Taiwanese that the government was plagued by nepotism, corruption, and economic failure. Tensions increased between Taiwanese and the new regime. The straw that broke the camel's back came on February 27, 1947 in Taipei when a dispute between a female cigarette vendor and an officer of the Office of Monopoly triggered civil disorder and open rebellion, lasting for several days. The GMD army violently suppressed the uprising, resulting in many civilian deaths. Estimates of the number of deaths vary widely from under one thousand to tens of thousands or more. The Incident marked the beginning of the White Terror period in Taiwan in which thousands more Taiwanese, including mainlanders who the GMD suspected were dissenters, either vanished, were killed, or placed in prison. In the aftermath of the 2-28 Incident, martial law was declared in 1949 and stayed effect until 1987.

The Founding of the China Youth Corps

When the GMD established the CYC two years later, the atmosphere was less tense between the government and students. According to a 1963 CYC publication celebrating its ten-year anniversary, the League automatically merged with the CYC when the latter was formed on October 29, 1952.[38] Unlike the League, the CYC acquired official status, allowing it to gain financial support from the government and "penetrate every school, college, and university" on the island. Recruitment subsequently became far easier. Another distinguishing feature of the CYC, as opposed to the League and earlier youth organizations on the mainland, was its emphasis on leisure activities. According to Wu, recreation made "the ideological indoctrination (patriotism and leader worship)" more appealing to the youth.[39] In addition, the CYC also incorporated cadres of the League directly into its organization, such as Lee Huan and Zhang Yusheng – both longtime followers of Chiang Ching-kuo who were appointed by him as high-ranking officials in the CYC.[40] After Ching-kuo served as the CYC's first director for twenty-one years (1952-1973), Lee subsequently held the post (1973-1977). He later served as the premier of Taiwan (1989-1990).[41]

Throughout the 1950s, the China Youth Corps played a central role in the political socialization of many young Taiwanese. On March 29, 1952, Chiang Kai-shek first issued a directive to establish the new organization, one that he hoped would unite the country's youth better than the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese

---

[38] "Our Corps' Major Events in Ten Years," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963), n.p.
[39] Wu, 128.
[40] Wu, 128-129.
[41] Shao-chuan Leng, *Chiang Ching-kuo's Leadership in the Development of the Republic of China on Taiwan*, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993), 8.

Youth, and would stimulate support for the Nationalist government. According to the CYC's published history:

> On Youth Day, March 29, 1952, the late President Chiang Kai-shek...delivered a summons to establish an institution called the China Youth Corps, and encourage all the Chinese youth to continue the glorious tradition bequeathed by the young patriots who fought in the Northern Expedition and the victorious War of Resistance against Japan. Under the banner of anti-communism and restoration of national order, the Chinese youth, at home and abroad, gave immediate response. On May 31 the same year, the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China ratified the organizing principles of the China Youth Corps. On October 31, 1952, the China Youth Corps was officially founded in Taipei.[42]

Chiang Kai-shek wore a military uniform and delivered his speech at the Three Armed Forces Basketball Arena (*Sanjunquichang* 三軍球場) in Taipei.[43] According to Bullard, the importance of the China Youth Corps was reflected in the fact that Chiang took a personal interest in it and recommended its establishment with an address on China Youth Day in 1952, which commemorated the 1911 martyrdom of seventy-two young people in Huanghuagang (▪花崗), Guangdong province during the revolution against the Qing dynasty.[44]

The Generalissimo also emphasized the CYC's importance by establishing the organization on his birthday, October 31, 1952, as he did with the League's opening ceremony in 1950. Vice President Chen Cheng hosted the event, which was held in the Sun Yatsen Hall (Zhongshan tang 中山堂) in Taipei. Within the large hall, an ROC flag hung above a portrait of Sun Yatsen on the wall, with six CYC flags on each side of the stage.[45] Along with Chen Cheng, Chiang also delivered a speech at the inauguration

---

[42] China Youth Corps, *A Brief Introduction of the China Youth Service Association*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, n.d.), 6.
[43] "Important Historical Pictures," *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian* .n.p.
[44] Bullard, 139.
[45] Important Historical Pictures," *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian.* N.p.

ceremony. “On the mainland, millions of young men and women are still locked in darkness behind an iron curtain,” he began. “Our country has five thousand years of cultural history and now we are suffering unprecedented disaster.”[46] Chiang went on to exhort the island’s youth and encourage students to see themselves as central players in an important historical moment. “My young brethren of free China, using all of your efforts voluntarily and spontaneously to fit the revolution’s demands, answer the country’s call,” Chiang implored. “Let us have another revolution to revive the military, accept the unity of the leadership, channel a strong organization, and utilize our biggest strength to join in the work of the anticommunist, anti-soviet war. It really causes me to feel unparalleled gratification.”[47] In addition to his personal appearance at the CYC’s inauguration, Chiang also appointed his son to be the organization’s first director. Both men were interested in publicizing themselves with youth and appearing in public at subsequent CYC events.[48] This was especially true of Ching-kuo, who was photographed with young people in many CYC publications. One image featured a smiling Ching-kuo being hoisted over the shoulders of boys belonging to a mountain-climbing group.[49] In another, he appeared chatting with a young cyclist participating in a long-distance bicycling tour during the 1953 CYC summer camp.[50] A third photograph depicted Ching-kuo with a group of youth at a CYC oath-swearing ceremony on January 5, 1953 at Taipei’s Three Armed Forces Basketball Arena (*Sanjunquichang* 三軍球場).[51]

---

[46] “The Manuscript of President Chiang’s Message Concerning the Establishment of CYC,” *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963), n.p.
[47] “The Manuscript of President Chiang’s Message Concerning the Establishment of CYC,” *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.
[48] Thomas A. Brindley, *The China Youth Corps in Taiwan*, New York: Peter Lang, 1999, 33.
[49] *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.
[50] Tzen Shian-yung. *China Youth Warriors March* (Taipei: The Youth Publishers, 1953).
[51] “Important Historical Photos,” *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*. n.p.

Once the GMD established the China Youth Corps on Taiwan, the Party clearly articulated the group's mission to the island's newly-organized ROC government, which soon embraced the organization. The GMD and the CYC planned to channel Taiwanese youth towards constructive goals before any anti-governmental student organizations or movements could coalesce, and before dissenters could organize any strikes. According to American educator Thomas Brindley, who has studied the organization, "the early CYC on Taiwan was conceived not as an enlarged formalized structure to imitate a student movement of its own but to incorporate a wider approach to youth concerns and take on many more activities for youth than just political ones."[52] Compared to the Party's past youth organizations, such as the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT), the CYC took a broader approach to student concerns and focused more on youth activities beyond the realm of politics. This goal was a huge departure from the GMD's policy towards the SQT. Whereas less than half of the SQT's members were actually young people, the CYC ensured that its members were between the ages of 15 to 30. Thus, the CYC was far more successful because it addressed youth's interests from its inception, while the SQT neglected student's needs partly because the majority of its members were older.

The China Youth Corps' Mission

One of the reasons why Chiang Kai-shek established the China Youth Corps was to prevent student protest movements from forming against the government. His purpose was to use the organization as a channel to inculcate political loyalty in youth and to

[52] Brindley, 22.

ensure their support of him.[53] In this way (and similar to Chiang Ching-kuo's use of the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese Youth), Chiang Kai-shek also relied on the CYC to implement his political and ideological agendas.[54] Within the context of PRC threats, the government encouraged the island's youth to demonstrate patriotism and loyalty, and joining the CYC was an important way for students to do just that. Through the CYC, secondary school students were showing their allegiance both to Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD government.

A memorial plaque located in the organization's headquarters in Taipei, reflects this tense atmosphere during the early years of retrocession, and explains the CYC's formative mission:

> When the Central Government of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan in 1949, the Chinese youth, facing the precariousness of the nation's situation became unanimous in their conviction that only by dedicating themselves unrelentingly to the struggle against the Chinese Communists could they switch the nation's destiny to the course of peace, prosperity, and happiness. Therefore, the China Youth Corps intends to help youths with their intellectual and physical development. It offers programs of vocational training, community service, and wartime service for the youths, and cultivates their sense of comradeship for the final victory over the Chinese Communists and the restoration of national order…In sum, the mission of the China Youth Corps is "to unite patriotic…youths for the accomplishment of national renewal.[55]

As the CYC's first director in 1952, Chiang Ching-kuo expanded on the organization's *raison d'être.* He believed that the country needed to be protected by the strength of young people. According to one CYC publication, *The Green Flag Waves for Thirty Years* (*Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*), Ching-kuo urged the youth to use their military skills to fight the Chinese Communists and Soviet Russians because it was their duty to battle

[53] Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Formed by Chiang," *New York Times*, November 9, 1952, 6.
[54] Brindley, 33.
[55] Reprinted in Brindley, 32.

mainland youth who had succumbed to the lies of Communist "bandits," recover China, and rebuild national identity.[56] Thus, recreational activities offered during summer camp, such as target practice, horseback riding, paragliding, and sailing, were not solely for fun, but also for the purposes of learning military skills.

In order to qualify for CYC membership, newspapers reported that youth had to abide by "belief in Sun Yatsen's Three People's Principles, determined opposition against the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Union, and willingness to undergo youth corps training."[57] Sun's Three People's Principles consisted of nationalism, democracy (or people's rights), and people's livelihood, which formed the GMD's core philosophy of how to build a prosperous and powerful nation. During the 1950s, the *New York Times* reported that the CYC's objectives also included "the strengthening of revolutionary conviction, the emulation of combat skills and the strengthening of physique to eliminate the Chu-Mao clique and strive for independence and freedom."[58] "Chu-Mao clique" referred to Zhu De, commander-in-chief of the Communist People's Liberation Army, and Communist leader Mao Zedong. In its formative years, the key purpose of the CYC was to mobilize a strong army of youth to counterattack this Communist threat and regain the mainland under GMD control.

The China Youth Corps' Organization

Initially, all youth socialization programs, extracurricular activities, and military training were managed by the CYC – and each of these in turn were administered by the

[56] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*, 4.
[57] Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Formed by Chiang," *New York Times*, Nov 9, 1952, 6.
[58] Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Formed by Chiang," *New York Times*, Nov 9, 1952, 6.

General Political Warfare Department (GPWD, *Zhengzhi ganbu xunlian ban* 政治幹部訓練班) under the Ministry of National Defense (*Guofangbu* 國防部).[59] Beginning on August 1, 1952, the CYC was headquartered in a borrowed building it shared with the Political Warfare Staff College in Fuhsingkang.[60] (The GPWD was the predecessor to today's Fuhsingkang College (*Zhengzhi zhanzheng xuexiao* 政治戰爭學校), which was founded on January 6, 1952, when Chiang Kai-shek presided over a formal ceremony inaugurating the school.)[61] Since Ching-kuo had experience working with the Three People's Principles Youth Corps on the mainland, and since he served as Director General of the GPWD from 1950-1954, he entrusted both the military and the GPWD with the mission of politically socializing youth, designating the GPWD as the responsible agency.[62] From 1952-1960, the Ministry of National Defense provided the budget for the CYC and military training programs in schools, with the GPWD actively managing most of the money.[63] In 1960, the budget and responsibility for military training in schools were transferred to the Ministry of Education because the government's fear of Communist China's imminent attacks on the island had gradually subsided.[64] Bullard notes that it was not until September 26, 1977 that the Ministry of Education assumed all salaries. Before that, and from the beginning of the organization, schools paid the instructors' salaries. However, since some private schools could not afford to pay the salaries, the CYC lent money to them.[65]

---

[59] Bullard, 138.
[60] Bullard, 140.
[61] Bullard, 100.
[62] Bullard, 135.
[63] Bullard, 138.
[64] Bullard, 138.
[65] Jiaoyubu junxunchu. *Xuesheng junxun wushinian,* 338, 356.

Despite having Chiang Ching-kuo as its director, the CYC's operations still depended largely on the support of Chiang Kai-shek. According to Wu, the elder Chiang had to legitimize the organization's formation, which he ultimately did. Yet even with his backing, the CYC's first budget in its preparatory stage was a meager ten thousand Taiwan dollars (about $250 USD).[66] Chiang Ching-kuo had asked Provincial Governor (*sheng zhuxi* 省主席) Wu Guozhen (▪國禎) for a larger sum but his request was rejected, and Wu emerged as an outspoken opponent of the organization after he resigned in 1953.[67] However, the CYC was able to obtain more funds for its second budget – one hundred thousand Taiwan dollars ($2,500 USD).[68] Still, although the group started out with little manpower and funds, it managed to develop into a large organization under Ching-kuo's deft leadership.[69] According to Wu, "Although Chiang had not yet appeared to be the unquestionable would-be leader, his family background must have induced many people to give the organization a helping hand."[70] Wu goes on to note that Chiang persuaded local governments to provide branches of the CYC with financial support for facilities such as community youth centers, youth hostels, and student dormitories.[71] The CYC also asked other government agencies, besides the Ministry of National Defense headed by Ching-kuo, to sponsor and finance programs.[72] As director of the General Political Warfare Department, Ching-kuo was able to work seamlessly with the military, especially when it came to organizing summer and winter camps. Fu Zheng, a

[66] Wu, 129.
[67] Lee Wei-song, "The Study of Chiang Ching-kuo and the China Youth Corps (1969-1988)," Master's thesis, National Central University, 2005, 42. The reason for Wu Guozhen's opposition towards the CYC will be discussed later.
[68] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*, 67. Cited in Wu, 129.
[69] Wu, 129-130.
[70] Wu, 129-130.
[71] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian* , 105-106. Cited in Wu, 130.
[72] Thomas A. Brindley, *The China Youth Corps in Taiwan* (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 62.

contemporary CYC critic, later charged that by 1956, the organization's annual budget was three hundred million New Taiwan dollars. But the specifics for the huge budget (where the money came from and what it was spent on) remained highly confidential.[73] From its humble financial beginnings in 1952, the CYC grew to provide scholarships to thousands of Taiwanese students within a decade, and continues to do so today. According to Bullard, "being a Youth Corps member meant a young person could travel and stay at official hostels for almost no cost. The only price that had to be paid, over time, was to accept the political socialization efforts of the system."[74]

CYC-sponsored Youth Campaigns

When the Party established the China Youth Corps, its main goal was to rally young students in the "fight" against communism, inculcating patriotism in their hearts, minds, and actions. Some of its early slogans, which emphasized the importance of military training and sacrifice for the country, were "One Must Endure Self-Imposed Hardships in Order to Succeed," and "When You Study in School, Do Not Forget to Save Your Country."[75] In the 1950s, Chiang Kai-shek and other GMD leaders still held out hope for returning to the mainland and re-establishing their regime. According to Bullard, they viewed the CYC as a critical organization to prepare youth for potential combat in wartime. Most of the activities involved military or self-defense skills that would provide a foundation in warfare, such as marksmanship or first aid. At the time, GMD leaders and

[73] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti" "The Youth Anti-Communist National Salvation Corps Problem" *Free China*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 6.
[74] Bullard, 140.
[75] Lee Wei-song, 54.

the island's more paranoid residents believed that a Communist invasion was imminent.[76] Such fears were not unfounded. On March 1, 1950, the Communist Commander-in-Chief, General Zhu De, declared that eradication of the Chiang regime from Taiwan had become "the most pressing task of the entire country."[77] After the Chinese Civil War, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) was poised to invade Taiwan and unify China with a far larger army than Chiang's Nationalist forces. Morale was low, and Chiang's smaller army was also relatively undisciplined and disorganized. If an invasion were to occur, a swift PLA victory would be almost assured.

Ironically, the threat of military invasion on the island was minimized with the breakout of another armed conflict. Two days after the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) Army crossed the 38th parallel and engaged South Korean forces, President Harry Truman ordered the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait. Declaring that "… the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area," Truman's decision was one of the first instances in which the ideology of containment became a reality on the ground.[78] It was a timely and auspicious relief for Chiang's struggling movement. Overnight, the arrival of U.S. forces stifled any plans on the mainland for an overt military invasion of Taiwan.[79]

Nonetheless, the two sides remained in a heightened military state well into the 1960s, including direct night raids and clashes on neighboring islands. The Battle of

---

[76] Bullard, 138.
[77] "Li Accuses Chiang," *China World*, March 2, 1950, George Kerr Papers, File 7.20, Clippings Formosa – Chiang Kai-shek: activities, policies, history, rivals; Mme. Chiang 1950. Hoover Institution Archives.
[78] "Statement by the President on the Situation in Korea, June 27, 1950," John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA, http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13538 (accessed November 17, 2009).
[79] Bullard, 5.

Dachen Archipelago was part of the First Taiwan Straits Crisis (1954-1955), and forced the ROC to abandon the islands and thousands of civilian refugees to evacuate. The Second Taiwan Straits Crisis, also known as the Jinmen-Mazu Crisis, occurred just three years later in 1958, when the People's Republic of China (PRC) shelled the small but important offshore-island outposts in an attempt to seize them from the GMD.[80] The Communist army had also attacked these islands in 1954-1955 – a PRC takeover might have succeeded then if not for Chiang's order to heavily fortify both islands. These two key footholds were not only strategically important in detecting and trying to thwart a Communist invasion across the Strait, but stood as symbols that Chiang's domain extended beyond Taiwan and Penghu. During these (and other) periodic crises with the PRC, the CYC sponsored youth campaigns to boost morale.[81] Mao Cheng-how, who was a CYC member in the 1950s, recalled that students entertained military personnel (*laojun* 勞軍) on Jinmen Island by singing and performing folk dances and theatric plays but he did not participate because of his "lack of interest and talent."[82]

Thus, throughout the 1950s both the ROC's education system and the CYC were active in mobilizing military campaigns. The CYC was constantly active in Taiwan's public junior and senior high schools, implementing compulsory military training for senior high youth and college students.[83] On campuses, regular CYC ceremonies gathered all students into the schoolyard to instill GMD propaganda. Lectures to strengthen students' patriotism usually focused on five major themes: principles, leader,

[80] Jinmen, which is also known as Quemoy, is located off the port of Xiamen (Amoy), and Mazu (Matsu) is off the port of Fuzhou, also in Fujian province.
[81] Brindley, 40-41.
[82] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 and November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[83] Brindley, 41.

country, duty, and honor.[84] They emphasized the Three People's Principles as the guiding ideology for youth revolution. Furthermore, the CYC taught that if one supported the leader (Chiang Kai-shek), he or she also supported the GMD government.[85] In this way, the organization guaranteed the strengthening of the Party's regime and its policies.

The China Youth Corps also "molded" young people when school was out of session, especially with popular training activities held over summer break. Not only did students receive training, they also participated in public service activities within military units (*junzhong fuwu dui* – 軍中服務隊) and in civilian rural communities (*nongcun fuwu dui* – 農村服務隊).[86] These CYC student activities among the troops echoed what the Anti-Communist and Anti-Russia League of the Chinese Youth had previously organized; according to Bullard, "the students would teach basic literacy courses to the soldiers, help them write letters, comfort the troops in hospitals, and provide entertainment."[87] CYC students also aided rural farmers by actually working on the land and harvesting crops during the summer. One of the goals was to provide urban youth with farming experience, and thus build character through agrarian labor.[88] To participate in these service endeavors, young people registered their interests with the CYC, completed a physical examination, and were then assigned to a specific activity. According to Bullard, selection criteria included student's talents or interests and the ability to speak Taiwanese (for those wanting to join rural service teams).[89]

---

[84] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*, 287.
[85] Wu, 136.
[86] Bullard, 141.
[87] Bullard, 141.
[88] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo*; Bullard, 141.
[89] Bullard, 141-142.

One 1954 handbook, *How to Develop Rural Service Work* (*Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo*), was printed in Taiwanese by CYC's publishing company, Young Lion. It was meant for CYC youth traveling to the countryside, and contained a chart indicating that more high school teams participated than college teams.[90] It also included childhood stories about Chiang Kai-shek, obviously meant to boost his personality cult. A popular legend was a story about Chiang as a boy, in which he observes many fish swimming upstream in a river. The fish are pushed back by the current but they ultimately succeed in swimming against the current, symbolizing Chiang's lifelong struggle against adversities and the way in which his work ethic allowed him to prevail.[91] According to the handbook, swimming upstream represented things getting better and improving. Another story claimed that "when President Chiang was young, he and many young children played outside together, no matter whether they were older or younger than he was, he always wanted to be the leader of the children." The English translation is from the following passage in Taiwanese: "*Jiang zhongtong youxi, chang jing jie de, gingna bua de qit tao, mo lun xi, bi yi ka buahan, yaxi ka xiehan, yi long mei ze gingna tao*" "蔣總統幼時,與真多的,囝仔伴的 X ▪ ,沒論是,比伊較大漢, 也較小漢, 伊都要做囝仔頭").[92] This account was meant to convey to the students that Chiang was destined to be the leader of the ROC even as a child.

In 1895, when Chiang was eight years, he read two of the *Four Books* (of Confucianism) – the *Great Learning* (*Daxue* 大學) and the *Doctrine of the Mean*

---

[90] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo*, 16-17.
[91] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo*, 64.
[92] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo,* 64. The "X" marks the Taiwanese character that is not found in the dictionary. It combines the two radicals (辶日) and is pronounced "*qit*." Together, "*qit tao*" means "to play outside."

(*Zhongyong* 中庸) – the other two were the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語) and Mencius (孟子). The CYC pamphlet describes how "his head hurt because it was difficult to study the *Great Learning* and the *Doctrine of the Mean* but he continued to read it because his teacher told him to. This occurred soon after Japan defeated China in the Sino-Japanese War and the signing of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which gave Taiwan to Japan. The treaty infuriated people and some called for the end of the Qing dynasty. Zhang Zhidong's published *Exhortation to Study* (*Quan Xue Pian* ▪學篇), which discussed why the Japanese defeated China and encouraged people to study and learn Western civilization. The emperor ordered that Zhang Zhidong's work be disseminated throughout the country for people to read."[93] *How to Develop Rural Service* built upon Chiang's personality cult by claiming that "his mother bought a copy of *Exhortation to Study* and often read it to him." According to the pamphlet, "*Exhortation to Study* and the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War led to Chiang's decision to become a soldier for his country."[94] CYC youth publications aimed to convince readers that Chiang was not only hardworking when he studied Confucianism, but also very patriotic even as a young child.

While the ability to speak Taiwanese often determined whether a student would serve in rural areas, one's major in college also suggested a particular activity. Some with artistic talent were assigned to the military service team, where they put on performances. Medical students were likely to take part in military medical service teams, while those with particular trade skills were sometimes sent to military factories for apprentice

[93] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo,* 65. Zhang Zhidong was a late Qing politician who wrote *Exhortation to Study* in 1898.
[94] *Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo,* 65.

training.[95] Yet regardless of the differences between the activities students were assigned, virtually all of the programs centered on the military.

On campuses throughout Taiwan, the military organized students into "big teams," similar to divisions, which were then broken into corps and units by county. All participants received "patriotic education," which consisted of four themes: the Three People's Principles, Anti-Communism and Resist Russia, the Fate of China, and the five beliefs of principle, leader, country, duty, and honor.[96]

According to the National Educational Materials Center's (NEMC) *Manual of Educational Statistics*, 70,549 young people attended summer training during the CYC's first nine years (1953-1962) – including 15,688 college students, 46,854 high school students, 4,649 non-students, and 3,358 non-CYC members.[97] The "non-students" or "social youth" were mostly school teachers, the sector Wu identifies as sharing "the same pattern of consumption on leisure activities" as students.[98] These non-students enjoyed similar extracurricular activities as students. This sector must have also included youth who did not enroll in formal education institutes. On the mainland, the Three People's Principles Youth Corps had recruited "social youth," defined as young people outside the school system.[99] Wu states that the CYC's recruitment of the non-student population was less successful than its efforts on students because the non-students lacked "an organizational fabric such as the school" from which the corps could rally and enlist

---

[95] Bullard, 142.
[96] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian,* 289.
[97] *Manual of Educational Statistics, The Republic of China – 1961* (Taipei: National Educational Materials Center, 1961), 166. Cited in Bullard, 198.
[98] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*, 69. Cited in Wu, 134.
[99] Huang Jianli, *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican China: Guomindang Policy towards Student Political Activism, 1927-1949,* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1996), 130-131.

potential members.[100] If that is true, it probably indicates that teachers comprised the majority of the non-student group because young people outside of the formal education system were difficult to recruit.

