

"The Left League Decade":  
Left-wing Literary Movement in Shanghai,  
1927-1936

Ph.D. Thesis

submitted

by

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1986

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**ABSTRACT**

The coup d'etat of Jiang Jieshi in 1927 brought a sudden end to the first united front between the KMT and the CCP. From then on, the Communist Party was driven underground and survived only with great difficulties, until the second united front was formed in 1937. Yet within the same period, we saw the emergence and growth of concerted left-wing activity in the literary arena. The present thesis is an attempt to look into the background, the development as well as the outcome of this movement, with special reference to the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, an organization formed in 1930 under the direction and control of the CCP. It covers the period known as "The Left League Decade" in modern Chinese literary history.

The thesis is in three parts. Part one discusses the pre-League period, the years before the formation of the League. It deals mainly with the revolutionary literary movement in 1927-28, which in fact consisted of a polemic between the ultra-left, the left and the right over the issue of revolutionary literature. The steps taken for the formation of the united front among the left after this heated debate are analyzed. Part two, which comprises four chapters, is on the League itself. The first is a general survey of the formation, membership and structure of the organization. The second and third chapters discuss the achievements of the League in the first half of its existence. The League then began to decline from 1934 onwards. The internal conflicts which finally led to the alienation of its chief leader and the "giant" of modern Chinese literature, Lu Xun, are presented in great detail in the last chapter of part two. Part three traces and gives an account of the dissolution of the organization and the subsequent Two Slogan Polemic in

1936 over the action to be taken in the new political situation. The relationship between the polemic and the developments in politics takes up a considerable portion of the discussion. Before closing the thesis, an epilogue is attached which looks at the Left League and the left wing literary movement of the thirties in their historical context. It also includes a review of their appraisal in the mainland after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

ABSTRACT . . . . .	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT . . . . .	5
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	6
CHAPTER	
1. The Pre-League period: Debate on revolutionary literature (1927-1929)	13
2. Towards the road of a united front (1929-1930) . . . . .	71
3. The Left League: Its formation, membership and structure . . . . .	111
4. Years of achievement: The first half of the Left League (1930-1933) (I) .	164
5. Years of achievement: The first half of the Left League (1930-1933) (II)	221
6. The waning years: The second half of the Left League (1934-1935) . . . . .	282
7. Dissolution and polemic (1935-1936)	330
CONCLUSION . . . . .	397
GLOSSARY . . . . .	417
APPENDIX: Membership list of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers . . . . .	434
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	438

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the process of writing this thesis, I received help in one way or another from so many people that it is impossible to acknowledge them all. I am particularly grateful to Professor David E. Pollard, my supervisor in the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. Without his guidance, advice and assistance, the present study could not have been accomplished. His valuable comments and suggestions corrected many of my mistakes. I am also heavily indebted to Mr Nigel Bedford and Dr Gregory B. Lee who have read the manuscript, providing illuminating suggestions and saving me from many errors in my English. Needless to say, I alone am responsible for any mistakes that remain.

Special thanks should be extended to, among others, Mrs Mary M.Y. Fung, Professor L.Y. Chiu, Dr P.L. Chan, Dr. S.K. Wong, my teachers in the Department of Chinese, University of Hong Kong, for their incessant encouragement in the process of writing. I must also thank my several schoolmates in the University, Dr. K.P. Ho, Messrs. S.S. Yung (now in Princeton), K.K. Luke (York), C.K. Chan (San Diego) W.O. Yeung and K.K. Chan for their immense help and interests.

For financial support I wish to thank the Association of Commonwealth Universities for the Commonwealth Scholarship which enabled me to do research in London, as well as the Central Research Fund of the University of London.

Lastly, I wish to thank my family and in particular my wife, Anita, who has shared with me the hardships of a student's life, and my two sons, Clarence and Terence, who have always been able to cheer me up at times of frustration.

## INTRODUCTION

1927 was one of the most important years in modern Chinese history, especially in the history of the Chinese Communist Party (中國共產黨, often abbreviated as the CCP). It marked the end of the first united front between the Party and the KMT (國民黨, Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party). At its formation in 1921, the young Communist Party, comprised of a few dozen intellectuals with no experience in politics, stood no chance to fight against the two evils of China, feudalism and imperialism. Collaboration with the bourgeois party, the KMT, seemed to be a natural and acceptable outcome, as its large membership constituted the strongest force in revolution, and the bourgeoisie, after all, was the only class then fully aware of revolutionary ideas.<sup>[1]</sup> The Communist International in Moscow, to which the CCP turned for guidance, had also been in favour of the idea of united front. As early as September, 1921, Maring (H. Sneevliet), the secretary of the National and Colonial Committee of the Comintern, met Dr Sun Yat-sen (孫逸仙, 1866-1925) at Guilin, and it was reported that Maring proposed a collaboration with the KMT.<sup>[2]</sup> Though the plan failed, Dr Sun was impressed by the New Economic Policy of the Soviet Union. KMT delegates were sent to attend the Congress of the Toilers of the East (also known as the Eastern People's Congress) in Moscow in January, 1922. In the Congress, the Soviet delegate, Safarov, boosted the KMT and admitted that "in colonial and semi-colonial countries, the first phase of the revolutionary movement must inevitably be a national-democratic movement".<sup>[3]</sup> The first united front was finally realized in 1923 when the KMT was re-organized and took in Communist members.

During the first collaboration, the Communist Party grew rapidly. With only fifty-seven members at the

First Congress in 1921, the membership in 1927 was 57,693, plus 35,000 members of the Youth Corps.<sup>[4]</sup> But this did not imply that the collaboration was smooth and stable. After the death of Sun Yat-sen on 12th March, 1925, the hostile feelings of many KMT members towards the Communists became apparent. Liao Zhongkai (廖仲凱, 1877-1925), the Finance Minister and an ardent supporter of the united front, was assassinated in August. In November, about ten important KMT members met in Beijing and formed a group which was later known as the Western Hill Group (西山派). They demanded the immediate expulsion of the Communists. Several months later, there was the March 20th Incident, or the Gunboat Zhongshan Incident (中山艦事件) in Guangzhou. Jiang Jieshi (蔣介石, 1887-1975) claimed that the Communist-officered gunboat planned to kidnap him, and so he declared martial law.<sup>[5]</sup> Although the incident did not lead to any serious hostilities, it became apparent that Jiang Jieshi was not a reliable ally. Then in the early morning of 12th April, 1927, Jiang staged a coup d'etat against the Communists in Shanghai. Large numbers of Communists were arrested and shot. Similar actions were taken in other parts of the country. On 18th April, a new national government was formed in Nanjing under Jiang and the first united front was completely shattered.

The impact of the "Party purge" on the Communist was tremendous. We had the change of the top leadership: Chen Duxiu (陳獨秀, 1880-1942), who was the founder of the CCP and held the post of chief secretary since its formation, was replaced by Qu Qiubai (瞿秋白, 1899-1935), who, in a reaction to Chen's "capitulationistic" policy, initiated, under Comintern direction, a putschist Party line. Several uprisings staged in a desperate attempt to gain victory failed. What was worse still, by about a year, party membership dropped to less than one-fifth of the figure before the coup.<sup>[6]</sup>

The 1927 coup also made its impact on the literary and the cultural fields. It was at this time that the left-wingers, most of whom were driven to the literary circle because of the defeat in politics, began to initiate literary and cultural activities. A large scale revolutionary literary movement was soon started in Shanghai, and within a few years, left-wing literature became the dominant element in the literary arena. Hence 1927 has always been regarded as a turning point not only in the political history, but also in the history of modern Chinese literature. In fact, the ten years following 1927 are commonly known as the "Left League Decade" (左聯十年).<sup>[7]</sup> The Left League (左聯), or in full, the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers (中國左翼作家聯盟), was a literary organization formed on 2nd March, 1930 under the direction and control of the CCP, after a polemic between the left-wingers had been brought to an end. In the first half of the thirties, the Left League fought a number of lively battles against nationalist and independent writers, who were regarded by the left as obstacles to their revolution. 1936, the year in which the League was dissolved, marked the end of this era as the Communists called for another collaboration with the KMT against Japanese aggression.

During the years of the "Left League decade", the survival of the CCP as a political and military force was under threat. Jiang Jieshi, firmly established at Nanjing, was determined to wipe out Communism in China. Five large scale campaigns were launched against the Communists in the remote areas of Jiangxi until they were driven out of the so-called Soviet areas and forced on to the Long March in 1934. In Shanghai, the base of the Left League, the situation was even tougher. "White terror", as it was called, threatened the life of every left-winger. The propagation of their ideas was made difficult because of the strict censorship and the banning of their publications. Internally, left-wingers

themselves were troubled with intra-Party conflicts. Factionalism became a great threat. Within the same period, the Communist Party was said to have undergone three left-deviationist lines under, namely, Qu Qiubai (from August, 1927 to June, 1928), Li Lisan (李立三, 1899-1967) (from 1929 to September, 1930) and Wang Ming (王明, alias of Chen Shaoyu 陳紹禹, 1904-1974) (from 1931 to 1936).<sup>[8]</sup> Literary activities were directly or indirectly affected by the party policies, which resulted in committing some serious mistakes. To this, we may add that the base of the Left League was not solid. Hence, in its final years, the League itself was split up. The Left League Decade ended with another polemic among the left-wingers.

On the other hand, it was not an easy time for the nationalists either. Although they had won a telling victory over the Communists in 1927, they still faced other internal enemies. Such warlords as Li Zongren (李宗仁, 1890-1969), Li Jichen (李濟琛, 1886-1959), Yan Xishan (閻錫山, 1883-1960) and Feng Yuxiang (馮玉祥, 1882-1948), based in different parts of the country, posed great threats to the newly established regime. In the early thirties, several large scale battles took place among them. Though Jiang Jieshi finally emerged as the victor, the damage was huge. It was reported that three hundred thousand were killed in one single battle in 1931.<sup>[9]</sup> Such wars also dealt a heavy blow to the economy. The official figure for military expenses in 1928 was 210 million dollars, while that of 1930 was 310 million, a fifty percent increase in three years.<sup>[10]</sup> To meet these expenses, the government had to issue government bonds. A total of 520 million dollars was issued in 1928-1930.<sup>[11]</sup> The situation was made more acute with the worldwide economic slump in 1930.

