

**The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945  
The Military Struggle**

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## **Introduction**

This bibliography, guide to major archival collections, and essay are not exhaustive in nature, but indicative of the kinds of materials available to researchers. These three items are a first step for scholars interested in utilizing English-language materials in order to learn more about Sino-Japanese military conflict. In the bibliography, particular attention was paid to primary sources and to secondary works by scholars whose research topic or methodology opened the door to further research or whose bibliography would assist others. The bibliography also includes the locations of the personal papers of some of the key individuals who witnessed the war in China.

The bibliography does not include some of the general reference works, which can be found in the extensive bibliography of secondary materials prepared by Theodore Cook. Researchers should also consult the bibliography of English-language first person accounts and personal papers at the Sino-Japanese conflict website:  
<http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~asiactr/sino-japanese/>.

There is also considerable overlap between sections of this bibliography. In the interests of space, however, each publication is only listed once.

There exist hundreds of small books and pamphlets by Japanese, Chinese, and Americans who support or oppose America's assistance to the Chinese prior to Pearl Harbor. Only a few of these are listed in the bibliography. While these materials' titles often suggest that they are journalistic accounts of military action, they are of marginal value to historians of military conflict. These items are, however, vital for any scholar interested in the propaganda struggle in the United States.

## Overviews

Bradley, James, and James W. Dice. *The Second World War: Asia and the Pacific*. New York: Avery, 1984. 328 pages. Originally published by the Department of History, United States Military Academy, as part of the West Point Military History series.

Calvocoressi, Peter, Guy Wint, and John Pritchard, *Total War: The Causes and Course of the Second World War*. New York: Pantheon, 1989. 1315 pages. 2nd rev. ed. Massive history of the war in Europe (volume 1) and Asia (volume 2), based mainly upon secondary sources. Includes wonderful maps and a useful annotated bibliography.

Hattori, Takeshiro. *The Complete History of the Greater East Asia War*. Translation of the four volume *Dai toa sens\_ zenshi* by the Military History Division, Headquarters, United States Army Forces Far East, in 1954. The Japanese interpretation of the 1931-1945 period. The author headed the Operations Section of the Imperial General Army Headquarters, and was thus involved in the planning in many of the operations discussed in this work. This 1,800+ page history is available on microfilm.

Iriye, Akira, and Warren Cohen, Eds. *American, Chinese, and Japanese Perspectives on Wartime Asia, 1931-1949*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1990. 308 pages. Includes several broad essays on each nation's war effort by leading scholars in the field. See also Iriye's 1989 book, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific*, which has helped shape the major debates in the field and placed the China war into a larger context.

Spector, Ronald, *The Eagle and the Sun. The American War with Japan*. New York: Macmillan, 1985. 590 pages. Chapters 15, 16, and 17 offer an excellent overview of the China conflict in the context of the larger war.

Thorne, Christopher. *Allies of a Kind: The United States and the War Against Japan 1941-1945*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979. 772 pages. More focused on diplomatic issues, but a key introductory work.

## Japan's Military: Background and Organization

Barnhart, Michael. *Japan Prepares for Total War: The Search for Economic Security, 1919-1941*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987. 290 pages. Explores the connection between foreign policy, military planning, and resource scarcity in the Japanese empire.

- Bix, Herbert. *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*. New York: HarperCollins, 2000. 800 pages. Vital for anyone wishing to explore the emperor's relationship with the military.
- Blakeney, Major Ben Bruce. "The Japanese High Command." *Military Affairs* 9, 2 (Summer, 1945): 95-113; and 9, 3 (Autumn, 1945): 208-218. Good overview of the organization of the Japanese army, and brief biographies of the top generals.
- Boyd, Carl. "Japanese Military Effectiveness: The Interwar Period." In Allan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, Eds. *Military Effectiveness, Vol. II : The Interwar Period*, Boston: Unwin and Hymman, 1988. Pages 131-168. Useful lead-in to Coox's article on wartime effectiveness.
- Cook, Theodore. "The Japanese Officer Corps: The Making of a Military Elite, 1872-1945." Ph.D. dissertation. Princeton University, 1987. Key study of education and the officer corps.
- Cook, Haruko Taya and Theodore F. Cook, *Japan at War. An Oral History*. New York: New Press, 1992. 479 pages. War from individual perspectives. Part 1 has interviews with those who fought in China.
- Coox, Alvin D. "Maverick General of Imperial Japan. *Army* 15, 12 (July 1965): 68-75. Sketch of General Satô Kôtoku, commander of the 31st Division, China-Burma, in 1943 and 1944.
- . "Effects of Attrition on National War Effort : The Japanese Army Experience in China, 1937-1938." *Military Affairs* 32, 2 (Fall 1968): 57-62. Lists the growing personnel problems that faced Japan's army as it became mired in China.
- . "Qualities of Japanese Military Leadership: The Case of Suetaka Kamezo." *Journal of Asian History*, 2, 1 (1968): 32-43. Reviews the career and abilities of the General involved in the Changkufeng Incident—known as the "Japanese Patton."
- . "The Effectiveness of the Japanese Military Establishment in the Second World War". Chapter 1 of Allan R. Millett and Williamson Murray, eds. *Military Effectiveness*, Vol. III: *The Second World War*. Boston: Unwin and Hymman, 1988. Pages 1-45. Broad overview that attempts to reconcile Japan's material deficiencies with human will and morale. Critical of the general staff's inability to match ends and means.
- . "Flawed Perception and Its Effect Upon Operational Thinking: The Case of the Japanese Army, 1937-1941." *Intelligence and National Security* (April 1990): 239-254. "Japanese military perceptions of foreign armies and countries before the Second World War were a mixture of untruths, half-truths, and sound insight." Provides examples of these misperceptions.

- Drea, Edward J. *In the Service of the Emperor: Essays on the Imperial Japanese Army* (Studies in War, Society and the Military). Norman: University of Nebraska Press, 1998. 299 pages. While not specifically focused on the China war, this is a key study of the Japanese Army's organization and internal politics. This volume's bibliographic essay is a first step for any researcher in the field. See also the author's essay "The Imperial Japanese Army (1868-1945): Origins, Evolution, Legacy" in Jeremy Black, Ed. *War in the Modern World since 1815*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pages 75-115.
- Duus, Peter, Ramon Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, Eds. *The Japanese Wartime Empire, 1931-1945*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996. 375 pages. Although not focused on military conflict, this is a valuable collection of essays on attempts to maintain control, build loyalty, and extract resources for the empire's war effort.
- Gibney, Frank, Ed. Translated by Beth Cary. *Senso: The Japanese Remember the Pacific War*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 1995. 327 pages. Chapter 2 includes letters from those who fought in China. Focuses primarily on the brutality of the China war.
- Hayashi Saburô, in collaboration with Alvin D. Coox. *Kôgun: The Japanese Army in the Pacific War*. Quantico: Marine Corps Association Press, 1959. 249 pages. Originally published as *Taiheiyô sensô rikusen gaishi*. Little on Sino-Japanese War, but considerable information on Japanese army doctrine, structure, and command principles.
- Harries, Meiron, and Susie Harries. *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army*. New York: Random House, 1991. 471 pages. Broad overview from the Meiji era through 1945 based on English language sources.
- Humpheries, Leonard A. *The Way of the Heavenly Sword: The Japanese Army in the 1920's*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995. 252 pages. Vital work for understanding the "transformation of the Japanese military, from *Nihongun* or *kokugun* (Japan's army or the nation's army) to *k\_gun* (the imperial or emperor's army)."
- Honjo, Shigeru. Translated by Mikiso Hane. *Emperor Hirohito and His Chief Aide-de-Camp: The Honjo Diary (1933-1936)*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1982. 263 pages. Honjo commanded the Kwantung Army during the Manchurian Incident, and later a key military advisor to the Emperor until 1936. Best record of this general's version of events, as he committed suicide in 1945.
- Ienaga, Saburo. *The Pacific War, 1937-1941*. New York: Pantheon, 1978. 316 pages. Well known, but controversial, work for understanding the education and indoctrination of Japan's soldiers and their attitudes toward the Chinese.

- Kitaoka, Shin'ichi. "China Experts in the Army." In Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds., *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895–1937*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. Pages 330-368. Provides insight into how Japanese officers understood China, and the bureaucratic challenges they faced. The essay also explains the organization of expertise within the Army.
- Large, Stephen S. *Emperor Hirohito and Showa Japan: A Political Biography*. New York: Routledge, 1996. 249 pages. Along with Bix and Wetzler, a recent work that shapes the debate on the emperor and his ties to the military.
- Maxon, Yale Candee, *Control of Japanese Foreign Policy. A Study of Civil-Military Rivalry, 1930-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957. 286 pages. One of the first studies in the field.
- Shiroyama, Sabur\_. Translated by John Bester. *War Criminal: The Life and Death of Hirota K\_ki*. Tokyo: Kodansha, 1977. 301 pages. Favorable account of Hirota, who served as prime minister and foreign minister during the 1930s, who was hanged in 1948. Some information on civilian-military relations in the late 1930s and Tokyo's reaction to the China war.
- Smethurst, Richard. *The Social Basis for Prewar Japanese Militarism: The Army and the Rural Community*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. 202 pages. Overview of the support and recruitment of soldiers.
- Taylor, Maxwell D. "Tactical Doctrine of the Japanese Army." Report. April 1939. 67 pages. Captain Taylor was attached to the U.S. Embassy in Tokyo and later commanded the 8th Army in Korea. His semi-monthly reports on the war in China are also found in the War Department files.
- Wetzler, Peter. *Hirohito and War: Imperial Tradition and Military Decision Making in Prewar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998. 294 pages. This work shows an active and informed emperor. See also books by Bix and Large.
- Yasukichi Yasuba. "Did Japan Ever Suffer from a Shortage of Natural Resources Before World War II?" *The Journal of Economic History* 56, 3 (September 1996): 543-560. Japan did not suffer from a dangerous shortage of natural resources prior to 1931. Interesting look at one of the alleged motivations for war.

### **The Nationalist Military: Background and Organization**

- Carlson, Evans Fordyce. *The Chinese Army: Its Organization and Military Efficiency*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. 139 pages. Republished by Hyperion Press in 1975. Includes an interesting appendix on guerilla efforts in Shandong Province. Carlson was a U.S. Marine who served in China during the war.

- Chang Jui-te. "Nationalist Army Officers during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 4 (1996): 1033-1056. Overview of the officer corps, and an introduction to the author's vital Chinese-language works.
- "National Army from Whampoa to 1949." In Graff, David Andrew, and Robin Higham, Eds. *A Military History of China*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2002. Pages 193-210. Broad overview of Jiang's attempt to "overcome China's objective circumstances" to build a powerful military. Short bibliography.
- Ch'en Li-fu. Edited and Compiled with an introduction and notes by Sidney H. Chang and Ramon Myers. *The Storm Clouds Clear over China: The Memoir of Ch'en Li-fu, 1900-1993*. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1994. 359 pages. Chapters six and seven offer Chen's views of Jiang's wartime travails.
- Chiang Kai-shek. *China Fights On: War Messages of Chiang Kai-shek. Volume I, October 1938-January 1940*. Translated by Frank Wilson Price. Chungking: The China Publishing Company, 1940. 365 pages. Vital materials for understanding what Jiang wanted to world to believe about his military efforts.
- *Resistance and Reconstruction: Messages During China's Six Years of War, 1937-1945*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943. 322 pages.
- *The Voice of China: Speeches of Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, December 7, 1941-October 10, 1943*. London: Chinese Ministry of Information, 1943. 112 pages.
- *The Collected Wartime Messages of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, 1937-1945*. Volumes One and Two. New York: The John Day Company, 1946. 881 pages.
- Chiang Wei-kuo. *How Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek Won the Eight-Year Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*. Taipei: Li Ming Culture Enterprise Co., 1979. 560 pages. An attempt to fix the collective memory of the conflict.
- Coble, Parks. *Facing Japan: Chinese Politics and Japanese Imperialism, 1931-1937*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1991. 492 pages. Vital work for understanding how military and political forces other than the Communists attempted to force the Nationalists to take a strong stand against the Japanese.
- Dreyer, Edward L. *China at War, 1901-1949*. London: Longman, 1995. 422 pages. Broad overview based primarily on English-language secondary sources.
- Eastman, Lloyd. *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984. 311 pages. Key overview of the Nationalists' state and nation building efforts during the war, with particular focus on the role of the military. A shorter version of Eastman's work is available as "Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," in John K.

- Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, eds. *The Cambridge History of China. Vol. 13: Republican China, 1912-1949. Part 2.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Elleman, Bruce. *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989.* New York: Routledge, 2001. 363 pages. Broad overview.
- Kalyagin, Aleksandr. Translated by Steven I. Levine. *Along Alien Roads.* New York: Columbia University, 1983. 294 pages. Translation of the memoirs of a Soviet military engineer who assisted the Nationalists in 1938 and 1939. A bit heavy on the Marxist rhetoric, but a unique resource in English.
- Kirby, William C. *Germany and Republican China.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984. 361 pages. Groundbreaking work on one aspect of Jiang's efforts to modernize his state and military.
- Lary, Diana. *Warlord Soldiers: Chinese Common Soldiers, 1911-1937.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985. 177 pages. Although not focused on the anti-Japanese effort, this work is one of the few to look at the life of soldiers in Republican China.
- Lattimore, Owen. *China Memoirs: Chiang Kai-shek and the War Against Japan.* Compiled by Fujiko Isono. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990. 252 pages. Lattimore served as one of Jiang's wartime advisors as the behest of President Roosevelt. Account of American advice, Nationalist politics, and the war effort. His papers are held at the Library of Congress' Manuscript Division.
- Li Tsung-jen. *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen.* Boulder: Westview Press, 1979. 636 pages. Based on interviews conducted by the Chinese Oral History Project at Columbia University. Includes a detailed account of Li's military efforts and relations with Jiang Jieshi.
- Lin Yutang. *The Vigil of a Nation.* New York: The John Day Company, 1944. 262 pages. Pro-Nationalist account of China at war.
- Liu, F.F. *A Military History of Modern China.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956. 312 pages. A retired Nationalist officer's account.
- Mowrer, Edgar Ansel. *Mowrer in China.* New York: Penguin Books, 1938. 216 pages. First person account of author's travels from Hong Kong to central China, to the Yellow River area, and finally to Nationalist strongholds in the southwest. Includes accounts of combat and the Nationalist military's defects.
- Sih, Paul K. T., Ed., *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945.* Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1977. 435 pages. Although limited in the range of

sources used, a good introduction to the state of the field in the 1970s for a wide range of topics related to the war.

Van de Ven, Hans J. "Military Mobilization in China, 1840-1949." In Jeremy Black, Ed. *War in the Modern World: Since 1815*. London: Routledge, 2003. Pages 20-40. Places the Nationalist period into the context of China's struggle to maintain sovereignty in a changing security environment and persistent financial problems.

----- . "The Military in the Republic." *The China Quarterly* 150 (June 1997): 352-374. Best single introduction to the field that "seeks to indicate the significance of the military in shaping the Republic institutionally, economically and politically." Good lead-in to the work of Chang Jui-te. See also "The Military in the Republic" in Wakeman, Frederic, Jr., and Richard Edmonds, Eds. *Reappraising Republican China*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. Pages 98-120.

----- . *War and Nationalism in China, 1925-1945*. London: Routledge, 2003. 377 pages. Key background on the origins and development of the Nationalist army. Balanced view of the Nationalists at war against the Japanese, noting that Jiang's forces had to contend with superior Japanese training and technology. The Nationalists had no choice but to remain on the defensive after the initial Japanese invasion in 1937. Exhaustive bibliography of Chinese and English-language sources.

Young, Arthur N. (Arthur Nichols), Editor. *China Faces Japan*. New York: Chinese Students' Christian Association in North America, 1937. 80 pages. Young was a financial advisor to the Nationalists. His personal papers, at the Hoover Institution, and publications, offers limited information on the Nationalists' military effort, but is key for understanding Sino-American relations.

----- . *China and the Helping Hand, 1937-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963. 502 pages. The impact of United States aid.

----- . *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation, 1937-1945*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965. 421 pages. Jiang's efforts to finance the war effort.

### **Nationalists on the Battlefield**

(See also the regional sections. Also, some of these works include information on Communist war efforts.)