NEMC statistics for the early years of the CYC also include a group categorized as "non-Youth Corps," indicating that some participants who were not CYC members were still allowed to attend. Unfortunately, more concrete information about the identities of these "non-Youth Corps" participants is unavailable. The figures also provide a stark look at the gender imbalance within these 1950s summer programs. For every year, males outnumbered females anywhere from 3-1 to 5-1.[101] According to Bullard, it is possible that by 1970 some 200,000 youth had attended a CYC summer training activity and been exposed to its political content, considering that participation continued to increase after 1962.[102]

In June 1953, the CYC mobilized its members throughout the island to participate in preparatory drills during summer vacation in case of invasion from the mainland. To chronicle the activities, the organization's in-house press published an English-language leaflet entitled *China Youth Warriors March*. It indicated the CYC's desire to publicize its activities outside Taiwan and use youth mobilization to cultivate foreign support for Taiwan as the "legitimate" China. Even Chiang Kai-shek himself tried to circulate his message to a broader audience in the West during the mid 1950s, securing the English-language publication of *Soviet Russia in China* in 1957. (Such attempts could just as

[100] Wu, 134.
[101] *Manual of Educational Statistics, The Republic of China – 1961* (Taipei: National Educational Materials Center, 1961), 166. Cited in Bullard, 198.
[102] Bullard, 142.

easily backfire: "The 'Chinese Communists' are throughout referred to as if they were a race apart, a bogey people," lamented one 1957 review of Chiang's book.)[103]

Whether in English or Chinese, CYC pamphlets were full of promotional photographs and celebratory descriptions of outgoing teenagers in Taiwan who enjoyed participating in fun camp activities. According to *China Youth Warriors March*, the CYC called on youth to "make use of the leisure period" during summer and engage in activities "in air, at sea, into the forest, and amid the frontlines that they might realize their book knowledge through actual life."[104] Student leaders at the major institutions of higher learning emphasized support for that summer's program throughout the country. When 25,339 youth registered within five days after enrollment was open, the CYC tried to accept the maximum applicants within its ability to accommodate. After "strict physical examination and intelligence tests," 8,625 of the applicants were admitted. Most people (6,808) took part in the In-Camp-Service, which focused on military drill, medical, engineering, and agricultural services for two weeks.[105] Several college professors voluntarily participated with the students.[106] In-Camp-Service was divided into 230 groups, each consisting of 30 people: 194 high school student groups, 4 youth of society groups (or "social youth," referring to those not enrolled in school), and 32 college student groups. The other seven activities included scaling the 3,950 meter peak of Yushan and hoisting the national flag on the summit while singing patriotic songs, exploring the Central Mountains, sea warfaring, cycling, seaside swimming, gliding, and parachuting. Among these seven activities, 89.9% of the participants were male (1,310)

[103] C.P. FitzGerald, "Review: Soviet Russia in China," *Pacific Affairs*, Vol. 31:1 (March 1958), 88.
[104] Tzen, 1-2; Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1957).
[105] Tzen, 4, 9-10.
[106] Tzen, 10

and 10.1% were female (147).[107] In terms of education level, 86.3% were high schools students (1,257), 4.7% were youth of society (69), and 9% were college students (131).[108] The majority of the participants were Taiwanese and the remaining youth were mainlanders. Unfortunately, the percentages provided in *China Youth Warriors March* do not add up correctly to 100%. The leaflet notes that "participants consisted of 86.8% of Formosans (1,001 persons) and 32.2% of mainlanders (147 in number)" when the total number of participants for the seven activities was 1,457.[109]

The CYC leadership used the pamphlets to justify the summer camps in a number of ways, most importantly by insisting that students across the island were clamoring at the idea. The announcement of the inaugural 1953 summer camp was an "impressive youth activity and epoch-making call," proclaimed *China Youth Warriors March*. "When the plan for drill was proclaimed in the papers, it was, as if it were, ringing bugle sounded to the youth of China. Every young man and woman stirred in the mind, and every mind resounded with the call. It soon won the approval of the society and the support of the youth."[110]

While CYC publications lauded students for whole-heartedly accepting the summer programs, there were plenty of young people who were more apathetic, if not outright skeptical; yet even many of these eventually participated in camp activities during the decade. One student, Mao Cheng-how, never heard a "ringing bugle." He remembered how he and other senior high students were required to attend CYC activities. As a freshman at National Taiwan University in 1953-1954, Mao was chosen

[107] Tzen, 4-15.
[108] Tzen, 5.
[109] Tzen, 5.
[110] Tzen, 2.

to participate in the CYC's first winter camp, which was held at Taipei's National Taiwan Normal School (*Shifan xuexiao* 師範學校), a school that trained teachers to work in elementary schools. Mao explained that the *Shifan xuexiao* was "equivalent to a junior college" in the U.S.[111] "There was no specific location for CYC activities in the early years," Mao recalled. "We used that campus for that winter activity. We were gathered together for training. In each class you have, say, fifty students, so you separated into ten people per group. I was selected as a squad leader because I was tall. When we had military training, I was responsible for making certain that everyone was there. Just the leaders had to attend the camp for one week. At least a hundred people came from all colleges in Taiwan."[112] Mao surmised that only boys attended because they lived in the school dormitory (thus, it could not have been co-ed). They slept in large rooms without beds, similar to military training.[113]

During winter camp, Mao and other students attended classes such as the "Three People's Principles," "Anti-Communist," and "Anti-Soviet" sessions. There was even a course entitled "Youth Rules" (*Qingnian shouze* 青年手則), which included memorizing the Twelve Maxims of the GMD Code.[114] The maxims were a set of guidelines for citizens to cultivate habits of virtue and responsibilities, and over a decade earlier Chiang Kai-shek had personally inserted them into the curriculum. In 1939, Chiang insisted at the Third National Educational Conference that "…the twelve Party Maxims [were] maxims for Youth." The following year, on February 20, 1940, he telegraphed the maxims to principals at every university, middle school, and primary school in GMD-

[111] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[112] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[113] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[114] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).

occupied China.[115] Over fifty years later, Mao could only remember one he memorized at CYC winter camp in 1953: "helping others is the foundation of happiness."[116]

Like many students in 1950s Taiwan, Mao attended camp because his school decided that he participate. "[I was] probably like the typical student, not interested," he recalled. "We were in the CYC because the government said we had to be there… I did not have a choice. If I said no, it was not good. Besides, it was a new and interesting thing so I thought, 'why not?'"[117] During winter camp, the CYC also filmed some participants. Throughout the 1950s, local movie theaters ran news reel footage before feature films, and audiences sang the national anthem. For a period of time, CYC's winter camp film was included as part of the pre-film footage; on one occasion, Mao's friends even recognized him on the big screen and told him that he had been filmed at winter camp. Because it was compulsory, Mao participated in CYC for one year in senior high school and all four years in college.

In addition to indoctrination, camps, and outdoor activities, another important function of the China Youth Corps in the 1950s was the mobilization of political support from youth during times of national crisis. The CYC encouraged young people to demonstrate their support of the government and help build public morale.[118] In 1954, the Chinese Communists sunk a battleship in the Taiwan Strait. A week later, on November 15, the CYC established the "Committee for Building Battleship and Revenge by Chinese

---

[115] Chiang Kai-shek, *Resistance and Reconstruction: Messages During China's Six Years of War, 1937-1943* (Freeport, NY: Harper & Row, 1970), 155.
[116] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[117] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 and November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[118] Brindley, 41.

Youth."[119] According to Wu, the goal of the movement was to encourage the young to enlist in the army. Within three months, about five million Taiwanese dollars were mobilized, along with a pair of golden ear-rings, two golden rings, eight watches, twenty-two fountain pens, and a radio.[120] The enlistment effort was even more successful – over 20,000 students signed up to quit school and immediately join the army. However, only a little more than 1,000 actually followed through with the commitment.[121]

Another national crisis used by the CYC to galvanize youth support was the PRC's attempt to take over the islands of Jinmen and Mazu in 1954 and 1958. Throughout the 1950s, the CYC organized youth groups to visit Jinmen and launch "psychological warfare balloons" to the mainland.[122] Jinmen is located no more than two kilometers from Xiamen, the nearest major city on the mainland's coast. The balloons held banners with the image of the ROC flag and written propaganda messages. The CYC also mobilized large-scale efforts across Taiwan, organizing youth parades, marches, and demonstrations at various assemblies. It employed "seat displays," in which students were seated before an assembly in elaborate arrangements, holding up large cards that spelled out messages or intricate designs.[123] According to Brindley:

> The CYC contacted school principals and CYC representatives in schools and county offices, who in turn put up notices and made plans to assemble the students and community youth and CYC volunteers at designated points. The military likewise alerted its soldiers and sailors. Government officials, KMT party members, factory officials and laborers, as well as the business groups, like the Rotary and Lions Clubs, and others in officially allowed organizations and clubs, all joined to participate in demonstrations and assemblies. Selected

[119] Wu, 139; "Our Corps' Major Events in the Past Ten Years," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963), n.p.
[120] Wu, 139.
[121] Wu, 139.
[122] *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963), n.p.
[123] Brindley, 41.

> speakers, chosen or acknowledged by the KMT, were asked to speak at these public rallies.[124]

Besides the Building Battleship to Revenge Movement and Protecting Jinmen-Mazu Island Movement, the CYC sponsored other youth campaigns, including the Overcoming Difficulty Movement in 1950-1959, the Supporting Wuhan Students Anti-Communist Movement in 1956 (a confrontation between the students and the Communist regime in Wuhan), the Supporting Anti-Communism of Tibetan Patriots Movement from 1959-1960 (following a riot in Tibet), and the Youth Culture Movement in 1960.[125]

Bullard notes that during the Overcoming Difficulty Movement, the government wanted to "psychologically... eradicate any feelings of dependence" within the populace.[126] In Wu Manjun's 1953 publication, *Ziyou Zhonggguo shijian kenan yundong* (*Free China's Practice of the Overcoming Difficulty Movement*) he explains the origins of the movement. In 1950, He Guozhu held a "How to Overcome Difficulty Meeting" with his soldiers.[127] He told them, "There are many difficulties right now but we cannot allow them to hold us back" and asked people for solutions. For example, people faced the problem of getting bitten by mosquitoes while they slept. He Guozhu wanted to buy mosquito nets, but the Army could not afford them. Therefore, the soldiers needed to solve the problem with their own capabilities. Wang Bisheng, a soldier of Army Company 4617, developed a method to prevent mosquitoes from biting him. He shared how he dried grass and burned it, using the smoke to drive away the mosquitoes. Wu describes how Wang's "overcoming difficulty" story spread throughout the military and everyone was "encouraged" by his brilliant solution. The year was 1950 and the army

[124] Brindley, 41.
[125] Brindley, 42.
[126] Bullard, 126.
[127] Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong*, 3

had just arrived in Taiwan. At the time, people were psychologically defeated and dependent. In March 1950, Chiang Kai-shek called people to depend on themselves in order to fulfill the anti-Communist national reconstruction. On October 1, 1950, the Ministry of National Defense started the Overcoming Difficulty Movement. However, Army Company 4617 could be credited for spreading the movement throughout the island.[128]

Wu also reported that another problem the soldiers faced was harsh military life since the government could not afford to provide them with a large budget. The military owned land on which the soldiers had to plant vegetables and take care of livestock in order to raise their own food.[129] The soldiers also had to make their own clothes and wash them. They had to do everything themselves. They even built their own housing out of mud, bamboo, and straw.[130] In terms of transportation, they had to construct roads and cargo carriages out of bamboo. Wu even claims that "when the soldiers practiced target shooting, they studied the target very carefully so they could get a good aim and not waste all the bullets."[131] They were very protective in maintaining their equipment. It is likely that Wu's account may have been slightly exaggerated for propaganda, but it provides a glimpse of what soldiers achieved on their own in the Overcoming Difficulty Movement.

Supporting the government's aims, the CYC encouraged people to work hard by finding creative ways to be frugal and save resources. Since scarcity was common

---

[128] Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong*, 3

[129] Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong*, 7.
[130] Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong*, 7.
[131] Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong*, 8.

throughout Taiwan, individuals who found imaginative ways to conserve were lauded as "overcoming difficulty heroes" (*kenan yingxiong* 克難英雄).[132] The government honored them and displayed their achievements island wide as examples for society. However, the Overcome Difficulty Movement never reached the level of intensity nor influence of the mainland's Communist movements such as the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).

In addition to national causes and patriotic events, Brindley writes that the GMD also called on the CYC "to foment... support [for its domestic] policies in line with the government and... Party or to show displeasure and censure of policies contrary to the ROC."[133] During parades and demonstrations, young people waved the CYC's symbolic green flags and placards in tandem with the red, white, and blue ROC flag. According to Chiang Ching-kuo, green symbolized young Chinese people's eternal youthfulness, representing the Chinese race's springtime – a time of growth and renewal. At a ceremony in Taipei on December 1, 1952, Ching-kuo commented on the flag's symbolism:

> The blue sky and white sun represent the people's soul, the three national principles, the Republic of China... The three red horizontal lines symbolize the revolutionary determination of fearing no pain, fearing no difficulty and fearing no sacrifice, red symbolizes youth's blood and passion, we need to give our lives to the motherland, which is worthy of adoration yet turbulent. Green symbolizes our Chinese youth's eternal youthfulness, Chinese youth is the Chinese race's springtime, never grows old, never feels discouraged, ever victorious.[134]

The term for "people" that Ching-kuo used was *minzu* (民族), and in this case some have translated it as "ethnic." It could also be "race." However, since he later referred to the nation by mentioning "the Republic of China," and since "ethnic" does not make sense in

[132] Bullard, 126.
[133] Brindley, 42.
[134] *The Complete Works of Mr. Chiang Ching-Kuo, Vol. 4* (Taipei: News Bureau of the Executive Yuan, 1991), 357.

the context, the logical word is "people" or "race." As for the ethnic composition of CYC participants, the organization included both mainland-born youth and Taiwanese students whose families had lived on the island for several generations. However, the GMD considered both mainlander and Taiwanese to be "Chinese," belonging to the Han ethnicity. The word that Ching-kuo used for "race" was also *minzu* (民族).

CYC Ideology and Membership Guidelines

In part, the China Youth Corps also operated as an educational institution with a moral component, representing Chinese culture much like the ROC government did.[135] It taught youth that abiding by traditional Confucianism was the mark of being truly Chinese. In the 1950s, Confucian values and family unity dominated Taiwanese society. These social values were the underlying belief system for most GMD loyalists, especially the vague term "Chineseness." The GMD wanted to ensure that schools taught what it meant to be Chinese to Taiwanese students, especially since the island had been subjected to Japanese education for the previous fifty years. In addition, before the lifting of martial law in 1987, the government urgently believed it needed to educate the public in Confucian expectations of social behavior and acceptable values. The entire value system represented "Chineseness," as understood by Chiang Kai-shek and the GMD party during the 1950s, an ideal that the government and its education policy constantly propagated. The CYC aided GMD efforts by advocating the values of group cooperation, service,

[135] Brindley, 5.

citizenship, patriotism, and loyalty – along with respect for parents, teachers, leaders, and, most importantly, Chiang's government.[136]

Yet along with its key role in defining traditional Confucianism for young Taiwanese, the CYC also incorporated modern values with its social agenda. Modern principles were drawn especially from Sun Yatsen's teachings, including the "Three People's Principles" (nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood).[137] The CYC even published four books full of political and social indoctrination: *The System of the Three People's Principles and the Procedure of Its Implementation, Elementary Anti-Communism, The Fate of China* (authored by Chiang Kai-shek) and *Principles, Leader, Country, Duty and Honor*. The organization widely distributed the books to students and its social youth members. To ensure that students carefully read the books and memorized the doctrines, the CYC managed to get portions of the books into textbooks used for Chinese, history, and civics courses in Taiwan's high schools. To the chagrin of young people, they had to actually memorize the doctrines in order to pass examinations.[138]

In the initial years after the CYC's formation, many high schools across Taiwan mandated that all students join the group. According to the CYC's official Laws and Regulations ratified in September 1952, "all young people who believe in the Three Principles of the People, adhere firmly to an anticommunist, anti-Soviet viewpoint, are willing to accept every kind of training and work from this organization, and who are

[136] Brindley, 34, 74.
[137] Lee Wei-song, 61.
[138] Wu, 137.

more than fifteen and less than thirty years of age" could apply for membership.[139] The United Nations' *Demographic Yearbook, 1953* has figures of this cohort (excluding aborigines and foreigners) for 1952. Altogether, 2,210,051 people fell between the ages of 15-29: 15-19 (848,122), 20-24 (736,525), and 25-29 (625,404).[140] Therefore, the CYC had a large group to appeal to. In some schools, the organization staged elaborate enlistment ceremonies for incoming students featuring games, food, and singing. The event would end with members of an entire class reciting a loyalty oath on the spot, signing a membership list, and being presented with a badge.[141]

Mao Cheng-how, who was a senior at Taipei's Jianguo High School, recalled participating in the first CYC oath-swearing ceremony on December 1, 1952.[142] It was held at the only large-scale basketball court in Taipei, the Three Armed Forces Basketball Arena (*Sanjunquichang* 三軍球場), where Mao himself often played. All senior high students in Taiwan, 9,500 in total, including those from Jianguo, Fuzhong High School, Chenggong Boys' School, First Taipei Girls' School, and Second Taipei Girls' School, were in attendance.[143] There is a fascinating photograph of this first CYC oath-swearing ceremony showing a myriad of students – the boys standing on the floor in the foreground, while the girls stood in the bleachers behind them, everyone with his or her right hand raised in allegiance, left hand holding the oath, and mouth open in recitation. In the photograph, the girls and boys were segregated. Since CYC activities were co-ed

---

[139] "China Youth Anticommunist National Salvation Corps Laws and Regulations," (Republic of China, 1952). Reprinted in Bullard, 195; Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Founded by Chiang," *New York Times*, November 9, 1952, 6.
[140] *Demographic Yearbook, 1953* (New York: United Nations, 1953), 120.
[141] Brindley, 46.
[142] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ); Li Tai-han, "Cong qingnian lianhui dao Jiuguotuan chengli de guocheng – yijiuwushi niandai chuqi – Guomindang duiyu qingnian yundong de chouhua yu zhangkong" *Taiwan wenxian*, 111.
[143] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 (Princeton, NJ); Li Tai-han, 111.

while most schools were gender-segregated (out of the three boys' schools, Jianzhong and Fuzhong had token girls who made up a tiny percentage of the schools' populations), Mao recalled that students were excited by the chance for boys and girls to mingle, despite noting that "Taiwan was very, very conservative. There was no such thing as dating in high schools and in general, so I'm pretty sure some students viewed [CYC activities] as an opportunity."[144] At the opening ceremony, parties were not held before or after the event, but Mao surmised that "there were maybe welcoming parties for some officials, not the students. Because the CYC was a government entity, I'm pretty sure there were some kinds of celebration somewhere. I'm not aware of any involving the students – at least I do not know of them." For students like Mao, even the enjoyable events came with an understanding that larger, political forces were at work: "[We] were just like pawns. We did not have a choice. The government said we are going to have the CYC."[145]

CYC members were expected to attend and participate in all special rallies and nationally-sponsored activities in support of holidays or patriotic events. And regardless of whether they were in schools or county groups, all members received basic military training, usually close-order drill and rifle training.[146] As a student at Shida Fuzhong Senior High School in the late 1950s, Yu Jian-ye (余建業) recalled how "the CYC established military training because Chiang Ching-kuo believed that the youth should receive military education. Students needed to learn literary and military skills (*wen* and

[144] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[145] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[146] Brindley, 46.

wu 文武)."[147] However, by 1961 the CYC had acquired enough status for the organization to cancel compulsory membership. Nevertheless, strong recruitment continued. The organization still held elaborate welcome parties in schools and local communities, even though young people no longer had to sign membership papers or recite an oath during the festivities.[148]

Whether or not the CYC mandated registration or recruited heavily, young people were eager to join the organization throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s. In particular, students enthusiastically registered for popular, exciting recreational events such as target practice, horseback riding, and paragliding. In all, the organization recorded 79,850 participants (on 1,497 "teams") who completed summer camping programs from 1953-1962.[149] Although there were certainly students who signed up for multiple events (and in multiple years), it is an impressive statistic that indicates the CYC's impact on a generation of youth on Taiwan. Indeed, not everyone who signed up for an event was guaranteed a spot. Yu Jian-ye recalled that the CYC determined who was able to participate in its activities through "raffle tickets" – individual names were drawn. Yu later joined CYC's staff in 1968, serving as deputy director of recreational activities before retiring in 2005.[150]

Yet contrary to Yu and other CYC participants' accounts, Monte Bullard and George Bowie's studies of the CYC maintain that strict government guidelines –

[147] Interview. Yu Jian-ye. July 25, 2008 (Taipei, Taiwan).
[148] Brindley, 46.
[149] "Statistics on Summer Camp Programs," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.
[150] Interview. Yu Jian-ye. July 25, 2008 (Taipei, Taiwan).

including age, educational background, and physical health – determined enrollment.[151] Perhaps in the initial years of the CYC's establishment, certain eligibilities had to be fulfilled in order to join activities and the practice of random drawings was not implemented until later. The CYC's 1953 pamphlet, *China Youth Warriors*, also stated that the organization admitted applicants through "physical examinations and intelligence tests."[152] Another possibility is that the CYC lied to those who had signed up and used the "raffle" as a front while it chose who could participate. Regardless of how students were selected to take part in the most popular activities, interest in joining the CYC swelled. Roughly two-thirds of applicants to the 1953 summer programs were rejected.[153]

Because the GMD government exercised tight security and authoritarian control over Taiwanese during the 1950s and 1960s, there were limited opportunities for young people from different schools to meet each other. Very few public or youth-oriented programs were available – Taiwan was largely rural and impoverished, life was difficult, and entertainment and amenities were scarce. Moreover, homework consumed most of students' time outside the classroom. Wu Cai-e, who migrated to Taiwan from the Dachen Islands off the coast of Zhejiang province, recounted "not being able to attend senior high school because I had to work to support my family."[154] Many 1950s Taiwanese teens lived under similar circumstances. According to Brindley, for many of these students, CYC activities became a popular, welcoming outlet that provided opportunities to meet new friends, have fun, and gain new experiences that were simply

---

[151] George H. Bowie, "The China Youth Corps: A Contributor to the Development of the Republic of China," (Provo, UT: Brigham Young University, 1990), 11; Bullard, 141-142.
[152] Tzen, 4.
[153] Tzen, 4.
[154] Interviewees who reminisced about school and CYC in the 1950s also recounted this situation. Interview. Cai-e Wu. August 24, 2008 (Taipei, Taiwan).

unavailable otherwise. It also allowed students to travel within the country at very little cost, since the organization paid for most of the expenses.

Some students found that only through the CYC could they forge relationships with other young people from different parts of the island. Moreover, the level of poverty pervading Taiwan in its first twenty years after the 1945 retrocession discouraged leisure and recreation – both of which the GMD (and the League) considered luxuries. Whereas the League had patrolled the streets, publicly shunning leisure and consumption, the CYC became a GMD-sanctioned organization that arranged and sponsored virtually every opportunity for young people to meet across campuses and participate in recreational activities. In these ways, it became an important, quasi-official, extracurricular branch of Taiwan's education system.