The same period also saw the Japanese invasion

into China. In 1931, there was the Mukden Incident, also known as the September 18 Incident ( 九一八事變 ), in which the Japanese invaded the north-eastern part of China and took more than one million square kilometres within four months. A few months later, in January, 1932, the infamous Shanghai Battle erupted. In both cases, Jiang Jieshi did not take any serious and positive actions against the Japanese. He adopted a policy of "pacification first, then resistance" ( 先安內後攘外 ). In other words, Jiang believed that the Communists should first be wiped out before China could fight a successful external war. This inevitably aroused anti-KMT feelings among the people.

Throughout the thirties, the Communists continued to pose a serious menace to the nationalist government. Although badly hit by the coup, the Communists gradually gained back some strength outside the cities. It was said that with the expansion of the Red Army, the membership of the Party began to grow again.<sup>[12]</sup> They were able to build up a large Soviet Area. The first four campaigns launched against them ended in failures on the part of the KMT, resulting in heavy casualties and economic strains. In Shanghai, the Left League and other leftist cultural groups tried every means to propagate Marxist theories and make attacks on the authorities. The concession areas could sometimes, though not always, provide shelter for the wanted. One fatal weakness was: the nationalists could not build up any sort of literature or literary movement of their own to counter-balance the influence of the left.

On the other hand, the left was able to secure the service of Lu Xun ( 魯迅 , 1881-1936), one of those who were dismayed at the coup of Jiang Jieshi. Lu Xun's contribution to the left in the thirties was invaluable. Not to mention his actual participation in polemics against

reactionary forces, his name alone stood up as a great symbol. A famous writer and the mentor of the youth, Lu Xun was able to attract around him a group of young fighters. This factor alone made him such an important member in the left-wing literary movement. Yet the same factor had another serious effect. The solidarity of the leftist camp depended largely on his relationship with the left. He could be a strong divisive force if he was alienated. And the relationship was precarious. There was no solid base for a genuine friendship with the local leaders and, as we shall see, Lu Xun sometimes did hold different opinions.

Hence, the period covered in this study can be perfectly described as "volatile". Both the Communists and the nationalists were confronted with internal as well as external foes and problems. So was the entire nation. It was in this chaotic situation, in the "Paradise of adventurers",<sup>[13]</sup> Shanghai, that left-wing literature emerged and grew. The present research is a study on the left-wing literary movement during the Left League Decade, with the League itself as the centre of our attention.

NOTES

[1] Jacques Guillermaz, A history of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-1949 (Translated by Anne Destenay) (London: Methuen & Co., 1972), p. 68.

[2] Wang Jianmin ( 王健民 ), A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party (《中國共產黨史稿》) (Taipei: Zhongwen tushu gongyingshe 中文圖書供應社, Sept., 1974), pp. 93-94.

[3] Jacques Guillermaz, A history of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-1949, p. 70.

[4] Ibid., p. 83.

[5] For an account of the incident, see James Pinckney Harrison, The long march to power: A history of the Chinese Communist Party, 1921-72 (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), pp. 76-82.

[6] Ibid., p. 119.

[7] For example, see Wang Yao, A draft history of modern Chinese literature (《新文學史稿》) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe 上海文藝出版社, Nov., 1982), pp. 162-216.

[8] Mao Zedong, "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party", Selected works of Mao Tse-tung [Mao Zedong] (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), Vol. III, pp. 183-188.

[9] Wang Yunsheng ( 王芸生 ), "Observing the tides for ten years" (《觀潮十年》), Guowen zhoubao (《國聞周報》) XI:1, quoted in Huang Yuanqi ( 黃元起 ), A history of modern China (《中國現代史》) Vol. 1 (Henan: Henan renmin chubanshe, July, 1982), p. 267.

[10] Ibid., p. 277.

[11] Ibid.

[12] James Pinckney Harrison, The long march to power, p. 148.

[13] G.E. Miller, Shanghai, the paradise of adventurers (New York: Orsay Publishing House, 1937).

CHAPTER ONETHE PRE-LEAGUE PERIOD: DEBATE ON REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE  
(1927-1929):

The years between 1927-1929 are generally taken as the "Pre-League Period" of the Left League Decade, as the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers was not formed until February, 1930. Nevertheless, this short period was by no means less important than the six League years. We saw a heated debate over the issue of revolutionary literature among the left-wingers in Shanghai, who were driven back to the literary arena after the setback in politics because of Jiang Jieshi's coup in April, 1927. This revolutionary literary movement provided the basis for the formation of the Left League and other left-wing literary movements in the thirties.

It is a common practice to divide those involved in the polemic on revolutionary literature into three groups. First, the ultra-left, those who advocated and supported revolutionary literature ardently. Second, the left, those who basically agreed with revolutionary literature but were not satisfied with the means advocated and the ideas expressed by the first group. Third, the right, those who were in principle against the whole thing. The first group was made up of the members of the Creation Society (Chuangzaoshe, 創造社) and the Sun Society (Taiyangshe, 太陽社). The second group was headed by Lu Xun and Mao Dun (茅盾, 1896-1981), representatives of the Thread-of-talk group (Yusipai, 語絲派) and the Literary Research Association (Wenxue yanjiuhui, 文學研究會). The last group was mainly the Crescentists (Xinyuepai, 新月派), with Liang Shiqiu (梁實秋, 1902-) as the key theoretician. The polemic was three-cornered: severe arguments took place between the first two groups as well as between these first two and the third.

Shortly after the outbreak of the debate, in early 1928, there was an argument between the ultra-leftists themselves over the question of leadership in the revolutionary literary movement. Li Chuli (李初梨), a prominent member of the third stage of the Creation Society,<sup>[1]</sup> labelled the article "Revolution and literature" (《革命與文學》), published in April, 1926 by Guo Moruo (郭沫若, 1892-1978), one of the founders of the Society, the first voice in the advocacy of revolutionary literature.<sup>[2]</sup> This idea was unacceptable to Qian Xingcun (錢杏邨, 1900-1977) of the Sun Society, who believed that Jiang Guangci (蔣光慈, 1901-1931) was at least some two years ahead of Guo Moruo in advocating revolutionary literature, because the former had already published an article "Proletarian revolution and culture" (《無產階級與文化》) on 1st August, 1924.<sup>[3]</sup> This dispute was undeniably a reflection of the sectarian feelings of the ultra-leftists. Each of them tried to attribute the merits to their own groups. The efforts made by earlier advocates were neglected.

It is difficult to give a definition of revolutionary literature. The new literature created shortly after the May Fourth Incident (1919) can be regarded as "revolutionary", as it was aimed at the destruction of old order and the promotion of radical changes. In terms of the form, the use of the new vernacular (xinbaihua, 新白話) was an emancipation from the classical Chinese (wenyan, 文言). But obviously, this was not the kind of revolutionary literature demanded by those self-acclaimed revolutionary writers in 1927. They would like to have a truly revolutionary literature in the Marxist terms. An acceptable definition would be as follows:

Revolutionary literature must consciously endeavour to "raise the consciousness" of its audience - that is, it must promote and increase the audience's understanding of socio-historic reality according to the

perspective of class struggle and the stages of historical development all societies pass through on their way to communism.[4]

Under this definition, works created during the May-Fourth were excluded from the category of revolutionary literature, because class consciousness was not distinct then and the Communist Party was formed only in 1921. It was not until 1922-1923 when we saw the first advocacy of the kind of revolutionary literature agreeable to a Marxist definition.

In 1922, the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps (Zhongguo shehui zhuyi qingniantuan, 中國社會主義青年團) held its first general meeting. Its members included the later most important members of the CCP, Deng Zhongxia (鄧中夏, 1896-1972), Yun Daiying (恽代英, 1895-1931), Shen Zemin (沈澤民, 1898-1934) and Xiao Chunyu (蕭楚女, 1897-1927). The corps passed a resolution in the general meeting calling for members to take part in various literary activities and make literature and art proletarianized.[5] The official organ of the corps, Zhongguo qingnian (Chinese Youth, 《中國青年》) was their base to publicize their revolutionary ideas. In Dec., 1923, Deng Zhongxia published in it an article called "Proffered to the new poets" (《貢獻於新詩人之前》). In the article, he showed his disgust over those poets who took no notice of social problems. He discussed the effect of literature on driving people to revolution:

We admit that men are sentient beings. We admit that revolutions are the economic and political struggles in the face of oppression in lives. But it is necessary to move people's sentiment first if we want to awaken their revolutionary consciousness and inspire them so that they have the courage for revolution. You may use speeches or treatises to move their sentiment. But the most effective means is literature.[6]

He also urged writers to participate in revolutionary activities and write on the actual life in society.[7]

Deng's close associate, Yun Daiying expressed a similar idea in a short essay called "Literature and revolution" (《文學與革命》). He believed that participation in revolution was a pre-requisite for writing revolutionary literature. His logic was: as literature was a product of the noble and sacred feelings of mankind, one had to have revolutionary feelings first before one could create revolutionary literature; and as one could acquire revolutionary feelings only through participation in revolutions, one had to become a revolutionary first.<sup>[8]</sup> He did not mean to say that all revolutionaries would become revolutionary writers. "Among these revolutionaries, there will be someone who has abundant feelings and he will certainly create revolutionary literature."<sup>[9]</sup> This concept, as we shall see, is identical to those put forward by revolutionary writers from 1926 onwards.