Ch'i, Hsi-sheng. "The Military Dimension, 1942-1945." In James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, Eds. *China's Bitter Victory*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1992. Pages 157-184. Brief overview. Updates chapter 2 ("Military Disasters, 1937-45") of his *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-1945*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982.

Dorn, Frank. *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor*. New York: MacMillan, 1974. 477 pages. Dorn's work is among the most prominent first-person accounts of interest to scholars of the 1937-1941 period. He served in China during the war with the U.S. Army. Includes Chinese and Japanese orders of battle in an appendix. His papers are held at the Hoover Institution.

Hsu, Lung-hsuan and Chang Ming-k'ai. Translated by Wen Ha-hsiung. *History of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*. Taipei: 1971. 692 pages. Among the best detailed account based on the Nationalists' interpretation of the war and its campaigns. Good maps.

Hu, P'u-yü. *A Brief History of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945)*. Taipei: Chung Wu, 1974. 358 pages. A comprehensive (and favorable) account of Nationalist policies during the war, chapter two, concerning political warfare, and chapter 5, on military operations, offer good overviews of the war as the Nationalists wish to remember it. Detailed maps of Nationalist military offensives.

Lattimore, Owen. "China's Turkistan-Siberian Supply Road." *Pacific Affairs* 13, 4 (December 1940): 393-412. Benefits of this route for re-supplying the Nationalists. Useful footnotes provide a roadmap for further research.

Li Pinxian. Translated and abridged by Annabel L. Tong and Jason Tong. *Memoir of My Military Life: Warring Years in Anhui*. Princeton: A.L. and J. Tong, 2001. 124 pages. A shortened version of Li's memoirs, which were first published on Taiwan in the 1970s. Li was commander of the 11th Army Group.

Li, T. G., with Roman Rome. *A China Past: Military and Diplomatic Memoirs*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1989. 315 pages. Li was a mid-level, French-trained, diplomat who recalls his experiences between 1936 and 1949. Ambivalent portrait of the Nationalists, as Li came to the United States in 1950.

MacKinnon, Stephen. "The Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1931-1945." In Graff, David Andrew, and Robin Higham, Eds. *A Military History of China*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2002. Pages 211-228. Broad overview.

Norins, Martin R. "The New Sinkiang--China's Link with the Middle East." *Pacific Affairs* 15, 4 (December 1942): 457-470. See also Owen Lattimore's article in this section.

Teitler, Ger, and Kurt W. Radtke, Eds. *A Dutch Spy in China : Reports on the First Phase of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1939)*. Leiden: Brill, 1999. 312 pages. Comments on Japanese strategy and tactics in the first years of the China by a Dutch intelligence officer sent from the Netherlands East Indies to observe the fighting.

Williamsen, Martin. "The Military Dimension, 1937–1941." In James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory*, Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1992. Pages 135–156. Brief overview. See also Ch'i Hsi-sheng.

Wilson, Dick. *When Tigers Fight: The Story of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*. NY: Viking, 1982. 269 pages. Journalistic account which relies on English language secondary works.

### **The Communists' War: First Person Accounts**

Barrett, David D. *Dixie Mission: The United States Army Observer Group in Yanan, 1944*. China Research Series, 6, Berkeley: University of California Center for Chinese Studies, 1970. 96 pages. Barrett was a participant in the Dixie Missions to the Communist headquarters at Yanan. His personal papers are held at the Hoover Institution.

Belden, Jack. *China Shakes the World*. New York: Harper, 1949. 534 pages. One of many favorable accounts. His papers are at the Hoover Institution.

Bertram, James. *Unconquered. Journal of a Year's Adventures among the Fighting Peasants of North China*. New York: The John Day Company, 1939. 340 pages. Relatively detailed account by New Zealand journalist who traveled with the Communist forces in 1937 and 1938.

Epstein, Israel. *The People's War*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1939. 384 pages. Favorable account of CCP mobilization.

Forman, Harrison. *Report from Red China*. New York: De Capo Press, 1975. 250 pages. Slightly breathless account of the anti-Japanese guerillas of the Eighth Route Army. A portion of his personal papers focusing on 1944 is available on microfilm.

Griffith, Samuel B, translator. *Mao Tse-tung, On Guerilla Warfare*. New York: Praeger Publications, 1961. 114 pages. Reprinted by the U.S. Marine Corps in 1989. Translation of Mao's 1937 *Youjizhan* (guerilla warfare).

Lindsay, Michael. *The Unknown War: North China, 1937-1945*. London: Bergstrom and Boyle Books, 1975. 112 pages. Photos and account by Lord Lindsay, who traveled with Communist guerillas in Shanxi and Hebei. Personal papers at the Hoover Institution.

Mao, Tse Tung. *Selected Military Writings of Mao Tse Tung*. Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1967. 410 pages. Translations of key documents, many of which are found in the larger version of Mao's *Selected Works*.

New China Information Committee. The Committee, based in Chongqing during the second united front between the Nationalists and Communists, printed a variety of pamphlets and short books extolling Mao's anti-Japanese efforts, including *How the Eighth Route Army Fights in North China* and *Unity and the Defense of North China*.

Peck, Graham. *Two Kinds of Time*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. 725 pages. Very detailed on the 1940-1945 period in central and southern China. Focuses on the failure of Jiang's regime.

Peterkin, W. J. *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yen-an*. Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1992. 172 pages. The personal papers of Peterkin, commanding officer of the Observer Mission with Chinese communist forces, Yen-an, China, 1944-1945, are held at the Hoover Institution.

Schram, Stuart R. Ed. *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-1949. Volume VI: The New Stage, August 1937-1938*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2003. 928 pages. Mao on cooperation with the Nationalists and conflict with the Japanese.

Smedley, Agnes. *China Fights Back: An American Woman with the Eighth Route Army*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1938. 282 pages. The sort of favorable, almost fawning, first person account of Communist forces common to the genre.

----- *Battle Hymn of China*. New York: Random House, 1943. 528 pages. The People's War seen from the Communist perspective. Reprinted as *China Correspondent* in 1984 by Pandora Press of London.

----- *The Great Road: The Life and Times of Chu Teh*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1956. 461 pages. Positive account of Chu De's life and generalship. Primarily focused on the civil war during the 1930s, only the last few chapters discuss the Sino-Japanese conflict.

Snow, Edgar. *Red Star Over China*. First Revised and Enlarged Edition. New York: Bantam Books, 1968. 520 pages. First published by Random House in 1938. Observations of Mao Zedong at Yen-an.

----- *The Battle for Asia*. New York: The World Publishing Company, 1941. 431 pages. Detailed account of the anti-Japanese effort throughout China. Covers the entire country, but best for information on Communist forces.

----- *Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945*. Cambridge: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University, 1971. 148 pages. A collection of anecdotes concerning China's leaders based on Snow's observations.

- Strong, Anna Louise. *One-Fifth of Mankind: China Fights for Freedom*. New York: New Age Books, 1938. 251 pages. A sympathetic account of the first year of war, Nationalist retreat, and the rise of the Eighth Route Army.
- . *China's New Crisis*. London: Fore Publications, 1941. 62 pages. Similar to her 1938 work.
- Wales, Nym [Helen Foster Snow]. *Inside Red China*. New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1939. 356 pages. Typical of the genre.
- White, Theodore, and Annalee Jacoby. *Thunder Out of China*. New York: William Sloane, 1946. 331 pages. The classic call to arms for the American public to recognize the strength of Mao's Communists and the weakness of Jiang's Nationalist regime.
- Van Slyke, Lyman P., Ed. *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968. 274 pages. Report prepared by the Military Intelligence Division in 1945. Chapter 7 describes the organization of the Communist military.
- . *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings, 1912-1949. Volume VII: New Democracy (1939-1941)*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2004. 840 pages. Extensive documentation of the New Fourth Army Incident.
- Yeh Chien-ying (Ye Jianying). *Report on the General Military Situation of the Chinese Communist Party in the War of Resistance*. Yenan: 1944. Narrative and statistical summary to September 1944. Includes interesting information such as lists of "international friends" working with the Communist military. 48 pages.

### **Scholars' Studies of the CCP**

(See also the regional sections.)

- Benton, Gregor. *Mountain Fires: The Red Army's Three-Year War in South China, 1934-1938*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992. 639 pages. Focuses on anti-Nationalist struggle, but a good lead-in to Benton's later book.
- . *New Fourth Army: Communist Resistance along the Yangtze and the Huai, 1938-1941*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 949 pages. Exhaustive study of the New Fourth Army and its defeat at the hands of the Nationalists. He illustrates the conflict between local and national elites, and the role this competition played in the larger war effort. Massive bibliography that is vital for anyone interested in the New Fourth Army. See also his August 1986 article in *The Journal of Asian Studies*, "The South Anhui Incident."

- Carter, Carolle J. "Mission to Yenan: The OSS and the Dixie Mission." In George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II*. Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992. Excellent introduction to primary sources.
- Chen Yung-fa. *Making Revolution: The Communist Movement in Eastern and Central China, 1937-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986. 690 pages. Part of the debate over the reasons for the CCP's success. Focuses on the organizing ability of the Communists.
- Esherick, Joseph W. "Revolution in a Feudal Fortress: Yangjiagou, Mizhi County, Shaanxi, 1937-1948." *Modern China* 24, 4 (October 1998): 339-378. This article grew out of the "Base Areas of North China during the Sino-Japanese War" conference held at the University of Technology in Sydney, Australia. It was one of the first conferences to date that have examined the war in a regional context.
- Feng Chongyi and David S. G. Goodman, eds. *North China at War: The Social Ecology of Revolution, 1937-1945*. Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000. 145 pages. Contains ten essays, including versions of the Esherick and Goodman articles. Focuses on the Communists.
- Goodman, David S.G. "The Licheng Rebellion of 1941: Class, Gender, and Leadership in the Sino-Japanese War." *Modern China* 23, 2, (1997): 216-245. Rare case study of a rebellion against the Communists state building efforts.
- . *Social and Political Change in Revolutionary China: The Taihang Base Area in the War of Resistance to Japan, 1937-1945*. 345 pages. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2000. Fascinating, but focused more on how the Communists could recruit, than military action itself.
- Head, William P. *Yenan! Colonel Wilbur Peterkin and the American Military Mission to the Chinese Communists, 1944-1945*. Chapel Hill: Documentary Pubs, 1987. 200 pages. His papers are at the Hoover Institution.
- Johnson, Chalmers A., *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962. 256 pages. Using Japanese sources, this work examines how the Communists melded socio-economic revolution and nationalism. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the Japanese army and the development of Mao's forces.
- Kataoka, Tetsuya. *Resistance and Revolution in China: The Communists and the Second United Front*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974. 326 pages. Mao's effective mobilization of peasants into a vertically-integrated movement.
- Lee, Ngok. *Lin Piao's Military Tactics as Seen in the 115th Division*. Hong Kong: Centre of Asian Studies, University of Hong Kong, 1970. 29 pages. Review of

- activities of the 115<sup>th</sup> Division, which operated in the Shanxi-Hebei border region. Includes a few maps.
- Miwa Kimitada. "Brief Notes on the Chinese Communists' Role in the Spread of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident into a Full-scale War." *Monumenta Nipponica*, Vol. 18, No. 1-4 (1963): 313-328. Good example of one approach to the incident which blames the Communists for expanding the conflict into all-out war.
- Van Slyke, Lyman P. *Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967. 330 pages. Key introduction to political relations between the Nationalists and Communists, and to American perceptions of the war in China. See his "The United Front in China." *Journal of Contemporary History* 5, 3 (1970): 119-135.
- , "The Battle of the Hundred Regiments: Problems of Coordination and Control during the Sino-Japanese War." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 4 (October 1996): 979-1005. He emphasizes that the August-December 1940 campaign was not central controlled or coordinated.
- Wei, William. "Political Power Grows out of the Barrel of a Gun: Mao and the Red Army." In Graff, David Andrew, and Robin Higham, Eds. *A Military History of China*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2002. Pages 229-248. Broad overview that attacks the image of Mao as a military genius.
- Whitson, William H., with Hung Chien-hsia. *The Chinese High Command: A History of Communist Military Politics, 1927-1971*. New York: Macmillan, 1973. 638 pages. Extremely detailed overview that examines the central military elite and the elites of each of the PLA's field armies in chapters 1-6. A vital resource for anyone beginning research into personalities in the Red Army or the PLA.
- Wou, Odoric Y. K. "Community Defense and the Chinese Communist Revolution: Henan's Du Eight-Neighborhood Pact." *Modern China* 25, 3 (1999): 264-302. Examines how the CCP used "traditional organizing potential" to build local militias.
- Xiang Lansin. *Mao's Generals: Chen Yi and the New Fourth Army*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1998. 223 pages. Used interviews and documents to examine the Army from 1940 to 1949. Useful bibliography includes *neibu* (internal) materials.

## **Manchuria/North China**

(See also the sections on the Communists at war.)

- Boyd, James. "In Pursuit of an Obsession: Japan in Inner Mongolia in the 1930s." *Japanese Studies* 22, 3 (2002): 289-303. Builds on the work of Peattie to explain

- the central role occupied by Inner Mongolia in Japanese military planning, particularly the Suiyuan Incident.
- Carlson, Evans Ford. "The Chinese Mongol Front in Suiyuan." *Pacific Affairs* 12, 3 (September 1939): 278-284. One of the rare English-language reports on Chinese-Mongol relations.
- Chamber of Commerce, Dairen. *What Chinese Fugitive Soldiers and Hunghudze Are Capable Of: Into What Awful Condition They Threw Manchuria*. Dairen: Chamber of Commerce and Industry, 1931. 40 pages. Typical of the sort of Japanese propaganda during the 1930s, which highlighted the brutality and criminality of Chinese military forces. The New York Public Library has a large collection of these Japanese written or sponsored materials, as well as many items by Chinese chambers of commerce around the English-speaking world.
- Chen, Percy. *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937: An Account of Military Operations*. Shanghai: China Information Service, 1937. 124 pages. Strongly pro-Nationalist account of 120 pages that seeks to highlight Chinese victories. Divided between North China and Shanghai.
- Coox, Alvin D. *Nomonhan: Japan Against Russia, 1939*. 2 volumes. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985. 1253 pages. While Coox' efforts focus on Japanese military disasters on the Manchurian-Mongolian border, there is detailed information on the Japanese army tactics, doctrine, weapons, and leadership. Vital bibliography for anyone interested in this topic. See also his earlier article, "High Command and Field Army: The Kwantung Army and the Nomonhan Incident, 1939." *Military Affairs* 33, 2 (October 1969): 302-312. Explains that "rarely has a modern field army exerted a greater impact on the affairs of state."
- . *Anatomy of a Small War. Chengkufang. The Soviet-Japanese Struggle for Chankugeng-Khansan, 1938*. Westport: Greenwood, 1977. 409 pages. The border fight at Lake Khasan.
- . "The Kwantung Army Dimension." In Peter Duus, Ramon H. Myers, and Mark R. Peattie, eds. *The Japanese Informal Empire in China, 1895-1937*. Princeton: Princeton University Press 1989. Pages 395-428. Complete history of the Kwantung Army's rise as a military and political force.
- Crowley, James B. "A Reconsideration of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident." *Journal of Asian Studies* 22, 3 (May 1963): 277-291. Concludes that the incident was not the result of a Japanese conspiracy, and that the Japanese army was not responsible for the "steady drift toward war." See also his *Japan's Quest for Autonomy: National Security and Foreign Policy, 1930-1938*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

- Drea, Edward J. "Nomonhan: Japanese-Soviet Tactical Combat, 1939." *Leavenworth Paper* 2 (January 1981). 114 pages. Detailed account of the 2d Battalion, 28<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, between June and September 1939. Offers information on doctrine, force structure and equipment.
- "Missing Intentions: Japanese Intelligence and the Soviet Invasion of Manchuria, 1945." *Military Affairs* 48, 2 (April 1984): 66-73. Interesting for its discussion of the deficiencies of Japanese intelligence, and relationship between local commanders and the Japanese Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo.
- Dryburgh, Marjorie. *North China and Japanese Expansion, 1933-1937: Regional Power and the National Interest*. Richmond: Curzon Press, 2000. 249 pages. Focuses on Song Zheyuan, a Nationalist military commander, and his interaction with both Jiang Jieshi and Japanese generals. Insight into Nationalist leadership and problems of mobilization.
- Garthoff, Raymond. "The Soviet Manchurian Campaign." *Military Affairs* 33, 2 (October 1969): 318-326. Best single broad survey of the Soviet attack. See also the Glantz book.
- Glantz, Lt. Col. David M. *The Soviet 1945 Strategic Offensive in Manchuria: August Storm*. London: Frank Cass, 2003. 407 pages. Most detailed account from the Soviet perspective. Expanded version of Glantz's paper prepared for the Combat Studies Institute, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College in 1983. See also Glantz's companion volume, *Soviet Operational and Tactical Combat in Manchuria, 1945: "August Storm"* also published by Frank Cass in 2003. These works grew out of the author's two *Leavenworth Papers* (nos. 7 and 8) from 1983.
- Kikuoka, Michael T. *The Changkufeng Incident. A Study in Soviet-Japanese Conflict, 1938*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1988. 185 pages. An attack on the verdict of the Tokyo war crimes trials, this version of events seeks to prove that "Japan did not have any aggressive designs against the USSR at Changkufeng."
- Lary, Diana. "Drowned Earth: The Strategic Breaching of the Yellow River Dyke, 1938." *War in History* 8, 2 (2001): 191-207. Story of the Nationalists' desperate attempt to slow the Japanese advance, and the cost borne by China's civilians.
- Lee, Chong-sik. *Counterinsurgency in Manchuria: The Japanese Experience*. Santa Monica: Rand Corporation Research Memorandum RM-5012-ARPA, 1967. 352 pages. Includes a 70-page narrative, and almost 300 pages of translated Japanese documents on "Collective Hamlets" and pacification operations.
- Lee, Chong-sik. *Revolutionary Struggle in Manchuria: Chinese Communism and Soviet Interest, 1922-1945*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. 336 pages. Mostly focused on political issues, but chapter 5 details the Japanese takeover of Manchuria and chapter 8 discusses the political indoctrination of guerilla forces.