It is important not to overstate the uniqueness of CYC-sponsored events and travel programs. Although 1950s students had limited opportunities to meet young people outside of their schools, contrary to Brindley's assessment they certainly traveled outside of CYC-sponsored activities. Mao Cheng-how recalled schools organizing an excursion every semester:

> In the Taipei area, either you go by train or bike – twice a year, once during the fall semester and once in the spring. We called it an 'excursion' (*jiaoyou* 郊遊). Typically it was on a Sunday because we had six days of school. It had nothing to do with the CYC. Each class had a separate activity. At that period of time, my high school year started with four classes of fifty students each. They were labeled as A, B, C, and D. We took entrance exams. Typically, if your score was high, you were in group A. In the Taipei area we went to Danshui (淡水). Another place was Bitan (碧潭). We would swim there. Sometimes we would go to Shitoushan (石頭山). It was a little bit south of Taipei so we took the train. One time we rode bikes to Danshui. Four or five of us said 'let's go to Keelung' and that was a long trip. (Keelung is located at the northernmost tip of Taiwan.) The teachers allowed us to do this without a chaperone. Our parents paid for the trips. Everyone brought his lunch (*biandang* 便當); typically it was packed in an aluminum box. During the period of time, most people were not rich.

> They could not afford to go to other places. Certainly, the CYC opened up opportunities.[155]

Thus, contrary to Brindley's assertion that youth's extracurricular activities were limited to those arranged by the CYC, Mao's recollections demonstrate that high school students had chances to travel around the island with their school teachers in excursions that were separate from CYC-sanctioned events.

The CYC attempted to publicize itself around the world. In particular, it tried to recruit young overseas Chinese into the organization so they would form a political base of anti-Communist activities abroad.[156] At the Overseas Chinese Affairs Conference in Taipei in late October 1952, a resolution was adopted which "called on young Chinese living abroad to volunteer for service in support of the Nationalist government."[157] In addition, the CYC sponsored visits to foreign countries like the U.S. On September 23, 1957, one hundred young CYC men and women toured the New York City Hall in Manhattan after spending three weeks at the Moral Rearmament Assembly on Mackinac Island, Michigan.[158] During the 1950's, the Moral Re-Armament (MRA) movement organized on remote Mackinac Island upon the invitation of the Governor of Michigan. According to its own history, "The MRA was a multi-national group… [which] promoted the philosophy of love, unselfishness, purity and honesty in a world-wide evangelistic campaign." It is interesting to note that the MRA "was the ideological alternative to the

[155] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[156] Henry R. Lieberman, "Overseas Chinese Back Chiang Policy," *New York Times*, Oct 31, 1952, 2.
[157] Henry R. Lieberman, "New Youth Legion Formed by Chiang," *New York Times*, Nov 6, 1952, 6.
[158] "Chinese Visit City Hall," *New York Times*, Sep 24, 1957, 24.

post World War II spread of Communistic influence," which explains why CYC delegates spent three weeks visiting.[159]

Exams on Chiang Kai-shek and Sun Yatsen's doctrine aside, students generally enjoyed the CYC, especially its summer and winter camps. Moreover, their parents were willing to send them because they believed the camps were safe and wholesome environments. The organization established activity centers in many of Taiwan's most beautiful natural settings – according to some accounts, "resort areas."[160] These included camps built in the island's unpopulated interior, which contributed to the prosperity of rural areas deep in the mountains (most of Taiwan's population was, and still is, concentrated along the West coast). This also may have been a concerted effort by the GMD to solidify support among minority groups and residents outside the cities, as the vast majority of Chinese mainlanders who retreated to the island in 1949 still remained in the coastal cities during the 1950s and 1960s. By 1964, four youth hostels were built in the beautiful Central Mountain Range: Lishan, Dayuling, Ci'en, and Tianxiang.[161] Furthermore, sixty youth recreational centers were established throughout the cities of Taiwan, with at least one in each of the island's fifteen counties.[162] There was even a recreational center in the city of Magong (馬公) on the offshore island of Penghu. CYC camps and recreational centers gave young people the opportunity to travel around the country, participate in fun activities, and make new friends. The activities were also

---

[159] "History of the MRA and Mission Point Resort." http://www.mackinacfilms.com/mra.html. December 19, 2009.
[160] "Location of Student Dormitories and Youth Hostels," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.
[161] "Location of Student Dormitories and Youth Hostels," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.
[162] "General Statistics of Various College Student Center and Youth Recreational Centers of Different Cities," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p.

popular because they were well-planned and well-managed. Positive word of mouth from previous participants encouraged more young people to sign up for subsequent trips.[163]

The opportunity to engage in co-ed social interaction at CYC events also contributed to the organization's popularity in the 1950s. Young boys often teased the girls for enjoying the military training, since females were only learning the skills for fun and would never actually have to participate in battle. In general, the fact that many CYC activities were co-ed is quite interesting. Unlike Western organizations (like the Boys Scouts, designed to instill masculinity with camping and mountain experiences), the CYC relied on similar activities, yet consciously operated them in a co-ed environment in order to allow young people to explore the natural, rural environments of the island and recruit local youth for membership. In fact, the CYC was heavily dependent on female participation in order to maximize its impact, even at a time when virtually all of the island's schools were gender-segregated.

In certain instances, student participants also became team leaders, camp counselors, and paid instructors in subsequent years. Yang Zhen (楊振), who came to Taiwan from Hubei Province in 1949, recalls participating in the China Youth Corps for the first time when he was eighteen years old. From 1954 to 1958, he served five consecutive years as a horseback riding instructor for the organization. The CYC invited Yang to return each summer to work at a horse stable in the central city of Houli (后里). For his services, he was paid and lived at one of the many CYC activity centers that were

[163] Brindley, 47.

built throughout the island. According to Yang, "the CYC deserves praise because it brought positive experiences and happiness to many young people."[164]

Ironically, even though the CYC sought to indoctrinate youth with GMD politics and ideology, some students still considered the organization an attractive outlet for freedom. After all, Brindley notes that the CYC was the only major political club that allowed space for youth to assemble, discuss ideas (albeit within expected doctrine), and have some independence away from school or family.[165] Yet the CYC controlled most of the extracurricular activities at all levels outside of school, and it also held the power to permit (or deny) new associations or clubs created between schools. For example, the organization could choose to subsidize certain extracurricular groups, associations, or school functions with money awarded through each school's administrative office.[166] In fact, GMD policy before 1988 completely forbade intercollegiate or interscholastic association in Taiwan except those established through contacts arranged by the CYC. Throughout the period of authoritarian rule and martial law (1949-1987), officials feared the formation of political groups that might speak against the government or advocate for Taiwanese independence. Thus, students could meet with those from other schools only by engaging in the many CYC activities that recruited from throughout Taiwan. In the 1950s, this was the only way that students from one district could meet with those in other localities or towns. A number of students even met future spouses through such intercollegiate meetings, and many went on to be very successful in government service, the GMD party, and the CYC staff.

---

[164] Interview. Yang Zhen. August 28, 2008 (Xindian, Taiwan).
[165] Brindley, 45-46.
[166] Brindley, 49.

In addition to the organization itself hiring some students for jobs after graduation, the CYC also provided an important outlet for the recruitment of future government leaders. According to Bullard, one crucial CYC goal was to identify and recruit bright and enthusiastic future leaders in the GMD, government civil service, and military.[167] The organization trained its leaders to possess charisma – to rely upon personal charm in leading a group. The CYC not only discovered and trained talented youth who it identified as potential GMD leaders, but it also selected promising artists and film directors. From 1952-1960, a number of members later became successful and well-known figures in Taiwan, including journalist Li Wenzhong (李文中), film director Li Xing (李行), film director Bai Jinrei (白景瑞), and doctor Cui Jiu (崔玖). On July 16, 1958, Chiang Ching-kuo sent Zhang Xucheng (張旭成) to serve as a CYC representative at the International Youth Meeting, held in France. At the time, Zhang was a student at National Taiwan University. Later, he became an international relations scholar and, ironically, an overseas legislator of the Democratic Progressive Party, the island's main opposition party to the GMD.[168]

In addition to the activity programs that directly involved youth, the China Youth Corps also heavily impacted media in the early ROC. On October 10, 1958, the organization combined a network of publishing houses, journals, and youth radio stations to become the "Young Lion Youth Cultural Enterprises Corporation" (*Youshi* 幼獅, also known as Youth Book Company).[169] Young Lion had formed on January 1, 1953, and

[167] Bullard, 138.
[168] Lee Huan and Lin Yin-ting, Zhuisui ban shiji (*Lee Huan: Half a Century of Following Chiang Ching-kuo*) (Taipei: Commonwealth Press, 1997), 62, 115.
[169] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinia*, 338.

issued a bi-weekly journal called *Corps Affairs Correspondence* (*Tuan wu tongxun* 團務通訊). Completely run by the CYC and still thriving today, Youth Book Company offered many publications for sale or donation, depending on the sponsor.[170] Various leaflets, pamphlets, and workbooks – such as *How to Develop Rural Service Work* (for CYC members who spoke Taiwanese and were planning to work on activities in the island's southern and eastern regions) – were routinely distributed to students. Even more important, the CYC was able to insert messages into formal textbooks and classroom material that students had to memorize. The organization used its powerful influence in the island's publishing world to acquaint youth with its messages in the 1950s, in particular the call to defend Taiwan by force against communism and the Soviet Union.

Moreover, throughout the 1950s government officials controlled radio and newsprint on the island and the GMD articulated all media policies. This helped the CYC publishing house exert an even larger influence on young students and workers, for censorship was pervasive and CYC-sponsored literature was a legitimate (and often sole) source for news, fiction, and human interest stories told by young people, for young people. Besides these media channels, the CYC also used radio broadcasts to reach a large number of youth, and listeners in the 1950s reported that CYC radio messages were particularly effective in propagating both the organization and the GMD.[171]

Music was also an important tool for socializing young people in postwar Taiwan, cultivating "Chineseness," and generating political support for anticommunist reunification. One 1950s CYC record (produced by Young Lion) was entitled "Happy

[170] "Our Corps' Major Events in Ten Years," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, n.p. Brindley, 113.
[171] Brindley, 114.

New Year" (恭賀新禧) and "Merry Christmas" (耶誕快樂), yet none of the songs were explicitly Christmas-themed. Instead, the album featured titles such as "Congratulations Everyone, Happy New Year!" (恭禧大家新年好); "Victory is Coming Soon" (勝利就在明朝); "In a Far Away Land" (在那遥遠的地方); "Embroidered Pouch" (綉荷包); and "Dudu Dang" (丟丟冬). Interestingly, the CYC included "In a Far Away Land," a folk song about Uighurs in Xinjiang province, and "Dudu Dang," a Taiwanese folk song. By incorporating traditional ethnic tunes, CYC music celebrated both traditional (pre-communist) China and a vision of the future, in which more modern, diverse Chinese students would re-establish the true China under the banner of anticommunism. Not surprisingly, then, CYC albums also featured songs with explicitly patriotic lyrics, such as "Victory is Coming Soon": "Look, the national flag is waving in the wind. Hear the war drum vibrating to the clouds in the sky, … it already lights up to fight back the mainland's fire, for our countrymen, to save our country, we should clean up ourselves. For the revolution, to reconstruct our nation, we want to rebuild our country" (你看那國旗迎風飄, 你聽那戰鼓震雲霄, … 燃起了反攻的火苗, 為了同胞, 為了救國, 要把自身清掃, 為了革命, 為了建國, 要把河山再造).[172]

The China Youth Corps' Critics

For all its popularity with teens and centrality in shaping 1950s youth culture on Taiwan, the CYC did not avoid criticism during the decade. Immediately after its formation, Provincial Governor Wu Guozhen (▪國禎, also known by Americans as K.C.

[172] Author's possession.

Wu), who had denied Chiang Ching-kuo's request for League funding, was a particularly vocal opponent, especially after he resigned on April 10, 1953 and went to the U.S., never to return to the island. Although Chiang Kai-shek had included Wu Guozhen among the twelve senior government and Party members in the CYC's Central Guidance Committee (*Tuanwu zhidao weiyuan* 團務指導委員) to support his son and legitimize the organization, Wu was a harsh critic of the organization.[173] On March 27, 1954, Wu sent a letter to the GMD National Assembly, charging that the "undemocratic" government "violated human rights."[174] Furthermore, he even accused Chiang Ching-kuo of organizing "a Youth Corps modeled after Hitler Youth and the Communist Youth," but Ching-kuo, of course, denied the charges.[175] Wu also attacked Ching-kuo for using "police-state techniques he learned from the Communists."[176] His Communist reference pointed to Ching-kuo's study at a Soviet military academy in Moscow and his stay in the Soviet Union for twelve years. Furthermore, Wu lamented that it was unclear whether the Party or government controlled the CYC.

Another public denouncer of the CYC was Lei Zhen (雷震), the editor-in-chief of a bi-weekly political magazine called *Free China* (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國). Lei had studied in Japan and held a deep understanding of constitutional government and Western political thought. He was a GMD member who held prominent positions in the Nationalist government on the mainland. Lei initially had a fairly close and cordial relationship with Chiang Kai-shek, who assured him that he would support *Free China*.

---

[173] *Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian*, 62.
[174] Lee Wei-song, 42.
[175] K. C. Wu, "Your Money Has Built a Police State in Formosa," *Look*, 29 June 1954, 40.
[176] "Militant Nationalist," *New York Times*, 12 September 1963, 5.

In November 1949, Lei launched the first issue of *Free China* in Taiwan, and during the magazine's early days the GMD government even provided financial support because the journal printed anti-Communist propaganda and did not directly discuss Taiwanese politics. It is noteworthy that Wu Guozhen, who served as provincial governor from 1951-1953, annually supported *Free China* with 20,000 NTD three times even before the last annual cycle completed. When the Garrison Headquarters' Deputy Chief of Staff Peng Mengji (彭孟緝) issued a warrant for Lei Zhen's arrest, Wu crossed it out, thus protecting and preventing him from imprisonment.[177]

However, by 1956 *Free China* had begun to turn its critiques towards the GMD's authoritarian policy and Chiang Kai-shek's personal power.[178] Lei argued that martial law denied people's basic rights and freedom, and the CYC served as a perpetrator of these violations. He ran articles that criticized the CYC for possessing too many functions and failing to articulate its main goal. One editorial, written by Fu Zheng (傅正) and published on January 1, 1958, alleged that the CYC took advantage of its power to control many aspects of students' lives. In addition, Fu asserted that "there were factions within the GMD that utilized the CYC to develop their individual political power."[179] This accusation, in particular, was a thinly-veiled criticism aimed at Chiang Ching-kuo, whom many believed had used the CYC to achieve his political ascension. Fu argued that the GMD cliques' struggle over the CYC was only natural, since the youth organization was a political institution.

---

[177] Ma Zhisu, *Lei Zhen and Chiang Kai-shek.* 113.; Lei Zhen, *Wo de muqin: huiyilu* (*My Mother: Memoir*), 81-82.
[178] Marina Svensson, *Debating Human Rights in China: A Conceptual and Political History*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 214.
[179] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 5.

Moreover, Fu Zheng sharply criticized the CYC for mandating senior high school students to join. Since *Free China* published his article on January 1, 1958, the recorded statistics for 1957 are analyzed. That year, a total of 81,642 students attended senior high school in Taiwan, with 1,082 in national schools (*guoli* 國立), 49,411 in provincial schools (*shengli* 省立), 16,605 in county and municipal schools (*xianshili* 縣市立), and 14,544 in private schools (*sili* 私立). Of the 81,642 students, 43,992 enrolled in regular senior high school (*zhongxue* 中學), 7,272 in normal school (*shifan* 師範), and 30,378 in vocational school (*zhixiao* 職校).[180] To help put the numbers in perspective, the United Nation's *Demographic Yearbook, 1957* reveals that there was a total of 950,853 teenagers between the specific age group of 15-19 in Taiwan for that year.[181] Traditional senior high school students fell into this cohort. What is striking is that only 81,642 out of 950,853 teenagers attended senior high school, less than 10% of the total number of the 15-19 age group. Therefore, the China Youth Corps could only guarantee to reach a small minority of the total number of teenagers in the 15-19 cohort. In the organization's activities, most of the attendees were students and a few were social youth.

Fu Zheng argued that coercive policies, especially senior high students' compulsory membership in the CYC, were similar to the GMD's past behavior of "forcing young people to take part in the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT)." He claimed that on the mainland, the SQT also made students participate in the organization, but the GMD "did not control their minds and opinions." After the War of Resistance, many former members of the SQT opposed the institution. According to Fu,

[180] *Zhonghua minguo zuijin liu nian lai jiaoyu tongji*, 13.
[181] *Demographic Yearbook, 1957* (New York: United Nations, 1957), 141.

"they had the freedom and ability to reject the SQT because their minds had not been fully manipulated by the GMD. Following the war, the GMD had many internal struggles, which was one of the reasons that led to the dissolution of the SQT."[182]

Meanwhile, the CYC's mission was to oppose communism and the Soviet Union. To Fu, such a purpose forced students to participate in politics instead of concentrating on their schoolwork. He called on the GMD to dismantle the organization if it "numbs" and lies to the youth.[183] It is appropriate that he used the term "to numb" or "to apply anesthesia" (*da mazui* 打麻醉), because youth were particularly prone to have vocal opinions. "To numb" was (and still is) commonly used in Chinese to describe a person, group of people, or power which seeks to control others by causing them to lose their strength and senses. This numbing leads to their defenseless state, thus rendering their inability to criticize and fight back against the party that injected the "anesthesia." Using such vivid allusions, Fu and other CYC opponents charged that the government sought to indoctrinate students with Party ideology (*dangyi* 黨義) in order to stifle their freedom of thought and the possibility of directing criticism and protest at the GMD.

Fu Zheng also noted that the CYC was "not a mass organization, but rather one that belonged to the Ministry of National Defense" (*Guofangbu* 國防部), a government institution that was "outside the law" – another reason why critics called for an end to the CYC.[184] Fu maintained that the organization's works did not produce any results. Fu asserted that the CYC had harmed society in two different ways – "by destroying law and order, and wasting money." Its establishment was outside of the confines of the law, and

[182] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 5.
[183] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 5.
[184] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 6.

since the CYC was a political organization, "its practice of military training in school had to cease completely."[185] In the early years of retrocession, Taiwan's laws were not firmly established, and the CYC had benefitted from the lack of oversight and regulation. In addition, Fu argued that the Ministry of Education should handle students' education, not the CYC, which was under the aegis of the Ministry of National Defense.

Furthermore, it was Fu who circulated the rumor that the CYC spent "around three hundred million new Taiwan dollars" ("s*anyiyuan zuoyou"* "三億元左右") in 1956. He maintained that this budget information was "certainly something that the CYC kept highly confidential – an outsider would not be able to verify" ("*zhe dangran shi qingnian jiuguotuan de gaodu jimi, fei juwairen suoneng zhengshi*" "這當然是青年救國團的高度機密, 非局外人所能證實").[186] Six months later, *Free China* published another editorial, presumably from Fu (it featured a similar title imploring the CYC once more), again attacking the organization and calling for it to be dismantled.[187]

For these assertions, *Free China* incurred the wrath of GMD leaders. Along with other publications critical of the Party and Chiang Kai-shek, the government considered *Free China* taboo. Furthermore, the journal also tried to push the GMD toward democracy. In 1959, when Chiang decided to amend the 1946 constitution in order to extend his presidency to a third term, Lei became involved in plans to establish an opposition party with activists engaged in local elections. Unlike before, when he avoided authorities with help from provincial governor Wu Guozhen, this time Lei had nowhere

[185] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 6.
[186] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (January 1, 1958), 6.
[187]Fu Zheng, "Zailun Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan chexiao wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 11 (June 1, 1958), 3-6.

to turn. Chiang Kai-shek personally commanded his arrest and the order was followed through immediately. The GMD party expelled him, arrested him for treason on September 4, 1960, and sentenced him to ten years in prison, and Fu Zheng to six years. Soon afterwards, *Free China* was shut down.[188]

In response to CYC critics like Fu, Lei, and Wu Guozhen, Chiang Ching-kuo was careful to downplay the organization's relationship with the GMD, instead shaping public perception of CYC youth activities as de-politicized, harmless, and non-threatening. On July 1, 1960, the military training program and personnel came under the aegis and budget of the Ministry of Education.[189] According to Brindley, even before the lifting of martial law and as early as the 1960s, Ching-kuo authorized the CYC to change its mission to serve the social, cultural, and educational needs of Taiwan's youth, and to shed its political, ideological image in order to do so.[190] Fifty years later, the CYC's former Director of Recreational Activities, Yu Jian-ye, defended the CYC, noting that during the martial law period "there was only one political party" and people had few alternatives. According to Yu, when the CYC was established, "Chiang Ching-kuo wanted it to be an institution that was not associated with the GMD, but everyone, even to this day, believes that the organization is a GMD unit because many young members of CYC later became involved in the Party's politics."[191] Yu noted that some directors of CYC county branches later ran in county elections and became county committee members or legislators. Moreover, former CYC volunteers continue to take part in GMD

[188] Chen, San-jing, "Mr. Chiang Ching-kuo and the China Youth Anti-Communist Save (Our) Country Corps," *Contemporary China*, no. 92 (December 1, 1992), 64; Svensson, 214.
[189] "Our Corps' Major Events in Ten Years," *The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps*, (Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963).
[190] Brindley, 64.
[191] Interview. Yu Jian-ye. July 25, 2008 (Taipei, Taiwan).

elections to this day, indicating that the Party and the CYC maintained an intimate relationship well beyond the 1950s and 1960s. Yu admitted that he himself was a member of the GMD but does not participate in any "political activities." He also recounted how some CYC members purposely strove to become acquainted with many people through the organization because they had the aspirations of running for political office. Often the GMD and CYC shared administrators and staff, one being the stepping stone for the other.[192]

Conclusion

During the 1950s, the CYC emphasized military training because GMD leaders feared an imminent attack by the Communists. By the 1960s, however, the organization began to broaden its scope, expand its mission, and incorporate more overt, educational activities meant to build individual character and develop well-rounded adults. Today, its overt political ties are minimal, perhaps nonexistent.

Still, in its first eight years the CYC was a mouthpiece for the GMD's strict, authoritarian regime, and its primary goal was to instill patriotism and martial spirit in youth. From its inception in 1952, the organization gradually succeeded in tackling other aspects of its original mission to educate and provide social services and activities for the nation's youth, which explains why it has far exceeded the shelf life of its predecessors. Whether or not it articulated a vision of the Chinese past, present, or future, the CYC certainly reached more young Taiwanese than any other youth organization in the island's history. Under Japanese colonial rule (1895-1945), there were organizations

[192] Interview. Yu Jian-ye. July 25, 2008 (Taipei, Taiwan).

formed around *kokugo* (national language), sumo wrestling, baseball, and wartime service labor "volunteer" groups (which the Japanese also instituted in Korea as well). These served the purpose of scouting organizations, yet the Japanese never organized a youth group that reached the scale and longevity of the China Youth Corps. The CYC and its contribution to the political socialization of youth in the early years of GMD rule in Taiwan cannot be underestimated, especially its role in shaping their minds and lives during a pivotal decade in which the island's young people forged a unique identity and culture. Meanwhile, this generation of Chinese on Taiwan would also face a renewed militarism, in particular compulsory military training in senior high schools throughout the 1950s. While the CYC itself sponsored much of this military training, the insertion of military teachers (*jiaoguan* 教官) into high schools across the island and the fusion of military-themed courses into Taiwanese curriculum had far-reaching significance beyond just the CYC – enough to warrant a separate analysis in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

Military Training and Instructors, 1953-1960

The China Youth Corps was inextricably linked to compulsory student military training in 1950s Taiwan. The organization was in charge of the program from its inception in 1953 until 1960, when the Ministry of Education took over. Both male and female students received basic military training, and female students also learned nursing skills. From 1952-1960, the CYC was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense. The threat of Communist invasion caused the CYC to emphasize a link between military and civic education, and anticommunist fervor also contributed to the organization's desire to cultivate among youth a sense of duty to combat. This was accomplished by mandatory student military training in senior high schools and colleges. Chiang Ching-kuo was the director of the CYC and the General Political Warfare Department (GPWD, *Guofangbu Zhengzhibu* 國防部總政治部), which fell under the aegis of the Ministry of National Defense. Therefore, the CYC oversaw the training of military instructors (*jiaoguan* 教官) from both the Political Warfare College and the army before dispatching them to secondary schools all over the island.