Shen Zemin, younger brother of the famous writer, Mao Dun, was also a pioneer in revolutionary literature. On 15th December, 1923, one week before Deng Zhongxia published "Proffered to the new poets", he had already called for the writers to "go among the people".<sup>[10]</sup> In another essay, "Literature and revolutionary literature" (《文學與革命的文學》), he declared that a great change was approaching and the whole structure of society was shattering. Proletarians of the world had awakened from their sleep. A revolutionary writer, being their spokesman, should use literature as a means to express the desires, sufferings and wishes of the oppressed.<sup>[11]</sup> More important still, he was able to bring out the issue of proletarian consciousness. He believed that one who had only revolutionary ideas could not create revolutionary literature. Unless one had joined a workers' strike, or had been thrown into prison or chased by police, or

had done hardwork and received ill-treatment from employers, one could never understand the subconsciousness of proletarians and could never be qualified to write revolutionary literature.<sup>[12]</sup>

Hence, Zhongguo qingnian was in fact a very important publication in our study of revolutionary literature. But except once in the early thirties when Qian Xingcun was able to mention it in his study on modern Chinese literature,<sup>[13]</sup> it had often been neglected until the fifties when literary historians began to talk about them again.<sup>[14]</sup> The reason for their being overlooked is possibly that no movement of any sort was ever sparked off by the few essays in the publication. That the issue of revolutionary literature was taken up again and turned into a widespread movement was largely the work of Jiang Guangci of the Sun Society and Guo Moruo of the Creation Society.

Jiang Guangci was also a member of the Chinese Socialist Youth Corps. He joined it in the winter of 1920.<sup>[15]</sup> In 1922, he became a member of the CCP.<sup>[16]</sup> From 1921 to 1924, he studied in the Oriental University of Moscow. Upon his return, he lectured on Marxist sociology at the CCP-run Shanghai University.<sup>[17]</sup> In the same year, he published his first book of poetry, New Dreams (《新夢》), which was regarded by many as the first fruit of revolutionary literature. In the poems, Jiang Guangci called for a world revolution and the awakening of the proletariat. He also called for the downfall of imperialism and an end to civil wars between warlords. His first piece of fiction, "The young tramp" (《少年漂泊者》), which was published in 1926, was described by Qian Xingcun as a piece of "proletarian revolutionary literature" and "a genuine record of the germination period of proletarian revolutionary

literature".<sup>[18]</sup> His subsequent works, such as "On the River Yalu" ( 《鴨綠江上》 ) and "Des Sans-culottes" ( 《短褲黨》 ), are all important, though may not be good ones, pieces in revolutionary literature.<sup>[19]</sup>

But he was slow in putting forth theory. This is not surprising as in 1928 he still insisted that "what we demand from writers are literary and revolutionary creations, not those empty and elusive treatises which can be written by anybody".<sup>[20]</sup> On the other hand, the contribution of the Creation Society in the theoretical field was much greater. In fact, as we shall see, the different attitudes of the two groups towards theories constituted a major source of conflict between the Sun Society and the Creation Society.

We know that the idea of forming the Creation Society originated in a meeting between Guo Moruo and Zhang Ziping ( 張資平 , 1893-1947.) in Honshu, Japan in August, 1918. It was not until 1921 when concrete plans were set up for the establishment of the Society and the publication of the Chuangzao jikan ( 《創造季刊》 , Creation Quarterly) that the Creation Society could be said to have come into existence.<sup>[21]</sup> In its early stage, the Creationists advocated the romantic idea of "art for art's sake". In their journals, we saw the introduction of such western romantics as Goethe (1749-1832), Walt Whitman (1819-1892), Lord Byron (1788-1824) and P.B. Shelley (1792-1822). They denounced in particular the so-called "artistic utilitarianism" and for this reason, a pen-battle erupted between the Society and the Literary Research Association. But before long, there were signs of change. In May, 1923, in the same issue of Chuangzao zhoubao ( 《創造周報》 , Creation Weekly), Guo Moruo published a short essay called "Our new literary movement" ( 《我們的文學新運動》 ) and Yu Dafu ( 郁達夫 , 1896-1944) published "Class struggle in literature"

( 《文學上的階級鬥爭》 ). In Guo's article, the deeds of the militarists, politicians and capitalists were condemned. At the end of it, Guo cried out loudly:

We are against the evil dragon of capitalism.  
Our movement must develop in literature the proletarian spirit and expose human nature in its nakedness.[22]

On the other hand, Yu Dafu mentioned in his article that the great Russian people had already established "a solemn and great proletarian kingdom" and that the class struggle of twentieth century literature was taking the same pace as the actual class struggle in society.[23] He even quoted words from the Communist Manifesto and made an appeal to proletarians and the oppressed to unite together in an effort to realize their ideals.[24]

Despite these, we should not rashly conclude, as some critics do, that the two articles were "the preludes to the later revolutionary literary movement".[25] A closer look at the articles will show that the two Creationists, in early 1923, were still in their romantic stage.

It is possible that Guo Moruo aimed at starting a new literary movement with his article - its title had a strong hint of this. But obviously he did not have revolutionary literature in mind. In the essay, there were two important lines:

The kind of literature identical to the Huanghe and Yangzi Jiang!  
This is the motto we believe in.[26]

But what is the kind of literature identical to the Huanghe and Yangzi Jiang? Guo Moruo said,

The river systems of the Huanghe and Yangzi Jiang are the two great masterpieces suggested to us by nature. Receiving rain and dew from the sky, absorbing running water from the ground, dissolving all external substances in themselves, making them all their own blood, they roll on and on, rolling out of all them-

selves. Any stones blocking them will be destroyed! Any unreasonable dams will be destroyed! Brace up the entire blood and energy, brace up all of the spirits, flow into the eternal sea of peace.[27]

If the figurative description is stripped off, we can see that what Guo Moruo demanded from literature was a true and complete expression ("outflow") of the "self" (ziwo, 自我). The rebelliousness was but a result of this demand as what he called for destruction were those which hindered and obstructed the expression of the self.

Similarly, Yu Dafu's "class struggle" had nothing to do with the proletarian class struggle against the bourgeoisie. The following lines reveal Yu's interpretation of the expression clearly:

The materials taken up by them are mostly reflections of class struggles. For instance, the drama "Die Burger von Calais" by Georg Kaiser shows the struggle between justice and cruelty. The tragedy "Ein Geschlecht" by Fritz von Unruh shows the struggle between mother and son. Walter Hasenclever's "Der Sohn" shows the struggle between father and son.[28]

Here, Yu Dafu interpreted class struggle in its broadest sense, that is, anything that is rebellious and against set tradition is class struggle. Doubtless it is not Marxist but nihilist.[29] Moreover, most of the famous writers praised by Yu in the article, such as Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), Paul Verlaine (1844-1896), Romain Rolland (1866-1944), Georges Duhamel, Max Barthel and Franz Werfel (1890-1945), cannot be regarded as Marxists and they had not advocated the kind of literature acceptable to the Chinese revolutionary writers.

Guo Moruo himself considered his change into a believer of Marxism came with his translation of the Japanese Marxist Kawakami Hajime's (河上肇, 1879-1946) book Social organization and social revolution (《社會組織與社會革命》).[29] It was April, 1924.[30] Guo said,

"It clarified my past muddled thinkings. From then on, I changed my direction to Marxism".<sup>[31]</sup> Then in May, 1926, he published his famous "Revolution and literature", which is widely accepted as being the one to spark off the revolutionary literary movement in 1927-28.

Changes in society were also of utmost importance. Advocates of revolutionary literature in 1927 almost unanimously took the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925 as the main factor for causing the revolutionary literary movement. On 30th May, 1925, British police in the Shanghai International Settlement opened fire to the demonstrators protesting the killing and arrests of agitators in strikes against Japanese-owned cotton mills that had been going on since April. This was followed by a general strike of merchants, workers and students. It was not until September that all factories resumed operation.<sup>[32]</sup> But this so-called May Thirtieth Movement spread quickly to other cities, including Hankou, Nanjing and Chongqing.<sup>[33]</sup> The most famous was the great Hong Kong-Guangzhou strike which lasted for sixteen months from June, 1925 till October, 1926, the longest in Chinese history. The activeness of the working class was unprecedented. According to a research report by the General Union of Shanghai, over 156,000 joined in the strike in the month between 5th May and 13th June.<sup>[34]</sup> This nationwide movement of Chinese workers was viewed as an awakening of the consciousness of the proletariat. Seeing the immense power of the workers, intellectuals came to the belief that a new revolutionary age had approached. The literary scene, being one element of the superstructure, had to change accordingly. Revolutionary literature was the best answer. Qian Xingcun's words were typical:

After the May Thirtieth Incident, the class positions in China suddenly underwent a great change. The class power of workers and peasants were shown up gradually. At this time, the long awaiting fourth class literature began to

rise.[35]

The impact of the May Thirtieth Incident on the Communist Party was tremendous too. Its membership increased tenfolds in six months, from 1,000 in May to 10,000 in November, 1925. In the next eight months, it tripled to 30,000 (July, 1926) and doubled again to 58,000 in early April, 1927.<sup>[36]</sup> It was possibly for this reason that so much weight was given to the incident.

Many of the revolutionary writers were eye-witnesses of the May Thirtieth Movement. In fact, some of them actually participated in leading strikes and demonstrations. In early 1926, all the most important Creationists found themselves gathered in Guangzhou. Guo Moruo's "Revolution and literature" was written and published in this "cradle for revolution". Hence, the first bullet of the revolutionary literary movement was fired at Guangzhou, rather than Shanghai. It was after the "party purge" of the nationalists in April, 1927 that writers, taking refuge in the concession areas, brought the issue to Shanghai.

In this first article, Guo Moruo mechanically divided literature into two categories: revolutionary and counter-revolutionary literatures. Guo asserted that in revolutions, there were always two opposing classes: the oppressed and the oppressing:

At such a time, each class will of course have its own spokesman, and what you say depends on what class you side with. If you take the side of the oppressing class, you are certainly counter-revolutionary. If you side with the oppressed class, you will support revolution. When you are counter-revolutionary, the kind of literature you produce or appreciate will definitely be counter-revolutionary literature, the one speaking for the oppressing class. This kind of literature does not correspond to revolution and would be despised and disowned by revolutionaries. But if you are sympathetic with revolution, the works you create or

appreciate will be revolutionary literature, speaking in the name of the oppressed class.  
[37]

Guo Moruo argued that revolutionary literature was the vanguard of revolution and it would bring a gold era of literature. On the other hand, counter-revolutionary literature was valueless. "What is literature is always revolutionary, and there is only one kind of true literature: revolutionary literature."<sup>[38]</sup> His conclusion was : literature and revolution were not incompatible but inextricably linked in a unity.