- Li, Lincoln. *The Japanese Army in North China, July 1937-December 1941: Problems of Political and Economic Control*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1975. 278 pages. Li shows that the Japanese military found itself overextended after the military victories of 1937 and early 1938.
- Li Yun-han. "The Origins of the War: Background of the Lukouch'iao Incident, July 7, 1937." In Paul K.T. Shih, ed. *Nationalist China During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*. Hicksville: Exposition Press, 1977. View from well-regarded scholar from Taiwan.
- Matsusaka, Yoshihisa. *The Making of Japanese Manchuria, 1905-1932*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001. 522 pages. Details Japan's long-term interest in the region and highlights the Japanese army's fears of Soviet military attack.
- Morley, James W, Ed. *Japan Erupts: The London Naval Conference and the Manchurian Incident, 1928-1932*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1984. 410 pages; and *The China Quagmire: Japan's Expansion on the Asian Continent 1933-1941*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1983. 503 pages. Hata Ikuhiko's article in the *China Quagmire* volume, "The Marco Polo Bridge Incident, 1937," is key. See also "Designs on North China, 1933-1937" by Shimoda Toshihiko in this volume. These two books, and three other Morley volumes, focused on diplomatic relations or the advance into Southeast Asia, consist of translations from the seven-volume *Taihey\_sens\_e no michi*.
- Paulson, David. "Nationalist Guerrillas in the Sino-Japanese War : The 'Die-Hards' of Shandong Province." In Kathleen Hartford and Steven Goldstein, eds. *Single Sparks: China's Rural Revolutions*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1989. One of the few accounts of Nationalist efforts in this region. See also the author's dissertation, "War and Revolution in North China: The Shandong Base Area, 1937-1945." Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University, 1982.
- Peattie, Mark R. *Ishiwara Kanji and Japan's Confrontation with the West*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975. 430 pages. The biography of an officer instrumental in the seizure of Manchuria. General survey of the region in Japanese military-strategic thinking. Grew out of Peattie's 1972 Princeton University dissertation, "Ishiwara Kanji (1889-1949) and the Japanese Army."
- Pritchard, John R. "Reassessment of Changkufeng as a Japanese Victory." In Gordon Daniels, ed., *Proceedings of the British Association for Japanese Studies*, Vol. III (1978). Part I: *History and International Relations*. Sheffield: Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies, 1978.
- Taylor, George E. *The Struggle for North China*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. 250 pages. Contains one chapter on guerilla conflict with the provisional government headquartered in Beijing.

Weland, James. "Misguided Intelligence: Japanese Military Intelligence Officers in the Manchurian Incident, 1931." *The Journal of Military History* 58, 3 (July 1994): 445-460. Weland posits that mid-level officers in the army's intelligence service were key actors in causing the initial incident and subsequent creation of Manchukuo.

Young, Katsu H. "The Nomonhan Incident: Imperial Japan and the Soviet Union." *Monumenta Nipponica* 22, 1/2 (1967): 82-102. Emphasizes that the incident caused a "loss of confidence on the part of the Japanese military."

### **Central China/Yangzi Valley**

(See also the sections on the Nationalists at war.)

Abend, Hallett. *Chaos in Asia*. New York: I. Washburn, 1939. 313 pages.

----- . *My Years in China, 1926-1941*. London: John Lane, 1944. 395 pages. Contains accounts of warfare around Shanghai and Japanese bombing.

Boyle, John Hunter. *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: The Politics of Collaboration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972. 430 pages. One of the first accounts of the workings of the Wang Jingwei regime. Some information on the Nanjing government's security and military organizations.

Coffin, C. E., Jr. "Effects of Aerial Bombardment in China." U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* 64, 9 (September 1938): 1317-1319. Account of the impact of Japanese bombing on Chinese villages.

Farmer, Rhodes. *Shanghai Harvest: A Diary of Three Years in the China War*. London: Museum Press, 1945. 294 pages. Detailed account by Australian journalist of events in 1937-8. Includes some graphic photos.

Hanson, Haldore. "The People Behind the Chinese Guerillas." *Pacific Affairs* 11, 3 (September 1938): 285-298. Based on a visit to Hebei in March 1938. Like many of the article in *Pacific Affairs*, it is generally supportive of the Communists' efforts.

Heriot, Christian, and Wen-hsin Yeh, eds. *In the Shadow of the Rising Sun: Shanghai under Japanese Occupation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Hsu, Shuhsi. *The War Conduct of the Japanese*. Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, 1938. 217 pages. One of many accounts designed to build sympathy for the Chinese. Focuses on atrocities and war damage. There exists a large body of English-language works designed to evoke American sympathy for China by highlighting

- Japanese atrocities. These works, which often have titles suggesting they are on-the-spot reports, are often little more than rewriting of press materials.
- Jordan, Donald A. *China's Trial by Fire: The Shanghai War of 1932*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001. 309 pages. Most detailed account of this preview of all out war in 1937. Detailed account of military actions and extensive bibliography.
- Lary, Diana. "Defending China: The Battles of the Xuzhou Campaign." In van de Ven, Hans, ed. *Warfare in Chinese History*. Boston: Brill, 2000. Pages 398-427. Examines 1938 battles. The author seeks to remind us of battles that "did not reflect well on either the GMD or the CCP." See also her "A Ravaged Place: The Devastation of the Xuzhou Region, 1938" in Diana Lary and Stephan MacKinnon, Eds, *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001), 98-117.
- Li Pinxian. Translated and abridged by Annabel L. Tong and Jason Tong. *Memoir of my Military Life : Warring Years in Anhui: An Autobiography*. Princeton: A.L. and J. Tong, 2001. 124 pages. Translation of work originally published on Taiwan in 1970. Li was a Nationalist general involved in campaigns in the Yangzi River valley.
- MacKinnon, Stephen R. "The Tragedy of Wuhan, 1938." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 4 (October 1996): 931-943. Details the gradual Japanese victory and slaughter of the Chinese due to superior technology and discipline while noting the "sobering effect" that this victory had upon the Japanese military.
- Martin, Brian G. "Shield of Collaboration: The Wang Jingwei Regime's Security Service, 1939-1945." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 89-148. The most detailed account available in English on "the regime's coercive muscle" and its difficult relationship with the Japanese military and intelligence services.
- Shanghai Under Fire: July 1937-March 1938*. Shanghai: Shanghai Evening Post and Mercury, 1938. 88 pages. Pictorial account designed to highlight Japanese atrocities.
- Smythe, Lewis S. C. *War Damage in the Nanking Area, December 1937 to March 1938: Urban and Rural Surveys*. Shanghai: Nanking International Relief Committee, 1938. 31 pages. One of many works designed to build sympathy for the Chinese cause.
- Timperley, H. J. *What War Means: The Japanese Terror in China*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1938. 228 pages. Victor Gollancz was also the publisher of George Orwell's works. Anything from this publishing house is designed to a broad united front to oppose Germany and Japan.

Wakeman, Frederic, Jr. *The Shanghai Badlands: Wartime Terrorism and Urban Crime, 1937-1941*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 227 pages.

Discusses the efforts of Dai Li and the Nationalists' military intelligence unit to assassinate Japanese and puppet officials in and around Shanghai's international settlement. The bibliography is a good introduction to the materials available in Shanghai Municipal Police files, and newspapers and periodicals in the area.

Wasserstein, Bernard. *Secret War in Shanghai*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1999. 354 pages. Focuses on a multinational cast of Westerners, particularly British, spies and scoundrels in wartime Shanghai. Includes information on Dai Li's efforts, and a great multi-lingual bibliography. Should be read in conjunction with Wakeman's work.

Yeh Wen-hsin, ed. *Wartime Shanghai*. New York: Routledge, 1998. 198 pages. Much of the book focuses on political or cultural issues, but Yeh's chapter, "Urban Warfare and Underground Resistance: Heroism in the Chinese Secret Service during the War of Resistance," (a revision of a paper first published under a different title in the August 1989 *Journal of Asian Studies*) examines Dai Li's attempt to define heroism in order to exhort his followers.

### **Southeast China**

Hsu, Shuhsi. *Three Weeks of Canton Bombings*. Hong Kong: Kelly & Walsh, 1939. 148 pages. Highlights Japanese atrocities.

Hutchings, Graham. "A Province at War: Guangxi during the Sino-Japanese Conflict, 1937-1945." *China Quarterly* 108 (December 1986): 652-679. Interesting article that posits that resistance and occupation did little to change the social structure of the province.

Phillips, R. T. "The Japanese Occupation of Hainan." *Modern Asian Studies* 14, 1 (1980): 93-109. Brief overview of Japan's long-term interest in the island and actual takeover.

Quynn, Allen G. "The Capture of Amoy, China, by a Japanese Naval Landing Force." U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings* 65, 5 (June 1939): 815-818. First person account of the Japanese attack in May 1938.

Ward, Robert S. *Hong Kong under Japanese Occupation: A Case Study in the Enemy's Techniques of Control*. Washington, 1943. 148 pages. Ward was American Consul, detailed to the Far Eastern Unit, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Dept. of Commerce.

## Burma/India

(See also the America's War in China section.)

Allen, Louis. *Burma: The Longest War 1941–1945*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1984. 686 pages. Most detailed account of British, American and Japanese fighting, with limited information on Nationalist forces.

Belden, Jack. *Retreat with Stilwell*. New York: Knopf, 1943. 368 pages. Highlights the resilience of the Allied forces. Belden's personal papers are held at the Hoover Institution.

Dorn, Frank, *Walkout with Stilwell in Burma*. New York: Pyramid, 1971. 258 pages. Dorn was an American military officer in China.

Kirby, Stanley Woodburn. *The War against Japan*. History of the Second World War, United Kingdom Military Series. 5 volumes. London: HMSO, 1957-1969. Volumes 3 through 5 contain some information on Nationalist China, primarily as it relates to the war in Burma.

## Air War

(See also the America's War in China section.)

Byrd, Martha, *Chennault: Giving Wings to the Tiger*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama, 1987. 451 pages. One of many favorable accounts.

Chennault, Claire Lee. *Way of a Fighter: The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault*. Edited by Robert Horz. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949. 375 pages. The personal papers of Chennault, who served as Major general, United States Army Air Forces; commanding general, American Volunteer Group, 1941-1942, China Air Task Force, 1942-1943, and United States 14th Air Force, 1943-1945, are housed at the Hoover Institution.

Craven, Wesley Frank, and James Lea Cate, Eds. *The Army Air Forces in World War II*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1948-1958. Volume I, Plans and Early Operations, January 1939 to August 1942, contains a brief overview of the American Volunteer Group. Volume IV, The Pacific: Guadalcanala to Saipan, August 1942 to July 1944, and volume V The Pacific: Matterhorn to Nagasaki, June 1944 to August 1945, offer information on the CBI theater. Good introduction to Army Air Force records.

Frillman, Paul, and Peck, Graham. *China: The Remembered Life*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1968. 291 pages. Another first person account of wartime China with the American Volunteer Corps.

Kebric, Harry L. *Dragon Tigers*. New York: Vantage Press, 1971. 137 pages. About the Chinese American Composite Wing.

Leonard, Royal. *I Flew for China*. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1942. 295 pages. Very favorable first person account.

Peattie, Mark R. *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power, 1909-1941*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2000. 364 pages. See Chapter 5, "Attacking a Continent: The Navy's Air War over China, 1937-1941." How did the war in China prepare the Japanese for later struggles?

-----, and David C. Evans. *Kaigun: Strategy, Tactics, and Technology in the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1889-1941*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1997. 517 pages. Exhaustive study that includes information on naval aviation in the China war.

Samson, Jack. *Chennault*. New York: Doubleday, 1987. 365 pages. Samson was with the 14th Air Force and the Civilian Air Transport. One of the better favorable biographies of Chennault.

Wagner, Ray. *Prelude to Pearl Harbor: The Air War in China, 1937-1941*. San Diego: San Diego Aerospace Museum, 1991. Very brief overview of 44 pages.

Xu Guangqiu. "Americans and Chinese Nationalist Military Aviation, 1929-1949." *Journal of Asian History* 31, 2 (1997): 155-180. The most comprehensive of Xu's published works. Focuses on relaying the basic facts.

-----, "The Chinese Air Force with American Wings," *War and Society* 6 (May 1998): 61-81. See above.

-----, "The Issue of Air Assistance to China in the U.S.-Japanese Relations, 1931-1941." *Asian Profile* 27, 1 (1999): 11-27. See above.

### **America's War in China**

*Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China*. 2 vols. Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and Other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970. Vital selection from over 1,700 stolen United States Government documents on China's war effort. Great introduction to the types of official reports available to researchers.

*Amerasia: A Review of America and the Far East*. Periodical published by the Institute of Pacific Relations. Available on microfilm at many research libraries. *Amerasia* was generally critical of the Nationalists. Contains many brief articles on aspects of the war in China, and criticism of the Nationalist war effort.

- Blankfort, Michael. *The Big Yankee: The Life of Carlson of the Raiders*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1947. 380 pages. Extremely favorable biography of Evans Carlson.
- Caldwell, Oliver J. *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972. 218 pages. The papers of Caldwell, who served with the OSS in China, are held at the Hoover Institution.
- Carlson, Evans Fordyce. *Twin Stars of China: A Behind-the-Scenes Story of China's Valiant Struggle for Existence by a U.S. Marine Who Lived & Moved with the People*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1940. 331 pages. Reprinted by Hyperion Press in 1975. One of the best first-person accounts of the early years of the China war, including guerilla warfare, the Eighth Route Army, and the Nationalists' retreat. Generally sympathetic to Mao Zedong's efforts. His personal papers are available at many research libraries on three microfilm reels.
- Edited by Hugh Deane. *Evans F. Carlson on China at War, 1937-1941*. New York: China and US Publication, 1993. 84 pages. A brief collection of wartime letters on events in China (generally sympathetic with Communist efforts) and his encounters with prominent foreigners.
- Hurley, Major General Patrick J. (Patrick Jay). His papers from his tenure as United States Ambassador to China during World War II includes correspondence regarding American and Allied war efforts in the Far Eastern theatre. Held at the Western History Collections of the University of Oklahoma.
- Ichinokuchi, Tad, Ed. *John Aiso and the M.I.S.: Japanese-American Soldiers in the Military Intelligence Service, World War II*. Los Angeles: Military Intelligence Service Club of Southern California, 1988. 256 pages. Pages 109 to 124 cover interpreters on Dixie Mission of 1944.
- Koginos, Manny T. *The Panay Incident: Prelude to War*. Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 1967. 154 pages. Revision of his dissertation at American University. A more balanced account than the more well known *The Panay Incident: Prelude to Pearl Harbor* by Hamilton Darby Perry (New York: MacMillan, 1969). 295 pages.
- MacKinnon, Stephen R., and Oris Friesen. *China Reporting: An Oral History of American Journalism in the 1930s and 1940s*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987. 230 pages. See also the transcripts from the China War Reporting Conference of 1982 held at Arizona State University library.
- Office of the Historian, United States Department of State. *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1937-1944*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1954-1967. These volumes, each covering one year, are an important introduction to the types and content of Department of State records held by the National Archives.