This chapter examines the history of rudimentary student military training on the mainland, the reasons for its systematic implementation after the Nationalist arrived in Taiwan, and the recruitment and training of military instructors during the 1950s – including their backgrounds and experience. Furthermore, it explores the tension between military instructors and students, emphasizing how and why critics opposed the program's implementation. Finally, to illustrate the impact of military training on student

activism and protest, the chapter ends with an examination of the Liu Ziran Incident, a sensational 1957 murder case that prompted student riots, only this time not against the Nationalist government but instead the United States. Because the incident involved both CYC leadership and military instructors acting on the ground level, it appeared to occur with the complicity of the GMD leadership, culminating in street violence and significant damage to the U.S. Embassy on Taiwan. By no means were anti-American protests a new phenomenon – they had occurred in waves on the mainland during the civil war era. However, the Liu Ziran Incident sparked the first anti-American riot on Taiwan – one seemingly sanctioned by the Nationalist government and fed by CYC compulsory military training.

The Early Years of Military Training in China (1910-1937)

According to the Ministry of Education, formal student military training officially began in China's senior high schools and colleges in 1928, when the First National Education Congress unanimously passed an act establishing the Ministry of Training and Supervision.[1] However, historian Robert Culp notes that military training (*junshi xunlian* 軍事訓練) was already a feature of many senior high schools physical education programs as early as the 1910s, albeit a "relatively marginal" one.[2] Although junior high students did not receive military training at school, they did participate in "military-style drill in their Scout troops" after the founding of the first Chinese Boy Scout group in

[1]Jiaoyubu junxunchu, *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian,* 39. The Young Lion Cultural Enterprise printed and distributed five thousand copies of this book to the Military Training Department and every military instructor.
[2] Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Training and Student Polities in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007), 198.

1912.[3] The 1912-1913 curriculum for physical education also included "military-style exercise" (*bingshi ticao* 兵事體操).[4] Instructions regarding these exercise classes called for "special emphasis to be placed on military exercise," however for girls' schools such activities were not part of the official curriculum.[5] In 1923, the senior high school curriculum did not explicitly mandate military training as a class, yet according to the *Historical Materials for the Modern Chinese School System*, "at those schools that held military training in the 1910s and 1920s, it generally occupied no more than an hour or two of students' time each week, since it split time with regular physical training or physical education classes."[6]

After 1927, government policy and in-school military training developed through student demands and state directives, as well as administrators' desire to accommodate both. During the Ji'nan Incident in May 1928, Japanese troops interfered with the advance of the Nationalist Party's Northern Expedition in Shandong province. This event prompted patriotic students and social groups to call for more extensive military training in schools.[7] A group of citizens from Shanghai petitioned the University Council to start a military training program in all the nation's schools, arguing that Japanese students had received training since the end of World War I.[8] Meanwhile, the Shanghai Student Union went so far as to organize a student army that was trained by school athletic instructors.[9]

---

[3] Culp, 198, 115fn; *Tongzijun xunlian, Diyice*, 1972, 12.
[4] Zhu Youhuan et al., eds. *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao*, part 3, I: 354, 361. Cited in Culp, 198.
[5] Culp, 198, 116fn.
[6] Quanguo jiaoyuhui lianhehui xinxuezhi kecheng biaozhun qicao weiyuanhui, "Gaoji zhongxue kecheng zonggang," *Xinxuezhi kecheng biaozhun gangyao*, 4-7. Cited in Culp, 198; Zhu Youhuan et al., part 3, I: 400. Cited in Culp, 198.
[7] Culp, 199.
[8] Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, *Zhonghua minguoshi dang'an ziliao huibian,* Series 5, part I, Jiaoyu. Vol. 2: 1239-1240. Cited in Culp, 199. The University Council system was an attempt by Cai Yuanpei and other liberal educators within the Nationalist Party to set up an autonomous system for academic and educational administration under the aegis of the GMD government. The University Council soon

The University Council and the First National Educational Congress reacted to student demands by enacting a military training program in the summer of 1928, which included army training at least three times a week at all schools above the primary level.[10] In November 1928, the Nationalist government established the Ministry of Training and Supervision (*Xunlian zongjianbu* 訓練總監部), and on December 3, the Department of Military Education came under the aegis of the Ministry of Training and Supervision.[11] By that point, the government planned to train all senior high school students.[12] The following year, the Ministry of Training and Supervision joined the Ministry of Education to pass a resolution called "Military Education for Senior High School and Above Plan," which detailed how to hire military instructors and listed their responsibilities.[13] By February 1929, the Ministry of Training and Supervision was testing cadets who had graduated from the army academy. From the pool of examinees, it selected fifty to become the inaugural class of military instructors, and the Ministry of Education immediately sent them to schools in Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, and Jiangxi. In July, the Ministry of Training and Supervision recruited a second group of instructors – this time sixty-four of them – and dispatched them to schools in Fujian, Shandong, Henan, Hebei, Hubei, and Guangxi to begin state-run military training the following month.[14] The recruitment of more instructors occurred relatively quickly. By early 1929, military instructors were already working in 114 schools representing 20,000 students in

---

succumbed to intraparty factionalism and was replaced in August 1928 by the Ministry of Education, which directed national educational policy for the rest of the Nanjing decade (1927-1937). Culp, 21, fn 8.

[9] John Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), 22.

[10] Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, 2: 1239. Cited in Culp, 199; Israel *Student Nationalism*, 22.

[11] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian,* 39.

[12] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 39.

[13] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 39.

[14] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 39; Culp, 199.

six provinces. Yet by the end of that year, they were spread among 585 schools with 40,000 students in eighteen provinces.[15]

Within two years, another Japanese provocation continued to motivate student mobilization through military training. According to historian Jeffrey Wasserstrom, when the Japanese invaded Manchuria in September 1931 (also known as the Mukden Incident), "one of the first demands youths made when news...reached Shanghai was they be allowed to form 'student armies' (*xueshengjun* 學生軍) to help defend their country."[16] Within a year after news of the Mukden Incident reached Shanghai, youth from twelve local schools had joined together to establish a student army and more than 8,000 local students had enrolled in military training programs.[17]

Military Training During the War of Resistance (1937-1945)

In October 1937, military training became the responsibility of the Military Committee (*junshi weiyuanhui* 軍事委員會), formed after the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War.[18] In 1938, the war's demand for more front-line troops created a shortage of military instructors in schools, and student military training practically ceased everywhere except in Sichuan, the province where the Nationalists established their temporary wartime capital in Chongqing.[19] Military training was almost non-

[15] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 62.
[16] Jeffrey N. Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-century China: The View from Shanghai* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 173. The Japanese attack on Mukden on September 18, 1931 marked the beginning of Japan's invasion of China in Manchuria. It is now recognized as the act of aggression that started the Second Sino-Japanese War, although full-scale war did not begin until 1937.
[17] Wang Min et al., eds. *Shanghai xuesheng yundong dashiji*, 134. Cited in Wasserstrom, 173.
[18] *Xuesheng junxun wushinian*, 67.
[19] *Xuesheng junxun wushinian*, 68.

existent in most schools during the war.[20] However, in spring 1938 the GMD government made three courses mandatory for all students at colleges that continued to function despite the war: the Three People's Principles, military training, and physical education.[21] The mandatory, college-level military training courses were actually very similar to those that had been offered in senior high schools. As a result, many college students disdained them and disliked to attend.[22] Nevertheless, despite the war's demand for troops and student resistance to mandatory training at colleges, the Ministry of Training and Supervision persisted in building its high school programs. To combat the chronic shortage in military instructors, the Ministry continued to recruit more during the war. In early April 1939, it accepted 150 graduates from military schools in Chongqing, Chengdu, Kunming, Guilin, Xian, and Yichang, and 100 college graduates, including 30 females.[23]

Writing in *Free Youth* (*Ziyou qingnian* 自由青年), General Gong Yu (龔愚) provided some insight on how military training was conducted on the mainland during the Second Sino-Japanese War. Gong recalled that students became frustrated whenever military training was even mentioned in China, because military instructors were known to teach in a "rigid, simple, and boring manner" that did not interest them.[24] However, despite the government law mandating the training, Gong added that many schools were indifferent, and some outright refused to support the program or cooperate with military instructors. Since military pedagogy was still inchoate, instructors "only knew how to

[20] Gu Shuxing, "Xuexiao junxun wenti de yantao" *Jiaoyu tongxun fukan taiban*, Vol. 2, no. 16 (20 July 1951), 10.
[21] Liu Huixuan, *Kangzhan shiqi xinan diqu daxue xunyu wenti zhi yanjiu*, 89.
[22] Zhou Yuwen, "Xuesheng junxun zhi guoqu xianzai yu jianglai" *Jiaoyu tongxun fukan*, Vol. 1, no. 4, 5. Cited in Liu Huixuan, 100, fn 24.
[23] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 69.
[24] Gong Yu, "Cong xuesheng junxun tan fangong peihe," *Ziyou qingnian*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (Late April 1951), 5. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 24.

give commands for stand straight and march."[25] In the long run, many instructors themselves grew to resent their assignments. According to Gong, the good ones did not want to stay in schools and left for the army, while the "ordinary" instructors cared little and "let the days go by." Therefore, Gong concluded that compulsory military training in mainland schools was inefficient, exclaiming "We cannot blame those instructors because they had no training, teaching materials, or assistants. The schools cannot be blamed either because they had tight budgets – nothing extra for military training. It was difficult for schools to provide a salary for military instructors. The students cannot be blamed for their lack of interest. Whoever implemented military training in schools should be blamed."[26]

In February 1938, the Ministry of Education proclaimed that a discipline system (*xundao chu* 訓導處) would be established in senior high schools and colleges. Each school would now also employ discipline advisers. These held duties that often overlapped with military instructors, leading to inevitable conflict between the two. Minister of Education Chen Lifu and his brother, Chen Guofu, were both responsible for forming the discipline system, which had four purposes: 1) Correct youth's thoughts, 2) Initiate the goal of the Three People's Principles, 3) Eradicate liberalism and return to traditional moral ethics, and 4) Military management.[27] Discipline advisers were required to be GMD members, and every classroom was assigned one – thus, from the beginning they far outnumbered military instructors, who usually numbered just 1 to 3 per school. This discrepancy contributed further to the tension. Discipline advisers also boarded at

[25] Gong Yu, "Cong xuesheng junxun tan fangong peihe," 5. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 24.
[26] Gong Yu, "Cong xuesheng junxun tan fangong peihe," 5. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 24.
[27] Liu Huixuan, 34.

the schools where students also lived, and students were able to seek them for assistance day and night. Finally, when discipline advisers and military instructors came into conflict, administrators usually sided with the former.

While discipline advisers tended to forge more lasting relationships with pupils, there were also growing tension between military instructors and students in the early 1940s.[28] Some students loathed instructors for treating them like soldiers, and even regular teachers sometimes joined students in looking down on military instructors, accusing them of being uneducated and uncouth. Indeed, the average military instructor's level of education was relatively low. Besides these clashes with students, teachers, and discipline advisers, two other problems continued to plague military instructors throughout wartime China. First, the GMD's intra-party struggles curbed the overall effectiveness of the program, and second, as the war raged on there were never enough military instructors to accommodate the waves of refugee students.

Why Student Military Training was Established on Taiwan

When Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan with his troops in 1949, he worried that his soldiers were too old and uneducated. In November 1949, a group of Japanese colonels arrived in Taiwan upon the Generalissimo's invitation, and all of them were assigned Chinese names. The head of the group, General Bai Hongliang, recommended a plan for establishing reserves. Yi Zhuoren, another Japanese officer, arrived in June 1951 and was charged with training the existing army on the island, but he too insisted that Taiwan needed reserves. Yi suggested a recruitment system using the U.S. ROTC as a

[28] Liu Huixuan, 34.

reference, since the program was also implemented in American public schools.[29] The Japanese colonels were given Chinese names to minimize unfavorable publicity in the immediate aftermath of the war. General Bai and his team did not withdraw from Taiwan until 1968. Chiang cautiously kept their existence a secret the entire time.

By 1950, nearly 600,000 of Chiang's troops had arrived in Taiwan. Many had already reached the age of retirement, having been in the Nationalist Army since the late 1920s.[30] In December 1951, 20% of soldiers in the armed forces were over 35 years old, while 10% were above the age of 40. The fact that there were too many officers and too few soldiers posed an additional problem; by the end of 1951, the ratio of officers to soldiers was 1:3.[31] There were also no soldiers in the reserve army, and Chiang immediately turned to senior high school and college students to recruit and train for reserves. This decision would have a strong and lasting impact on generations of Taiwanese youth.

The Generalissimo wanted to re-train the existing army and develop methods to recruit and equip Taiwan's reserve.[32] Under Chiang's plan to retrain the armed forces, the army would force old soldiers to retire and promote younger soldiers to officers. Chiang also considered it a priority to establish a reserve system with young, new soldiers and "non-professional" (i.e., reserve) officers.[33] They would already be trained and prepared for mobilization at a moment's notice. During a meeting on November 21, 1951, Chiang

---

[29] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Chengfu qie shi yanjiu Bai zong jiaoguan Hongliang yu Yi jiaoguan Zhuoren, guanyu dongyuan yanxi hou zhi tanhua yao dian, bing ni ding shishi banfa you," Buchong bing chu xun jihua, March 10, 1952.
[30] Bullard, 166.
[31] Li Tai-han, "Dangan yunyong yu lishi yanjiu – yi xuesheng junxun zai zhanhou Taiwan shi shi de yiti wei li," *Dangan jikan*, Vol. 56, no. 4 (June 2004), 4-5.
[32] Zongtongfu dang'an, Buchong bing chu xun jihua, 2130307/7, December 1950-May 1953. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangan yunyong yu lishi yanjiu," 5.
[33] Guojun dang'an, "Jianli houbei bing yuan an," Zongzhang bangongshi, 1622/1540, February-July 1952. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangan yunyong yu lishi yanjiu," 5.

announced that Taiwanese manpower had to be used to counter-attack Communist China, for there was not sufficient time to train Chinese on mainland soil, since soldiers were supposed to receive at least half a year of preparatory drills. To meet Chiang's ambitious goal of a reserve army, the government had no choice but to implement compulsory military training in schools. However, it would be a program quite different from its precursor on the mainland. Indeed, the method of recruitment soon employed in Taiwan would be unique to the island, not borrowed from any previous system in China.

Besides training soldiers to serve as reserve, front line troops, the Ministry of National Defense also wanted to train students to become reserve officers. Training occurred not only in schools, but also in military academies, where male students attended after graduation. In the 1950s, it became mandatory for males to serve two years in the military once they graduated from senior high school. If they planned to continue onto college, they were expected to train to be reserve officers and required to serve a minimum of one year after graduation. In this way, the Ministry of National Defense did use the U.S. ROTC as an early model for in-school military training.[34] In January 1952, the Ministry drafted an order dictating how senior high school students would train as reserve officers. Initially, it wanted to train the students within high schools, simulating life in the barracks and offering a more extensive extra-curricular experience, including activities at night. However, since most students did not live on campus (with the

[34] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Buchong bing chu xun jihua" ("Re-supply Army Reserve Training Plan"). Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dang'an yunyong yu lishi yanjiu," 5.

exception of normal schools), the Ministry soon decided that military instructors would simply train them for three hours per week, all during class time.[35]

While the Generalissimo and the Ministry of National Defense established student military training to build a reserve army, the Ministry of Education supported the program for a different reason: discipline. During the early years of retrocession, the Ministry was concerned about teenage gangsters from the mainland. Most of these students came from wealthy, privileged backgrounds – their parents were government officials. In particular, Minister of Education Cheng Tianfang (程天放) was furious over teenage gangsters provoking fights, and he supported militarism as a way to combat the growth of juvenile delinquency. It was Cheng who ordered all students to wear uniforms and males to shave their heads, not Chiang, the army, or the Ministry of National Defense. Led by Cheng, the Ministry of Education throughout the 1950s insisted that the implementation of compulsory military training in schools could resolve the problems of juvenile delinquency, irresponsible youth, and over-privileged students.[36]

Recruiting Military Instructors

The selection process for military instructors was a cooperative effort between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of National Defense, and most were gathered from the GPWD's Political Warfare College. Founded on January 6, 1952, the College was designed to prepare officers in their specialty. Its curriculum included six important

[35]Guojun dangan (National Military Archives), "Putong xuexiao junxun shi shi an" ("Regular School Military Implementation Plan"), 0600 8060.2, Director Office, December 1951-August 1955. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dang'an yunyong yu lishi yanjiu," 7.
[36] Xu Liang, "Tan xuexiao shishi junshi xunlian," *Taiwan jiaoyu fudao yuekan*," Vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1952), 6-7. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu – yijiu wuling niandai xuesheng junxun jinru xiaoyuan zhi yanjiu," 22.

elements: spiritual education, revolutionary theory, enemy situation, political warfare, military sciences, and social sciences.[37] At the time of its establishment, cadets trained for eighteen months. The College divided its recruits into two groups: high school students and college graduates. Most of the high school students were mainlanders already in the military. They were intended to serve as officers in company-level units and were divided into two further groups: "political science" (385) and "professional" (368, including 52 female students). Finally, the professional classes were divided into five "majors": journalism, fine arts, music, movie and drama, and physical education. As for the college graduates, most of whom were active in the military before entry, the Political Warfare College placed them in higher-level research classes with the expectation that they would serve in higher levels of the military. Reserve officers, officer candidates, mid-level career officers, and China Youth Corps cadre also attended courses at the Political Warfare College, and by January 1959 more than 40,000 people had received training there.[38]

In addition to the PWC, the China Youth Corps also recruited and trained military instructors on its own. In September 1954, the CYC, then run by the Ministry of National Defense, selected and trained 188 instructors (158 males and 30 females) and sent them to the Taiwan Provincial Government's Department of Education for placement in secondary schools. Of the 188, the CYC asked the Ministry of National Defense to recommend 93 to receive training for eight weeks. It then requested the Political Warfare College to select 65 male graduates. These men were trained for only one week.

---

[37] Bullard, 100.
[38] Guofangbu Zhengzhibu, *Guojun zhengzhan shigao*, 183-189. Cited in Monte R. Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), 100-101.

Meanwhile, the 30 females were recruited from two pools: the Warfare Cadre Training Class and the General Political Warfare Department's female staff.[39] Interestingly, the female military instructors received six weeks of training, while their male counterparts only one week – perhaps it required more time to train them in nursing skills. However, in other accounts, female instructors recalled undergoing a full year of training, while Bullard maintains that all men and women also attended a four-week training course at the Political Warfare College.[40]

Regardless of the length of time spent in training, from 1953-1960 only 20 percent of applicants passed an initial exam qualifying them to even begin military instructor training. Each of the recruits who made this first cut next had to attend a training course at the Political Warfare College, which 30 percent more did not pass.[41] One of the qualifications was "a knowledge of GMD ideology" and the ability to convey it to students. But applicants were also dropped for a variety of arbitrary, even inane reasons. Zhang Ruiqing (張瑞卿, 1931-) made it through the first cut but not the second. In 1953, she took the exam for recruiting female military instructors and did quite well. But during training the officers who made selections deemed her too young and short, claiming that if she stood in front of the students she would not look like a military instructor – so they cut her and ordered her to work at the CYC headquarters instead.

[39] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Taiwan sheng gaoji zhongdeng xuexiao xuesheng junxun shishi gaikuang baogao shu," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, September 13, 1953. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 133.
[40] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*; Bullard, 147.
[41] Bullard, 147.

Zhang refused and returned to join the General Political Warfare Department's female staff.[42]

Military instructors were not always recruited through voluntary applications. In some instances, the China Youth Corps actively sought after them. In 1953, the first year that the CYC recruited military instructors, members learned that Guo Wencui (郭文萃, 1921-) was experienced and qualified. They even paid a visit to her house after she refused the offer several times. Guo did not want to be a soldier, but after some convincing, she sent in her application. The CYC determined that she did not even need to take the exam because she was very qualified with experience, yet it still required her to receive one year of training. According to Guo, many recruits were dismissed from training because they had "stayed at home too long" and were deemed "not sharp" ("*bu lingguang*" "不靈光") enough.[43]

A September 13, 1953 CYC report evaluating military training in schools noted a number of obstacles to the program, including some attributed to the organization itself. According to the report, the staff who managed military training held unclear responsibilities, lines of authority were uncertain, and the program's budget was also disorganized. The report also considered the preparation for military training in senior high schools inadequate because the number of military instructors remained insufficient. Some instructors taught on a faster schedule than others, and in addition, the weapons needed for military training were in short supply at many schools, further slowing progress.

---

[42] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 413.
[43] San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 28-29.

Most notably, the CYC also reported a chronic shortage of nursing teachers, a serious deficiency because nursing was the main training skill for girls in the program.[44] On July 4, 1955, the organization went to the head of the nursing department at the National Defense Medical School (*Guofang yixueyuan* 國防醫學院) to request more instructors.[45] In fact, nursing classes did not even begin until two years after compulsory military training first started, most likely because of this shortage. However, the CYC report concluded that the program was still able to accomplish positive things despite the shortage of staff and equipment. First, students were learning about the Three People's Principles, loyalty to the leader, the nation, youth responsibility, and honor. Second, the report insisted that the broader public in Taiwan now perceived military training as beneficial and supported its continued implementation. Third, the study noted "an improvement in following orders and discipline in daily life." And finally, the CYC claimed that military training was helping spark a renewed enjoyment of exercise and health amongst the student population.[46] Certainly, such rosy reports of student military training's accomplishments must be taken with caution, especially since other sources indicate that students and parents did not always welcome the new program wholeheartedly. In fact, during the initial months of its operation, many students, parents, regular teachers, and school administrators viewed it with open suspicion.

---

[44] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Taiwansheng gaoji zhongdeng xuexiao xuesheng junxun shishi gaikuang baogao," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, September 13, 1953. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 146.

[45] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Feng jun zuo jiu Jiuguotuan sishisan nian gaozhong yishang xuexiao junxun gaikuang baogao heshi si dian jin jiang banli qingxing chengfu," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, July 4, 1955. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 146.

[46] Zongtongfu dangan, "Taiwansheng gaoji zhongdeng xuexiao xuesheng junxun shishi gaikuang baogao," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, September 13, 1953. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 146.