Although there might not have been any systematic planning before hand, the appearance of "Revolutionary literature and its perenniality" ( 《革命文學與它的永遠性》 ) by another prominent member Cheng Fangwu ( 成仿吾, 1897- ) immediately following the publication of Guo's article inevitably led others to believe that the Creation Society, which had been advocating "art for art's sake", now shifted to promoting revolutionary literature. Meanwhile, Lu Xun, who in the past did not have a high opinion on the behaviour of the Society,<sup>[39]</sup> furnished the idea of co-operating with the Creationists. On 7th November, 1926, Lu wrote in a letter to Xu Guangping ( 許廣平, 1898-1968):

In fact, I have one more ambition. I hope that upon my arrival at Guangzhou, I can carry on with my fight against the "gentlemen". . . . Secondly, unite with the Creation Society in a front to attack the old society.<sup>[40]</sup>

On the other hand, it seemed that the Creationists also welcomed an alliance with Lu Xun. According to Guo Moruo, it was Guo who recommended Lu Xun to the Sun Yat-sen University.<sup>[41]</sup> But upon the latter's arrival, most of the Creationists, except Cheng Fangwu, had already left Guangzhou.<sup>[42]</sup> Almost at the same time, Cheng Fangwu published the provocative "Complete our literary revolution" ( 《完成我們的文學革命》 ). In the article, Cheng complained that the literary movement had been badly damaged by those writers who sought only

"fun" ("quwei", 趣味) and treasured "leisure, leisure and leisure".<sup>[43]</sup> A number of well-known writers were named for criticism. Among them was Lu Xun, who was condemned for collecting and copying old fictions.<sup>[44]</sup>

Lu Xun did not seem to be annoyed. While he was in Guangzhou, he frequently visited the Creation Society. In his private letters, he named the Creation Society as one of the three groups which continued to make contributions to the literary arena, and he even said that "relations with the Creation society seem to be very good".<sup>[45]</sup> Then on 20th February, he received a letter from Cheng Fangwu, inviting Lu to issue a proclamation.<sup>[46]</sup> "The proclamation from the Chinese writers to the British intellectuals and general public" (《中國文學家對於英國知識階級及一般民衆宣言》) can be regarded as the first co-operation between Lu Xun and the Creation Society, because with the exception of Lu Xun, all signatories were members of the Society.<sup>[47]</sup> Together they appealed to the British public for joint actions with the Chinese against British and other imperialists.<sup>[48]</sup>

Lu Xun made his first utterance on revolutionary literature on 8th April, 1927 in an address to the Huangpu Military Academy, less than a week before Jiang Jieshi took actions against the Communists. Although the speech was entitled "Literature of a revolutionary period" (《革命時代的文學》), Lu Xun decried the importance of literature, saying that literature would only be taken up by the weakest, most useless people while those who were strong would continue to kill without saying anything or paying any attention to what were said by others. To him, the remedy for China was a successful revolution, rather than literature of any sort. "A poem could not have frightened away Sun Chuangfang [孫傳芳, 1844-1935], but a cannon shell scared him away."<sup>[49]</sup>

As for the question of revolution and literature, Lu Xun suggested a three-stage relationship. In the first stage, before the outbreak of revolution, there was a literature of discontent against inequalities of society. In the second stage, when revolution was underway, there was silence only, as people would be actively engaged in actions and could have no time for literature. In the third stage, when a successful revolution was over, two kinds of literature would appear: one eulogizing the revolution and one bemoaning the past. But the writing of these two kinds of literature would not last long. After that, there might be a "people's literature" (pingmin wenxue, 平民文學). [50]

For these reasons, Lu Xun tried to reject others' (including Guo Moruo, by all means) assertion that literature played a big part in revolution. To him, it was revolution that played a big part in literature. But he did not mean to deny the existence of revolutionary literature:

For revolution, we need revolutionaries, but revolutionary literature can wait, for only when revolutionaries start writing can there be revolutionary literature. [51]

Lu Xun did not believe that there had already been the existence of revolutionary literature in China. Nor was it likely that the literature would soon appear. This cautious attitude was possibly born out of the disillusionment upon his arrival in Guangzhou. At first, he was delighted and happy to be there, saying that the people were more lively than those elsewhere. [52] But it did not take long for him to find out that Guangzhou was not different from other places. Just like the red banners written in white characters, it was "white within red". He warned that Guangzhou, the cradle for revolution, could be the cradle for counter-revolution too. [53]

But it is wrong to say that Lu Xun's address to

the Huangpu Military Academy "would probably have touched off a fiery debate in Guangzhou" had there not been the party purge of Jiang Jieshi several days later.<sup>[54]</sup> It is necessary to point out that after the purge, in October, Lu Xun wrote on the issue of revolutionary literature again. The ideas made in the speech were repeated:

I believe the basic problem is whether the writer is a "revolutionary". If yes, it is revolutionary literature, no matter what topic is written and what materials are used. What comes out from the pipe is water; from the vein, blood....

There is no revolution when revolutionary writers appear in large numbers.<sup>[55]</sup>

These ideas were not rebuked by the revolutionary writers in 1928. In fact, the relations between Lu Xun and his later antagonists in the revolutionary literary polemic were at their best when Lu Xun went to Shanghai after the coup.

Both Lu Xun and Guo Moruo arrived Shanghai in October, 1927. In view of the defeat in politics, Guo wanted to do something in the literary field. Zheng Boqi (鄭伯奇, 1895-1979) recalled that it was he who proposed to Guo an alliance with Lu Xun.<sup>[56]</sup> Zheng, together with Jiang Guangci and Duan Keqing (段可情, 1899- ), visited Lu Xun on 9th November, 1927 to discuss the issue.<sup>[57]</sup> Lu Xun "gladly agreed" and suggested to revive the Chuangzao zhoubao.<sup>[58]</sup> On 3rd December, an advertisement announcing the revival of the weekly appeared in the Shishi xinbao (《時事新報》, Current affairs news). The four editors listed in the advertisement were all members of the Creation Society: Cheng Fangwu, Zheng Boqi, Duan Keqing and Wang Duqing (王獨清, 1898-1940). Lu Xun's name occupied the first position in the list of special contributors, among those of Guo Moruo (pseud. Mai Keang, 麥克昂) and Feng Naichao (馮乃超, 1901-1983).<sup>[59]</sup> The advertisement also said that the weekly would come out on the first day of 1928.<sup>[60]</sup>

But it did not appear as announced. Instead, in the Chuangzao yuekan which came out that day, there was yet another notice, saying that the weekly would be published on the first Sunday of the year. A longer list of special contributors, thirty altogether, was given. The list was of great significance as it included almost all those involved in the revolutionary literary polemic. Lu Xun was again leading, followed by Jiang Guangci who soon founded the Sun Society. Others of this group in the list were Yang Cunren (楊邨人, 1901-1955) and Meng Chao (孟超). We can also see the young Creationists, including Li Chuli, Feng Naichao and Peng Kang (彭康), among the old ones Guo Moruo and Cheng Fangwu. [61]

Should Chuangzao zhoubao come out as planned, there might have been a great co-operation among writers in Shanghai. But this co-operation never materialized. In a reprint of the above-mentioned Chuangzao yuekan, the advertisement was taken out and replaced by an "Urgent notice of the change of Chuangzao zhoubao into Wenhua pipan [《文化批判》, Critique of culture]" [62]

Obviously, someone within the Creation Society opposed the plan of co-operation. Lu Xun was completely in the dark and he later complained that he simply did not know why the plan of reviving Chuangzao zhoubao was dropped and why he became target of attacks. [63] Most people put the blame on Cheng Fangwu and other young Creationists. True enough, the young critics opposed a co-operation with Lu Xun. But it was Guo Moruo who first committed a mistake by not consulting and seeking the consent of Cheng Fangwu before hand. Guo said in retrospect,

At the time when I laid the plan, Fangwu had already gone to Japan. I thought he would accept the plan. In order to speed up the progress, I had not asked for his opinion before hand. [64]

This was confirmed by Zheng Boqi.<sup>[65]</sup> Zheng also revealed that while he was in Japan, he had already been on good terms with Li Chuli, Feng Naichao, Peng Kang and Zhu Jingwo (朱鏡我, 1901-1941). Except Zhu who studied in Tokyo Imperial University, they all studied in the same school, Kyoto Imperial University. They had discussed the promotion of proletarian literature. Now in Shanghai, he told Cheng Fangwu about this. Cheng went to Japan to hold discussions with them.<sup>[66]</sup> Consequently, two plans, one with Lu Xun and one with the young radicals, were being pursued at the same time.