- Romanus, Charles F., and Riley Sunderland. *Stilwell's Mission to China*. Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1953. 441 pages. Part of the 78-volume collection, *The U.S. Army in World War Two. The War in the Pacific*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949–1993. The classic volumes on America's role in Chongqing's anti-Japanese struggle. Starting point of all research into official sources. East volume concludes with a valuable bibliographic essay.
- . *Stilwell's Command Problems*. Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1956. 518 pages.
- . *Times Run Out in the CBI*. Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1959. 428 pages.
- . *Stilwell's Personal File: China, Burma, India, 1942-1944*. 5 volumes. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1976. Stilwell's personal papers are held at the Hoover Institution. 2,613 pages.
- Ruby, Shawn L. *Watching a War: The First Year of the Sino-Japanese War from the Perspective of Three Correspondents*. Wayne: William Paterson University, 2001. 83 pages. See also the MacKinnon work above.
- Schaller, Michael. *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938–1945*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979. 364 pages. Vital survey of the America's troubled relationship with Jiang and China. Good introduction to OSS and other American archival materials. See also his earlier article “SACO: The United States Navy’s Secret War in China.” *Pacific Historical Review* 44, 4 (1975): 527-553.
- Service, John S. *The Amerasia Papers: Some Problems in the History of US-China Relations*. Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, University of California, 1971. 220 pages. A diplomat and political advisor to General Stilwell in China during the war, Service was later dismissed from the State Department. His papers are held at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley.
- . Edited by Joseph W. Esherick. *Lost Chance in China: The World War II Despatches of John S. Service*. New York: Vintage Books, 1974. 409 pages.
- Stilwell, Joseph W. *The Stilwell Papers*. Edited by Theodore H. White. New York: William Sloan Associates, 1948. 357 pages. Excerpts from Stilwell’s materials. Focuses on the defects of the Nationalist regime’s war effort.
- Stilwell, Joseph. "Eyes Alone Correspondence of General Joseph W. Stilwell, January 1942-October 1944." National Archives Microfilm M-1419. 5 reels.

Stuart, John Leighton. *Fifty Years in China: The Memoirs of John Leighton Stuart*. New York: Random House, 1954. 346 pages. Focused mainly on diplomatic issues, but some insight into the Nationalist military from a relatively friendly observer.

Tuchman, Barbara. *Stillwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*. New York: Macmillan, 1970. 621 pages. Devastating critique of Jiang Jieshi's leadership and commitment to the anti-Japanese struggle. See also a brief critique of Tuchman's work by Brigadier General Haydon L Boatner in his personal papers at the University of Minnesota, Manuscripts Division.

United States Department of State, *United States Relations with China: With Special Reference to the Period 1944-1949*. Washington: Department of State, 1949. 1054 pages. Famous "white paper" that seeks to explain the collapse of the Nationalist regime and justify American policy through narrative and documents. Includes information on the Nationalists' wartime failures.

Van de Ven, Hans. "Stilwell in the Stocks: The Chinese Nationalists and the Allied Powers in the Second World War." *Asian Affairs* 34, 3 (November 2003): 243-259. Reviews the rise of the "Stilwell myth," that Jiang's refusal to follow American advice during the war was the primary factor in the regime's inability to resist the Japanese.

Wedemeyer, Albert. *Wedemeyer Reports*. New York: Holt, 1958. 497 pages. Generally favorable account of the Nationalist war effort, almost a mirror image of Stilwell's accounts. Commanding general, United States Forces, China Theater, and chief of staff to Jiang Jieshi, 1944-1946. His papers are at the Hoover Institution.

----- . Edited by Keith E. Eiler. *Wedemeyer on War and Peace*. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1987. 245 pages. Consists primarily reprinted letters and documents from Wedemeyer. Contains about 60 pages on Wedemeyer's activities in China, and his efforts to bolster the Nationalist military.

### **Intelligence/OSS/SACO**

Aldrich, Richard J. "Britain's Secret Intelligence Service in Asia during the Second World War." *Modern Asian Studies* 32, 1 (February 1998): 179-217. See also his larger work, *Intelligence and the War against Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. These works don't focus on China, but do provide a larger context for Special Operation Executive (SOE) activity in China during the war.

Allman, Norwood Francis. *Shanghai Lawyer*. New York: Whittlesey House, 1943. 283 pages. This account should be juxtaposed with Allman's private papers, which detail his work with the Secret Intelligence Branch of the OSS. These papers are located at the Hoover Institution.

- Bickers, Robert. "The Business of a Secret War: Operation 'Remorse' and SOE Salesmanship in Wartime China." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 11-37. British efforts to prepare for re-establishing their control over Hong Kong.
- Donovan, General William J. Director, American Office of Strategic Services. Private papers are in the Hoover Institution.
- Loureiro, Pedro A. "Intelligence Success: The Evolution of Navy and Marine Intelligence Operations in China, 1931-1941." PhD dissertation, University of Southern California, 1995. 304 pages. History of Office of Naval Intelligence (ONI) activities. Contains endnotes and bibliography that are invaluable to anyone interested in U.S. Navy materials concerning the Nationalist government or the war in China.
- Miles, Milton. *A Different Kind of War: The Little-Known Story of the Combined Guerilla Forces Created in China by the U.S. Navy and the Chinese during World War II*. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967. 629 pages. A valuable and sympathetic first-person accounts of SACO, warfare along the China coast, and Nationalist officials such as Dai Li.
- Mishler, Clayton. *Sampan Sailor: A Navy Man's Adventures in WWII China*. Washington: Brassey's, 1994. 209 pages. Highly personal and favorable account of SACO's intelligence gathering efforts.
- Pinck, Dan. *Journey to Peking: A Secret Agent in Wartime China*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2003. 219 pages. One of several first-person accounts of OSS activity in wartime China.
- Stratton, Roy. *SACO: Rice Paddy Navy*. Pleasantville: C. S. Palmer, 1950. 408 pages. Generally positive account of SACO efforts.
- , *The Army-Navy Game*. Falmouth: Volta Company, 1977. 258 pages. Based on materials at the U.S. Naval Historical Center. Stratton examines the conflict between the United States Army and Navy in China, and the relationship between Milton Miles and Dai Li. Some good information on US efforts to train Nationalist guerillas.
- Van de Ven, Hans. "Introduction." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 1-10. Introduction to ten articles on intelligence and national security. Briefly discusses the problems of including China in a comprehensive study of World War II. Useful endnotes.
- , "The Kuomintang's Secret Service in Action in South China: Operational and Political Aspects of the Arrest of Liao Chengzhi (1942)." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 205-238. Jiang's secret police in action

against a Communist spy. Great introduction to the Research and Statistics Bureau's files.

Wakeman, Frederic E. *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 650 pages. Essential source for anyone interested in wartime intelligence gathering and covert action. Vital bibliography.

Yardley, Herbert O. *The Chinese Black Chamber: An Adventure in Espionage*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1983. 225 pages. First person account of an American hired by Jiang to assist Dai Li with codebreaking efforts.

Yu, Maochun. *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996. 340 pages. Vital work in the field. Sources are a useful guide to materials at the National Archives and Hoover Institution.

----- . "Chinese Codebreakers, 1927-1945." In David Alvarez, ed., *Allied and Axis Signals Intelligence in World War II*. London: Frank Cass, 1999. Pages 201-213. Details the success of the Nationalist codebreaking effort, but notes that this did not have a significant impact upon the war.

----- . "'In God We Trusted, In China We Busted': The China Commando Group of the Special Operations Executive (SOE)." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 37-60. Examines the problems of reforming the Nationalist military, and the role of Dai Li. Footnotes provide a roadmap for scholars of the SOE or OSS in China.

Yu, Shen. "SACO Re-examined: Sino-American Intelligence Cooperation During World War II." *Intelligence and National Security* 16, 4 (Winter 2001): 149-174. Useful overview of SACO's role in the war, helpful footnotes to guide researchers, and analysis that attempts to disconnect our understanding of SACO from our understanding of the Cold War. See also his 1995 dissertation on the same topic from the University of Illinois--Champaign.

----- . "Juntong, SACO, and the Nationalist Guerrilla Effort [Sino-American Cooperative Organization]." In Barrett, David P.; Shyu, Larry N., eds. *China in the Anti-Japanese War, 1937-1945: Politics, Culture, and Society*. New York: Peter Lang, 2001. Pages 135-154. See also his "SACO, An Ambivalent Experience of Sino-American Cooperation during World War II." Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Illinois, Champaign, 1995.

## War's End and Aftermath

(See also the Nationalists on the Battlefield section. Most of the histories written by the Nationalists include a brief overview of the postwar settlement.)

Allen, Louis. *The End of the War in Asia*. New York: Beekman/Esanu Publishers, Inc., 1979. 306 pages. Chapter 3 of book two, "The Japanese Surrender in East Asia," is of particular interest.

Butow, Robert J.C., *Japan's Decision to Surrender*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954. 259 pages. This account set the terms of debate in the field for decades.

Dower, John. *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1999. 676 pages. Now the most well-known account of postwar transformation of Japan, including the re-integration of many military officers into civilian life and politics.

Fogel, Joshua, Ed. *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. 248 pages. Best examination of how the Massacre has been understood available in English. Includes essays on Chinese and Japanese memories of the Massacre, and Daqing Yang's entry, which places these events into a larger international context.

Gillin, Donald G., and Charles Etter. "Staying On: Japanese Soldiers and Civilians in China, 1945-1949." *Journal of Asian Studies* 42, 3 (May 1983): 497-518. See also Daqing Yang's essay listed below.

Harries, Meirion, and Susie Harries. *Sheathing the Sword: The Demilitarization of Japan*. New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1987. 364 pages. Overview of demobilization, war crimes trials, and purges. See also their *Soldiers of the Sun: The Rise and Fall of the Imperial Japanese Army*.

Minear, Richard. *Victors' Justice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971. 229 pages. Important critical study of the politics of the trials.

Piccigallo, Philip. *The Japanese on Trial: Allied War Crimes Operations in the East, 1945-1951*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979. 292 pages. Offers the best English-language overview of China's policies on punishing war criminals.

Pritchard, R. John, and Sonia Zaide, Eds. *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Complete Transcripts of the Proceedings of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East in Twenty-Two Volumes*. New York: Garland, 1981. Pritchard, R. John, Sonia M. Zaide, and Donald Watt. *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: Index and Guide*. 5 volumes. New York: Garland, 1981-1987.

Yang, Daqing. "Resurrecting the Empire? Japanese Technicians in Postwar China, 1945-1949." In Harald Fuess, Ed. *The Japanese Empire in East Asia and Its Postwar Legacy*. Deutsches Institut für Japanstudien, 1998. Pages 185-205. Overview of the gradual removal of the Japanese from the continent.

## Reference Works

Boatner, Mark M. *The Biographical Dictionary of World War II*. Novato: Presidio, 1996. 733 pages.

Boorman, Howard L., ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*. 4 volumes and personal name index. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967–1971.

Chief of Military History, United States Department of Army. *Order of Battle of the United States Army Ground Forces in World War II: Pacific Theater of Operations*. Washington: Department of the Army, Office of Military History, 1959. 657 pages. Pages 250-65 are helpful for anyone seeking to list US military units the CBI theater in order to pursue unit records in the archives.

Creswell, Major H.T., Major J. Hiraoka, and Major R. Namba. *A Dictionary of Military Terms, English-Japanese/Japanese English*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. 1226 pages. Reproduction of the original edition published in Tokyo in 1937.

Forty, George. *Japanese Army Handbook, 1939-1945*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Sutton, 1999. 272 pages. Very general introduction to the insignia, training, and weapons.

Fuller, Richard. *Shokan--Hirohito's Samurai: Leaders of the Japanese Armed Forces, 1926-1945*. New York: Sterling Publishing, 1992. 500 pages. Biographies of hundreds of Japanese high-ranking officers.

*Handbook on Japanese Military Forces*. War Department Technical Manual, October 1, 1944. Reprint: Novato: Presidio Press, 1991. Over 400 pages of information on Japanese forces, including training, tactics, equipment.

Military History Section, U.S. Army Far East Command. *Imperial General Headquarters Army Directives*. 3 volumes. U.S. Army Far East Command, 1946. Covers 1940 through 1945.

Military History Section, U.S. Army Far East Command. *Imperial General Headquarters Army Orders*. 3 volumes. U.S. Army Far East Command, 1946. Covers 1939 through 1945.

- Naval Intelligence Division, Great Britain. *China Proper, Naval Intelligence Handbook*. Cambridge, 1945. A three-volume overview of geography, history, administration, climate, demography, transportation, etc.
- Spiller, Roger J., Ed. *Dictionary of American Military Biography*. 3 volumes. Westport: Greenwood, 1984. 1368 pages.
- Underwood, John L. *The Japanese Order of Battle in World War II*. 3 volumes. West Chester: The Nafziger Collection, 1999.
- United States War Department. *Handbook of Japanese Military Forces*. Technical Manual TM-E 30-480, September 1944. Reprinted by the Military Press of Gaithersburg, Maryland, in 1970. 542 pages. Provides wealth of detail about the Japanese army, its organization, weapons, and tactics.
- Wells, Anne Sharp. *Historical Dictionary of World War II: The War Against Japan*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 1999.
- Who's Who in China: Biographies of Chinese Leaders: Supplement to Fifth Edition, Including a Section Embracing Those Who Are Affiliated with Japanese-Sponsored Administrations within Areas Controlled by the Japanese Military Forces*. Shanghai: The China weekly review, 1940. 83 pages.
- Williams, Mary H. *Chronology, 1941-45*. Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, United States Department of the Army, 1960. 660 pages. Great way to check facts.
- Wortzel, Larry M. *Dictionary of Contemporary Chinese Military History*. Greenwood Press, 1999. 334 pages. Focuses on major events, personalities, and issues involved in the evolution of the PLA. The author is Director of the Strategic Studies at the U.S. Army War College.

## **Historiography**

- Allen, Louis. "Notes on Japanese Historiography: World War II." *Military Affairs* 35, 4 (December 1971): 133-138. Useful overview of the state of the field in 1971.
- Barnhart, Michael A. "The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific: Synthesis Impossible?" *Diplomatic History* 20, 2 (Spring 1996): 241-260. State of the field with footnotes to help anyone wishing to investigate major debates over the origins of the war.
- Detwiler, Donald S., and Chu Shao-kang. "Review Essay: Two Major Publications from the Republic of China." *The Journal of Military History* 56, 4 (October 1992): 669-684. Useful English-language introduction to the most important

documentary collections and official histories concerning the War of Resistance published on Taiwan.

Mitter, Rana. "Old Ghosts, New Memories: China's Changing War History in the Era of Post-Mao Politics." *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, 1 (2003): 117-131. Mitter notes that "Commemoration of the Sino-Japanese War became a new source for the construction of a centripetal nationalism that would counter the separatist forces that threatened to tear China apart, and create a patriotic antidote to the pressures that had led to the 1989 confrontation." Builds upon Mitter's "Behind the Scenes at the Museum: Nationalism, History, and Memory in the Beijing War of Resistance Museum, 1987-1997," *The China Quarterly* 161 (March 2000): 279-293, and *The Manchurian Myth: Nationalism, Resistance and Collaboration in Modern China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

Takeshi Matsuda. "The Coming of the Pacific War: Japanese Perspective." *Reviews in American History* 14, 4 (December 1986): 629-652. Useful introduction to the field for the English speaking audience.

Tuchman, Barbara W. "Problems in Writing the Biography of General Stilwell." In *Practicing History: Selected Essays*. New York: Knopf, 1981. Pages 65-75.

van de Ven, Hans. "War in the Making of Modern China." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 4 (1996): 737-756. Along with his "Recent Studies of Modern Chinese History" (*Modern Asian Studies* 30, 2 (1996)), the author makes a case for the importance of military history in the study of modern China.