Despite the obstacles that Chiang Ching-kuo and the CYC faced in the early stages of student military training, Ching-kuo pressed forward, devoting much effort and money to the endeavor. The Ministry of National Defense provided the budget for training the instructors, including their salaries and lodging in dormitories. Once military instructors began teaching on campuses, the individual schools assumed the responsibility for their salaries. An instructor's most recent job title and military rank in the Ministry of National Defense determined his or her salary, while those at normal schools were paid two grades above the basic entry-level wages of normal school teachers. However, if the salary offered by the school was higher than what the military would pay (based on rank), a military instructor received the lower of the two salaries.[47] Regardless of who paid them, all instructors were also still considered active duty military officers while they taught.[48] They could not be promoted after two years, but instead were given the option of returning to the military after they had served that amount of time teaching. Many instructors chose not to return to troop units at the end of two years, regarding life as a military instructor was much easier than austere troop life.[49] Regardless, the Ministry of National Defense was actually happy to send military instructors to schools and have them stay there, for it allowed the schools to lift off a heavy financial burden from the military; the Ministry did not have to be concerned about instructors' salaries once they were dispatched to schools.[50]

The implementation of military training in senior high schools and colleges came at a time when Taiwanese schools were undergoing rapid expansion. In 1956 alone,

---

[47] Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoguan de xinshui yu junjie yaoqiu," Jiaoyuting, File 30895, November 2, 1951. The Jiaoyuting Director, Chen Xueping, sent this order to all provincial normal senior high schools.
[48] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 157.
[49] Bullard, 146-147.
[50] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 139-140.

fifteen new senior high schools and four new colleges were added.[51] During the 1950s, the total number of high school, vocational school, and college students on Taiwan increased at an astonishing rate: from 6,241 in 1951 to 144,424 in 1960.[52] The island's general population was exploding, while the government vigorously encouraged education. During the decade, the number of military instructors increased roughly in proportion, from 28 in 1951 to 509 in 1960.[53]

Military Instructors' Backgrounds and Experiences

Although they were a minority, a substantial number of females became military instructors serving in all-girls schools, and many were drawn from the same source: the Women's Corp. On July 15, 1947, the GMD government bestowed on General Sun Liren the title of Deputy Commander of the Chinese Nationalist Army. Meanwhile, it removed Sun Shizhen (no relation), who was in Taiwan, from the position in July 1948. That winter, Sun Shizhen returned to Nanjing and observed that the nation's people "seemed anxious and frightened." He recommended that the government "make use of them," and his suggestion was soon accepted. The GMD subsequently recruited 7,000 males and 400 females, who were gender-separated when trained, forming the Women's Corp in July 1948.[54]

From June 1948 to May 1949, the Women's Corps recruited females between the ages of 15 to 25 from all provinces. They were sent to Taiwan from March to June 1949. Meanwhile, General Sun Liren and other officers enlisted instructors from the mainland

[51] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 135.
[52] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 309-312.
[53] *Xuesheng junxun wushi nian*, 309-312.
[54] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 2.

and Taiwan to serve as trainers in the Women's Corps. Some were from the military while others came from universities, including a physical education instructor from Beiping Normal University and an editor from Lianda's Economics Department. Sun Liren also promoted talented military personnel to be instructors.[55]

The Women's Corps began their training in the southern Taiwan city of Pingdong – the school's opening ceremony took place on March 8, 1949. Two more training locations opened in Tainan and Jiayi around 1955.[56] Meanwhile, male recruits trained at Fengshan in Kaohsiung, a major city also located in southern Taiwan. A Women's Corps cadet's first six months centered on basic training, while the following year participants were advanced to "professional" training. The Women's Corps separated girls into three different groups for professional training, with students given an option between military service, social service, and first aid. Social service was divided into two subcategories: social education and child welfare. After graduation, each of the girls also received political training.[57] Academia Sinica historians Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui interviewed twenty former Women's Corps members from two groups: a group who went on to become GPWD staff, and another group consisting of those who had simply been Women's Corps members. Eight out of the twenty interviewees later went on to become military instructors in female senior high schools and colleges in Taiwan.

---

[55] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 2.
[56] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 1.
[57] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 3.

Among the twenty interviewees, You Huaiyan (尤懷燕, 1929-) witnessed a dramatic incident after the Women's Corps came under the control of Chiang Ching-kuo, who later personally commissioned her to become a military instructor at a senior high school. Her story provides another example of how Ching-kuo successfully continued to gain clout within the military establishment. You's hometown was Yancheng (鹽城), Jiangsu, the location of China's most concentrated number of middle schools and an important military site during the Second Sino-Japanese War. In 1945, the Communists arrived in her hometown and denounced her wealthy family. Consequently, they fled to Shanghai, where she was accepted to Daxia University in 1948. One day at school, she noticed a recruitment poster about the Women's Corps, and decided to join for two main reasons: the Communists had already taken over North China, and she had always wanted to travel to Taiwan ever since retrocession. Moreover, You wanted to alleviate her family's financial burdens. She applied for the Women's Corps and was accepted. On March 1, 1949, she left Shanghai by ship and sailed to Taiwan. When they arrived in Pingdong, eight girls were assigned to a room and they were each given the rank of corporal. According to You, 500 girls began the training. By the end, only 300 remained. Those who "conducted inappropriate behavior" were promptly discharged. During the first six months of basic training, recruits awoke at sunrise and classes continued until sunset. They marched, saluted, and practiced target shooting with handguns and rifles. (You recalled fondly how she often placed first in target shooting.) Besides military training, she also received basic education. Her best subject was Chinese literature (*guowen* 國文) and the teachers were fond of her. After six months of basic training, she chose to join military service because she enjoyed public relations and communication.

Compared to the other two options – social education (she did not like child care) and first aid – military service appealed to her most. You also took courses in Taiwanese and Chinese literature, and she graduated in October 1950.

You's experience of training to be a military instructor in Taiwan paralleled others, but her account of her graduation ceremony offers a unique demonstration of Chiang Ching-kuo's effort to extend his political power in the early 1950s. Her memory of the event was deeply ingrained because she served as a recorder at the graduation ceremony, writing down everything that was said.[58] During the event, Deputy Commander Sun Liren announced that the Women's Corps was transferring from the Army Training Department (*Luxunbu* 陸訓部) to the Ministry of National Defense's General Political Warfare Department (GPWD). Instead of being placed under Deputy Commander Sun Liren's care, the Women's Corps was now placed under Chiang Ching-kuo's charge.

According to You, the students were shocked and furious: the news had not been provided to them beforehand, and they demanded to know why. In particular, they were stunned to learn that upon the completion of their training, they were not allowed to return to the mainland. To the students' understanding, Taiwan was a temporary training ground, and many had expected to return home to their families and loved ones. The girls felt further betrayed by the leadership which had also broken its promise that recruits would be permitted to select any mainland school to attend after graduation. Before, the Women's Corps was only a student training organization. Now it would be under the control of the GPWD.

[58] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 211.

Chiang Ching-kuo received a cool reception from the outraged students. According to You, Sun Liren, whom some girls affectionately called "Godfather Sun" (*Sun gan baba* 孫乾爸爸) tried to provide a practical reason by explaining, "Indeed, I brought you to Taiwan. I have the responsibility towards you. Today we see the country's needs. You are the only female military that Taiwan has so you should serve the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and agree to allow the GPWD to decide where you go and what you do. You can't limit your service to the Army."[59] (Initially, they had only received training for the Army.) Sun continued, "I can't send you back to your parents. Today the situation is not what both you and I wanted. It's not that I'm pushing the responsibility to someone else. I will have an explanation for what I promise. Director Chiang will take my responsibility. He will send you back and provide you an explanation and take care of you. Please treat him the same way as you have treated me."[60]

When Chiang Ching-kuo approached the stage, he immediately began to loudly admonish the girls. "We're now in the military! Everything has to follow orders! There are no more godfathers or goddaughters! Calling somebody godfather and goddaughter is no longer allowed!" Before Ching-kuo took the stage, the girls who had been crying now they booed and hissed at him. He continued, "What Sun said was absolutely correct. The Women's Corps is making history. Especially today to have girls from every province in Taiwan is an extraordinary thing. So it's only fair to have the GPWD send you to the Army, Navy, and Air Force. Otherwise, when the Navy and Air Force requests the

[59] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 209.
[60] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 210.

GPWD for people, it wouldn't have any to send. This is the President's orders."[61] According to You, Ching-kuo's explanation calmed the girls somewhat, and eventually most came to the conclusion that what he said was reasonable. However, many also became depressed and disillusioned at the swift change and broken promises.

As the only group of female soldiers in Taiwan, the Women's Corps was a valuable resource that Ching-kuo wanted to tap. Furthermore, Chiang Kai-shek transferred the control of the Women's Corps to his son because he wanted to gradually strip Deputy Commander Sun Liren of his influence and power. The elder Chiang saw Sun as a growing threat to Ching-kuo's future leadership. After all, Sun was an American favorite, one of the potential candidates U.S. officials were considering to replace Chiang Kai-shek by early 1949.[62] Since the U.S. backed Nationalist China with enormous financial resources in its war against Japan and the Communists, it was unhappy with the Generalissimo and wanted to supplant him with a more democratic successor more likely to accommodate American interests. In early June 1950, Sun himself proposed to Dean Rusk, then Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, to lead a *coup d'état* against Chiang.[63] However, former Foreign Service officer Jay Taylor notes that a coup seemed unlikely to succeed, since it required Sun "to wipe out 100 or so senior Nationalist officers stoutly loyal to the Gimo, including Chiang Ching-kuo." Moreover,

---

[61] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 211.

[62] Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 172. The most frequently cited replacement of Chiang Kai-shek was the U.S.-educated Hu Shi (1891-1962), the foremost Chinese intellectual of the time and a former Chinese ambassador to the U.S. (1938-1942). He was a leading intellectual of the May Fourth Movement and served as the chief executive of *Free China* while Lei Zhen was its editor-in-chief. After the Communist victory in 1949, Hu resided in the U.S. until he accepted the position as President of Academia Sinica (1957-1962). He refused the U.S. proposal for him to replace Chiang Kai-shek. Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 197, 199.

[63] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 198.

"Ching-kuo's surveillance system was too good for anyone to think of such an elaborate plot."[64] Chiang Kai-shek and Ching-kuo suspected Sun's disloyalty and the military police placed him under house arrest in August 1955. The Generalissimo did not give Sun the harsher sentences of execution or imprisonment on Green Island because he understood that severe punishments against the highly respected and popular general would generate a public outcry among U.S. officials and Taiwan's people.[65] Still, Sun remained under house arrest in his Taichung home until Ching-kuo's death in 1988.

After graduating from the Women's Corps, and recording Ching-kuo's explosive speech, You Huaiyan recovered from a long bout of sickness and worked as a recorder and adviser at the GPWD in 1953. She routinely recorded meetings and conflicts between military officers.[66] In 1956, she left the GPWD and returned to the Women's Corps, serving on offshore Mazu Island as a small group leader. There she taught singing, ethnic dance, and politics, and also helped publish works.[67] She only stayed for three months, and spent two of the months "waiting for a boat."

Finally, in late 1956 Ching-kuo personally sent You Huaiyan to Taipei's Jinling Girls' Middle School (金陵女中) to become a military instructor. Since Jinling was new, You informed the school administrators that she could substitute teach other courses if they did not have enough staff. Thus, she also became a teacher (*bandaoshi* 班導師) of first-year senior high school students as well as a military instructor. Under her guidance, You's class won first place in competitions in blackboard newsletters and sports. Because

[64] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 198.
[65] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 231.
[66] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 222, 224.
[67] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 227.

she was also a teacher, You realized that most people viewed her differently from other military instructors. She explained, "Director Chiang selected me to serve at Jinling Middle School. I couldn't let him lose face!"[68] You felt responsible for making Ching-kuo proud. In 1957, Taichung Jingyi Yingzhuan College (台中靜宜英專) was preparing to open and the CYC wanted You to supervise the school's establishment. She thought that the daunting responsibility would be "quite tiring" because she would have to work by herself, and she did not want to go. You retired from the military in 1959.[69]

The Content of Student Military Training

In July 1953, the Ministry of National Defense implemented military training in senior high schools.[70] Half a year later, military training started in colleges. It had actually begun in September 1951 on an experimental basis at eight normal high schools.[71] Since the government paid for all expenses at normal schools, students lived on campus, where there were more rules and harsher discipline. The experiment with normal schools produced good results.

In a speech delivered to the Political Warfare College on September 22, 1952, Chiang Ching-kuo stressed the differences between military training on the mainland and the new program to be formed on Taiwan. Many in the audience were training to become military instructors, and they listened as Ching-kuo criticized military training in the past: "On the mainland, we did not have time to organize and train youth…Frankly speaking,

[68] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 227.
[69] Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu), *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji*, 228.
[70] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 123.
[71] Jiaoyuting, File 3806, 22 August 1951. The document was sent by the Jiaoyuting (Taiwan Provincial Government's Department of Education) to Provincial Governor Wu Guozhen. Copies were also sent to the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of National Defense.

mainlander students received bad influence from military instructors who were of bad quality. They only knew how to eat and were incompetent. You cannot be like them. If you are like the past military instructors, I would rather not send you to the schools."[72] He continued, "I think that people's opinion about military training in the past was incorrect. They thought military training was simply to stand up straight and run. This is wrong. We have to pay attention to training the character of military instructors. My definition of military training is to train the country's youth to be patriotic and modernize them. Attention and to stand at ease are only part of the training."[73]

To meet Ching-kuo's vision of "modern" compulsory military training, the new program incorporated two types of learning: classroom learning (*xueke* 學科) and outdoors learning (*shuke* 術科). For males, classroom learning included basic training for infantry, target shooting, maintaining one's sleeping area (*neiwu shouce* ▪務手冊), military hygiene, military salutes, flag-raising, GMD revolutionary and military history, military terminology, martial law, map-reading, and enlistment laws.[74] Classroom learning also taught battlefield activities, which included how to protect oneself during air raids, resist poisonous gases, counter spies, help with military transportation, propagandize after occupying enemy territory, organize and train, help refugees, and handle prisoners of war.[75] Basic training for outdoors learning included lining up and standing up straight, combat, target shooting, digging foxholes and trenches, bayoneting, and night combat.

---

[72] Chiang Ching-kuo, "Jianli junxun de xin guannian," *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji*, *Vol. 4*, 1991-1992, 277, 279.
[73] Chiang Ching-kuo, "Jianli junxun de xin guannian," *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji*, *Vol. 4*, 1991-1992, 279-280.
[74] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 123-124.
[75] Jiuguotuan zongbu, *Gaozhong junxun keben*, Vol. 1, 1957.

Females participated in nearly all these activities as well, with the exception of saluting, map-reading, transportation, dealing with prisoners of war, digging foxholes and trenches, and bayoneting. In their place were added nursing, personal hygiene, military hygiene, CPR, bandaging, and female and pediatric hygiene. Males and females alike also had to visit military bases.[76] The curriculum for classroom learning and outdoors learning were virtually the same as those used in the military – nothing was designed especially for students.

Military training also impacted general standards of behavior and dress codes in Taiwanese schools. The Ministry of Education changed all senior high school uniforms to khaki on September 6, 1953 (some senior high schools' uniforms had been gray before this). After much discussion, in February 1955 the MOE and Ministry of National Defense announced that college students would wear khaki uniforms only during the occasions when they were undergoing military training and participating in special events (parades, holidays, all-school CYC activities). The MOE assigned students to specific tailors to have uniforms custom-made. The rest of the time, students were allowed to wear clothing of their choice.[77]

Parent and Student Response to Military Instructors

On May 30, 1952, Minister of Education Cheng Tianfang issued a statement to calm fears of parents and students about the one-year mandatory military training after college graduation. He explained, "While students are in school, they are unable to receive full-time training. This one year is to complete what was not done at school. It is

[76] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 124.
[77] Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 126-130.

only training to be a reserves officer, not service in the armed forces. Our training is the same system as the ones in England and the U.S."[78]

From February 12-14, 1953, the *Central Daily News* (*Zhongyang ribao* 中央日報) published the CYC's response to fifty-seven questions, some of which indicated readers' fears that the CYC and military instructors would negatively interfere with schools. Question 40 posed: "Is the CYC's military training style the same as the past?" (Referring to training on the mainland). Since the program was not yet fully implemented in 1953, the organization could only respond inadequately, noting that "in the past military training's contents were boring, the method was always the same. It lacked equipment, thus it was not effective."[79] Another question inquired: "What are the extracurricular activities and militarization (*kewai huodong*, *junshihua* 課外活動, 軍事化)?" The CYC's reply was again vague and inadequate to some readers, attempting to promote militarism by linking it to manners, behaviors, and dress – in essence, military instructors would teach Taiwan's children to act like respectable young people. "Students' life must meet military standards," the answer began, "for example, when students gather, they need to line up. When class is dismissed, they need to line up and walk as a group according to military standards. Their gestures, speech, and behavior must meet military standards."[80]

When the Ministry of National Defense first implemented military training in schools, students' families were suspicious of the program, and very few encouraged or praised the idea. However, according to Xiao Xiqing, head of CYC military training,

[78] Guoshiguan, "Zhongguo guomin shi shi jiyao, 1952," (May 1955), 651-652.
[79] "Duiyu Jiuguotuan da ke wen, ke canjian Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguo da ke wen," *Zhongyang ribao*, Vol. 6, no. 3, February 14, 1953.
[80] "Duiyu Jiuguotuan da ke wen, ke canjian Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguo da ke wen," *Zhongyang ribao*, Vol. 6, No. 3, February 14, 1953.

parents soon "observed that student discipline gradually improved so they became happy about it."[81] Yet Xiao's sentiments, like the CYC's own reports, were naturally biased, and both had a vested interest in growing the program and convincing the public that parents welcomed military training. On the other hand, the bi-weekly *Free Youth* (*Ziyou qingnian* 自由青年) vehemently attacked the instruction. It routinely argued that students rejected military training not because of delinquency, but because they thought it was a waste of time and interfered with their regular schoolwork. Some students and families even believed in more elaborate conspiracy theories, including the idea that the government had dispatched the military instructors only to spy on students and control them. Despite Xiao's words and the usually upbeat CYC publications, a September 13, 1953 CYC report recognized these fears, concluding that "schools, families, and the social environment" were all influencing students' negative attitude towards military training.[82]

Liu Yifu, a CYC representative in the 1950s, conducted a survey to gauge popular opinion about military training. Liu interviewed the former Pingdong county magistrate, Lin Shicheng, who served during the Japanese colonial rule. Lin recounted that "under Japanese occupation, we had military training every day. Now it is only three hours a week? How could it be so little? All the Taiwanese received military training under the Japanese. After retrocession, military training ceased. We all felt that was strange. Why didn't our country have military training? Now everyone is happy that military training is

[81] Xiao Xiqing, "Junxun gongzuo jingyan tan," *Tuanwu gongzuo shilu*, 37-39. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 144.
[82] Zongtongfu dang'an, "Taiwan sheng gaoji zhongdeng xue xiao xuesheng junxun shishi gaikuang shu," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, September 13, 1953. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 144.

reinstated."[83] According to Liu's account, the Taiwanese welcomed military training because they had experienced it under the Japanese and was accustomed to "military training lifestyle."[84] He noted that Taiwanese parents were interested in the program for their sons and daughters because they themselves had received military training as students. However, the training then was far more intense, including the discipline; Japanese military instructors were known to kick students with leather boots, slap them in the face, and force them to kneel down. According to Liu, many 1950s Taiwanese parents felt military instructors in the new program were actually quite soft, no longer beating or scolding – indeed treating students like friends. To some parents this was a great improvement, and they only wished that more student hours were devoted to compulsory military training.[85] Liu also interviewed Chen Wanguo, a history teacher from Hualian Middle School who himself had once been a student at the school. Chen also recalled the strictness of Japanese military training, "when students were scolded and beaten, they were very afraid." However, Chen hailed the new program as a refreshing break from the past. "Nowadays, people teach and learn with ease, and the results were good even though less time was spent on military training."[86]

In many ways, Liu's interviews were constructed around the same themes as the CYC's official reports. He was, after all, acting as a CYC representative, and he clearly framed the interviews to support his publications during the decade, all of which argued that the Taiwanese embraced military training. Liu carefully selected quotes that

[83] Liu Yifu, *Zhandou qingnian de zhandou shenghuo*, 36. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 147.
[84] Liu Yifu, "Fuxing de qiji, shengli de baozheng," *Zhongguo qingnian de junxun shenghuo*, 66.
[85] Liu Yifu, "Fuxing de qiji, shengli de baozheng," 58.
[86] Liu Yifu, *Zhandou qingnian de zhandou shenghuo*, 42. Cited in Li Tai-han, "Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu," 148.

supported the CYC's cause for compulsory training, and he contrasted the Japanese program with that of the Chinese to show the greater humanity and productivity behind Chinese training. Yet by other accounts, military training in 1950s Taiwan on occasion still slipped into the older patterns of harsh discipline and physical punishment. Li Tai-han wrote that CYC military instructors punished students by forcing them to kneel if they did not salute the national flag, and Chiang Ching-kuo himself had to address the issue at times during the 1950s when he was informed that military instructors were using corporal punishment on students, which he flatly prohibited.

Regardless of how widespread these instances were, CYC military training was definitely not as positive and rosy as Liu's publications insisted. In addition to renouncing corporal punishment, Ching-kuo also reprimanded military instructors for dating and other behaviors he deemed "inappropriate." In Yilan County, one military instructor took his students to the movie theater and demanded a discount for the tickets. When he was refused, the disgruntled man threatened to bomb the theater, prompting frightened employees to call the police.[87]

Mao Cheng-how recalled that military training began during his senior year at Jianguo High School in Taipei. "Military training started as a result of the China Youth Corps," he explained, "…in the beginning it was very primitive. The government didn't have a well-planned, thought-out program. It was sort of like basic training – line up, stand at attention, turn left. Students did not like the military instructors."[88] Mao also recounted that each class had fifty students: "Everyday they had one student who called 'Stand at attention! Salute!' (Lizhen! Jingli! 立正! 敬禮!) He gave the order and

[87] Chiang Ching-kuo, "Jiaqiang sixiang lingdao zuo hao junxun gongzuo: minguo sishiwu nian shier yue si ri dui xuexiao junxun ganbu di ba qi xueyuan jiang," *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji*, *Vol. 4*, 352.
[88] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).

everyone followed. The military instructor was always on the platform. That student led us to do it in front of the military instructor. We saluted the flag after we raised it."[89] During his senior year, Mao witnessed one incident in which a student challenged the authority of their instructor. "The military instructor was picking on a class representative (*banzhang* 班長). He wanted total control and the *banzhang* tried to reason rather than be controlled and that was a 'no-no' in the military. We all ganged together to support the schoolmate." The military instructor tried to use the student as a scapegoat to teach them a lesson. In the morning, they conducted the flag raising ceremony. Mao could still vividly recall, "It was raining that day so the ceremony was held indoors. We had to perform some military-style activities. We performed our best ever so the military instructor could not find trouble with the *banzhang*. Thus, we were able to save the student from embarrassment."[90] This particular incident is an example of the power that some military instructors tightly grasped onto, perhaps stemming from an inferiority complex due to their poor educational background. They were aware that regular teachers and students looked down upon them for this shortcoming and considered them ineligible to hold positions of authority. The feeling of threat caused them to further assert their control. This episode also demonstrated some students shared a dislike of military instructors, leading them to band together to protect and defend their fellow classmate.

Criticism of Military Training

In September 1952, the CYC first published its laws and regulations before it was formally established on October 31. Xu Fuguan was a professor at Donghai University in

[89] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. July 21, 2009 and November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).
[90] Interview. Mao Cheng-how. November 27, 2009 (Princeton, NJ).

Taichung and a friend of Lei Zhen, editor of the political magazine, *Free China* (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國). In response to the CYC's proclamation, Xu posed some suggestions and critiques pertaining to student military training in a *Free China* article published on October 16, two weeks before the CYC's official establishment. In response to the CYC's indication that it would enter schools, Xu recommended that "the CYC Deputy Director should be from the GPWD and be in charge of the social youth and student military training," while all military instructors "be under the school principal and be part of the faculty, not an independent system."[91] Xu argued that compulsory military training should be a temporary program, only existing during wartime. He also suggested that the Minister of Education serve as CYC director. Chiang Ching-kuo accepted many of Xu's recommendations, with the exception that Ching-kuo himself became the organization's first director. The CYC was not even transferred from the Ministry of National Defense to the Ministry of Education until July 1, 1960.

Yuan Shi, another writer for *Free China* (*Ziyou Zhongguo* 自由中國), cautiously criticized both military training and the CYC in mild tones, recognizing the danger in denouncing GMD programs during the 1950s. Still, Yuan maintained that the CYC's "most unsatisfactory aspect" was its compulsory military training, a program that perhaps stemmed from a government afraid of previous college student protests and anti-hunger and anti-suppression campaigns. (Notably, Yuan used the term "anti-suppression" strikes ("*fan pohai*," "反迫害") instead of the stronger term "anti-civil war" strikes ("*fan neizhan*" "反▪戰") that occurred on the mainland.) According to Yuan, this was the reason why "today everything has to be under 'leadership' for approval." (Again, here

[91] Xu Fuguan, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan de jianquan fazhan de shangque," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 7, no. 8, October 16, 1952, 10.