At the end of 1927, these young radicals returned to Shanghai. It is difficult to establish for sure what happened immediately followed because different people told different stories. Feng Naichao recalled in 1978:

I have to make it clear, we did not oppose joining with Lu Xun. From what I can recall, I had not heard of anything about the plan of co-operation at the time when I returned to China. Fangwu had not told us anything about this.<sup>[67]</sup>

He did not tell us why the plan was dropped. What he meant was: he did not know there was such a plan at all, and he was not against the plan. These words are not convincing as his name appeared in the list of contributors, together with that of Lu Xun; and the idea of changing Chuangzao zhoubao into Wenhua pipan was certainly formulated after their return from Japan. Guo Moruo supplied a different version:

The two plans could not go hand in hand. The Japanese fire met the Shanghai water. At the beginning, there was a deadlock. I suggested waiting until Fangwu's return before making any decision. A telegram was sent to him and he returned from Japan soon after. He strongly opposed the revival of Chuangzao zhoubao, saying that its mission was over. He supported the suggestion of the returned friends of publishing a militant monthly called Kangliu [《抗流》, Opposing stream] (this title was not adopted but changed into Wenhua pipan). As for co-operation with Lu Xun, everyone was indifferent.<sup>[68]</sup>

Here, Guo Moruo said that he insisted on a union with Lu Xun. It looks as if there was a hot debate over the issue.<sup>[69]</sup> But Zheng Boqi pointed out that Guo Moruo agreed on the plan of the newcomers even before their return:

All of them [the young Creationists] were ready to quit school and come back. Fangwu wrote us a letter, telling us this news. We were all very happy and anxious to see their arrival. Moruo and I also agreed to Fangwu's new plan. The previous plan of a union [with Lu Xun] was then dropped.<sup>[70]</sup>

Zheng even said that Guo Moruo secretly met the newcomers and they agreed on the work for the future.<sup>[71]</sup>

Thus Guo Moruo's attitude is open to question. Did he support the plan of uniting with Lu Xun or that of the newcomers? The recollections of the people involved have to be taken with great care as they were written a long time after the incident. The writers might have forgotten the details. What is more, there might even be deliberate distortions - no one would now publicly admit to having shunned Lu Xun. Judging from later developments - that an urgent notice appeared in such a short time, that Wenhua pipan was able to come out on 15th January, 1928, and that Guo Moruo continued to support the activities of the Creation Society, we may surmise that the friction within the Society could not have been great. Guo Moruo might not have wanted to drop the plan of uniting with Lu Xun, but certainly he was not against co-operating with the returned students.

This new development alienated not only Lu Xun, but also another group of young fighters who had put their names on the list of special contributors but ultimately formed the Sun Society. However, it is wrong to assume that they formed a separate society because of the failure to revive Chuangzao zhoubao. This was only a catalyst. According to Yang Cunren, one of the founders of the Sun Society, the idea of publishing Taiyang

yuekan originated as early as June, 1927 when Jiang Guangci, Qian Xingcun, Meng Chao and Yang himself were all in Wuhan. The name as well as the content of the magazine had already been decided on too. "The failure of the Creation Society's plan only strengthened our drive to publish our own magazine", Yang recalled.<sup>[72]</sup> They had no intention to set up an organization then. It was after they were attacked by members of the Creation Society that they felt the need to form an association so as to put up a better fight.<sup>[73]</sup> But it seemed that Jiang Guangci had long been unable to get along with the young Creationists. Yu Dafu reported that because of the arrogant manner of Jiang, the young writers at the Creation Society publishing house did not hide their contempt for him.<sup>[74]</sup>

Therefore, it is hardly surprising that Jiang's article "Modern Chinese literature and social life" (《現代中國文學與社會生活》) in the first issue of Taiyang yuekan which came out on the first day of 1928 was harshly criticized by the young Creationists. In this article, Jiang claimed that the pace of revolution was far too fast for writers to keep up. When a writer tried to manifest social life in literature, a certain process of thought was involved. But changes in social life came rapidly. Hence, no matter how quick writers' pens were, something new happened before they could finish describing the former ones. This was the reason why "our literature cannot help but be backward".<sup>[75]</sup> This idea was challenged by Li Chuli in his article "How to create revolutionary literature" (《怎樣地建設革命文學》). Li believed that the backwardness of literature was due to the petit bourgeois ideology of writers, rather than the fast pace of revolution.<sup>[76]</sup> He charged that Jiang Guangci had a woman's kind heart. His attempt to "transport all souls in the literary world to the paradise of 'revolutionary literature'" by asking the pace of revolution to slow down was not only unnecessary, but also impossible.<sup>[77]</sup>

However, a deeper look into their articles will show that the above difference was not so great as to cause an open dispute between the two groups. After all, Jiang never said that ideology was not important. In fact, there was one greater difference between the two which has often been overlooked by critics.

In his article, Jiang Guangci commended "a group of new writers who emerged from the tide of revolution":

They themselves are revolution - they have participated in revolutionary movements, they are abound with revolutionary moods. They do not separate themselves from revolution....In other words, they have a close relationship with revolution.[78]

Jiang did not give the names of this group of new writers. But everyone would know that he was referring to the members of the Sun Society. Jiang himself, plus Qian Xingcun, Meng Chao and Yang Cunren, had all been the eyewitnesses as well as the participants of previous revolutionary activities. Doubtless, they took great pride in this. In another paragraph, he showed a low esteem in revolutionary theories:

What we demand from writers are literary and revolutionary creations, not those empty and elusive treatises which could be written by anybody.[79]

Jiang said that although some writers had put out some vigorous political treatises, they were not qualified to be a writer.[80]

These words were taken by the members of the Creation Society as malicious attacks on them. The young critics of the Society were inexperienced in revolutionary activities. They were all in Japan when the May Thirtieth, the Northern Expedition and the coup of Jiang Jieshi took place in China. To overcome this inadequacy, the young Creationists had to put less weight on actual revolutionary activities. Instead they stressed the importance of theories. This was also a

result of the influence of Fukumotoism ( 福本主義 ) which they were acquainted with during their stay in Japan.

Fukumotoism was the political theory of the young Fukumoto Kazuo ( 福本和夫 , 1894-?) which became the dominant theory in the Japanese Communist Party until its liquidation by the Comintern in 1927.<sup>[81]</sup> It rose in the beginning as an opposing force against Yamakawaism ( 山川主義 ), the theory of Yamakawa Hitoshi ( 山川均 , 1880-1958), who was then the leading member of the JCP. Seeing the lack of mass political consciousness, Yamakawa believed that there was no way to form an advanced political party. Consequently, he called for the dissolving of the party and the establishment of a common front of worker and peasant organizations. It was therefore necessary to make concession to the rightist elements. But Fukumoto held an entirely different viewpoint. Tatsuo Arima has summed up the basic ideas of Fukumotoism:

Fukumoto argued that Yamakawaism was eclectic and that it neglected to emphasize the revolutionary element with Marxism. The gist of Fukumoto's argument, now called Fukumotoism, was that the Japanese Communist Party should separate the genuine Marxists from the fellow-travellers and social democrats and then crystallize them into a well-organized party. Hence, the well-known "Break away before we unite". He saw that "for the time being, the struggle is to be limited to the realm of theoretical struggle".<sup>[82]</sup>

Thus the two main points of Fukumotoism were "break away first before unite" ( 分離結合 ) and "theoretical struggle" ( 理論鬥爭 ). It was this second point that marked the greatest difference between the young Creationists and the Sun group.

In the foreword to Wenhua pipan, Cheng Fangwu declared that the new journal was going to devote itself to revolutionary theories.<sup>[83]</sup> The concluding line of Li Chuli's "How to create revolutionary literature" read "let this essay of mine be the beginning of a 'theoretical

struggle'".[84] The expression "theoretical struggle", in quotation marks, was definitely taken from Fukumotoism. In another article by Li Chuli, "Reply to an open letter" ( 《一封公開信的回答》 ), this "theoretical struggle" appeared eight times, all in quotation marks. These essays, together with others by the young critics of the Creation Society, all stressed the importance of theory. It was obvious that Jiang Guangci's words in "Modern Chinese literature and social life", that theoretical treatises were not needed, were unacceptable to the Creationists. On the other hand, Jiang Guangci was supported by other members of the Sun Society. Qian Xingcun said,

You critics! Please do not ever forget that behind theory, there is a term called "action". Please do not ever forget that it is not necessary to have a sound revolutionary theory before there are revolutionary actions.... You can find revolutionary actions from actual working experiences. Sometimes, this can even correct revolutionary theories.[85]

Hence, the first few months of 1928 saw the quarrel between two revolutionary groups, the Creation and Sun Societies. Apart from the issue of theory, sectarianism was also a main cause of the quarrel. Each group lauded and defended people of the same camp but tried to find faults in the articles written by members of the opposing camp. As seen earlier, they tried to grasp the leadership of the revolutionary literary movement by insisting that the first article on the issue was written by members of their group. In more than one place, the Sun group accused the Creationists for attempting to monopolize the literary arena and the revolutionary literary movement. The "Editor's note" at the end of the March issue of Taiyang yuekan was most provocative:

The Sun Society is not a literary group monopolized by returned students. It is not the private property of a few people, and it is not a literary organization which on the one

hand shouts loudly for working class literature while on the other exposes its philosophy of hero-worship by its actions and in its literature.[86]

These words were unbearable to the Creationists. Li Chuli in an open reply denied that Wenhua pipan was monopolized by returned students. "As all of us aim at promoting revolutionary literature, there should not be such a distinction as returned students and non-returned students." Li dismissed the "Editor's note" as "senseless demagoguery and an un-solemn declaration", which was "a stain on the Sun Society that cannot be washed away".[87]

But it is of great significance that in the letter, Li Chuli stressed that they took the Sun group as comrades.[88] He insisted that he had not been malicious. Before long, the Sun-Creation debate came to an abrupt end. This was made possible by a series of meetings between the two groups.

According to Yang Cunren who gave a detailed account of the first meeting, it was the members of the Creation Society who called for the meeting.[89] The date of the meeting was not given. But it was definitely after April, 1928 because in the meeting, Cheng Fangwu had to defend his article "The necessity of total criticism" (《全部的批判之必要》), which was sharply criticized in the April issue of Taiyang yuekan. [90] The meeting was held at the office of the Creation Society. Most of its members were present, including Cheng Fangwu, Zheng Boqi, Wang Duqing, Zhang Ziping, Hua Han (華漢, pseudonym of Yang Hansheng, 陽翰笙, 1902- ), Li Yimeng (李一氓) and Gong Binglu (龔冰廬). On the other hand, only the "Big Three" of the Sun Society, Jiang Guangci, Qian Xingcun and Yang Cunren, went to it.[91] From Yang's account, one gets the impression that it was not a formal meeting. Members of the Sun Society, who were in minority, were criticized harshly by the Creationists.