Waldron, Arthur. "China's New Remembering of World War II: The Case of Zhang Zizhong." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, 4 (1996): 945-978. How the post-Mao People's Republic seeks to use the image of a wartime military hero.

Wilson, Sandra. "Rethinking the 1930s and the '15-Year War' in Japan." *Japanese Studies* 21, 2 (2001): 155-164. The author posits that "genuine efforts to understand Japan's history in the decade and a half after the Manchurian Incident can now only be impeded by an insistence that those years should be interpreted as one continuous war."

Williamson, Thomas Marvin. "The Second Sino-Japanese War, 1931-1945." In Lee, Lloyd E., ed. *World War II in Asia and the Pacific and the War's Aftermath, with General Themes: A Handbook of Literature and Research*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998. Pages 27-44. Introduces the English-language secondary source literature. Great introductory bibliography. The volume also includes a chapter on the war in Burma

Yang, Daqing. "Atrocities in Nanjing: Searching for Explanation." In Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, Eds. *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern*

*China*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2001. Pages 76-97. The most balanced attempt to examine this topic.

## Research Guides and Bibliographies

(Some of the key English-language guides and bibliographies of Chinese and Japanese materials are also included.)

Beede, Benjamin R. *Intervention and Counterinsurgency: An Annotated Bibliography of the Small Wars of the United States, 1898-1984*. New York: Garland, 1985. 321 pages. Includes a section on China's experience, including the Civil War and War of Resistance.

Cole, James H. *Twentieth Century China: An Annotated Bibliography of Reference Works in Chinese, Japanese and Western Languages*. 2 volumes. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2004. 1,500 pages.

*Federal Records of World War II*. 2 volumes. Washington: National Archives, 1951. Not very useful for wartime materials, as almost nothing had been released to the public by 1951. However, the volumes provide detail on the names, history, and responsibilities of hundreds of military and civilian organizations.

Hatano, Sumio, "Guide to Documents, Archives, Encyclopedias and Reference Works," "Notes on Basic Sources, 1931-1945," "From the Manchurian Incident to the Sino-Japanese War," and "From the Sino-Japanese to the Pacific War." In Asada, Sadao, Ed. *Japan and the World: A Bibliographic Guide to Japanese Scholarship in Foreign Relations*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1989. Pages 21-69, 240-261, 262-300, and 301-354 respectively.

Higham, Robin, Ed. *A Guide to the Sources of British Military History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971. 630 pages.

----- *Official Military Historical Offices and Sources*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000. Volume one covers Europe, volume two covers the United States and Asia.

Higham, Robin, and Donald J. Mrozek, Eds. *A Guide to the Sources of United States Military History*. Hamden: Archon Books, 1975. 559 pages. Although the volume (along with four supplements published in 1981, 1986, 1993, and 1998) contain little specific information concerning China, these are important resources for anyone interested in American military history. Great essays on secondary sources and recent advances in the field.

Jessup, John E., and Robert W. Coakley, Eds. *A Guide to the Study and Use of Military History*. Washington: Center of Military History, United States Army, 1988. 457 pages. A helpful primer for those researching Army records. Available online at <http://cgsc.leavenworth.army.mil/carl/resources/csi/content.asp#jessup>.

- Johnsen, Julia, Compiler. *Chinese-Japanese War, 1937-*. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1938. 257 pages. Contains a 22-page bibliography of English-language books and articles on the war in China.
- Jordan, Gerald, Ed. *British Military History: A Supplement to Robin Higham's Guide to the Sources*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1988. 586 pages.
- Kiyohara, Michiko. *China Watching by the Japanese: Reports and Investigations from the First Sino-Japanese War to the Unification of China under the Communist Party: A Checklist of Holdings in the East Asian Collection, Hoover Institution*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987. 378 pages.
- Kirby, William C. and Cheng Linsun. "China's Wartime History: Notes on International Efforts for Preservation and Access. *Modern China* 25, 1 (January 1999): 100-104.
- , et al., eds. *State and Economy in Republican China: A Handbook for Scholars*. 2 volumes. Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.
- McCord, Edward A. "New Microfilm Collection of Published Chinese Materials from the 1930s and 1940s." *Twentieth-Century China* 24, 2 (1999): 107-110.
- McCutcheon, James M. *China and America: A Bibliography of Interactions, Foreign and Domestic*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1972. 75 pages. Best for examining the American military in China.
- Morley, James William. "Check List of Seized Japanese Records in the National Archives." *The Far Eastern Quarterly* 9, 3 (May 1950): 306-333.
- Mote, Frederick W. *Japanese-Sponsored Governments in China, 1937-1945: An Annotated Bibliography Compiled from Materials in the Chinese Collection of the Hoover Library*. Stanford: Hoover Institute, 1954. 68 pages.
- Nunn, G. Raymond, Ed. *Asia and Oceania: A Guide to Archival and Manuscript Sources in the United States*. New York: Mansell, 1985. Five volumes with a useful index. This source should be supplemented by online searches of ArchivesUSA or the RLIN AMC websites.
- , *Canada and Asia: Guide to Archive and Manuscript Sources in Canada*. New York: Mansell, 1999. Two volumes.
- Peruschek, Diane, and Kathlin Smith. "Preserving Chinese Historical Resources: Report on the International Cooperative Microfilming Project." *Asian Libraries* 8, 8 (1999): 289-296.

- Pinck, Dan C. *Stalking the History of the Office of Strategic Services: An OSS Bibliography*. Boston: OSS/Donovan Press, 2000. 143 pages. Very basic introduction to secondary and primary sources.
- Rasor, Eugene L. *The China–Burma–India Campaign, 1931–1945. Historiography and Annotated Bibliography*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998. 282 pages. Focuses on American and British military activities.
- Sbrega, John J. *The War Against Japan, 1941-1945. An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1989. 1050 pages. Includes short sections on the China war and SACO. Generally focused on American war efforts.
- Schoppa, R. Keith. *The Columbia Guide to Modern Chinese History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000. 356 pages. Brief bibliography in a vital guide.
- Welch, Jeanie M. *The Tokyo Trial: A Bibliographic Guide to English-Language Sources*. Westport: Greenwood, 2002. 225 pages. Includes information on trials held in China.
- Wilkinson, Endymion. *Chinese History: A Manual (Revised and Enlarged)* Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000. 1181 pages. The indispensable guide.
- Wou, Odoric Y.K. "Communist Sources for Localizing the Study of the Sino-Japanese War." In Barrett, David P.; Shyu, Larry N., eds. *Chinese Collaboration with Japan, 1932-1945: The Limits of Accommodation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. Pages 226-235.
- Wu Xiaoxin, Ed. *Christianity in China: A Scholars' Guide to Resources in the Libraries and Archives of the United States*. Second edition. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2004. Key resource for finding missionary accounts of Sino-Japanese conflict.
- Ziegler, Janet, comp. *World War II: Books in English, 1945-65*. Stanford: Hoover Institution, 1971. 223 pages.

### **Selected Microfilmed Collections**

(See also the section on Major Archival and Manuscript Collection)

*Chinese Military Studies and Materials in English Translation*. Prepared under the auspices of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army; Washington: Library of Congress Photoduplication Service, 1974. This 10-reel microfilm collection includes works mostly prepared for or by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, which were issued in limited numbers. The following titles are included in this collection: *Biographical Sketches of Chinese Communist Military Leaders; A Brief History of the Republic of China Armed Forces; A Chronology of Important Military Events in Republican China, 1924-1950, Part I, 1924-*

1928; *Civil War in China, 1945-1950*; *History of the Sino-Japanese War*; *Military Campaigns in China: 1924-1950*; *Organizational Changes in the Chinese Army, 1895-1950*; *People's Liberation Army Unit History*; *The Political Dynamics of the Chinese Communist Military Elite, Part II: The Role of Military Elite in the Cultural Revolution (1966-1968)*; and, *Student Directory of the First and Second Infantry Battalions of the Twenty-First Class of the (Nationalist) Chinese Military Academy*. These items were prepared by Nationalist military officers specifically for the Americans, or are translations of Chinese-language materials. The 500-page history of the Sino-Japanese War is an incredibly detailed account of political and military affairs from the Nationalist perspective. This history is also include in the *War in Asian and the Pacific* collection listed below.

Detwiler, Donald S., and Charles B. Burdick, Eds. *War in Asia and the Pacific, 1937-1949*. New York: Garland, 1980. These fifteen volumes contain extracts from the Japanese monographs; materials provided by the Nationalists, including maps of every major battle fought by Nationalist forces between 1924 and 1951; and information on captured Japanese records (record group 242 at the National Archives).

Japanese Monographs. An invaluable tool for the English-speaking audience to research Japan's version of the war in China. The 187 Japan Monographs consist of a series of operational histories written by former officers of the Japanese army and navy under the direction of General Headquarters of the U.S. Far East Command beginning in 1945, and include Manchuria and China proper. Much of the series was extensively revised to correct errors of both English and fact, beginning in 1955. An increasing number are available online at <http://ibiblio.org/pha/monos/>. See also: U.S. Department of the Army. *Guide to Japanese Monographs and Japanese Studies on Manchuria*. Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1962, 1980. The monographs, studies on Manchuria, and a guide to both collections are now available on 17 microfilm reels from Scholarly Resources.

Occupation and International Military Tribunal for the Far East records on microfilm. Much of the material in the U.S. National Archives, record group 331, are available on microfilm. Thirty seven rolls of materials from the IMTFE itself and 477 rolls of evidentiary documents are also available. Some of these items contain information on the war in China. See also the Pritchard Zaide, Eds., volumes listed in the War's End and Aftermath section above.

"The War Against Japan." Microfilms from Scholarly Resources. 54 microfilm reels of materials, mainly wartime official histories or reports, held by the Military History Institute. About 15 reels concern the CBI or China theater.

*Wartime translations of seized Japanese documents : Allied Translator and Interpreter Section reports, 1942-1946*. California, Md: CIS, 1988. Includes a two volume index. Over 2,200 microfiches on a wide variety of war-related topics. These 7,200 documents, usually interrogation reports or translations of captured documents, can provide detail for scholars who are interested in a specific location or battle. For example, the information

in the reports range from important--on military units in China or chemical warfare tests in Manchuria--to the arcane--how to read labels on Japanese ammunition containers.

**The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945**  
**The Military Struggle**  
**Major Archival and Manuscript Collections**

**AUSTRALIA**

**National Archives of Australia**

Offices in Canberra and other locations

[www.naa.gov.au](http://www.naa.gov.au)

Australia's repository of government records. Of particular value are the Files of the Australian Legation in China, Correspondence Files, located in file series A4144 at the Australian National Archives, and the Correspondence Files of the Department of External Affairs, Alphabetical Series, 1925-1942, located in file series A981.

For an overview of the sources available, see R. G. Neale, ed., *Documents on Australian Foreign Policy, 1937-1949, Volume I: 1937-1938* (Canberra: Department of Foreign Affairs, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1975).

Manuscript Section

**National Library of Australia**

Canberra, ACT 2600

[www.nla.gov.au/home.html](http://www.nla.gov.au/home.html)

The Australian National Library is the largest single repository of private papers in Australia. Some finding aids are available, such as *Sir Frederic W. Eggleston: A Guide to His Papers in the National Library of Australia* (Canberra, National Library of Australia, 1972).

**CANADA**

**National Archives of Canada**

395 Wellington Street

Ottawa, Canada K1A 0N3

[www.archives.ca](http://www.archives.ca)

Central repository for official government materials. See Record Group 25, External Affairs, and Record Group 24, National Defense for information on China. For information on collections of papers or manuscripts held elsewhere in Canada, see Robert S. Gordon, ed., *Union List of Manuscripts in Canadian Repositories* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968). This *Union List* has been updated several times since 1968.

The Canadian Council of Archives has developed a directory of the major archives and libraries in Canada, as well as summaries of their principle holdings:  
[www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/dir.html](http://www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/dir.html)

**National Library of Canada (NLC)**

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa  
Canada K1A 0N4

<http://www.nlc-bnc.ca/ehome.htm>

Holds some volumes from the 1931-1945 period related to Sino-Japanese conflict. The NLC website contains links to special collections throughout Canada.

**Presbyterian Church in Canada**

Archives and Records Office  
50 Wynford Drive  
Toronto, Ontario  
M3C 1J7

[www.presbyterian.ca/archives](http://www.presbyterian.ca/archives)

Useful resource for scholars who wish to obtain information on a specific location, as missionary diaries or reports often contain accounts of military action and its aftermath. Contains some materials from the General Board of Missions/Board of World Missions and the Women's Missionary Society. This includes correspondence, minutes and reports from the Church of Christ in China, as well as some published materials and periodicals. The files also contain files from the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, the Korean Christian Church in Japan, and the Presbyterian Church in Korea. See also the archives held by the United Church of Canada. One key resource is Peter M. Mitchell, Margo S. Gewurtz, and Alvyn Austin, compilers, *Guide to Archival Resources on Canadian Missionaries in East Asia: 1890-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto-York University, Joint Centre for Asia Pacific Studies, 1988).

**United Church of Canada**

Victoria University in the University of Toronto  
73 Queen's Park Crescent  
Toronto, Ontario  
Canada M5S 1K7  
[vicu.utoronto.ca/archives/academic.html](http://vicu.utoronto.ca/archives/academic.html)

Includes records of the Methodist Church (Canada) Missionary Society; the United Church of Canada Board of Overseas Missions (includes records from Shanghai, Henan, and elsewhere in China), Board of World Missions (including a collection of pamphlets and other documents), Woman's Missionary Society (sections on Henan, South China, West China, and Taiwan/Hong Kong); the papers of individuals missionaries in China during the 1931 to 1945 period; and church periodical and manuscripts.

## **GREAT BRITAIN**

### **Archives Centre**

#### **Churchill College**

Cambridge CB3 0DS

[www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives/home.htm](http://www.chu.cam.ac.uk/archives/home.htm)

The Centre is the equivalent to the Roosevelt Presidential Library. Houses over 2,200 boxes of Sir Winston Churchill's papers as well as the papers of some 400 other individuals, including the papers of the British Ambassador to China from 1942 to 1946, Sir Horace James Seymour. The files also include messages and reports to Churchill from British officials in China. The contents of the archive reflects Churchill's own priorities (best illustrated by his multi-volume history of the Second World War). Thus China is given less attention than most theaters.

### **King's College London**

#### **Liddell Hart Centre for Military Archives**

Strand

London, WC2R 2LS

<http://www.kcl.ac.uk/lhcma/home.htm>

A Centre for Military Archives at King's College London was set up in 1964. The Centre holds the private papers for over 500 individuals who worked in the military or Ministry of Defence. Contains a few papers from those who served in China, such as those of Engineer Cdr Sidney John Armstrong, who wrote his account of the battles around Shanghai in 1937. See also the papers of Col. Eric Herbert Jacobs-Larkcom, who was second in command to the British military mission to China. Obviously, this collection is stronger for Burma and Southeast Asian than for China.

### **Public Record Office (PRO)**

Ruskin Avenue

Kew

Surrey

TW9 4DU

<http://www.pro.gov.uk/>

The central repository for official government documents. Includes materials from the Foreign Office (FO) and War Office (WO). The PRO also has the Operational Correspondence and Papers of Prime Minister Winston Churchill (Class PREM 3), which hold materials related to Churchill's activities as Minister of Defense, as well as the papers of the Cabinet (CAB). Of particular interest is class FO 371, which contains information on political affairs. The Foreign Office files for 1932-1945 have been made widely available on microfilm.

Includes original documents used in documentary collections such as Woodward, Sir Ernest Llewellyn. *British Foreign Policy in the Second World War*, volume IV. London:

Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1975. See also *Index to the Correspondence of the Foreign Office*, annual volumes listing documents and their locations. Two important guides are Louise Atherton, *'Never Complain, Never Explain': Records of the Foreign Office and State Paper Office, 1500-c. 1960* (London: Public Record Office, 1994) and *The Second World War: A Guide to Documents in the Public Record Office*, Public Record Office Handbook No. 15 (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

### **Private Papers**

Various locations

The best introduction to sources on the British and Australian side are the bibliographies of unpublished material, private papers, published official documents, and memoirs in Christopher Thorne's landmark works on wartime diplomacy, *Allies of a Kind: The United States, Britain, and the War Against Japan, 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978) and *The Issue of War: States, Societies, and the Far Eastern Conflict of 1941-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985).