Yuan utilized the more mild term "leadership" ("*lingdao*" "領導") instead of the loaded term "control" ("*kongzhi*" "控制").) "Perhaps there is a reason for it," he continued, "but sometimes the correction is overboard…Every summer the CYC has training for youth. Some young people enjoy it, but other than that, it is useless." Yuan also criticized the futility of sporadic combat training in schools: "Students practice target shooting only once a semester. Just because someone shoots the target a few times does not mean he is familiar with this weapon or increases his combat experience. [Furthermore,] the guns that they practiced with are [actually] very old."[92]

Along with the understated, philosophic arguments linking militarism to government surveillance and control, critics like Yuan could just as easily argue that the military training students received was simply monotonous and outdated. "Basic training is repeated every year from high school until college graduation, a total of seven years," Yuan wrote. "The military training textbooks used in senior high school are the same as the ones used in colleges. Students often skip classes, especially in college. After students graduate from college, they have to receive basic training for reserves officers again. All of this wastes students' time. It only resolves finding jobs for military personnel who would not have work otherwise. Why are military instructors needed to manage dormitories? It only takes dormitory managers to do the job."[93]

In another January 1, 1958 *Free China* editorial, Fu Zheng charged that military training was neither systematic nor scientific. Fu had emerged as one of the CYC's most vocal critics, and compulsory training soon became a prime way to attack the organization. He denounced the CYC for using the program to infiltrate senior high

[92] Yuan Shi, "Daxue jiaoyu de beiai," *Ziyou zhongguo*, Vol. 16, no. 5, February 1, 1957, 10.
[93] Yuan Shi, "Daxue jiaoyu de beiai," *Ziyou zhongguo*, Vol. 16, no. 5, February 1, 1957, 10.

schools and sending unqualified military instructors. Fu noted that many were poorly educated – some had not completed senior high school, while others never even received formal military training themselves. He also criticized the imposition of military training in schools for having "too many negative side effects," including interference in students' learning.[94]

In response to these (and other) critics in the press, student negativity, and the skepticism of some parents, Chiang Ching-kuo and the CYC vigorously defended compulsory military training throughout the 1950s. During the China Youth Corps Work Meeting on February 27, Ching-kuo responded directly to Fu Zheng's critique with ten points defending the CYC. The fourth pertained to military training, arguing that "CYC's military training in school is part of education. The principals are the CYC's supervisors. Military training is independent from school administration. The CYC cooperates with schools and has never interfered with nor superseded their administration."[95] Two years earlier, on December 4, 1956, Ching-kuo had even warned military instructors to pay attention to *Free China* articles penned by "liberal writers" such as Lei Zhen and Xu Fuguan.[96]

Later that summer, Fu Zheng once again blasted CYC student military training in another editorial. He criticized the CYC's claim that the organization was formed for the sole purpose of student military training.[97] According to Fu, military training was poorly planned and should not have been implemented without formal legislation. Initially, the

[94] Fu Zheng, "Qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 1, January 1, 1958, 6.
[95] Chiang Ching-kuo, *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji*, 1992, 26-27.
[96] Chiang Ching-kuo, "Jiaqiang sixiang lingdao zuo hao junxun gongzuo: minguo sishiwu nian shier yue si ri dui xuexiao junxun ganbu di ba qi xueyuan jiang," *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji* , 348.
[97] Fu Zheng, "Zai lun qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan chexiao wenti," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 11, June 1, 1958): 5.

CYC wanted to train reserves and low-level officers. However, it was now simply disciplining students, abandoning the idea to recruit and train soldiers for the reserve army. Fu noted that the CYC had already established formal armed forces training for graduating college students, thus there was no need for such programs in both senior high school *and* college. He also stepped up the rhetoric linking military training to a repressive government, attacking the CYC for "appearing to be a government organization established for military training, however, it is actually meant for the one-party reserves so it can control schools' education and more completely interfere with academic freedom and independence… It wastes much of students' time and effort, hindering their pursuit of education."[98]

While critics like Fu attacked the program as part of a larger critique of the CYC, the two Chiangs, and the GMD government, others – including many students and parents – simply directed their frustrations toward military instructors themselves. In a June 16, 1958 letter to *Free China*, one reader charged that they suffered from an inferiority complex, with the author claiming that instructors felt inferior to students because they came from a "poorly-educated background." Thus, they used the excuse that students had to obey them in order to prove their power over the youth while most college students simply had to tolerate the situation because they did not want any trouble. The reader also condemned the military pedagogy for being "meaningless and full of mistakes." It was "a ridiculous political class," he wrote. "If you want to improve military training, military instructors with modern knowledge and education need to teach the courses." Still, even when critiquing the instructors or the pedagogy, students and parents easily found themselves making larger critiques about the one-party government.

[98] Fu Zheng, "Zai lun qingnian fangong Jiuguotuan chexiao wenti," 5.

The author's letter ended with a reference to Chiang Ching-kuo, who was "behind the implementation of military training and thus, the system could not be dismantled…since the organization backing is very strong, so other legislative members dare not oppose it."[99]

The Liu Ziran Incident

As *Free China* contributor Yuan Shi suggested, one of the reasons why the government implemented military training in schools was to curb potential student protests. It was successful for the first three decades of GMD rule with one notable exception. [100] In 1958, China Youth Corps members at Chenggong Middle School, along with thousands of other young people, combined to stage a dramatic anti-American riot at multiple locations in Taipei. This particularly violent demonstration, dubbed the "Liu Ziran Incident" by the Chinese and the "Reynolds case" by Americans, is interesting not only because of its links to the CYC and compulsory military instruction, but also because those very links made the student protest appear to be sanctioned by the GMD.

On March 20, 1957, U.S. Army sergeant Robert Reynolds fatally shot a Chinese man, Liu Ziran (劉自然), outside of the Reynolds' residence in the American military housing community of Yangminshan's Shantzuhou, eight miles outside Taipei.[101] There were no witnesses, and during his American tribunal hearing, Reynolds testified that Liu had been peeping at his wife while she showered, and he had shot the man in self-

[99] Lu Di, "Jiuguotuan hai guo, hai qingnian," *Ziyou Zhongguo*, Vol. 18, no. 12, June 16, 1958, 30.
[100] Bullard, 151.
[101] Greg MacGregor, "Taipei Riot Begun By Widow's Plea," *New York Times*, May 27, 1957, 4. In 1951, the U.S. sent the Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) to provide aid to the Nationalist government. By 1957, there were 10,000 American military personnel and civilians on the island. The MAAG did not leave Taiwan until 1978.

defense. When the court martial acquitted Reynolds on May 23, the sergeant received a rousing ovation from the American audience. The Chinese, however, were naturally outraged by the verdict. According to U.S. State Department records, rumors spread throughout Taipei that "there had been black market dealings between Reynolds and the deceased and that Chinese and American authorities were in collusion to cover up evidence which might embarrass either Government."[102] According to the most prominent rumor, Reynolds had employed Liu for a long time to smuggle controlled products, such as imported tobacco and liquor, out of the Army Co-op for sale on the market, with both men pocketing the profit. As a result, Reynolds had shot Liu to death over a monetary dispute between the two.

On May 24, an Air Force plane quickly flew Reynolds, his wife, and daughter back to the U.S. At noon the same day, Liu's widow began a hunger strike and started picketing at the U.S. Embassy. A radio reporter from the Broadcasting Corporation of China recorded an interview with the widow and played it back through a loudspeaker for the gathering crowd.[103] Around 1:30 P.M., "a youth clad in blue jeans hurled a stone at the Embassy window."[104] The crowd cheered and more stones flew. By 2 P.M., the mob had grown to 3,000, smashed through Embassy gates, and climbed over the walls. Another youth scaled the flagpole, tore down and shredded the American flag, and hoisted the Chinese Nationalist flag in its place.[105] The rioters next stormed the Embassy

---

[102] "Taiwan Blow-up," *New York Times*, May 26, 1957, E1; "Memorandum From the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs (McConaughy) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson), May 24, 1957, *Foreign Relations of the United States 1955-1957* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955-1957), 524. Henceforth, *FRUS*.
[103] MacGregor, 4.
[104] MacGregor, 4; Karl Lott Rankin, *China Assignment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 302
[105] MacGregor, 4.

building, smashing furniture, tossing classified documents out the windows, setting a truck on fire, and overturning fourteen vehicles.

The disorder soon spread to other parts of Taipei. A mob destroyed the U.S. Information Service office, while another crowd tried to infiltrate the U.S. Military Communications Center.[106] Officials called in troops, but 33,000 Chinese soldiers did not arrive until after nine Americans had been injured, one Chinese killed, and thirteen others injured.[107] The seven-hour riot ended after the first contingent of troops established order, and the government imposed martial law from midnight to 5 A.M.[108] In the U.S., the Reynolds case and the subsequent riot made headline news around the country, including the *New York Times*.

Not only were China Youth Corps members among these anti-American rioters, the core contingent from Chenggong Middle School was led by the school's military instructor. They had sought Chiang Ching-kuo's approval to demonstrate before the Embassy, which he granted with an understanding that it be kept peaceful.[109] This consent then led a group of fifty students wearing uniforms and CYC armbands to head to the Embassy.[110] However, the demonstration became increasingly violent, especially as outsiders joined the crowd. Lee Huan, a top aide to Ching-kuo, alerted him, and both men sped to the CYC headquarters to monitor the situation but Ching-kuo "declined to send in a nearby antiriot squad."[111] Foreign Minister George Yeh called Ching-kuo for immediate action. When Huang Zhenwu, the Garrison Command officer in charge of the

---

[106] "Taiwan Blow-up," E1; "Anti-U.S. Riots in Taipei Curbed by Chiang Troops," *New York Times*, May 25, 1957, 3.
[107] MacGregor, 4; "Taiwan Blow-Up," E1.
[108] "Anti-U.S. Riots in Taipei Curbed by Chiang Troops," 3.
[109] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 237-238.
[110] Zheng Yiying.
[111] Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 491.

riot squad, requested permission to restore order, Ching-kuo "instructed him not to use force … [and] ordered plainclothesmen to infiltrate the mob to try to contain the violence."[112] Lee claimed he contacted schools to persuade students to return to their campuses and asked principals to stop students from surrounding the Embassy. However, about thirty Chenggong Middle School students still "voluntarily" gathered there.[113]

Ching-kuo and Lee worked all through the night to handle the situation. Meanwhile, rumors spread that Ching-kuo himself had arranged for CYC members to initiate the riot. Ching-kuo later told Lee, "Others say the CYC planned the anti-American May 24th Incident behind the scenes. We took a lot of trouble to handle the problem but there are still people who slander us." Two days after the riots, a dejected Ching-kuo remarked to Lee that some people proposed that the CYC be dismantled because of its connection to the violence. "This is too unjust," Lee responded, and suggested that he publicly issue a statement, on the behalf of Ching-kuo, outlining their course of action in handling the situation. However, Ching-kuo refused, telling Lee, "No, this will create complications… In the future, the truth will be revealed."[114]

Ching-kuo probably did not imagine that the U.S. Embassy would be destroyed. As Taylor writes, he "worried about his 'enforcer' image in Taiwan and his future leadership role, he also would not have wanted to turn the antiriot police against members of his own Youth Corps."[115] The current Taiwan President, Ma Ying-jeou, a senior aide to Ching-kuo in the 1980s and former CYC member, recalled that Ching-kuo believed the

[112] Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 237.
[113] Lee Huan and Lin Yin-ting, *Zhuisui ban shiji*, 79.
[114] Lee Huan and Lin Yin-ting, 80.
[115] Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 491.

Americans could afford a new embassy and remarked, "Better that than have the police in Ching-kuo's name shoot down citizens in the streets."[116]

Whether officially encouraged by Ching-kuo and the CYC or not, students were definitely the heart of the anti-American protest. Undoubtedly referring to Chenggong Middle School, the *New York Times* reported under the headline "Riot Link Denied By Chiang Regime" that "a junior high school in Taipei seems to have been the focal point of the unrest before and after the controversial court-martial verdict was announced." The *Times* went on to note that "many students were among the apparent leaders of rioters, generally believed to be about equally divided between mainlanders and Taiwanese. The leaders were identifiable by their school uniforms."[117] The paper also described that "a throng of 10,000 besieged the Taipei Police Headquarters to demand the release of students arrested in the disorders."[118] U.S. State Department authorities who investigated the incident also observed that "in the attack on the USIS [U.S. Information Service] building, the riot was led by a small group of students who apparently were responsible for most of the damage done."[119]

Despite the role of students, many U.S. officials and Americans in Taiwan did not believe that the riot was "spontaneous." On May 25 at 6 A.M., the U.S. Military Communication Center informed the U.S. Department of Defense that there was evidence that the rioters planned the protest in advance. The CIA received reports that the day before the incident, many foreign Catholic priests received cryptic phone calls, warning them not to go out the next day. Even if they had to go out, they were advised to avoid

---

[116] Interview. Ma Ying-jeou. March 10, 1998 (Taipei). Cited in Taylor, *Generalissimo's Son*, 238.
[117] Robert Trumbull, "Riot Link Denied By Chiang Regime," *New York Times*, May 28, 1958, 4.
[118] "Taiwan Blow-up," E1.
[119] "Memorandum From the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs (McConaughy) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson), May 26, 1957, *FRUS*, *1955-1957,* Vol. 3, 534.

the U.S. Embassy.[120] In addition, one officer reported to the *New York Times* that "he received at least twenty telephone calls from Chinese the afternoon and morning preceding the riot, warning him that a dangerous situation was developing."[121]

On May 26, U.S. Ambassador Karl Rankin went directly to Chiang Kai-shek's residence with announcing his visit prior to his arrival and interrogated the President. According to the Taiwan Central News Agency, Rankin spoke frankly with Chiang: "You did not send the army and police earlier. You allowed the Embassy to fall into the hands of the mob." He implied that Ching-kuo himself instigated the riot, asking the elder Chiang, "Is this because the person who initiated the attack is very powerful and influential? Powerful enough to stop any police action?" The Generalissimo denied everything.[122] According to Rankin's autobiography, Chiang then asked the ambassador "to express his profound regrets to President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles; also to assure them that the incident [did] not reflect anti-American feeling but simply resentment at the verdict of the court-martial."[123] Rankin concluded that widespread antipathy toward Americans existed because of the living standards flaunted by an American community that numbered 10,000, and because of the immunity from Chinese laws, reminiscent of extraterritoriality, that all Americans connected with the U.S. military enjoyed.[124]

---

[120] Zheng Yiying, "Liu Ziran shijan," Zhongyang tongxun she, Guojia wenhua shuzi dangan, Taiwan xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui. http://km.cca.gov.tw/myphoto/h_main.asp?categoryid=35 (accessed February 12, 2010).
[121] Trumbull, "Riot Link Denied By Chiang Regime," 4.
[122] Zheng Yiying, "Liu Ziran shijan," Zhongyang tongxun she, Guojia wenhua shuzi dangan, Taiwan xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui. http://km.cca.gov.tw/myphoto/h_main.asp?categoryid=35 (accessed February 12, 2010).
[123] Karl Rankin, *China Assignment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), 304.
[124] Letter From the Ambassador in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the President's Special Consultant (Nash), 17 June 1957, *FRUS 1955-1957,* Vol. 3, 542-544.

In mid-September, President Eisenhower appointed Special Assistant James Richards to investigate the incident. Richards wrote to Secretary of State John F. Dulles that Chiang refused to comment when he informed the Generalissimo "that it was widely reported in the United States that members of the Youth Corps (which is commanded by his son, Chiang Ching-kuo) were active in inciting the riot and the destruction of [the] Embassy and the USIS Office." [125] Dulles' brother, CIA Director Allen Dulles, also believed that the riot was not spontaneous, but he told the National Security Council that the extent of the convulsion had probably exceeded official expectations. Despite the assertions of other American and Chinese observers, Allen Dulles discounted speculation that Ching-kuo himself had instigated the riot.[126]

Based on reports that the destruction went on for some seven hours, despite Taiwan's reputation for tight police control, Americans suspected that the GMD government at the very least condoned the violence. If so, there were at least two possible motives. First, many Taiwanese indeed resented the wealth and privilege that the American community enjoyed in Taiwan, including immunity from the local legal system. According to the State Department, "the acquittal verdict of court martial had touched Chinese National feeling at a very tender spot – namely, hatred of extraterritoriality."[127] The incident was thus an opportunity for the public to blow off steam. However, at a higher level there was another good reason to suspect GMD leaders of complicity. According to political scientist Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, in May 1957 they

[125] "Memorandum From the President's Special Assistant (Richards) to the Secretary of State," October 9 1957, *FRUS 1955-1957*, Vol. 3, 626.
[126] "Memorandum of Discussion, 325th National Security Council Meeting," May 27, 1957, *FRUS 1955-1957,* Vol. 3, 541.
[127] "Memorandum of Discussion, 325th National Security Council Meeting," May 27, 1957, *FRUS 1955-1957,* Vol. 3, 541.

were unhappy with John Foster Dulles' "efforts to get Beijing to renounce the use of force in the Taiwan Straits so that U.S.-China relations could be improved. They felt disappointed by the unwillingness of the U.S. government to commit its power to the defense of the offshore islands or to endorse their efforts to return to the mainland."[128] Tucker argues that, when faced with a dominating superpower, "Chiang Kai-shek sought to impress upon American military authorities his determination to retain full, autonomous control of his armed forces," as well as Taiwan's political and economic affairs.[129]

In the end, the Liu Ziran Incident did not seriously damage U.S.-Taiwan relations. Apologies immediately followed and Chiang Kai-shek dismissed and imprisoned three high-ranking officers in public security forces: Taipei Garrison Command officer Huang Zhenwu, Head of the Military Police Liu Wei, and Commissioner of Provincial Police Yue Gan.[130] The GMD government also repaired the damaged facilities and the U.S. remained, as Tucker writes, "Taiwan's most generous and dominant benefactor."[131]

Conclusion

Still, the Liu Ziran Incident demonstrated the power of nascent compulsory military instruction in Taiwan's middle and high schools, and how GMD leaders simultaneously used the CYC's program to stifle student activism and enforce discipline while allowing a "spontaneous" student revolt to escalate into a full-scale, anti-American

[128] Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945-1992: Uncertain Friendships* (New York: Twayne, 1994), 92.
[129] Tucker, 92.
[130] Robert Trumbull, "Chiang Expresses Regret Over Riot," *New York Times*, May 27, 1957, 4. The three officers were imprisoned on Green Island, where political dissidents were sent during the martial law period. Zheng Yiying.
[131] Tucker, 92.

demonstration in an authoritarian police state. However, officials probably did not foresee the degree of magnitude and violence that students eventually manifested over Reynolds' acquittal. If the riot had been directed at them, it would have undoubtedly drawn a stiffer response and been stifled immediately. Compulsory military training was a powerful force in Taiwan's classrooms and campuses throughout the 1950s, preventing student protests via discipline and fear, as well as attempting to instill in students a sense of patriotism and loyalty to the Nationalist government. According to Chiang Ching-kuo, military instructors were expected to "develop student's physical fitness and enthusiasm, help them follow a proper lifestyle, and teach them to behave properly."[132] Overall, despite its hesitant origins, sometimes flimsy organization, vocal critics, and student activists, compulsory military training in Taiwan's senior high schools and universities successfully helped maintain social order under the GMD's evolving authoritarian state in the 1950s.

[132] *Xuesheng junxun wishi nian*, 160.

Conclusion

When New York governor and former U.S. presidential candidate Thomas Dewey visited Taiwan in the spring of 1951, Chiang Kai-shek told him he would "accept full blame for losing the mainland in the struggle against the Communists."[1] According to Minister of Education Chen Lifu, after the Guomindang reestablished its government in Taipei, "its leaders agonized, pondering what kind of lessons to learn from the mistakes."[2] Failures in secondary education and the mobilization of youth were two critical faults the Nationalists sought to rectify.

On the mainland during the War of Resistance, primary education was neither universal nor mandatory. Chen was aware that few students could afford to pay tuition in order to attend these schools.[3] Thus, when the GMD relocated to Taiwan, the Ministry of Education implemented six years of free compulsory education. By 1968, it had increased schooling to nine years, making junior high a requirement.[4] These reforms had major implications for keeping more youth in school. (Even though junior high students were forced to pay tuition.) From the beginning of GMD rule, the percentage of children in Taiwan enrolled in primary school was higher than that on the mainland. During the 1950-1951 academic year, 79.98 percent of school-aged children attended Taiwan's

---

[1] Thomas Dewey, *Journey to the Far Pacific* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952), 132. Cited in Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993*, ed. Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), 218, fn 1. In winter 1950, Chiang admitted to the Standing Committee that he "held responsibility for the loss of the … country." Cited in Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 422.
[2] Chen Lifu, 218.
[3] Chen Lifu, 158.
[4] Sun Chen, "Investment in Education and Human Resource Development in Postwar Taiwan," in *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan,* ed. Steve Harrell and Huang Chün-chieh (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994), 96.

primary schools. By 1960-1961, 95.59 percent were enrolled. 31.78 percent of primary graduates went on to enroll in junior high in 1950-1951, and by 1960-1961 over half (57.58 percent) of eligible youth attended junior high on the island.[5] Almost immediately, the GMD succeeded in providing education for more middle-school youth in Taiwan than it ever had on the mainland during the war years.

While on the mainland, Chen Lifu contended that 53 percent of school-aged children attended schools in 1936, a year before the war, without specifying the percentage of primary graduates who enrolled in junior high. He also claimed that by 1946, 70 percent of children attended school. He arrived at the number by totaling some 34,110,000 school-aged children in the nineteen provinces and municipalities outside Japanese-occupied areas. Chen calculated that "the number of those children attending school reached some 17,220,000. Those children not at school but who had already received some compulsory education numbered as high as 25,000,000."[6] However, these percentages seem unreasonably high, and Chen was probably trying to bolster his image as Minister of Education. In addition, it is unclear what level of education Chen referred to – whether it was all school-aged youth or only school-aged children attending primary school. But he admitted that "the war had greatly set back our public education, especially in the enemy-occupied areas," referring to the Japanese-controlled territories.[7] These territories consisted of north China (where the main educational centers were in the Beijing and Tianjin regions) and the coastal areas, historically the most populated and

[5] Ministry of Education, *Education Statistics of the Republic of China, 1989*, Tables 8, 9, and 10. Cited in Sun, 97.
[6] Chen Lifu, 159.
[7] Chen Lifu, 159.

educated regions. Also, the war certainly disrupted schooling for most students in these areas, lowering the percentage of children attending school in the whole country.

In terms of student military training, Chiang Ching-kuo in particular realized the Party's mistakes on the mainland and sought to correct them after the exile to Taiwan. In a February 7, 1968 address to school heads, university leaders, and chief military instructors in Taipei, he admitted that "the student military training system did not begin in Taiwan. It was initiated on the mainland, but we did not do a good job then. Once we were criticized we dared not aggressively implement the system, therefore we ended in failure."[8] Ching-kuo also responded to foreign and domestic criticism of student military training on the island, arguing that "we did not allow the disapproval to dissuade us. The purpose of political work is to restore the combat spirit to the army and the purpose of student military training is to calm campuses and to channel student energies in the proper direction."[9] Ching-kuo claimed that student military training in mainland schools was not "aggressively implemented" because the GMD feared a backlash, yet in reality the Party did not need military training in every school when manpower was abundant. With fewer resources (including people) in Taiwan, and under the threat of Communist invasion, the GMD mandated military training in all school, out of an urgent need produce a reserve army. When he addressed criticism of student military training, Ching-kuo remained confident that the Nationalists would not succumb to such attacks on Taiwan. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, he insisted that military training would continue unabated in all senior high schools on the island. More importantly, he

[8] Jiaoyubu junxunchu, *Xuesheng junxun wushinian*, 157-160.
[9] *Xuesheng junxun wushinian*, 157-160.

explained that the prevention of student protests was one of the reasons why he enforced the training.

In addition, mandatory two-year military service for all young males prevailed for many decades. Yet in recent years, such compulsory service has taken on decreasingly "militaristic" forms. Today, visitors to the Taiwan Historica archival institute (in Nantou, central Taiwan) will find young men in uniform working the desks and performing other administrative jobs. Each day, at noon, an alarm rings, sending the youth scurrying down the halls and stairs to stand at attention in front of the main entrance of the complex. There, an instructor leads them in a short drill before they return to work. Images like these are common in today's Taiwan, a testament to the fact that the government has cut down its military manpower while still requiring alternative service. The number of males eligible to serve in the military (either 18 year olds not pursuing higher education, or college graduates) exceeds the actual demands of the forces. Thus, the surplus substitute true military service by working in a variety of government services, including historical archives. This is a stark contrast to the 1950s, when the GMD feared imminent Communist attack and mandated all young men of a certain age to serve in the actual military. Yet the fact that such service continues to take on militaristic dimensions (uniforms, flags and symbols, drilling, etc.) – even as participants perform duties completely unrelated to the armed forces – speaks to the government's ongoing commitment to the original ideals behind 1950s military training.