Yet it was finally agreed that a joint meeting was to be held every week.<sup>[92]</sup> There is no way to know the number and details of the subsequent meetings. Zheng Boqi reported that they were held frequently.<sup>[93]</sup> But it is doubtful if they were very serious - Zhang Ziping brought along his little daughter who cried a lot in the meeting.<sup>[94]</sup>

From the above description, we can see that this act of solidarity was spontaneous. Though some of the Creationists had now joined the Party and all of the Sun group were Party members too, it had nothing to do with the Communist Party. The Chairman of the meeting, Cheng Fangwu, was not a member then and no representative from the Party was present. But after these meetings, the quarrel between the two groups came to an end and they joined hands in their attack on Lu Xun.

It has been noted that Lu Xun's comment on revolutionary literature in 1927 had not received any unpleasant words from the revolutionary writers. In January, 1928, when Feng Naichao began the assault, nothing was said on Lu's theory. Instead, Lu was named, among others, as those who were backward and out of steps with changes in society. To Feng Naichao, since Lu often yearned for the past, he could, in the end, only reflect in his writings the sorrow of those who fell behind of social changes.<sup>[95]</sup> Feng said,

the old fellow Lu Xun - if I were to put it poetically - often sits upstairs in a dark wine shop, looking at life outside the window through befuddled eyes.<sup>[96]</sup>

The expressions "old fellow" ( 老生 ) and "befuddled eyes" ( 醉眼 ) enraged Lu Xun most and were soon taken up in a number of subsequent essays.

In the article, Feng Naichao also criticized other established writers, including Ye Shengtao ( 葉聖陶, 1894- ), Yu Dafu and Zhang Ziping. This was of

great significance as it was again the result of the influence of Fukumotoism, this time, the "break away first before unite" theory. Because the theory claimed that fellow travellers and other elements had to be separated from the genuine Marxists first, the young Creationists hastened to attack those who were not, in their eyes, genuine Marxists. That was the reason why Lu Xun and other established writers were attacked.

Cheng Fangwu's most famous article "From literary revolution to revolutionary literature" (《從文學革命到革命文學》), in early February, was even more militant. One critic calls it the battle cry of the radicals.<sup>[98]</sup> According to Cheng, capitalism had already reached its final days. The world was then divided into two opposing camps, the capitalists and fascists on one side and the united front of workers and peasants on the other. At this critical moment,

Nobody is allowed to stand at the middle. Come to this side, or go to the other!  
Don't just follow. Don't be left behind. Join this historical process of social changes consciously.<sup>[99]</sup>

This attitude was even more dogmatic than Guo Moruo's mechanical division of literature into the only two kinds of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary literature. Obviously, to these revolutionary writers, Lu Xun was a symbol of backwardness and hence should be under fire.

Lu Xun was the only writer among the attacked to respond to these assaults. In "'Befuddled' Woolliness" (《“醉眼”中的朦朧》), he accused that it was the Creationists who were befuddled.<sup>[100]</sup> They could not even see that the "art of weapons" (武器的藝術), the mightiest of all arts, was held by "the other side". Their "weapon of art" (藝術的武器) was most powerless. Here Lu Xun was repeating the ideas expressed in the speech to the Huangpu Military Academy. Lu could not

help mock at the deeds and behaviour of the so-called revolutionary writers:

Unfortunately they were a bit late. The year before last, the Creation Society called for share-capital, last year they engaged lawyers, and only this year have they raised the banner "revolutionary literature". Now the resurrected critic Cheng Fangwu has eventually stopped defending the "palace of art" in order to "win over the masses" and to "guarantee the final victory" to revolutionary writers.[101]

Lu Xun also pointed out the confusion in their ideas. He mentioned Li Chuli's article "How to create revolutionary literature" which said that proletarian literature could be created by people of any classes, providing that they had acquired proletarian consciousness. Yet at the same time, Li talked a lot about the class background of writers and even asked what class did Lu Xun belong to.[102] This was taken by Lu Xun and it was easy for him to show to the readers that Li Chuli was by no means a good theoretician.

It was after the publication of this "'Befuddled' Woolliness" that the Creationists concentrated fire on Lu Xun. We saw in one single issue of Wenhua pipan four long articles in attack of Lu. The other publication of the Creation Society, Chuangzuo yuekan, joined in the fight.[103] Li Chuli called Lu Xun's article "'Befuddled' Woolliness" "the wild dance of our Chinese Don Quixote". Because of this, Lu was given the title of "Don Lu Xun", one who had no political thoughts and who was blind to all the realities of social changes.[104] In some articles, Lu Xun was alleged of being a humanitarian, a running dog of the ruling class, a faithful watchdog and the best spokesman of the bourgeoisie, fighting against the proletariat.[105] A Du Quan's (杜荃) article "The feudal remnant of the literary front - Criticisms on Lu Xun's 'My attitude, tolerance and age'" 《文藝戰線上的封建餘孽——批評魯迅的“我的態度氣量和年紀”》 was the harshest of all. Lu Xun was labelled a feudal remnant, a

frustrated fascist and a double counter-revolutionary. [106] It was only until recently that we can be certain of the identity of Du Quan: it was the pseudonym of Guo Moruo. [107]

Meanwhile, Lu Xun was also attacked by the Sun group. Even before the appearance of "'Befuddled' Woolliness", Qian Xingcun had already published his famous "The era of Ah Q that has passed away" (《死去了的阿 Q 時代》). At the very beginning of the article, Qian said that Lu Xun's works were in no way representations of the times. Lu's ideas expressed in his works were that of the late Qing period. Great social changes, for instance, the May Thirtieth, the great Hong Kong Strike, the Shanghai insurrections, had brought about the rise of proletarian consciousness and "the literary movement of the fourth class". [108] Lu Xun was lagged behind. To Qian, Lu was only lamenting the past glory. "We do not want this kind of works!" [109] He even alleged that Ah Q, the most famous character of Lu Xun's short stories, had died. It was because the peasants of China were not as naive as Ah Q. They were well organized and had a considerable knowledge in politics. They even participated political struggles against landlords. [110] This over-optimistic attitude of Qian was definitely a direct consequence of the Communist party line.

Though the early idea of forming the Society was that of a few individuals, the Sun Society soon developed close relationship with the CCP. According to Qian Xingcun, members of the Party Central Committee, such as Qu Qiubai, Yang Paoan (楊匏庵), Luo Qiyuan (羅綺園) and Gao Yuhan (高語罕) were also members of the Sun Society. In fact, the Sun Society had been designed to be the literary organization of the CCP. [111] There was a party group in the Society as almost all its members had joined the Communist Party. Qian also pointed out that Qu Qiubai, then the chief secretary of the Party,

was directing the affairs of the Society.<sup>[112]</sup> Thus it was almost inevitable that the Sun group should have been seriously affected by Party policies.

In Mao Zedong's analysis of the Party's history, in the period between August, 1927 and June, 1928, the CCP, under Qu Qiubai, held a leftist line of putschism.<sup>[113]</sup> Qu, with the Comintern theoreticians behind, did not agree that the coup of April, 1927 was a defeat of the CCP. Instead, he saw that there was a new upsurge in the revolution. Hence, he called for a general intensification of revolutionary policy. Moreover, he advocated that there was "no demarcation between the democratic and the socialist revolution". Qu alleged that after the coup, the national bourgeois became "an absolute counter-revolutionary force" and the petit-bourgeoisie was also "an obstruction to revolution". Therefore, he demanded the destruction of not only the landlord class, but also the entire bourgeoisie.<sup>[114]</sup> In an reaction to Chen Duxiu's capitulationist policies, he initiated radical agrarian policies and a series of insurrections. From August, 1927, there broke out a number of uprisings, which came to be known collectively as the Autumn Harvest Uprisings.<sup>[115]</sup> Defeat in these uprisings brought further setbacks to the Party. In June, 1928, during the Sixth Congress of the CCP, Qu Qiubai was criticized and replaced.

It was during this putschist period that Lu Xun was under fire in Shanghai. We can easily find the impact of the Party on the revolutionary writers. In many instances, revolutionary writers, just like what the Party documents did, claimed that revolutionary movement was developing and rising.<sup>[116]</sup> They also argued that the bourgeois as well as petit-bourgeois should be wiped out altogether. Their militant attitude can be viewed as a reflection of the Party's insurrection policy too.

Hence, because of the influence of both the Japanese ultra-left Fukumotoism and the putschist Party line, the revolutionary writers in Shanghai started a cross-fire on Lu Xun. One reader of Yusi called this "an organized and united onslaught". [117] Lu Xun's own words disclosed the picture most clearly:

Now there are many gentlemen and revolutionary writers accusing me overtly or covertly of being revolutionary or non-revolutionary.[118] From the year before last [1928], there have been numerous attacks on me. In every magazine, it is quite certain that there is the name of Lu Xun.[119]

If we take away all the slanders and unpleasant words, we can find two things in Lu Xun that were unacceptable to the radicals:

- (A) Blindness to social changes;
- (B) Hostility to revolutionary literature.