The National Register of Archives (NRA) collects and disseminates information about manuscript sources for British history outside the PRO. The NRA consists of more than 43,000 unpublished lists and catalogues of major manuscript collections, and approximately 150,000 further lists of miscellaneous and minor collections. It is available at [www.hmc.gov.uk/nra/nra.htm](http://www.hmc.gov.uk/nra/nra.htm). See Noel Matthews and M. Doreen Wainwright, compilers, *A Guide to Manuscripts and Documents in the British Isles Relating to the Far East* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

### **School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS)**

University of London

The Library

Thornhaugh Street

Russell Square

London WC1H 0XG

<http://www.soas.ac.uk/Archives/guides/mss.html>

SOAS holds some important collections of individuals, businesses, and religious institutions. See Rosemary Seton, compiler, *Guide to Archives and Manuscript Collections* (London : SOAS, University of London, 1994). The papers and reports of Sir Frederick Maze provides a great deal of information on China from the 1920s to the early 1940s through the eyes of the Chinese Maritime Customs Service. Collections from individuals include Gladys Ayalward, missionary in China, and Patrick Devereux Coates, who was with the consular service in China.

Religious institutions include the China Inland Mission, the Council for World Mission, the Methodist Missionary Society, the Conference of British Missionary Societies and Christian Aid. See Seton, Rosemary, and Emily Naish, *A Preliminary Guide to the Archives of British Missionary Societies* (London: SOAS, 1992); and Bickers, Robert A., and Rosemary Seton, *Missionary Encounters: Sources and Issues* (Richmond, Surrey:

Curzon Press, 1996). Another useful guide is Reverend C. Stuart Craig, *The Archives of the Council for World Mission (Incorporating the London Missionary Society): An Outline Guide* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1973).

Council for World Mission Archives, 1775-1940, archives are also held at SOAS. As is the case with other missionary materials, they can provide detail on for specific places or events based on the observations of missionaries. A complete set of microfiches are at the Billy Graham Center Archives and the Yale Divinity School Library.

## **HONG KONG**

### **Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, Wartime Records**

13 Tsui Ping Road, Kwun Tong, Kowloon

<http://www.info.gov.hk/pro/>.

The archives include information about the Japanese takeover and administration of Hong Kong, along with data on Allied casualties, unpublished war diaries, and intelligence summaries issued by the British Army Aid Group based at Guilin.

## **UNITED STATES**

### **Bancroft Library**

**University of California Berkeley**

**Berkeley, CA 94720-6000**

[www.lib.berkeley.edu/BANC](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/BANC)

See also the Online Archive of California ([sunsite2.berkeley.edu/oac/](http://sunsite2.berkeley.edu/oac/)), which contains detailed lists of collections available at most of the major universities in the state, including the Hoover Institution and the University of California system.

Holds the private papers of individuals such as George Atcheson, an American who witnessed the Japanese bombing of the USS Panay in 1937 and later served as chargé d'affaires in Chongqing, and Walter Lowdermilk, who advised the Nationalist government on environmental issues during the war. The Bancroft Library also has many microfilm and bound copies of oral histories from the Claremont Graduate School and other locations. The library also holds 110 oral history transcripts of interviews of Foreign Service Officers during the Truman Administration (1945-1952). These transcripts include information on the pre-1945 careers of the Officers.

### **Claremont Graduate School and University Center**

Oral History Program

China Missionaries Oral History Project

These oral histories have a few items of interest to scholars of military conflict. Like all missionary materials detailed in this guide, using these items requires that researchers use the indexes to find individuals located in the area of interest. The missionaries often

provide brief first person accounts of military conflict. The Claremont oral histories are also available on microfilm.

### **United States Army Military History Institute**

U.S. Army War College  
Carlisle Barracks, Carlisle PA  
<http://www.carlisle.army.mil/usamhi/index.html>

The Institute also holds some of the William J. Donovan Papers and the Office of the Chief of Military History (OCMH) Collection. Holdings include Army publications, biographical materials, Foreign Military Studies typescripts, micro form holdings, rare books, reference works, signal intelligence studies, and unit histories. An inventory and other finding aids are available online. The collection is moving to a new facility, a process that should be completed by July of 2004.

### **China Records Project**

#### **Yale Divinity Library**

and  
Manuscripts and Archives  
Yale University Library  
406 Prospect Street  
New Haven, CT 06520.  
[www.library.yale.edu/div/](http://www.library.yale.edu/div/)

The China Records Project includes the personal records of missionaries to China, some of whom witnessed the war. The Divinity Library holds about 950 linear feet of manuscript materials from over 300 missionaries. The Library also has materials related to Christian colleges and universities in China in the Archives of the United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia. The Library has an extensive collection of microfilms with the archives of missionaries organizations, such as the Methodist Missionary Society (British) (1851-1946) and the Presbyterian Church of England Board of Foreign Missions (1863-1950), as well as periodicals including the *Anking Newsletter* (1920-1943) and the *Bulletin/Newsletter of the Diocesan Association for Western China* (1934-1959). The Manuscripts and Archives section of Yale's Library has the records of the Yale-China Association. See Reuben Andrus Holden, *Yale in China: The Mainland, 1909-1951* (New Haven: Yale in China Association, 1964).

### **Columbia University**

#### **Rare Book and Manuscript Library**

Butler Library  
535 West 114th Street  
New York, NY 10027  
[www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/rare](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/indiv/rare)

Holdings related to Sino-Japanese military conflict include the Chinese Oral History Collection and memoirs from prominent politicians, bureaucrats, scholars, and generals

in the Nationalist Government or the "Third Force" movement in China. Many oral histories or memoirs are accompanied by private papers, and are available on microfilm at major research libraries. For example, the collection includes the 1,000+ page reminiscences of Chang Fa-k'uei, a Nationalist officer involved in the anti-Japanese struggle in central and southern China. Columbia also houses the Flying Tiger Project, a series of oral histories related to the American Volunteer Group in China. These materials were gathered during a 1962 Flying Tigers reunion.

**Council on Library and Information Resources/  
Center for Research Libraries  
Chinese Wartime Monograph Project**  
<http://www.crl.uchicago.edu/>

Council on Library and Information Resources Chinese Wartime Monographs Project (1932-1945) grew out of CLIR efforts, in cooperation with Fudan University in Shanghai. They have preserved and microfilmed more than 4,000 Chinese-language monographs published between 1932 and 1945. The 595 microfilm reels are now available from CLIR. This collection includes wartime materials from every part of China, including Mongolia, Tibet, and Xinjiang.

**The Ecumenical Library  
The Interchurch Center**  
475 Riverside Drive  
New York, NY 10115  
[metro.org/members/icelib.html](http://metro.org/members/icelib.html)

Holds materials from the United Presbyterian Missions Library, Methodist Board of Missions Library, and the National Council of Churches Library. See the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church, housed at Drew University in New Jersey, for more detailed documentation.

**Foreign Affairs Oral History Project  
Lauinger Library  
Georgetown University**  
Washington, DC 20057  
[www.library.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/diplo.htm](http://www.library.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/diplo.htm)

This collection contains over 650 interviews with United State Foreign Service Officers, and has an on-line index that provides a brief biography of each subject. The Project includes the reminiscences of American diplomats in China during the war. The complete set of oral histories is now available on CD-ROM. Contact Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, 4000 Arlington Blvd., Arlington, VA 22204, USA.

**General Commission on Archives and History  
The United Methodist Church  
Drew University**

Madison, NJ 07940

[www.gcah.org/](http://www.gcah.org/)

The General Commission has an extensive collection of documentation on the activities of Methodist missionaries around the world. This includes the files of individual missionaries and annual summaries of their efforts in China and other countries. Housed at Drew University in New Jersey, the files of the General Commission on Archives and History of the United Methodist Church related to missionary work around the world. Within China, records on Methodist efforts are divided by region, province, or city. These materials approach the "problem" of Sino-Japanese war with different priorities and goals than are revealed in the files of diplomats or military officers. To missionaries, the war was not simply a harbinger of chaos--it was seen as an opportunity to expand the Church's influence in the context of Japanese brutality and the collapse of the Nationalist state. Most important to scholars are the Missionary Files, materials that often discuss events in great detail at the local level. Since 2000, the files have been available on microfilm through Scholarly Resources--a great convenience for scholars.

### **The Billy Graham Center**

#### **Wheaton College**

500 College Avenue

3rd floor

Wheaton, IL 60187-5593

[www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/archhp1.html](http://www.wheaton.edu/bgc/archives/archhp1.html)

The Center has its own extensive collection of oral histories as well as private papers and microfilm collections taken from other collections related to American, Canadian, and British missionary efforts in China. Some of the oral histories are available online. This is one of the largest repositories of missionary-related material in the United States.

### **Hoover Institution**

#### **Stanford University**

Stanford, CA 94305

[sunsite2.berkeley.edu/oac](http://sunsite2.berkeley.edu/oac)

This website accesses the "Online Archive of California," which includes Stanford University's Hoover Institution, the Claremont Graduate School libraries, and the libraries at the University of California at Berkeley.

The Hoover Institution has a wide variety of personal papers from Americans in China, including General Joseph Stilwell, General Albert Wedemeyer, Milton Miles, Frank Dorn, Claire Lee Chennault, participants in the Dixie Missions to Yenan, those working for the departments of State or War, the Office of Strategic Services, or the Sino-American Cooperative Organization. Also includes the papers of T. V. Soong and Arthur N. Young, financial adviser to the government of China and the Central Bank of China.

See Hoover Institution Archives Holdings on China. Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1996 and Tong, Julia. *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945: Materials Added since 1984 to the East Asian Collection*, Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace. New York: International Conference on the 50th Anniversary of the War of Resistance, 1995. The bibliography of Maochun Yu's monograph, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), contains a useful list of personal papers and official materials at the Hoover Institution. See also Michael Schaller, *The U.S. Crusade in China, 1938-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press 1979) and Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1972). There also exist a few published guides to the papers of individuals, such as Dale Reed, compiler, Robert Hessen, ed., *General Claire Lee Chennault: A Guide to His Papers in the Hoover Institution Archives* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983).

**Library of Congress  
Manuscript Division**

101 Independence Avenue, SE  
Washington, DC 20540  
lcweb.loc.gov

Holds the papers of many important United States officials or others involved with China, including Owen Lattimore. A valuable research tool is the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections, Volumes 1-37* (Washington: Library of Congress, 1959-1993). See also the listing of manuscript collections at [lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/nucmc.html](http://lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/nucmc.html). This website also provides links to thousands of other libraries and research institutions in the United States. Another useful list of archives and major libraries is available from Columbia University at [www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/subjects/speccol.html](http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/subjects/speccol.html).

**Marine Corps Historical Center  
Department of the Navy**

9th and M Streets, S.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20374  
[www.usmc.mil/historical.nsf/Nav3](http://www.usmc.mil/historical.nsf/Nav3)

The Marine's collection of over 6,500 oral histories include many from those stationed in China prior to 1941. See Benis M Frank, compiler, *Marine Corps Oral History Collection Catalog* (Washington: History and Museums Division, United States Marine Corps, 1989); *Marine Corps Personal Papers Collection Catalog* (1974, rev. 1980); and Michael O'Quinlivan and Jack B. Hilliard, *An Annotated Bibliography of the United States Marine Corps in the Second World War* (Washington: Historical Branch, G-3 Division Headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps, 1970).

**National Archives and Records Administration**

8601 Adelphi Road  
College Park, MD 20740  
[www.nara.gov](http://www.nara.gov)

Central repository for United States Government records, including materials from the departments of State, War, Agriculture, and Commerce, as well as the Office of Strategic Services. Of particular importance are the decimal files of the Department of State (Record Group 59). Along with the Roosevelt Presidential Library, the Archives holds the original copies of the materials extracted for the *Foreign Relations of the United States* series. Many of the records are also available on microfilm at the National Archives. Much of the Department of State decimal files are also available on microfilms compiled by University Publications of America.

Some of the most valuable guides or secondary sources include *Guide to the National Archives of the United States* (Washington: National Archives, 1974); Gerald K. Haines, *A Reference Guide to United States Department of State Special Files* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985); Eugene L. Rasor, *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998); and Lawrence H. MacDonald, "The OSS and Its Records," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992).

Department of State materials from the war era (record group 59 at the National Archives) are also available on 252 reels of microfilm for those unable to travel to Washington. These records include observations by diplomats, and tend to be stronger on political than military affairs. However, the filing system used for these records makes it relatively easy to focus one's research efforts.

OSS/State Department Intelligence and Research Reports are also on microfilm. Japan and Its Occupied Territories during World War II; China and India; U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, China, 1911-1941; and U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, Japan, 1918-1941. University Publications of America, 1977. Accompanied by finding aids. Reports include Office of Strategic Services (OSS) Research and Analysis Branch materials, which can be found in record group 226 at the National Archives. The microfilms also include War Department archival offerings such as reports from American military attachés in China and Japan.

The important War Department General and Special Staff records (record group 165 at the National Archives) includes Records of the War Department's Operations Division, 1942-1945. Researchers can find small amounts of information on a wide variety of topics among this material. Reel 23 of the 26 top secret microfilm reels contains information on the OSS in China. Much of this material is also available on microfilm. The main difference between the microfilm reels and the original paper copies in the Archives is that materials declassified after the reels had been made are only available in paper form. Military Intelligence Division (G-2) files related to China, 1922-1944, held in the National Archives in the records of RG 165 are also available on microfilm. These reels contain information and reports collected by military attachés.

American Production Mission in China. (Also called the American War Production Mission to China). The Mission was assigned to assist Chinese industry for war and postwar production. The Mission's papers are held at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library in Hyde Park and in Record Group 220 at the National Archives in College Park. See also the American Production Mission's *China Mission Data Report*. n.p. 1944.

### **The Rockefeller Archive Center**

15 Dayton Avenue  
Pocantico Hills  
Sleepy Hollow, New York 10591  
email: [archive@rockvax.rockefeller.edu](mailto:archive@rockvax.rockefeller.edu)

The Rockefeller Archive Center, a division of The Rockefeller University, was established in 1974 to assemble, process, and make available for scholarly research the papers of the Rockefeller family and the records of various philanthropic and educational institutions founded by the family, including The Rockefeller University, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. Holdings include the papers of the China Medical Board and Peking Union Medical College and their staff. These files have information on the Japanese invasion, and the attempt to move many of these institutions inland during the late 1930s.

### **Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library**

National Archives and Records Administration  
Hyde Park, NY 12538  
[www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/fdr](http://www.fdrlibrary.marist.edu/fdr)

Includes materials sent to or received from Roosevelt, as well as the personal papers of a wide variety of figures key to the Roosevelt Administration. The Library is in the process of placing some of the most requested document series online. See *Historical Materials in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library*, 10th ed. (Hyde Park: Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, National Archives and Records Administration, 1996). Perhaps the most useful files are the Map Room Files, materials on military strategy and reports from various theaters. These files have been placed on 28 microfilm reels by UPA.

### **The Rutgers Oral History Archives of World War II**

Special Collections and University Archives  
Archibald Stevens Alexander Library  
169 College Avenue  
New Brunswick, NJ 08903  
<http://history.rutgers.edu/oralhistory/orlhom.htm>

Includes interviews with Americans who served in China during the War. These interviews provide insight into two areas: 1) Nationalist military, and 2) Life in China, particularly Chongqing and Kunming.

**Harry S Truman Presidential Library**

Truman Library

500 W. U.S. Hwy 24

Independence MO 64050

<http://www.trumanlibrary.org/>

Includes materials sent to or received from President, as well as the personal papers of a wide variety of figures key to the Truman Administration. The Library is in the process of placing some of the most requested document series online, and is putting many oral histories online.

## **The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945**

### **The Military Struggle**

### **Documenting Military Conflict and Intelligence Gathering**

The results of academic research seem to fall between two extremes. At one end of the continuum are the single caches of documents, often newly-discovered, that offer a compelling narrative on their own. At the other end are the widely scattered sources that scholars must piece together bit by bit. The English-language sources on the China war are fascinating, but tend toward the latter. The record is obviously more detailed for the Chinese side of the conflict than for the Japanese.