The commitment to military education remains, but even before 1960 it was clear that a new generation of young people on Taiwan had emerged, with cultural values, political notions, and youth identities that differed from the generation that faced the

brutal war with Japan and hardship on the mainland. However, some continuities are still obvious; Taiwan certainly remained economically poor during the 1950s, leading the Ministry of National Defense to champion the Overcoming Difficulty Movement throughout the decade. Yet living standards on Taiwan in the early years of retrocession were still better than the dire situation in war-torn China. Most of the civilians who fled to the island were wealthy, educated elite, able to provide disposable income for their children. For mainlanders who had just arrived, their new home was a place to explore, and the island inspired some young people to travel for leisure in the unfamiliar environment; wartime youth, on the other hand, relocated on the mainland just to survive. Similarly, the refugee generation migrated to southwest China and encountered local inhabitants and different terrain during the war. Instead of escaping Japanese bombs like their counterparts on the mainland, Taiwan's young people prepared themselves for Communist invasion. In essence, the fears of those on the mainland were more immediate, while the threat on Taiwan was always more abstract, or "imminent." The authoritarian GMD state realized this generational shift, and adjusted its youth mobilization tactics accordingly. While the Party tightened control on Taiwan more than it ever had on the mainland (imposing martial law from 1949-1987), its China Youth Corps (CYC) represented a much softer appeal to youth than the Three People's Principles Youth Corps (SQT). This attempt to win over young people with recreational activities, as opposed to harsh indoctrination, represented a much broader recognition of (and acquiescence to) powerful new youth identities and the importance of youth culture, leisure, and consumption. Therefore, not only did the GMD leadership and its approach

to secondary education change, but Chinese youth themselves also evolved in just one generation.

Before, the GMD had difficulty trying to mobilize youth on the mainland during the Sino-Japanese War and the civil war – having millions of people uprooted was especially destabilizing. Throughout the conflict with Japan, youth were spread across the vast country in GMD-controlled, Communist-ruled, and Japanese-occupied territories, many of them dislocated from their home towns. While the Nationalists mostly struggled to mobilize youth in regions they controlled, National Executive Yuan records reveal one important exception: the GMD provided stipends to SQT branches in province held by the Japanese, such as Shandong.[10] For the most part, the GMD's influence on youth education in regions beyond its control was extremely restricted, yet the Nationalists clearly saw these organizations as an important battle front, and the SQT attempted to win the struggle for youth support in contested areas. Despite these attempts to support students in Japanese-controlled regions, the GMD's mobilization of students was quite limited even within its domain. In 1939, the SQT's first full year of existence, only 8.1 percent of its 9,000 members were students. By 1947, the year it was dismantled, the percentage of students had grown to 46.59, out of 1.3 million members.[11] Despite this increase in the ratio of students, the SQT was often unwilling to emphasize student recruitment, and a majority of members belonged to other sectors of society. Perhaps that itself contributed to the disillusionment some youth felt towards the GMD by the end of the war, many turning their allegiance to the Communists.

[10] Guomin Xingzhengyuan, "Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan ji suo shu danwei, 1944-1947 niandu jingfei yusuan," File 790, 16J-1748, Vol. 2, Sec. 3.
[11] See Tables 1 and 2 (74, 79).

In contrast, the Nationalists established the CYC exclusively for young people, catering to youth interests with fun activities like swimming, cycling, hiking, and camping. However, it still devoted a significant amount of time for youth to receive Party indoctrination and acquire military skills, recognizing what it considered the ultimate threat to the island: Communist attack. When they mandated that all senior high school students join the CYC and undergo military training, the Nationalists found it far easier to mobilize in the smaller world of 1950s Taiwan. Those who had fled from the mainland and remained loyal to the GMD were a minority compared to the Taiwanese, yet both groups had to comply with orders, since military instructors closely monitored schools and GMD officials rigidly controlled the highest positions of government in Taiwan, a single-party state. The CYC was also able to dominate activities by establishing itself as the only government-sanctioned youth organization. Other than the CYC, one of the few opportunities for organized activities were short excursions on Sundays chaperoned by teachers.

While on the mainland from 1937-1949, the Nationalists maintained strict surveillance over anti-government activities. In 1950s and 1960s Taiwan, GMD crackdowns became even more extreme in order to prevent major demonstrations while the Nationalists consolidated power on the island. Thus, the government's 1953 introduction of strict military instructors in schools also forestalled youth from mobilizing against it. By the late 1980s and 1990s, Presidents Chiang Ching-kuo and Lee Teng-hui had gradually implemented policies towards liberalization and democratization in politics and society. In 1987, Ching-kuo finally revoked martial law, releasing government constraints on the media and public speech. As part of these reforms,

military instructors and their authority in Taiwan's schools became increasingly marginalized, while the GMD's harsh suppression of student protest and political activity began to subside.[12]

Meanwhile, students in politics remained important on the mainland. The Tiananmen Protest of 1989 provided a lasting, iconic image of student political activism that was recognized globally (and especially championed by the West), yet few are familiar with Taiwan's Month of March Movement (or Wild White Lily Student Movement), which occurred just one year later. Political scientist Teresa Wright notes that "in both cases, students relied on peaceful methods of protest, occupied the central square in the capital, and petitioned the government for political reform."[13] She explains that the Month of March Movement "arose as a response to the coming National Assembly election of a new president … many citizens were angered and alarmed by the factional struggle between more traditional KMT elites [particularly Lee Huan and Hao Po-ts'un] and the reformist Taiwanese Lee Teng-hui."[14] They were upset that "the existing method of choosing the president did not directly reflect the opinions of the people."[15] Fearing that conservative elites would dominate once again, thousands of Taipei students called for democratic reform. On March 14, students organized a sit-in of 300 people in front of GMD headquarters to protest the illegitimacy of the National Assembly and electoral system. Two days later, the movement culminated with thousands participating in another sit-in in Liberty Square (originally Chiang Kai-shek

[12] Several student protests occurred from the 1970s and 1980s in Taiwan. See Teresa Wright, *The Perils of Protest: State Repression and Student Activism in China and Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2001), 96-102.
[13] Wright, 95.
[14] Wright, 102-103.
[15] Wright, 103.

Memorial Square, but renamed by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) after it took power with the election of President Chen Shui-bian in 2000). According to Wright, on March 21, "news of Lee Teng-hui's nearly unanimous election reached the square. The power struggle within the KMT appeared to have been resolved … now Lee could speak with the students from a position of strength." On the same day, Lee met with students in the Presidential Building and affirmed their patriotism, supporting their demand for direct elections of future presidents and agreeing to other reforms and democratization of the political system. The next day, the last protester withdrew from the square.[16] Thus, the 1990 Month of March Movement ended on a peaceful and positive note, while the Tiananmen protest resulted in violence and failure. As Wright points out, "a crucial difference existed in the manner of the government's response to the demonstrators" and the "more open environment in Taiwan helped make organizational difficulties less extreme."[17]

In terms of youth and secondary education, a final link between the GMD's mainland years and the Taiwan period is found in the personality cult of Chiang Kai-shek himself. It began during the Nanjing decade (1927-1937), but grew more intense on Taiwan as citizens sought favor with the GMD or commercial benefits from producing sculptures of the Generalissimo.[18] On the mainland, Chiang had actually forbidden statues of himself.[19] However, in the early decades of retrocession the GMD actively built his personality cult, and secondary schools (and students) were central to the process. Schools required students to memorize Chiang's speeches and writings. After his death,

[16] Wright, 102-126.
[17] Wright, 126.
[18] Jeremy Taylor, "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929-1975," *China Quarterly* 185 (March 2006): 96-110.
[19] Taylor, *Generalissimo*, 102.

the GMD erected statues and busts in virtually every schoolyard on the island. Since assuming power, the DPP has removed the hagiography of Chiang from textbooks and taken down most of the sculptures in schools and other places around the island (a few still remain in remote areas). About two hundred Chiang sculptures rest near his burial site in Xikou, located outside of Taipei and named after his birthplace in Zhejiang Province. The majority are busts labeled with the various elementary, junior high, and senior high schools where they were first displayed, a testament to the importance of Taiwan's secondary education system in forging his personality cult and the way in which Chiang remained prevalent in most students' lives, including their studies.

Bibliography

Alitto, Guy. "Chiang Kai-shek in Western Historiography," *Sino-American Relations* 27:4 (Winter 2001): 40-81.

Anna, Cara. "New China Knife Attack Wounds Nine Students," Associated Press, May 19, 2010. http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/37227783/ns/world_news-asiapacific/ (accessed May 19, 2010).

Bailey, Paul J. "Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife? The Debate over Women's Education in Early Twentieth-Century China." In *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, edited by Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth Century China. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1990.

Barnett, A. Doak. *China on the Eve of Communist Takeover*. New York: Praeger, 1963.

Bedeski, Robert E. *State Building in Modern China: The Kuomintang in the Prewar Period*. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies, 1981.

Bian, Morris L. *The Making of the State Enterprise System in Modern China: The Dynamics of Institutional Change*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.

Bodenhorn, Terry, ed. *Defining Modernity: Guomindang Rhetorics of a New China, 1920-1970: A Neotraditional Scientism?* Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.

Boorman, Howard, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

Borg, Dorothy. "Students in Kuomintang China," *Far Eastern Survey* (January 14, 1948): 4-7.

Bowie, George H. "The China Youth Corps: A Contributor to the Development of the Republic of China." Master's Thesis, Brigham Young University, 1990.

Brindley, Thomas A. *The China Youth Corps in Taiwan*. New York: Peter Lang, 1999.

Brown, Melissa J. *Is Taiwan Chinese? The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

ed. *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California Press, 1996.

Bullard, Monte R. *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1997.

Chan, Wai-keung. "Contending Memories of the Nation: History Education in Wartime China, 1937-1945." In *The Politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China*, edited by Tze-ki Hon and Robert Culp. Leiden: Brill, 2007.

Chang Jui-the. "Technology Transfer in Modern China: The Case of Railway Enterprise (1876-1937)," *Modern Asian Studies* (1992): 281-296.

Chauncey, Helen R. *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1992.

Chen, Cheng. *Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhi xingzhi ji qi zhanwang*. 陳▪. 三民主義青年團之性質及期展望 (*The Nature and Prospects of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*). N.p. April 1939.

Chen Cuilian. *Paixi douzheng yu quanmo zhengzhi* (派系鬥爭與權謨政治). Taipei: China Times Press, 1995.

Chen, Edward I-te. "Formosan Political Movements Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1914-1937," *Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 31, no. 3 (May 1972).

Chen, Janet Y. "Guilty of Indigence: The Urban Poor in China, 1900-1949." PhD diss., Yale University, 2005. In Proquest Dissertations.

Chen Jinjin. *Kangzhan qian jiao yu zhengce zhi yanjiu: Min guo shi qi nian zhi er shi liu nian* (*Pre-war Educational Policies of ROC: 1928-1937*) Taipei: Jindai Zhongguo chubanshe, 1997.

Chen Lifu. *Chan-sih chiao-yu hui-i* (*Memoirs on Wartime Educational Administration*), Taipei, 1951.

Four Years of Chinese Education, 1937-1941. Chongqing: China Information Committee, 1941.

The Storm Clouds Clear Over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993. Edited by Sidney H. Chang and Ramon H. Myers. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1994.

Zhanshi jiaoyu xingzheng huiyi (*Recollections on Wartime Educational Administration*). Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1973.

Chen San-jing, Chu Hong-yuan, and Wu Mei-hui (fangwen), Wu Mei-hui (jilu). *Nü qingnian dadui fangwen ji* 陳三井, 朱浤遠源, ﹡美慧 (訪問), ﹡美慧 (紀﹡), 女青年大隊訪問紀 (*The Reminiscences of Women's Corp*). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo, 1995.

Chiang, Ching-kuo. *Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng quanji* 蔣經國, 蔣經國先生全紀 (*The Complete Works of Chiang Ching-kuo, Vols. 3 and 4*). Taipei: Xingzhengyuan xinwenju, 1991-1992.

Chiang Kai-shek. *China's Destiny*. Translated by Wang Chung-hui. New York: MacMillan, 1947.

President Chiang Kai-shek's Selected Speeches and Messages, 1937-1945. Taipei: China Cultural Service, 1949.

Soviet Russia in China: A Summing-Up at Seventy. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957.

Xian zongtong Jianggong quanji (*The Complete Works of Jiang Jieshi*). Taipei: Zhongguo wenhua daxue, 1984.

Chiang Kai-shek Diaries. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

Chiang, Monlin. *Tides from the West: A Chinese Autobiography*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947.

Chinese Ministry of Information. *China Handbook, 1937-1945: A Comprehensive Survey of Major Developments in China in Eight Years of War*. New York: Macmillan Company, 1947.

Chinese Press Review. U.S. Consulate General (and U.S. Office of War Information), Chongqing, China. January 3, 1945-October 21, 1946.

Ching, Leo T. S. *Becoming "Japanese," Colonial Taiwan and the Politics of Identity Formation*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

Chun, Allen. "From Nationalism to Nationalizing: Cultural Imagination and State Formation in Postwar Taiwan." In *Chinese Nationalism*, edited by Jonathan Unger, 126-147. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996. Reprinted in *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 30 (1994): 49-69.

Cohen, Paul A. "The Post-Mao Reforms in Historical Perspective," *Journal of Asian Studies* 43:3 (1988): 519-41.

Cogan, John J., Paul Morris, and Murray Print, eds. *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Case Studies Across Six Societies*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002.

Cong Xiaoping. "Localizing the Global, Nationalizing the Local: The Role of Teachers' Schools in Making China Modern, 1897-1937." PhD diss., UCLA, 2001.

Corcuff, Stephane, ed. *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002.

Crossley, Pamela K. "Thinking about Ethnicity in Early Modern China," *Late Imperial China* 11:2 (June 1990): 1-36.

Crozier, Ralph C. *Koxinga and Chinese Nationalism: History, Myth, and the Hero.* Cambridge, MA: East Asian Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1977.

Culp, Robert. *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Training and Student Polities in Southeastern China, 1912-1940*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2007.

"China—The Land and its People': Fashioning Identity in Secondary School History Textbooks, 1911-1937," *Twentieth-Century China* 26:2 (April 2001): 17-62.

"Elite Association and Local Politics in Republican China: Educational Institutions in Jiashan and Lanqi Counties, Zhejiang, 1911-1937," *Modern China* 20:4 (October 1994).

"Research Note: Shanghai's Lexicographical Publishing House Library's Holdings on Republican Period Popular Culture and Education," *Republican China* 22:2 (April 1997): 104-109.

"Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation, and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China," *Journal of Asian Studies* 65:3 (August 2006): 529-554.

"Self-determination or Self-discipline? The Shifting Meanings of Student Self-government in 1920s Jiangnan Middle Schools," *Twentieth-Century China* 23:2 (April 1998): 1-39.

"Setting the Sheet of Loose Sand: Conceptions of Society and Citizenship in Nanjing Decade Party Doctrine and Civics Textbooks." In *Defining Modernity: Guomindang Rhetorics of a New China, 1920-1970,* edited by Terry Bodenhorn. Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002.

"Zhongguo tongzijun—Nanjing shinian tongzijun shouce zhong de gongmin xunlian yu shehui yishi" ("Scouting for Chinese Boys: Civic Training and Social Consciousness in Nanjing Decade Boy Scout Handbooks"), *Xinshixue* (*New History*) 11:4 (December 2000): 17-63.

Curran, Thomas D. *Educational Reform in Republican China: The Failure of Educators to Create a Modern Nation.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen, 2005.

De Hart, Jane Sherron. "Oral Sources and Contemporary History: Dispelling Old Assumptions," *Journal of American History* 80:2 (September 1993): 582-595.

Demographic Yearbook, 1949-1950. New York: United Nations, 1950.

Demographic Yearbook, 1953. New York: United Nations, 1953.

Demographic Yearbook, 1957. New York: United Nations, 1957.

Dewey, Thomas E. *Journey to the Far Pacific.* Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1952.

Dickson, Bruce J. "The Lessons of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-52," *China Quarterly* 133 (March 1993): 56-84.

Drège, Jean-Pierre. *La Commercial Press de Shanghai, 1897-1949*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978. Translated by Li Tongshi, *Shanghai shang wu yin shu guan, 1897-1949*. Beijing: Commercial Press, 2000.

Eastman, Lloyd. *The Abortive Revolution: China Under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

"China Under Nationalist Rule, Two Essays: The Nanking Decade, 1927-1939 and The War Years, 1937-1945." Urbana, IL: Center for Asian Studies, University of Illinois. Volume I of Papers in Asian Studies, 1981.

"Fascism and Modern China: a Rejoinder," *China Quarterly* 80 (Dec 1979): 838-842.

"Fascism in Kuomintang China: The Blue Shirts," *China Quarterly* 49 (Jan – Mar 1972): 1-31.

"The Kuomintang in the 1930's." In *The Limits of Change: Essays on Conservative Alternatives in Republican China*, edited by Charlotte Furth. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.

"The Rise and Fall of the 'Blue Shirts': A Review Article," *Republican China*, 13.1 (Nov 1987): 25-48.

Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984.

Ebrey, Patricia. “Surnames and Han Chinese Identity.” In *Negotiating Ethnicities in China and Taiwan*, edited by Melissa J. Brown, 19-36. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Edmondson, Robert. “The February 28 Incident and National Identity.” In *Memories of the Future: National Identity Issues and the Search for a New Taiwan*, edited by Stephane Corcuff. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002, 25-47.

Education Statistics of the Republic of China, 1989, Taipei: Ministry of Education, 1989.

Fenby, Jonathan. *Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Nation He Lost*. London: The Free Press, 2003.

Fitzgerald, John. *Awakening China: Politics, Culture and Class in the Nationalist Revolution.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996.

Gerth, Karl. *China Made: Consumer Culture and the Creation of the Nation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Glosser, Susan. *Chinese Visions of Family and State, 1915-1953.* University of California Press, 2003.

Gu Shuxing, “Xuexiao junxun wenti de yantao” *Jiaoyu tongxun fukan taiban* 顧樹型, “學許學校軍訓問題的研討,” 教育通訊復刊臺版 (“Discussion on the Issue of Military Training in Schools,” *Education Newsletter*). 2:16 (July 20, 1951): 10-13.

Guoli bianyi guan. *Tongzijun xunlian, Diyice*. 國立編譯館, 童子軍訓練, 第一冊 (National Institute of Compilation and Translation*, Scouts Training, Vol. 1)*. Taipei: Guoli bianyi guan, 1972.

Guofangbu Zhengzhibu. *Guojun zhengzhan shigao*.國防部總政治部, 國軍政戰史稿 (General Political Warfare Department, *Draft History of Political Warfare in the Chinese Armed Forces*). Taipei: Guofangbu Zhengzhibu, 1965.

Guojun dang’an. “Jianli houbei bing yuan an” (National Military Archives, “Establish the Reserves”), Zongzhang bangongshi (Director’s Office). 1622/1540, February-July 1952.

Guomin xingzhenyuan (National Executive Yuan). “Ge di zhongdeng xuexiao jiaozhiyuan beikong,” 國民行政院, “各地中等學校教職員被控” (“Secondary School Staff from Different Locales Accused of Crimes”). File 5262, J-1275, Vol. 2, Di’er lishi dang’anguan, Nanjing.

“Ge sheng shi jiaoyu shicha baogao,” “各省市教育視察報告” (“Report on the Investigation of Education in Each Province and City”). File 2286, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2, Di’er lishi dang’anguan, Nanjing.

"Ge sili zhongxue qing buzhu fei," "各私立中學請‧助費" ("Private High Schools Applying for Subsidies"). File 1951, 16J-1904, Vol. 2, Sec. 3, Di'er lishi dang'anguan, Nanjing.

"Guomindang zhongyang junxiao tebie xunlianban yuanbing cansha Hechuan xian Guoli di'er zhongxue xuesheng Zheng Xuepu deng jingguo qingxing" "國民黨中央軍校特別訓練班員兵慘殺合川縣國立第二中學學生鄭學朴等經過情形" ("The Stages of Events that Led the GMD Central Special Military Training Class Member to Murder Zheng Xuepu of Number Two Middle School from Hechuan County"). File 2300, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2, December 1942, Di'er lishi dang'anguan, Nanjing.

"Jiaoyubu qingnian fu xue jiu ye fudao weiyuanhui gongzuo gaikuang gaihui shi zi xunlian suo banfa" "教育部青年復學就業輔導委員會工作概況及該會師資訓練所辦法" ("Solution of Ministry of Education's Guidance Committee for Youth Returning to School to Acquire Jobs and Teachers' Training Institute"). File 2294, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2, January 1946-November 1947, Di'er lishi dang'anguan, Nanjing.

"Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan ji suo shu danwei, 1944-1947 niandu jingfei yusuan," 三民主義青年團及所屬‧位, 1944-1947 年度經費預算 (Sanmin Zhuyi Youth Corps and the Belonging Units, 1944-1947 Budget). File 790, 16J-1748, Vol. 2, Sec. 3.

"Zhan di shixue qingnian zhao xun banfa gangyao jige fang zhi jianyi" "戰地失學青年招訓‧法綱要及各方之建議" ("Proposal for Registration and Training Solution for Youth Who Do Not Have Schools Where War Occurs"), File 2293, 16J-1621, Vol. 2, Sec. 2, April 1939-July 1944, Di'er lishi dang'anguan, Nanjing.

Guomin zhengfu (National Government), Jiaoyubu, "Jiaoyubu Sanmin zhuyi jiaoyu shishi yuanze," "教育部三民主義教育實施原則" ("How to Put Three Principles of the People into Practice"). File 410-J-2941, Vol. 1, Sec. 5, Di'er lishi dang'anguan, Nanjing.

Guomindang Historical Commission, ed. *Geming wenxian* (Documents on Revolution). Taipei, 1953-Present.

Guoshiguan. "Zhongguo guomin shi shi jiyao, 1952" 中國國民史實紀要 (四十一年)" (Republic of China Historical Records Summary, 1952), May 1955. Taipei: Guoshiguan, 1952.

Hansen, Valerie. *The Open Empire: A History of China to 1600.* New York: W. W. Norton Company, 2000.

Harp, Stephen L. *Learning to Be Loyal: Primary Schooling as Nation Building in Alsace and Lorraine, 1850-1940*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1998.

Harrison, Henrietta. "Changing Nationalities, Changing Ethnicities: Taiwan Indigenous Villages in the Years after 1946." In *In Search of the Hunters and Their Tribes: Studies in the History and Culture of the Taiwan Indigenous People*, edited by David Faure, 50-78. Taipei: Shung Ye Museum of Formosan Aborigines, 2001.

The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China, 1911-1929. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Harrison, James Pinckney. *The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-1972.* New York: Praeger, 1972.

Harrison, Mark. *Legitimacy, Meaning and Knowledge in the Making of Taiwanese Identity.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Herschatter, Gail. *Dangerous Pleasures: Prostitution and Modernity in Twentieth-Century Shanghai.* University of California Press, 1999.

Hsia-Chang, Maria. *The Chinese Blue Shirt Society: Fascism and Developmental Nationalism*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1985.

"'Fascism' and Modern China," *China Quarterly* 79 (Sep 1979): 553-567.

Hsiung, James C. and Steven I. Levine, eds. *China's Bitter Victory: The War With Japan, 1937-1945*. New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.

Hsu, Chiu-mei. "A Historical Study of the China Youth Corps' Summer Camps in Taiwan, 1953-1990." Master's thesis, University of Kansas, 1993.