In order to tell whether Lu Xun was blind to social changes, it is necessary to know what changes exactly were there in the minds of his opponents. Qian Xingcun's words were significant as he was the one who declared that the era of Ah Q was dead. From his well-known article "The era of Ah Q has passed away", we can tell that those changes included the gradual manifestation of the class power of workers and peasants in such mass movements as the May Thirtieth, Great Strike of Hong Kong and the insurrections of Shanghai. [120]

Beyond doubt, Lu Xun had always been paying attention to social problems and hoping to find the means to solve them. The reason behind his taking up literature as his career - that literature can save people's souls - well proves this point. [121] His participation in the Beijing Women Normal College earned him the reputation of "Mentor of the youth". As for the May Thirtieth Movement, fourteen days after the massacre, on 13th June, 1925, he wrote to Xu Guangping that "in my opinion, the student movements are far better this

year".<sup>[122]</sup> Apart from contributing money, he also wrote several essays in support of the movement.<sup>[123]</sup> He attacked the warlord regimes and the March Eighteenth Massacre. Such articles as "Flowerless roses" (《無花的薔薇》) and "In commemoration of Miss Liu Hezhen" (《紀念劉和珍君》) are famous. By 1927, he began to drop his Nietzsche (1844-1900) ideas and put greater emphasis on the masses. In February that year, he cursed those people who "took themselves as the centre but never agreed to take the masses as the principal body".<sup>[124]</sup> On 25th October, he even placed the masses above the intellectuals: those intellectuals who were sympathetic to and in support of the peasants were progressive and good while those who oppressed were reactionary and bad.<sup>[125]</sup>

For a short time, Lu Xun was as overjoyed as the revolutionary writers were towards the "successes" in revolution. He had written an article in celebration of the recovery of Shanghai and Nanjing by the Northern Expedition Army.<sup>[126]</sup> But the slightest trace of optimism vanished upon the outbreak of Jiang Jieshi's coup d'etat. He was an eye-witness of the massacres in Guangzhou which took place three days after the one in Shanghai. Lu Xun recalled, "I was frightened. I had never had such a frightening experience before",<sup>[126]</sup> and "in my whole life, I have never seen such a massacre before".<sup>[127]</sup> His hope about the young people was completely gone:

I have always believed in evolution, thinking that the future would definitely be better than today, young people would be better than the old. But then I realized that I was wrong. ....When I was in Guangzhou, I witnessed how all the same young people were divided into two camps, informing and helping the government to arrest! My thinking was shattered!<sup>[128]</sup>

Apart from feeling that his faith in the young had been smashed, he also saw no hope in the Chinese revolution:

Revolution, counter-revolution, non-revolution. Revolutionaries are killed by counter-revolutionaries. Counter-revolutionaries are

killed by revolutionaries. Non-revolutionaries may be taken as counter-revolutionaries and killed by revolutionaries, or taken as revolutionaries and killed by counter-revolutionaries, or taken as nothing and killed either by revolutionaries or counter-revolutionaries. Revolution, re-revolution, re-re-revolution, re-re....[129]

To be more exact, what really disillusioned him was the KMT. He was very much disgusted with the brutal arrests and killings carried out by the KMT on the pretexts of party purge and "suppressing the Red" (討赤):

One day, even the wearing of ragged clothes will be prohibited, for those who do so will be taken as Communists.[130]

We must avoid coming close to red thinking or writing as well as to thinking and writing that may in future appear to be red. For instance, to attack the traditional ethical code or to use the vernacular is running the risk of being red as the Communists despise all old things while the use of the vernacular started in Xinqingnian [《新青年》, New youth]. Xinqingnian was edited by Chen Duxiu.[131]

On the other hand, he did not seem to have a clear understanding of the Communist Party, although its members were sent to see him.[132] He once said,

In Xiamian, I knew only in general term the Communist Party. Only after coming here did I realize that there was a distinction between the CP [Communist party] and the CY [Communist Youth]. Until recently, I have learned that among non-Communists, there are several this and that Y groups.[133]

Thus it is but natural for him to be pessimistic about the future of China. More than five months after the coup, he wrote in a letter to Tai Jingnong (台靜農, 1903- ), "what I see before me is still darkness".[134]

In other places, he said,

The game of blood has just started. The actors are again young people and they all look complacent. At present, I cannot see the ending of this play.[135]

What will come after the frightened feeling has gone? I do not know. I am afraid it is nothing good.[136]

As for me, I feel that China is now in an age of marching to a great age. But this so-called "greatness" does not necessarily mean that you can be saved, you may be killed by it.[137]

In these circumstances, Lu Xun had to accept the charges of being pessimistic, dispirited and unable to see the bright side of the Chinese revolution. He did not view the developments in revolution in the same way as the radicals did. He firmly believed that the 1927 coup was a defeat and hence, there could be no revolutionary upsurge. It was for this reason that he could not agree that a revolutionary literary movement would soon be successful in China.

Lu Xun's attitude towards revolutionary literature is a controversial issue. Two entirely different opinions exist. First, Lu Xun was always against revolutionary literature. Second, he was always its supporter. The first idea is often expressed by critics in Taiwan,<sup>[138]</sup> while the latter can be found unanimously in books and articles published in mainland China after 1949 as well as in most research works of the west.<sup>[139]</sup>

We have dealt with Lu Xun's first discussion on revolutionary literature in his speech at the Huangpu Military Academy. In the speech, Lu Xun decried the importance of literature and urged people to go for practical actions. Revolutionary literature occupied no position in his three-stage theory on the relationship between literature and revolution. Obviously he did not believe that there was the presence of revolutionary literature in China at that time. But this did not imply that he was totally against the issue because, as we have seen, Lu maintained that revolutionary literature could be created by revolutionaries. This was typical of Lu Xun's attitude towards revolutionary literature. In a number of places, Lu repeated the same idea.<sup>[140]</sup> In April, 1928, he expressed a more affirmative attitude:

Since revolutions are constantly taking place, there must be revolutionary literature. The people of quite a number of nations in the world are awakening. Although many of them are still suffering, some of them are in power.

Naturally there is people's literature - or to speak more frankly, literature of the fourth class.[141]

Though he still claimed that he did not believe that literature had a strong power to turn "the world upside down, he gave his approval to Upton Sinclair's (1878-1968) words "All art is propaganda", which had frequently been cited by the radicals in the polemic.[142] Then in early 1930, in articles rebuking the ideas of Liang Shiqiu, Lu defended the notion that literature had a class nature and argued the need for creating proletarian literature.[143] Before long, we saw in his writing "the only literary movement in China today is the proletarian revolutionary literary movement".[144]

Throughout the polemic, Lu Xun made no attack on revolutionary literature itself. But he could not spare its advocates. In the eyes of Lu Xun, those self-acclaimed revolutionary writers were in no ways genuine fighters. They were afraid of darkness, and they did not have the courage to face reality direct.[145] "There were only empty cries but no achievements".[146] Lu believed that the radicals were too rash in putting up the signboard without paying attention to the qualities of their writings. The works of these revolutionary writers were "the products of petit-bourgeois concepts, some were even warlord-minded".[147] People "just fixed in slogans and watchwords".[148] In the end, their writings were even worse than news reports.[149] Lu Xun asserted that the content and techniques were most important:

But I believe that we should first look for rich contents and skilful techniques. There is no hurry to put up the signboard....To my mind, though all literature is propaganda, not all propaganda is literature. In addition to catchwords, slogans, notices, telegrams and textbooks, etc., revolution needs literature simply because it is literature.[150]

Thus it is fair to say that Lu Xun held in very low esteem the revolutionary literary movement of China. But

in another place, he affirmed that "the present transient phenomenon in China, by all means, cannot be regarded as disproof of the rise of proletarian literature".<sup>[151]</sup>

Lu Xun believed that one shortcoming of the radicals was their inability to master literary theories. In August, 1928, he uncovered his wish of "having some earnest ones to translate some books about historical materialism which contained accepted ideas".<sup>[152]</sup> Later he elaborated on this topic:

I then came to the belief that there were too few theories for reference, thus making people muddled. Dissection and chewing of the enemies are ineluctable at the present stage. But if there is a book on anatomy or cookery to follow, it is definitely clearer in structure and more delicious in taste.<sup>[153]</sup>

Lu Xun was one of the earnest ones to provide the book of anatomy. From the second half of 1928, he worked very hard in translating books on Marxist-Leninism for about two years. Xu Guangping reported that he read on the subject almost everyday.<sup>[154]</sup> Thus it was more than satirical when Lu Xun said that he owed a debt of gratitude to the revolutionary writers: they forced him to read some scientific literary criticisms.<sup>[155]</sup>

But during the polemic, Lu Xun was unable to use this knowledge in the discussion on revolutionary literature. In August, 1928, he admitted that he could not make a fair judgement on revolutionary literature as he was a layman in historical materialism.<sup>[156]</sup> Harriat Mills' observation was correct:

Through all the clamour, Lu Hsun [Lu Xun] remained aloof. He wrote very little and refused to become involved in discussion of theoretical points which he felt both he and the leftists knew little. His often sarcastic comments served both to rebut the charges levelled against him and to radicule the fanciful and arrogant illusions of the young radicals.<sup>[157]</sup>

This point is accepted even by critics in the Mainland.<sup>[158]</sup> Throughout the polemic, Lu Xun never struggled

over any theoretical points. He never quoted words from such figures as Karl Marx (1818-1883), Engels (1820-1895) or Bukharin (1888-1938). Most of the time he was pointing out or mocking at the mistakes and shallowness of his opponents. His comments were on what he had observed, rather than from what he had read. This had one great advantage over his opponents: he could relate the movement to the actual situation in China. Lu Xun showed himself aware of this weakness of his opponents when he said in retrospect:

They had not analyzed in details the Chinese society before they mechanically adopted the methods which were workable only under Soviet rule.[159]

From August, 1928, the attack on Lu Xun abated. The most severe one came in August from Du Quan's famous essay, "The feudal remnant of the literary front", after which very few voices were heard. In Li Chuli's "The natures of natural growth and objective consciousness" (《自然生長性與目的意識性》) and Ke Xing's (克興) "Rebukes on Gan Ren's 'Odds and ends' - an examination of the basic problems of revolutionary literature" (《評駁甘人的“拉雜一篇”——革命文學底根本問題底考察》), both were published in September, Lu Xun was still named for criticism.<sup>[160]</sup> But in terms of intensity, they were no comparison with the earlier ones. Hence, we can say, attacks on Lu Xun practically came to an end in August or October, depending on whether the above two articles are taken into account or not.