The interests (and limitations) of Americans and British in wartime China tended to shape the contents of primary source materials, and later the secondary literature. The travails of Stilwell, Burma, Chennault, the air war, Jiang's difficult relationship with the Americans, and the origins of the Cold War in East Asia tend to dominate the materials. Further, the bibliographies and reference works listed in the attached bibliography and on the Sino-Japanese conflict website reflect these priorities. One of the most useful guides for research in this area is Eugene L. Rasor's *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography*.<sup>1</sup> This volume includes an annotated bibliography of about 1,600 items, as well as lists of major research institutions, scholarly journals, and archives. The bibliography lists other pertinent works.

The debacle of General Joseph Stilwell's tenure and larger questions about America's role in the collapse of the Nationalist regime dominate much of the secondary literature. Government archives, personal papers, and secondary materials concerning General Stilwell cast an extremely critical eye on the Nationalist government and military. The United States Army's Office of the Chief of Military History produced several volumes that rely heavily upon Stilwell's papers and other United States Army documentation. While these histories focus on United States military operations, they provide a window into the conflict between Chinese and Japanese forces, and offer an excellent overview of the types of documents and personal papers available from military sources.<sup>2</sup> One of several useful first-person accounts are the books by Frank Dorn, an

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<sup>1</sup> Eugene L. Rasor, *The China-Burma-India Campaign, 1931-1945: Historiography and Annotated Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1953); *Stilwell's Command Problems* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1956); and *Times Run Out in the CBI* (Washington: Department of the Army, Historical Division, 1959). See also Jack Belden, *Retreat with Stilwell* (New York: Knopf, 1943). The best secondary source for information on the tenure of General Joseph Stilwell comes from Barbara W. Tuchman's famous work, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*. The bibliography of Tuchman's work is also a valuable introduction into American materials related to military and political affairs in wartime China. Barbara W. Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945* (New York: Macmillan, 1972). For information on Australia's military relations with China, see *Australia in the War of 1939-1945, Series 1 (Army), 7 volumes* (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 1952-1968). See also Stanley Woodburn Kirby, *The War against Japan, History of the Second World War, United*

aide to General Stilwell. His *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor* is one of the most detailed accounts of military conflict and Nationalist defeat, often viewed from the battlefield level.<sup>3</sup>

Other American military officers were quite positive toward the Nationalist war effort. For example, Claire Chennault's memoirs of the war, *Way of a Fighter*, tends to focus as much on the defects of General Joseph Stilwell as it does on the war against the Japanese.<sup>4</sup> This volume highlights the eagerness of Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalists to fight the Japanese, and denounces Stilwell's alleged attempt to "use the Chinese Communist government in Yen-an as a lever to move the Generalissimo."<sup>5</sup> The volume does, however, provide information in the problems of the Nationalist military, particularly the air force, during the years prior to 1941. Chennault's private papers are held at the Hoover Institution, and include documentation on the Nationalist government's war effort during his tenure as commander of the American Volunteer Group and the United States Army Air Force in China.<sup>6</sup> Albert C. Wedemeyer, commanding general of United States forces in the China theater and, after Stilwell's recall, chief of staff to Generalissimo Jiang Jieshi until 1946, proved to be a staunch supporter of the Nationalists.<sup>7</sup> His papers at Hoover contain correspondence with most important political figures in Nationalist China, as well as with other Americans concerning the Communist headquarters in Yen-an (the Dixie Mission), and correspondence concerning OSS operations in China.

Less prominent individuals also offered observations of China at war and engaged in the debate over the nature of the Nationalist regime. For example, The memoirs of Paul W. Frillman, who served with the American Volunteer Group in China, discusses wartime problems related to the air war against the Japanese. This work is quite critical of the Nationalists' military strategy and Jiang's "monopoly of power."<sup>8</sup> For every

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Kingdom Military Series, 5 volumes (London: HMSO, 1957-1969).

<sup>3</sup> Frank Dorn, *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974). See also *Walkout: With Stilwell in Burma* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971). A vital secondary work on military aspects of the war is Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949* (New York: Longmans, 1995). Also useful is James William Morley, ed., *The China Quagmire: Japan's Expansion on the Asian Continent, 1933-1941* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> Claire Lee Chennault, edited by Robert Horz, *Way of a Fighter: The Memoirs of Claire Lee Chennault* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949).

<sup>5</sup> See also Anna Chennault, *Chennault and the Flying Tigers* (New York: Ericsson, 1963).

<sup>6</sup> See Dale Reed, compiler, Robert Hessen, ed., *General Claire Lee Chennault: A Guide to His Papers in the Hoover Institution Archives* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1983). Chennault was an adviser to Jiang Jieshi from 1938 to 1941, then the Commander of the American Volunteer Group until 1942, then commander of U.S. Air Forces in China. For more information see the Flying Tigers Project, a series of oral histories collected at Columbia University's Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

<sup>7</sup> See also Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports* (New York: Holt, 1958).

<sup>8</sup> Paul Frillman and Graham Peck, *China: The Remembered Life* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1968). His memoirs, written with Graham Peck, include insight into other foreigners in China. For example, they discuss the political agendas and writings of "four unusual women" Anna Louise Strong, Ilona Rolf Sues, Agnes Smedley, and Freda Utley, who had written favorable accounts of the Communists' war effort against the Japanese.

account like Frillman's there exists a work favorable to Jiang Jieshi and the Nationalist military, such as that by Captain Royal Leonard, who served as personal pilot for the Generalissimo from 1935 to 1941.<sup>9</sup> He also provides insight into the use of Soviet pilots against the Japanese, the problems of the Nationalists' air force, the effectiveness of the Japanese air war over China, and Jiang's efforts to lead China's war effort against Japan.

Other sources are more difficult to place in the context of the on-going debate over China and the Nationalists, but offer detailed information on Sino-Japanese military conflict. The National Archives at College Park Maryland stores the records of United States military, including Record Group 338, Records of United States Army Commands. These are files from the China-Burma-India (CBI) theater of operations, and the United States military mission to China (also called the American Mission to China), the organization charged with overseeing lend-lease aid from the United States. This collection has translations of Chinese documents, and the records of the China Combat Command and the Civil Affairs (G-5) section. These files should be examined in conjunction with Record Group 332, Records of Theaters of War, World War II, which include files of various U.S. Army organizations such as the headquarters of General Joseph W. Stilwell, Commanding General of American forces in China.<sup>10</sup> The files of the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations (OCNO), Record Group 38, also contain materials related to Sino-Japanese conflict, including the records of the Far Eastern Section of the Navy's intelligence service. This collection includes a subject file for the 1936-1946 period, intelligence summaries from United States Marines stationed in Shanghai (1934-1940), copies of Department of State telegrams and documents, translations of captured documents, weekly summaries of conditions, and intelligence reports on Japanese shipping and military activity in China. Finally, six thousand linear feet of files from the Military Intelligence Division (MID, G-2) at the National Archives contain information on a wide variety of topics related to the war in China.<sup>11</sup>

Records of the War Department's Operations Division, 1942-1945 are also useful. Part of the War Department General and Special Staff records (record group 165 at the National Archives). Researchers can find small amounts of information on a wide variety of topics among this material. Reel 23 of the 26 Top secret microfilm reels contains information on the OSS in China. RG 165 also includes files from the Military Intelligence Division (G-2). Much of this material is also available on microfilm. The main difference between the microfilm reels and the original paper copies in the Archives is that materials declassified after the reels had been made are only available in paper form. Finally, researchers who know that Americans were involved in a specific battle or operation can consult the voluminous files of the Adjutant General (record group 407 at

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<sup>9</sup> Royal Leonard, *I Flew for China* (New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, 1942).

<sup>10</sup> These files, like many of military records related to World War II, are also available on microfilm at the National Archives.

<sup>11</sup> The most important collections are the General Files, which are indexed by name, subject, and location. General Files also include English-language translations of documents and reports. The MID also holds reports on interrogations and captured enemy documents. In 1942, the Military Intelligence Service (MIS) was established within the MID. The MIS files include materials from the Far Eastern Branch. Many of these materials are now available on microfilms prepared by the National Archives.

the National Archives), which contain over 8,000 linear feet of operations reports from World War II.

The United States Office of Strategic Services (OSS), precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency, has some of the most extensive English-language wartime documentation on Sino-Japanese conflict. These reports, part of record group 226 at the National Archives, sometimes relied upon information from the Nationalist government or American expatriates in China, but often included reports from OSS operatives (usually military officers) or Department of State officials.<sup>12</sup> One of the most fruitful areas to investigate is the approximately 650 linear feet of "Records of Major Field Offices and Bases of Operations, 1941-1946," which include 40 linear feet of records from the OSS base in Kunming, Yunnan Province.<sup>13</sup> There also exist smaller collections for Chongqing and Shanghai. These files include intelligence reports, maps, photographs, and administrative materials. These files often contain the "raw" intelligence that was occasionally summarized and passed along to Washington, where it may have ended up among the 630 linear feet (193 rolls of microfilm) of the "Records of the Office of the Director of Strategic Services." Many items may be found within the "Records of the Secret Intelligence (SI) Branch, the organization charged with the clandestine collection of intelligence outside the Western Hemisphere."<sup>14</sup> Several OSS operatives have

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<sup>12</sup> Carolle J. Carter's interesting article on OSS involvement with the Dixie Mission, which sent American military officers to Yenan to investigate the Communists' anti-Japanese efforts, includes valuable citations that guide researchers. Carolle J. Carter, "Mission to Yenan: The OSS and the Dixie Mission," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 302-317.

<sup>13</sup> Researchers should consult a brief article by Lawrence H. McDonald, who helped arrange and describe the OSS records at the National Archives. This article provides important information on how to search the files, as well as an overview of the history of the OSS. Lawrence H. McDonald, "The OSS and Its Records," in George C. Chalou, ed., *The Secrets War: The Office of Strategic Services in World War II* (Washington: National Archives and Records Administration, 1992), 78-102. See also Douglas Fix, "Cultivating Oysters, Running Canaries: U. S. Wartime Intelligence on Taiwan," *Taiwan shiliao guoji xueshu yantaohui wenji*, June 1994. This article is a good review of the kind of materials available from the OSS files. Maochun Yu's 1997 work, *The O.S.S. in China*, introduced to the academic world the records of America's wartime intelligence agency held at the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA--[www.archives.gov](http://www.archives.gov)). The records of field offices can be very useful for researchers interested in areas around OSS stations, particularly Kunming and Chongqing during the war, and Nanjing, Taipei, and Shanghai immediately following Japan's surrender. These files include maps and photographs. Other records include materials from the Research and Analysis Branch, the Secret Intelligence Branch, and the Special Operations Branch. Since publication of Yu's work, almost all of the OSS files have been declassified and made available to the public. Perhaps the most important files still classified are the monthly reports of the controversial Sino-American Cooperation Organization (SACO).

<sup>14</sup> There also exist microfilm records of many OSS reports such as "Morale and Social Conditions in Japan and Occupied Areas as Reported by American Expatriates" (75 pages, March 1944), "Social Conditions, Attitudes, and Propaganda in Manchuria" (33 pages, June 1942), and "Japanese Occupation of Southwest China" (7 pages, July 1945). One collection has been compiled and microfilmed by a private company, University Publications of America (UPA). The series is entitled "O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, I, Japan and Occupied Territories During World War II" (16 reels) and "III, China and India (6 reels)." The latter collection has reports such as "The Guerilla Front in North China" (26 pages, May 1943) and "Chinese Views of the Japanese Emperor" (5 pages, August 1945), and also contains documents dated as late as 1949. These microfilm collections are available from most research libraries and at the Library of Congress. University Publications of America, O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and

chronicled their activities in China. One interesting work that discusses espionage in wartime China, combined with a strong critique of Jiang's government is Oliver J. Caldwell's *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945*.<sup>15</sup> Many others involved with the OSS in China have donated their papers to the Hoover Institution.<sup>16</sup>

Much material is now available on microfilm, including OSS/State Department Intelligence and Research Reports of "Japan and Its Occupied Territories during World War II"; "China and India"; "U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, China, 1911-1941"; and "U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, Japan, 1918-1941". Reports include OSS Research and Analysis Branch materials and reports from American military attachés in China and Japan. Topics include "Vulnerability of the Japanese Fortification System in North China," and "The Guerilla Front in North China." Most of these reports provide an evaluation of the reliability of their sources. These reports often combined Nationalist or Communist sources with observations of Americans or British citizens. There also exist reports on topics that have attracted little or no attention in the literature to date, such as "Japanese Infiltration among Muslims in China." Other interesting materials include Stilwell's weekly "Comments on Current Events" which contain information on military and political developments in China. Up to late 1941, these reports also relay rumors and more reliable information from Shanghai which can be compared to other sources. Finally, the Japan intelligence microfilms provide the bi-weekly reports of military operations in China. These reports are usually broken down by province, city, or region, and can be very detailed--identifying military units, describing the battle lines, detailing refugee problems, etc.

The MID and OSS were not the only American intelligence organizations in China. Through his papers and memoirs, Milton E. Miles, head of the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO), sought to promote the image of the Nationalists as an eager and effective fighting force against the Japanese. SACO, primarily staffed on the American side with United States Navy officers, was devoted to protecting Jiang's government from internal and external opponents.<sup>17</sup> Miles' materials include wartime correspondence with Nationalist and American leaders, and three boxes of materials related to China. His memoirs focus on the anti-Japanese aspects of SACO and contributions of General Dai Li, one of Jiang Jieshi's close associates and head of the secret police.<sup>18</sup> He also provides information on interesting topics such as SACO's efforts

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Research Reports (Washington: UPA, 1977).

<sup>15</sup> Oliver J. Caldwell, *A Secret War: Americans in China, 1944-1945* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972). Caldwell's papers are at the Hoover Institution.

<sup>16</sup> The bibliography of Maochun Yu's monograph, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), contains a useful list of personal papers and official materials at the National Archives and the Hoover Institution.

<sup>17</sup> The role of SACO is controversial, as it has been accused of being little more than a secret police force devoted to eradicating critics of the Nationalists. See Frederic Wakeman, Jr., "American Police Advisers and the Nationalist Chinese Secret Service, 1930-1937," *Modern China* 16: 2 (April 1992): 107-137.

<sup>18</sup> Milton Miles, *A Different Kind of War: The Little-Known Story of the Combined Guerilla Forces Created in China by the U.S. Navy and the Chinese during World War II* (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1967).

to enlist pirates in order to monitor Japanese merchant shipping. Miles' account also attacks Stilwell and Department of State officials who praised the either the war-fighting ability or the governance of the Communists in Yen-an. He declares that the Communists' claims of fighting the Japanese were wildly exaggerated.<sup>19</sup>

Other materials are extremely helpful to those who do not have access to original documents or cannot read Chinese or Japanese. For example, *Chinese Military Studies and Materials in English Translation* was prepared under the auspices of the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. The collection includes works mostly prepared for or by the Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army. Titles include *A Brief History of the Republic of China Armed Forces*; *A Chronology of Important Military Events in Republican China, 1924-1950, Part I, 1924-1928*; *Civil War in China, 1945-1950*; *History of the Sino-Japanese War*; *Military Campaigns in China: 1924-1950*; and *Organizational Changes in the Chinese Army, 1895-1950*. The 500-page history of the Sino-Japanese War is an incredibly detailed account of political and military affairs from the Nationalist perspective. It includes translations of major orders and wartime statements.

The Japanese Monographs represent an invaluable tool for the English-speaking audience. The 187 Japan Monographs consist of a series of operational histories written by former officers of the Japanese army and navy under the direction of General Headquarters of the U.S. Far East Command beginning in 1945. Much of the series was extensively revised to correct errors of both English and fact. The introduction to these monographs note their deficiencies--translation problems and the Japanese authors lacked access to source materials, for example. To this must be added the agendas of the Japanese officers writing the original histories. These men had little incentive to admit the aggressive nature of their army's actions or the disconnect between Tokyo and the Kwantung Army. For example, see *Japan Monographs* no. 70, *China Area Operations Record (Revised) (July 1937-November 1941)*. From this 82-page overview one can then move onto more detailed and lengthy materials, such as monograph #179, which covers central China from 1937 to 1941. Extremely detailed maps and almost a day-by-day narrative of military action. These monographs represent how Japanese officers probably wish to remember the war--as purely military operations shorn of political issues and charges of war crimes. See also: U.S. Department of the Army. *Guide to Japanese Monographs and Japanese Studies on Manchuria*.<sup>20</sup> The monographs, studies on Manchuria, and a guide to both are now available on 17 microfilm reels from Scholarly Resources.