Hsu, Cho-yun. "Historical Setting for the Rise of Chiang Ching-kuo." In *Chiang Ching-kuo's Leadership in the Development of the Republic of China on Taiwan*, edited by Shao-chuan Leng, 1-30. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1993.

Hsueh, Hua-yuan, ed. *The Contents and Index of Free China Semimonthly*. Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., 2000.

Hu Kuo-tai. "Disputes on the Question of Wartime Education and the Formation of an Educational Policy for the Guomindang in the War." *Republican China* 14:1 (November 1988): 30-56.

"The Impact of War on Higher Education in China, 1937-1945," *Bulletin of Academia Historica* 1 (December 2001): 77-126.

"Politics and Higher Education in China: The Control and Development Policies of the Guomindang, 1937-1945." PhD diss., Griffith University, 1987.

"The Struggle between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party on Campus during the War of Resistance: 1937-1945," *China Quarterly* 118 (June 1989): 300-323.

Huang Jianli. *The Politics of Depoliticization in Republican China: Guomindang Policy towards Student Political Activism, 1927-1949*. Bern: Peter Lang, 1996.

Huang, Jong Huh. "A Configurational Study of the Nonprofit Learning Organization: A Case Study of China Youth Corps in Taiwan." DPA diss., University of Southern California, 1994.

Huang, Ray. *Chiang Kai-shek and His Diary as a Historical Source*. Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1996.

Hung, Chang-tai. *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945*. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1994.

Israel, John. *Lianda: A Chinese University in War and Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998.

Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966.

Israel, John, and Donald W. Klein. *Rebels and Bureaucrats: China's December 9ers*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976.

Jian, Min-yuan. "A Study of Reemployment of Retired Military Training Instructor."簡敏員, 軍訓教官退伍後再就業之研究. 碩士論文-國防大學. Master's thesis, National Defense University, 2007.

Jiaoyubu, ed. *Di'erci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* 第二次中國教育年鑑 (*The Second Yearbook of Chinese Education*) Taipei: Zhongqing, 1948 (1981, reprint).

Disanci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian 第三次中國教育年鑑 (*The Third Yearbook of Chinese Education*) Taipei: Zhongqing, 1957.

"Jiaoguan de xinshui yu junjie yaoqiu," 教育部, "教官的薪水與軍接要求" ("Military Instructors Salaries and Rank Eligibility Requirements"), Jiaoyuting, File 30895, November 2, 1951.

"Methods of the Ministry of Education to Manage Students Retreating from War Zones," order #660 issued by the Ministry of Education on February 25, 1938 in *Jiaoyubu gongbao* (*Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*), 10.1-3 (March 1938).

"Methods to Unify the Management of Various Levels of Educational Institutions by Government Agencies," issued on January 20, 1938 in *Jiaoyubu gongbao* (*Bulletin of the Ministry of Education*), 10.1-3 (March 1938).

Zuijin jiaoyu tongji jianbian 最近教育統計監簡編 (*A Concise Edition of the Latest Educational Statistics*), part of Table 10. Chongqing: Jiaoyubu, 1940.

Jiaoyubu junxunchu. *Xuesheng junxun wushinian* 教育部軍訓處, 學生軍訓五十年, (Ministry of Education, Military Training Department, *Fifty Years of Student Military Training*). Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1978.

Jiaoyuting. (Taiwan's Provincial Government, Department of Education) File 3806, August 22, 1951.

Jiuguotuan zongbu. *Senior High School Military Training Textbook, Vol. 1.* Taipei: Taiwan shudian yinshua gongchang, February 1957.

Keenan, Barry. *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Imperial China's Last Classical Academies: Social Change in the Lower Yangzi, 1864-1911. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

"Lung-men Academy in Shanghai and the Expansion of Kiangsu's Educated Elite, 1865-1911." In *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, edited by Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

Kerr, George H. *Formosa Betrayed*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1965.

Kinkley, Jeffrey C. *The Odyssey of Shen Congwen*. Stanford University Press, 1987.

Kirby, William C. "The Chinese War Economy." In *China's Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945*, edited by James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, 185-212. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1992.

"Continuity and Change in Modern China: Economic Planning on the Mainland and on Taiwan, 1943-1958," *Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs* 24 (1990): 121-41.

"Engineering China: Birth of the Developmental State, 1928-1937." In *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond*, edited by Wen-hsin Yeh, 137-160. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000.

Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou. *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February, 1947*. Stanford University Press, 1991.

Lall, Marie and Edward Vickers, eds. *Education as a Political Tool in Asia.* New York: Routledge, 2009.

Lang, Olga. *Chinese Family and Society*. Archon Books, 1968.

Lee, Ger-bei. "Values, Tradition, and Social Change: A Study of School Textbooks in Taiwan and in China." PhD diss., UCLA, 1987.

Lee Huan and Lin Yin-ting. *Zhuisui ban shiji – Lee Huan yu Chiang Ching-kuo xiansheng*. 林蔭庭, 追隨半世紀—李煥與經國先生. 台北: 天下文化出版設, 1997. (*Lee Huan: Half a Century of Following Chiang Ching-kuo*). (Taipei: Commonwealth Press, 1997).

Lee, Thomas H. "Chinese Education and Intellectuals in Postwar Taiwan." In *Postwar Taiwan in Historical Perspective*, edited by Chun-Chieh Huang and Feng-fu Tsao, 135-157. Bethesada, MD: University Press of Maryland, 1998.

Lee Wei-song. "The Study of Chiang Ching-kuo and the China Youth Corps (1969-1988)." 李偉松, "蔣經國與救國團之研究 (1969-1988)," 國立中央大學, 碩士論文. Master's thesis, National Central University, 2005.

Lei Zhen. *Wo de muqin: huiyilu* 雷震. 我的母親: 回憶 (*My Mother: Memoir*). Taipei: Guiguan tushu gufen youxian gongsi: Faxing jiu bo tushu gufen youxian gongsi, 1989.

Lévesque, Stephane**. "**Becoming Citizens: High School Students and Citizenship in BC and Québec," *Encounters on Education* 4 (2003): 107-126.

Li Huaxing et al., eds. *Minguo jiaoyushi* (Republican education history). Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, 1997.

Li, Lincoln. *Student Nationalism in China, 1924-1949*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994.

Li Tai-han. "Cong qingnian lianhui dao Jiuguotuan chengli de guocheng – yijiuwushi niandai chuqi – Guomindang duiyu qingnian yundong de chouhua yu zhangkong" *Taiwan wenxian* 李泰翰, "從青年聯會到救國團成立的過程 -- 一九五 0 年代初期國民黨對於青年運動的籌劃與長控 ," 台灣文獻 ("The Process from the Youth League to the Establishment of the China Youth Corps – The Guomindang's Plan and Control of Youth Movements in the Early 1950s," *Taiwan Documents*). Vol. 56, no. 3.

"Dang'an yunyong yu lishi yanjiu – yi xuesheng junxun zai zhanhou Taiwan shi shi de yiti wei li," *Dangan jikan.* 李泰翰, ▪ 案運用與▪ 史研究 – 以學生軍訓在

戰後台灣實施的議題為例, ▪案季刊. ("Archive Research and History Study: Issues on the Implication of Student Military Training in Post War Taiwan," *Archives Quarterly*), Vol. 56, no. 4 (June 2004): 1-13.

"Dangyuan, junshi, yu jiaoyu – yijiu wuling niandai xuesheng junxun jinru xiaoyuan zhi yanjiu," "黨團、軍事與教育－一九五 0 年代學生軍訓進入校園之研究." ("Party Corps, the Military, and Education – The Study of 1950s Student Military Training Entering the Campus,"). Master's thesis, National Central University, 2002.

Linden, Allen B. "Politics and Education in China: The Case of the University Council, 1927-1928," *Journal of Asian Studies* 27:4 (August 1968): 763-777.

"Politics and Higher Education in China: The Kuomintang and the University Community, 1927-1937." PhD diss., Columbia University, 1969.

Liu Huixuan. *Kangzhan shiqi xinan diqu daxue xunyu wenti zhi yanjiu* (Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe yinxing, 1992). 劉惠璇, 抗戰時期西南地區大學訓育問題之研究, 一九三七 – 一九四五. (*A Study of the Issue of Discipline in Southwest Region Colleges During the War of Resistance, 1937-1945*), 1992.

Liu, Meihui. "Civic Education at the Crossroads: Case Study of Taiwan." In *Civic Education in the Asia-Pacific Region: Case Studies Across Six Societies*, edited by John J. Cogan, Paul Morris, and Murray Print. New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002.

"Teachers' Perspectives Toward the Issues-centered Instructional Approach: A Study of Taipei Senior High School Civics Teachers." PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1995.

Liu Nai-chen et al. *Voices From Unoccupied China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Liu Yifu. "Fuxing de qiji, shengli de baozheng," *Zhongguo qingnian de junxun shenghuo* "復興的契機, 勝利的保證," 劉毅夫, 中國青年的軍訓生活 ("Revival's Opportunity, Victory's Guarantee," *Chinese Youth's Military Training Life*). Taipei: Youshi wenhua shiye gongsi, 1955.

Zhandou qingnian de zhandou shenghuo. 戰鬥青年的戰鬥生活 (*Combat Youth's Combat Life*), Taipei.

Loh, Pichon P. Y. "The Politics of Chiang Kai-shek: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Asian Studies* 25:3 (May 1966): 431-451.

Lu Fangshang. *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng (Minguo banian zhi shibanian)* 從學生運動到運動學生 (1919-1929) (*From student movements to*

mobilizing students, 1919-1929). Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiu yuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 1994.

Lung, Ying-tai. *Big River, Big Sea Untold Stories of 1949*. 龍應台. 大江大海一九四九 (*Da Jiang Da Hai 1949*). Taipei: CommonWealth Magazine, 2009.

Lüqi piaoyang sanshinian 綠旗飄揚三十年 (*Green Flag Waves For Thirty Years*) Taipei: The China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1982 [Co-authors not credited are Hsueh P'ing-kuo and Chao Ch'ing-ho].

Lutz, Jessie G. *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971.

"The Chinese Student Movement of 1945-1949," *Journal of Asian Studies* 31:1 (November 1971): 89-110.

Ma Zhisu. *Lei Zhen and Chiang Kai-shek*. 馬之驌. 雷震與蔣介石. Taipei: Zili wanbao she wenhua chuban bu, 1993.

Mackerras, Colin. *China's Minority Cultures: Identities and Integration Since 1912*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995.

China's Minorities: Integration and Modernization in the Twentieth Century. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Martin, Roberta. "The Socialization of Children in China and on Taiwan: An Analysis of Elementary School Textbooks," *China Quarterly* 62 (1975): 242-262.

McElroy, Sarah Coles. "Forging a New Role for Women: Zhili First Women's Normal School and the Growth of Women's Education in China, 1901-21." In *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-Century China*, edited by Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

"Transforming China through Education: Yan Xiu, Zhang Boling, and the Effort to Build a New School System, 1901-1927." PhD diss., Yale University, 1996.

Macleod, David. *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and Their Forerunners, 1870-1920*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.

Manual of Educational Statistics, The Republic of China – 1961. Taipei: National Educational Materials Center, 1961.

Mitchell, Brian R. *International Historical Statistics: Africa, Asia & Oceania, 1750-2000.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Mitter, Rana. *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

Myers, Ramon H. "Economic Policy and Moral Principles of Chiang Kai-shek," *Sino-American Relations* 27:1 (Spring 2001): 14-37.

Nedostup, Rebecca. *Superstitious Regimes: Religion and the Politics of Chinese Modernity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

New York Times

Ou Tsiun-chen (Wu Junsheng). "Education in Wartime China." In *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, edited by Paul K. T. Sih, 89-123. Hicksville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977.

Pao, Chun-peng. *Zhongguo qingnian fangong jiuguotuan zai zhandou zhong* 包遵彭. 中國青年反共救國團在戰鬥中 (*China Youth Corps in Combat*). Taipei: Youth Press, 1955.

Peake, Cyrus H. *Nationalism and Education in Modern China*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932.

Peng, Mingmin. *A Taste of Freedom: Memoirs of a Formosan Independence Leader*. Irvine, CA: Taiwan Publishing Company, 1994.

Pepper, Suzanne. *Civil War in China*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999.

"The KMT-CCP conflict, 1945-1949." In *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13,* edited by John Fairbank and Albert Feuerweker, 746-747. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-century China: The Search for an Ideal Development Model. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Peterson, Glen, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu, eds. *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-century China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001.

Phillips, Steven E. *Between Assimilation and Independence: The Taiwanese Encounter Nationalist China, 1945-1950*. Stanford: Stanford University, 2003.

Quanguo jiaoyuhui lianhehui xinxuezhi kecheng biaozhun qicao weiyuanhui, "Gaoji zhongxue kecheng zonggang," *Xinxuezhi kecheng biaozhun gangyao* (Outline of the curriculum standards for the New School System), 3rd ed., 1924, 4-7.

Rankin, Mary. *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971.

Rawski, Evelyn S. *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979.

Roy, Denny. *Taiwan: A Political History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003.

Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan, *Tuanzhang xunshi* 三民主義青年團, 團長訓示. (Three People's Principles Youth Corps, *Speeches of the President of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*) Sanmin zhuyi qingniantuan zhongyang tuan yi yin, April 1942.

Sang Bing. *Wanqing xuetang xuesheng yu shehui bianqian* (*Late Qing School Students and Social Change*). Taipei: Daohe chubanshe, 1991.

Sassani, Abul Hassan K. *Education in Taiwan (Formosa)*. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1956.

Schneider, Helen M. "Keeping the Nation's House: Domesticity and Home Economics Education in Republican China." PhD diss., University of Washington, 2004.

Sih, Paul K.T., ed. *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*. Hickville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977.

Su Bing (Shih Ming). *Taiwan's 400 Year History: The Origins and Continuing Development of the Taiwanese Society and People*. Washington, DC: Taiwanese Grassroots Association, 1986.

Schneider, Laurence A. *Ku Chieh-kang and China's New History: Nationalism and the Quest for Alternative Traditions*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971.

Shi Huiqun. *A History of Chinese Student Movements, 1945-1949*. Shanghai People Publishing Company, 1992.

Spence, Jonathan. *The Search for Modern China*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1999.

"Statement by the President on the Situation in Korea, June 27, 1950," John T. Woolley and Gerhard Peters, *The American Presidency Project* [online]. Santa Barbara, CA. http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/?pid=13538 (accessed November 17, 2009).

Sun Chen, "Investment in Education and Human Resource Development in Postwar Taiwan." In *Cultural Change in Postwar Taiwan,* ed. Steve Harrell and Huang Chün-chieh, 91-110. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1994.

Svensson, Marina. *Debating Human Rights in China: A Conceptual and Political History*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

Synott, John P. *Teacher Unions, Social Movements and the Politics of Education in Asia: South Korea, Taiwan and the Philippines*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2002.

Taiwan sheng jiaoyu tongji 臺灣省教育統計 (*Taiwan Province Education Statistics*). Taipei: Jiaoyuting, 1954.

Taylor, Jay. *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.

The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Taylor, Jeremy. "The Production of the Chiang Kai-shek Personality Cult, 1929-1975," *China Quarterly* 185 (March 2006): 96-110.

The Ten-Year Existence of the China Youth Corps, 團務十年. Taipei: China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1963.

Thogerson, Stig. *A County of Culture*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

TIME

Tsang, Chiu-sam. *Nationalism in School Education in China*. Hong Kong: Progressive Education Publishers, 1967.

Tsurumi, E. Patricia. *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Tucker, Nancy Bernkopf. *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945-1992: Uncertain Friendships*. New York: Twayne, 1994.

Tyson, Thomas. "Rendering the Unfamiliar Intelligible: Discovering the Human Side of Accounting's Past Through Oral History Interviews," *The Accounting Historians Journal* (December 1996): 1-14.

Tzen, Shian-yung. *China Youth Warriors March*. Taipei: The Youth Publishers, 1953.

Wang Min et al., eds. *Shanghai xuesheng yundong dashiji* (*Major Events in the Shanghai Student Movement*). Shanghai: Xuelin, 1981.

Wang, Liangqing. 王良卿. 三民主義青年團與中國國民黨關係研究 (一九三八- 一九四九). 台北: 中國國民黨黨史研究叢書, 第四種, 近代中國出版社, *A Study of the Relationship Between the San-min Chu-I Youth Corps and the Kuomintang 1938-1949.* Taipei: Kuomintang History Library No. 4, Historical Commission, Central Committee of the Kuomintang, Modern China Publishers, 1998.

Wang, Pi-Lang. “Civics and Morality Among Thirteen and Fifteen Year Olds: A Study in the Republic of China on Taiwan.” PhD diss., University of Maryland at College Park, 1996.

Wang Shijie. “Education.” In *The Chinese Yearbook, 1937*. Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1937.

Wang, Q. [Qingjia] Edward. “China’s Search for National History.” In *Turning Points in Historiography: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Q. Edward Wang and Georg G. Iggers. Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002.

Inventing China through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography. New York: State University of New York Press, 2001.

Wang Zheng. *Women in the Chinese Enlightenment: Oral and Textual Histories*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999.

Wasserstrom, Jeffrey N. *Student Protests in Twentieth-century China: The View from Shanghai.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Wilson, Richard W. *Learning to Be Chinese: The Political Socialization of Children in Taiwan*. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 1970.

Wong, Edward. “Killer in China School Stabbing Knew His Victims,” *New York Times*, May 13, 2010. http://www.nytimes.com/2010/05/14/world/asia/14china.html?scp=1&sq=wu%20huanmin%20knife%20attack&st=cse (accessed May 26, 2010).

Wright, Teresa. *The Perils of Protest: State Repression and Student Activism in China and Taiwan.* Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2001.

Wu, K. C. “Your Money Has Built a Police State in Formosa,” *Look* (June 29, 1954): 39-43.

Wu Manjun, *Ziyou Zhongguo shijian kenan yundong* ▪曼君, 自由中國 實踐克難運動 (*Free China’s Practice of the Overcoming Difficulty Movement*). Taipei: Gaizao chubanshe, 1953.

Wu Nai-teh. “The Politics of a Regime Patronage System: Mobilization and Control Within an Authoritarian Regime,” PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1987.

Xiao Xiqing. “Junxun gongzuo jingyan tan,” *Tuanwu gongzuo shilu*. 蕭西青, “軍訓工作經驗談,” 團務工作實▪. “Discussion of Military Training Job Experience,” *Corps Work Record*) Taipei: The China Youth Corps Headquarters, 1982.

Xiuzheng chuji zhongxue lishi kecheng biaozhun (*The Revised Standard of the Junior High School Curriculum*). Chongqing: Ministry of Education, 1940.

Xiuzheng gaozheng zhongxue lishi kecheng biaozhun (*The Revised Standard of the Senior High School Curriculum*). Chongqing: Ministry of Education, 1940.

Xu Liang. "Tan xuexiao shishi junshi xunlian," *Taiwan jiaoyu fudao yuekan*," 徐亮, 談學校實施軍事訓練, 台灣教育輔導月刊. "Discussing the Implementation of Military Training Practice in Schools," *Taiwan Education Guide Monthly*, Vol. 2, no. 3 (March 1952): 6-7.

Yang, Ying-kuei. "A Study of Employees' Cognition of Organization Change, Role Stress and Job Satisfaction: A Case of Military Training Instructors." 楊應揆, 員工組織變革認知, 角色壓力與工作滿足之研究: 以軍訓教官為例, 碩士論文-大葉大學. Master's thesis, Da-Yeh University, 2007.

Ye Wa and Joseph W. Esherick. *Chinese Archives: An Introductory Guide.* Berkeley: University of California, China Research Monograph, no. 45, 1996.

Yeh, Wen-hsin. *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.

Provincial Passages: Culture, Space, and the Origins of Chinese Communism. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Youshi (*Young Lion*)

Zenyang zhankai nongcun fuwu gongzuo 怎樣展開農村服務工作 (*How to Develop Rural Service Work*). Taipei: Youshi chubanshe, 1954.

Zhejiang jiaoyu jianzhi (*A Brief Chronicle of Zhejiang Education*). Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1988.

Zheng Yiying, "Liu Ziran shijan," Zhongyang tongxun she, Guojia wenhua shuzi dangan, Taiwan xingzheng yuan wenhua jianshe weiyuanhui.鄭懿瀛, 劉自然事件, 中央通訊社, 國家文化數字‧案, 台灣行政院文化建設委員會 ("The Liu Ziran Incident," Central News Agency, National Culture Digital Archives, Taiwan Executive Yuan Council for Cultural Affairs). (http://km.cca.gov.tw/myphoto/h_main.asp?categoryid=35), accessed on February 12, 2010.

Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'anguan, *Zhonghua minguoshi dang'an ziliao huibian* (Compilation of archival materials for Chinese Republican history) (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1994), Series 5, part I, Jiaoyu. Vol. 2: 1239-1240.

Zhonghua minguo zuijin liu nian lai jiaoyu tongji 中華民國最近六年來教育統計, 台北: 教育部編基印 (*Republic of China's Education Statistics for the Previous Nine Years)*. Taipei: Jiaoyubu, 1960.

Zhonghua minguo zuijin liu nian lai jiaoyu tongji 中華民國最近六年來教育統計. (*Republic of China's Education Statistics for the Previous Six Years*). Taipei: Jiaoyubu, 1960.

Zhongyang ribao (*Central Daily News*)

Zhou, Shuzhen. *Sanqingtuan shimo* 周淑真, 三青團始末 (*The Whole Story of the Three People's Principles Youth Corps*). Nanchang: Jiangxi remin chubanshe.

Zhou Yuwen, "Xuesheng junxun zhi guoqu xianzai yu jianglai" 周彧文, "學生軍訓之過去現在與將來," 教育通訊復刊 ("Discussion on the Issue of Military Training in Schools") *Jiaoyu tongxun fukan* (*Education Newsletter*) 1:4-5.

Zhu Youhuan et al., eds. *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao* (*Historical materials for the modern Chinese school system*) (Shanghai: East China Normal University Press, 1983-1992), part 3, I.

Ziyou qingnian (*Free Youth*)

Ziyou Zhongguo (*Free China*)

Zongtongfu dang'an, Buchong bing chuxun jihua 補充兵儲訓計劃 (Presidential Palace Archives, Reserve Army Training Plan), 2130307/7 (December 1950-May 1953).

Zongtongfu dang'an. "Chengfu qie shi yanjiu Bai zong jiaoguan Hongliang yu Yi jiaoguan Zhuoren, guanyu dongyuan yanxi hou zhi tanhua yao dian, bing ni ding shishi banfa you," Buchong bing chuxun jihua. 呈覆切實研究白總教官鴻亮與易教官作仁, 關於動員演習後之談話要點, 並擬定實施辦法由, 補充兵儲訓計劃. (Presidential Palace Archives, Submit in Return Thorough Study of General Military Instructor Bai Hongliang and Military Instructor Yi Zhuoren, Regarding the Key Points of Discussion After the Mobilization Drill, and Draft the Implementation Plan, Reserve Army Training Plan) (March 10, 1952).

Zongtongfu dang'an. "Taiwan sheng gaoji zhongdeng xuexiao xuesheng junxun shishi gaikuang baogao shu," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*. 總統府▪案, "台灣省高級中等學校學生軍訓實事概況報告書," 高中學生軍訓辦法 (Presidential Palace Archives, "Taiwan Province Senior High Schools' Student Military Training Implementation General Situation Report Book," *Senior High Students Military Training Way*) (September 13, 1953).

Zongtongfu dang'an. "Feng jun zuo jiu Jiuguotuan sishisan nian gaozhong yishang xuexiao junxun gaikuang baogao heshi si dian jin jiang banli qingxing chengfu," *Gaozhong xuesheng junxun banfa*, "奉鈞座就救國團四十三年高中以上學校軍訓概況報告核示四點謹將辦理情形呈覆" 高中學生軍訓辦法 (Presidential Palace Archives, "Submit and Return, Your Excellency, China Youth Corps, 1954 Senior High School and Above Military Training Implementation Report Examining Four Points Carefully to Handle Condition," *Senior High Students Military Training Way*, July 4, 1955.