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<sup>19</sup> Clayton Mishler's account of SACO's activities discusses the organization's attempts to obtain intelligence, rescue downed fliers, and undertake guerilla operations against the Japanese in China. This memoir emphasizes the Nationalist war efforts against the Japanese, and places Jiang's rule in a very positive light. Clayton Mishler, *Sampan Sailor: A Navy Man's Adventures in WWII China* (Washington: Brassey's, 1994).

<sup>20</sup> (Washington: Office of the Chief of Military History, 1962, 1980).

There are a few collections in English on the Imperial Army that do not exist in Japanese archives. For example, the *Wartime translations of seized Japanese documents : Allied Translator and Interpreter Section reports, 1942-1946* includes over 2,200 microfiches on a wide variety of war-related topics. These 7,200 documents, usually interrogation reports or translations of captured documents, can provide detail for scholars who are interested in a specific location or battle. For example, captured Japanese soldiers might relay information on the location of military units in China or failed chemical warfare tests in Manchuria. These materials usually include an evaluation of the reliability of the source, if not confirmation of the information's accuracy. Overall, the volume of material on China is less than that available for the Pacific or Southeast Asia.

The British materials have strengths to match some of the deficiencies of American archival collections. The files of the British War Office and the Special Operations Executive held at the Public Record Office also offer interesting detail on the war in China. These materials include reports from Chongqing, intelligence provided by the Chinese or the Americans, as well as data obtained from military officers, particularly those around Shanghai and Hong Kong prior to December 1941, and in southwest China (near Burma). For example, within the holdings of Class WO 208, War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence, and Directorate of Military Intelligence for the years 1917 to 1968, is a detailed report concerning possible "bacteria warfare" waged by the Japanese against the Chinese.<sup>21</sup> The War Office's Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence also has a great deal of documentation, including "Most Secret" telegrams from the British military attaché in Chongqing. Class 106 also holds detailed information, including "Secret Cipher Telegram[s]" that detail Chinese and Japanese battlefield maneuvering.<sup>22</sup>

The Special Operations Directorate has fascinating materials related to anti-Japanese guerilla warfare. For example, one can compare Chinese accounts and American War Department materials with a British report from 1942, "Notes on the Failure of Guerilla Warfare in North China and Suggestions for a Plan of Campaign." Reasons for the "failure" included the lack of weapons, lack of military knowledge, lack of discipline, poor leadership, and conflict between the Nationalists and the Communists.<sup>23</sup> These British materials can be compared to American military or intelligence files, although the British materials related to events in Yenan are somewhat limited. In other areas, such as Hong Kong, these files are often more detailed than those

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<sup>21</sup> David Nelson Sutton, Associate Counsel, International Prosecution Section, "Bacteria Warfare," April 23, 1946, WO 208/4291, War Office, Directorate of Military Operations and Intelligence and Directorate of Military Intelligence, Japanese Biological Warfare in China, Public Record Office.

<sup>22</sup> Telegrams are part of WO 106/3582A, War Office: Directorate of Military Operations and Military Intelligence, and predecessors, Correspondence and Papers, 1837-1962, China: intelligence, 1942 Mar.-1944 Feb, Public Record Office.

<sup>23</sup> W. Lewisohn, "Notes on the Failure of Guerilla Warfare in North China and Suggestions for a Plan of Campaign," and attached covering memorandum dated November 18, 1942, HS1/180, BB/IN/723, Special Operations Executive, Far East, Registered Files, 1940-1946, China General: Guerrillas; Chungking General; Proposals for Formation of Sino-British Resistance Movement 1944, Public Record Office.

available in the United States. The British also provide some of the best (and most critical) information on Nationalist military campaigns in Burma. This includes material such as a review of the Nationalists 93rd Division from 1942 to 1945, and separate reports on how Nationalist officials attempted to co-opt Chinese bandits along the Yunnanese border. According to British reports, it was difficult to discern whether Chinese guerillas in Burma were in any way connected to military operations, or were simply taking advantage of the chaos.<sup>24</sup> As is the case with the American archives from the War Department and the OSS, a researcher can locate information on just about any battle or major troop movement after early 1942, when American and British interest increased exponentially.

Accounts by Nationalist military leaders provide a useful counterpoints to American and British perspectives. For example, Columbia University's Chinese Oral History Collection includes reminiscences of Chang Fa-k'uei, military commander involved with the fighting around Shanghai and Wuhan in 1937-1938, then commander in the Fourth War Zone. He provides information on Jiang's decision to attack Japanese invaders around Shanghai in 1937: "First, we wanted to open a second front, to launch an offensive to split the enemy's forces in China. Secondly, as Shanghai was an international center, it was hoped that outbreak of hostilities there would provoke international intervention."<sup>25</sup> Chang's reminiscences include fascinating detail on Jiang Jieshi's leadership of his generals, concluding that "I admire him for his resolution but not for his strategy."<sup>26</sup> Chang provides examples of poor discipline among Nationalist officers, who often relied upon their personal relationship to Jiang instead of the chain of command. Chang's recollections of events around Shanghai can be compared to the oral history of Li Han-hun, a military commander and governor of Guangdong province from 1939 to 1945. He discusses topics such as Japanese preparations for war in southeastern China, and the problems of command and cooperation among Nationalist generals. From his perspective as provincial governor, he describes problems such as the difficulty of obtaining military draftees (those with money often hired substitutes), the fact that the wealthy parts of the province were under Japanese control, and the lack of funds for famine or relief efforts.<sup>27</sup>

## Yenan

English-language government documents, oral histories, and memoirs relating the Chinese Communists at their base in Yenan provide more than facts, they also represent part of a heated debate over the legitimacy of the Communists as an alternative to Jiang's government. In addition to the sources useful for building a list of Americans, British,

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<sup>24</sup> "Summary of the Situation Regarding the 93rd Division," dated August 1, 1945, and "Report on Chinese Guerilla Activities," dated August 1, 1945, HSI/180, Special Operations Executive: Far East: Registered Files, 1940-1946, Public Record Office.

<sup>25</sup> Chang Fa-kuei, interviewed by Julie Lien-ying How, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1982, 454.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 788.

<sup>27</sup> Li Han-hun, interviewed by Minta Chou Wang, 1961-1962, Chinese Oral History Project, East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1962, 125.

Australians, and Canadians in China referenced earlier in this paper, *Foreigners in Areas of China Under Communist Jurisdiction Before 1949* includes brief biographies and bibliographies of those in contact with Mao's forces.<sup>28</sup>

Besides the official sources from the American War Department and State Department, sympathetic journalists are key sources of information on Yen-an. These works often focus on the Communists' social and economic program as much as military conflict with the Japanese. They do, however, provide insight into how Mao Zedong was able to build and maintain his military. Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby's *Thunder Out of China* set the pattern for many works examining the Chinese Communists during the war era.<sup>29</sup> The authors provide an overview of Nationalist politics and Communist strategy, as well as specific events such as famine in Henan and Japan's military offensive in 1944. The authors emphasize the brutal, corrupt, and incompetent nature of the Nationalists, and praise the Communists: "The new governments and reforms constituted half of the Communists' appeal; the military leadership of the Communist armies made up the other half."<sup>30</sup> Jack Belden's *China Shakes the World*, like many accounts written by Western reporters in China during the war, attacks the corruption and incompetence of the Nationalists, and paints a mirror image of the Communists--eager to fight where Jiang's generals hold back, honest where the Nationalists are corrupt, enjoying popular support while the Nationalists rely on force to rule.<sup>31</sup> Since Chalmers Johnson's work in the early 1960s, the secondary literature in English has been dominated by studies designed to explain the Communist anti-Japanese

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<sup>28</sup> Margaret Stanley, edited by Daniel H. Bays, *Foreigners in Areas of China Under Communist Jurisdiction Before 1949*, University of Kansas, Center for East Asian Studies, Reference Series Number Three, 1987.

<sup>29</sup> Among Americans, positive images of the Chinese Communists at Yen-an begin with journalist Edgar Snow's famous work based on his 1936 visit to China, *Red Star Over China*. A later version of the work includes an epilogue written in 1944. Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China*, First Revised and Enlarged Edition (New York: Bantam Books, 1968). Snow was a strong critic of the Nationalists and emphasized the Communists' role in opposing the Japanese and improving the lives of the rural poor. See also Edgar Snow, *The Battle for Asia* (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1941) and *Random Notes on Red China, 1936-1945* (Cambridge: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University, 1971). The papers of Nym Wales, the pen-name of Helen Foster Snow, wife of Edgar Snow, includes correspondence and articles related to labor in China, and Sino-Japanese conflict. Her papers also include articles by others concerning labor policies in Yen-an. See also Nym Wales, *Inside Red China* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, 1939), which details her meetings with Mao Zedong and the activities of the Communists' Eighth Route Army; and Helen Foster Snow, *My China Years* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1984).

<sup>30</sup> Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloan Associates, 1946), 205. White and Jacoby described the Nationalists: "The easiest way to understand China was to decide first that the government was only a false front for the Kuomintang, whose politics and cleavages were the main determinants of decision, and that behind the party was a personal despotism, the oldest form of rule known to mankind." White and Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China*, 99.

<sup>31</sup> Jack Belden, *China Shakes the World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1970). Originally published in 1949. Belden's private papers are held at the Hoover Institution. A very detailed and positive first person account of Communists' war effort, life in areas under Communist control, and the personalities of a wide range of Communists ranging from Mao Zedong to author Ding Ling is found in Gunther Stein, *The Challenge of Red China* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1975).

mobilization efforts through the lens of 1949. This debate over the role of nationalism, class conflict, or superior organizational skills continues today.

Journalist Israel Epstein's account of the anti-Japanese struggle up to 1939 provides information on events on the battlefield and the growing nationalism that resulted from the Japanese invasion--in many ways supporting Chalmers Johnson's thesis on peasant nationalism in China.<sup>32</sup> Some observers expanded their positive evaluations of the Chinese Communists into adulation. For example, Harrison Forman's *Report from Red China*, first published in 1945, compares the Communist military to the American revolutionaries, and calls the People's Militia "North China's Minutemen." He concludes that Mao Zedong and his followers "do not, at the present time [1945] either advocate or practice Communism."<sup>33</sup> Some of the Japanese Monographs referenced above provide an alternative view of Communist military success.

The personal accounts by journalists or activists complement Department of State or Department of War records mentioned earlier in this paper. Besides *Foreign Relations* and United States Army's Historical Division volumes, those interested in Yen'an should consult *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945*.<sup>34</sup> This lengthy report, written by the Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, reviews communism in China--its history, relations with the Nationalists, economic policies, military capabilities, and organization--with a focus on the 1937-1945 period.<sup>35</sup> For example, the report contains a chapter on the wartime economy in areas under Communist control, acknowledging that Mao's troops had been able to "revitalize the spirit of the peasantry, to increase agricultural production, and to develop handicraft industries to meet civilian and military needs."<sup>36</sup> Among the interesting sections to this work is an investigation of relations between the Communists and puppet governments under Japanese control. The report claimed that the Communists were no more eager to fight the Japanese than were the Nationalists, as both parties engaged in a "war within a war" against one another from 1940 to 1945.

American images of the wartime Communists were also shaped by the experience of the Dixie Mission, formally known as the United States Army Observer Group in Yen'an. Colonel David Barrett, who led this effort to investigate the ability of Mao's forces to fight the Japanese, wrote a short overview of the mission, its interaction with Communist leaders, and the failure to forge a meaningful united front between the Nationalists and Communists.<sup>37</sup> His account examines interesting issues such as the

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<sup>32</sup> Israel Epstein, *The People's War* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939). For information on Chalmers Johnson's contribution to the field of modern Chinese history, see footnote 9.

<sup>33</sup> Harrison Forman, *Report from Red China* (New York: De Capo Press, 1975), 177.

<sup>34</sup> Lyman P. Van Slyke, *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968).

<sup>35</sup> Researchers should note that since 1949 this volume has been used by those seeking to "prove" that the Nationalist regime could and should have been victorious against the Communists. This interpretation is based upon a summary attached to the report more than the contents of the actual report itself.

<sup>36</sup> Van Slyke, *The Chinese Communist Movement*, 175-176.

<sup>37</sup> David D. Barrett, *Dixie Mission: The United States Observer Group in Yen'an, 1944* (Berkeley:

Communist intelligence organization in occupied China and Communist efforts to forge a "Japanese Peoples Liberation League" with Japanese prisoners.<sup>38</sup> Colonel W. J. Peterkin, a military officer who participated in the Dixie Mission in 1945, has published his diary from that period. Peterkin addresses life in Yen-an, and the Communists' efforts to obtain American assistance for their struggle against the Japanese. He describes life under the Nationalists and corruption in their military, and compares this to the Communist government. Finally, this work is a damning indictment of American policy, particularly support for Jiang Jieshi and the replacement of General Stilwell by General Albert Wedemeyer.<sup>39</sup> This volume provides useful lists of the Americans who visited the Communist base, which can be utilized for further research.

There exist a large body of English-language base studies or the second united front, most of which focus on the reasons for Mao's victory in 1949 more than military affairs. However, these works do provide some insight into the Communists' military efforts and state-building, primarily in central and northern China. Most of these works can be measured by how they fit into the debate begun by Chalmers Johnson in his important work, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power*.<sup>40</sup> This literature asks whether Communist success came from promises of class revolution, nationalism, or superior organizational skills.<sup>41</sup> Reflecting American interest in defeating the Axis, many wartime works focus on the anti-Japanese nature of the Communists.<sup>42</sup> Evans Fordyce Carlson has documented his eighteen months (from 1937 to 1939) as an observer for the United States Navy in China. Carlson's work is equally favorable to the Nationalists and to the Communists. His recollections are a detailed account of Nationalist and Communist military operations, beginning with the Japanese victory around Shanghai in late 1937. He also devotes a great deal of attention to the Communists' Eighth Route Army, the leadership qualities of Communist guerilla leaders, and life in Yen-an.<sup>43</sup> This

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University of California, Center for Chinese Studies, China Research Monographs, Number Six, 1970).

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>39</sup> W. J. Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yen-an* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1972). Peterkin's personal papers are held at the Hoover Institution. See also the papers of Ivan Yeaton, commanding officer of the 1945-1946 Yen-an Observer Group in China, at Hoover Institution.

<sup>40</sup> Chalmers Johnson, *Peasant Nationalism and Communist Power: The Emergence of Revolutionary China, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962).

<sup>41</sup> Some of the most prominent works in the genre include Mark Selden's *The Yen-an Way in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), Chen Yungfa's *Making Revolution: The Communist Revolution in Eastern And Central China, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), Tetsuya Kataoka's *Resistance and Revolution: The Communists and the Second United Front* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), and Lyman Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends: The Second United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967).

<sup>42</sup> One can also learn about conditions in China and Communist guerilla efforts through an account of James D. McBrayer, Jr., a Marine guard at the embassy in Peking, who, along with four other Americans, escaped from Japanese captivity near Shanghai in May 1945. His account provides some information about the Communists' intelligence networks and organizational efforts. James D. McBrayer, Jr., *Escape! Memoir of a World War II Marine Who Broke Out of a Japanese POW Camp and Linked Up with Chinese Communist Guerillas* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1995).

<sup>43</sup> He calls Mao Zedong "the man whose mind had provided the foundation for China's modern liberal thought and whose flare [sic.] for organization had established the bases on which rested the structure of

volume also provides information on Americans in China during this period, which serves as a tool for further research into English-language sources.

No one would claim that English-language primary or secondary sources can replace Chinese or Japanese materials for the work of serious scholars. English-language materials can, however, provide a different perspective on events covered in other languages. Some interesting items include first-person accounts of military conflict, official reports, and interrogations of captured soldiers, as well as translations of Japanese or Chinese materials.

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the present Communist Party in China." Evans Fordyce Carlson, *Twin Stars of China: A Behind the Scenes Story of China's Valiant Struggle for Existence by a U.S. Marine Who Lived and Moved with the People* (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1975), 167.