The abrupt end of the attack on Lu Xun was caused by the intervention of the Communist Party. The process of conciliation will soon be dealt with. But before that, there was the first open article in criticism of the sectarianism of the Creation Society and the radicals' attack on Lu Xun from the left, in fact, from a CCP member, Feng Xuefeng (馮雪峰, 1903-1976). In his article,

"Revolution and the intellectual class" (《革命與知識階級》), Feng, in the pseudonym of Hua Shi (畫室), stressed that there was no such a need to despise the intellectuals during revolution, although at most the intellectuals could only be the followers, rather than the main force of revolution. In Feng's opinion, Lu Xun was even ahead of other intellectuals in realizing the values of revolution. During the May Fourth and May Thirtieth eras, "among the intellectuals, one who did the best was 'Lu Xun'".<sup>[161]</sup> Lu attacked the national characters and the feudal tradition. This was in fact a valuable contribution to revolution. What was more, Lu Xun had never slandered revolution. There was no reason why he should be under fire. Feng Xuefeng considered this a mistake on the part of the Creationists who had never given up their sectarian feelings. It was dangerous to go on with these attacks and he urged the radicals to stop immediately before any harm was done.<sup>[162]</sup>

It is difficult to know the impact of this article. But as stated earlier, attacks on Lu Xun quieted down some time in October, while Feng Xuefeng's article appeared on 25th September, 1928. This coincidence led some critics think that this article was a CCP attempt to conciliate Lu Xun.<sup>[163]</sup> But this is a groundless argument.

At the end of the article, Feng Xuefeng put down the date of writing the essay: May, 1928.<sup>[164]</sup> There was no sign that the CCP had done anything to stop the polemic at this early stage. As we shall see, most recollections say that it was not until the autumn of 1928, or even 1929 that the CCP intervened. In fact, a great number of articles condemning Lu Xun were published after May, 1928. If the CCP was behind the scene, this should not have happened. What is more, the journal in which the article appeared, Wugui lieche (《無軌列車》),

Trackless train), was one published and edited by non-Party members.<sup>[165]</sup> It was unlikely that the instruction of the CCP to end the polemic should have been published in it.

If the CCP aimed at conciliating Lu Xun, it would not have been a good tactic to have someone who had not been involved in the polemic to write an article. Lu Xun would not appreciate the good will. Furthermore, the content of the article was not that soothing either. Feng Xuefeng himself later reported that Lu Xun was not pleased with it, saying that it was written by a member of the Creation group.<sup>[166]</sup> Feng also admitted that he had made two serious mistakes in the article: being too arrogant and taking Lu Xun as a fellow-traveller only.<sup>[167]</sup> If it was the idea of the CCP to write the article, Feng would not have committed such mistakes - or he would not call them mistakes. Several decades later, he made clear that it was not at the Party's instruction that he wrote the article:

There were serious mistakes in the article "Revolution and the intellectual class", which was written in May or June [May, 1928] and published in July or August [25th Sept., 1928]. It was based on my own shallow and wrong viewpoints. I had not discussed with anyone. No one asked me to write it.<sup>[168]</sup>

But with the exception of the two parties involved, other people seemed to be happy with the article. One critic, in the early thirties, described it as the best and fairest appraisal of the polemic.<sup>[169]</sup> He even put it at the front of a collection of articles on the topic.<sup>[170]</sup> Most important of all, Rou Shi (柔石, 1902-1931), who was then close to Lu Xun and had been a schoolmate of Feng Xuefeng, after reading the article, urged Lu Xun to meet Feng.<sup>[171]</sup> The latter soon secured Lu's confidence and friendship, thus enabling him to act as a mediator afterwards. In this sense, the article "Revolution and the intellectual class" can be regarded as significant in paving the road of unification of

left-wing writers.

Meanwhile, Lu Xun continued to make verbal attacks on the radicals. From August, 1928 to February, 1930, he wrote at least eight essays commenting on the revolutionary literary movement.<sup>[172]</sup> But there was not much response from the radicals. They were then busy attacking another writer, Mao Dun.

Mao Dun was a member of the CCP since 1921 and throughout the twenties, he had been very active in political activities. In 1924, he lectured at the CCP-run Shanghai University and during the May Thirtieth, he helped in organizing the strikes in Shanghai. After the incident, he finished an article called "On proletarian art" (《論無產階級藝術》) which was regarded by some as "the most important Mao Dun's contribution to the theory of proletarian art".<sup>[173]</sup> In the article, Mao Dun pointed out that proletarian art did not end with the description of proletarian life. It should be a kind of art centred on proletarian spirit which was collectivist, anti-patriarchal and non-religious.<sup>[174]</sup> Then in 1926, during the first united front period, just like Guo Moruo and other Communists, he went to Guangzhou and for a time, he was the secretary to Mao Zedong in the Central Propaganda Department of the KMT. Before the coup of Jiang Jieshi, he was a teacher in the Central Military and Political School of the Northern Expedition Army in Wuhan. In July, 1927, he had to flee for life after the Wuhan KMT left-wing government fell.<sup>[175]</sup>

Just like Lu Xun, Mao Dun regarded the coup a disastrous setback. In a year's time after returning to Shanghai via Guling, he finished his first stories, the Trilogy of Eclipse - Disillusionment, Vacillation and Search (《蝕三部曲——幻滅、動搖、追求》). Mao Dun's aim of writing the trilogy was:

to write about the three different periods

modern youth had gone through in the time of revolution: (1) the exuberance on the eve of revolution and the disillusionment when coming face to face with it; (2) the vacillation [wavering] during the intensification of the revolutionary struggles; (3) after the disillusionment and vacillation, the unwillingness to accept loneliness and still wanting to make a final search.[176]

Beyond doubt, what Mao Dun wrote was his own experiences in the years between 1926-28. He did not hide that the demoralised and pessimistic tone was but a reflection of his feelings.[177] This was definitely unacceptable to those writers who refused to accept defeat. Worse still, when he gave an account of the background and process of the writing of the Trilogy in the article "From Guling to Tokyo" (《從牯嶺到東京》), he criticized the movement of revolutionary literature. This invited a fierce attack from the radicals.[178]

In fact, before the publication of the Trilogy and "From Guling to Tokyo", Mao Dun had already been involved in the revolutionary literary controversy. In early 1928, upon reading the first issue of Taiyang yuekan, Mao, using the pen-name of Fang Bi (方璧), wrote an article "Welcome the Sun" (《歡迎“太陽”》), which, on the one hand expressed his support for the new magazine and on the other, criticized Jiang Guangci's over-emphasis on a writer's revolutionary experiences. In this way, Mao Dun asserted, Jiang was in effect forcing revolutionary literature into a monotonous and narrow path, which in the end was harmful to the movement.[179] This piece of well-intentioned advice was rejected by Jiang, who, in the name of Hua Xili (華希里), wrote an unfriendly reply, denying the charges and accusing Mao wronged him.[180]

Apparently, Mao Dun was not aware of this essay.[181] He took no part in the polemic between Lu Xun and the revolutionary group. In July, 1928, he went to

Japan. Immediately upon his arrival in Tokyo, he wrote up "From Guling to Tokyo" which was published in October. In the article, Mao Dun frankly admitted that he was "disillusioned, pessimistic and dispondent".<sup>[182]</sup> But he maintained that it was an objective truth that young people were then discontented, depressed and eager to find a "way out". Therefore, his stories were objective depictions. Mao accepted that he had not pointed a "way out" for the readers:

From the beginning, I cannot agree to the "way out" which during the past year was preached and proclaimed by many. Is it now proven clearly that this way out has become something of a "blind alley"?<sup>[183]</sup>

In the last section of the article, Mao Dun made an evaluation on the revolutionary literary movement. He saw three faults in it. First, inferiority in quality. Second, the problem of language. Third, a lack in the depictions of the life of petit-bourgeois.

Mao Dun noted a phenomenon. Many people who sincerely supported revolutionary literature shook their heads when they came to read the works of revolutionary writers. This was because these "new works" had not gone beyond the scope of "slogan literature". Mao raised doubts of its literary values. He quoted the example of Soviet Russia. The Futurists had been producing many works of slogan literature. Not only the masses, even the leaders like Bukharin, Lunacharsky (1875-1933) and Leon Trotsky (1879-1940) regarded them unbearably boring. It was not that the Futurists were lack of revolutionary zeal, but that "people want something more than 'revolutionary mood' when they come to read literary works". "Rich in revolutionary zeal but ignoring the nature of literature, or taking literature as a tool for propaganda - in a narrow sense", had pushed the works of revolutionary writers into the dead end of slogan literature. Hence, it was wrong to blame on people for being non-revolutionary when such works were not accepted.  
[184]

As for the language, Mao Dun accused that the language used by revolutionary writers was either too westernized or too literary. Hence, although the writers meant to write for the working class, no one in the class would read the works. It was not a problem of illiteracy, according to Mao. "Even if you read it to them, they still cannot understand."<sup>[185]</sup> Near the end of the essay, Mao Dun gave an earnest piece of advice:

Don't be too westernized. Don't use too many new technical terms. Don't be too symbolic. Don't just propagandize new ideas directly and mechanically.<sup>[186]</sup>

Mao Dun also felt uneasy towards the trend that any writer writing about the petit-bourgeois would be labelled a counter-revolutionary. "This is most unreasonable", Mao Dun remarked. "Are the petit-bourgeois not suffering now? Are they not being oppressed? If they do have sufferings, if they are being oppressed, why should revolutionary writers take them as aliens? Why should you refuse to pollute your sacred pens?"<sup>[187]</sup> Mao Dun argued that this was one of the reasons why revolutionary literature was not popular: it had forgotten to describe its natural readers, the petit-bourgeois who made up sixty percent of the population.<sup>[188]</sup>

Because of this article, Mao Dun was jointly hit by members of the Creation and Sun Societies. Qian Xingcun's response was most vigorous. He published three long essays in criticism of Mao.<sup>[189]</sup> Others like Fu Kexing, Zeng Xubai (曾虛白) and Pan Hannian (潘漢年, 1906-1977) joined the fight.<sup>[190]</sup>

It was inevitable that Mao Dun's pessimistic tone in the Trilogy, as well as "From Guling to Tokyo" should have been criticized sharply. To the radicals, the "way out" was not a dead alley. "The revolution in China is developing into a new upsurge".<sup>[191]</sup> They rejected Mao Dun's accusation that the depiction of

young people's illusion and vacillation in his works was objective. It was Mao's petit-bourgeois consciousness that made him fall into disillusionment and vacillation. [191]

As for the comments of Mao Dun on revolutionary literature, they were taken as another attack on the revolutionary literary movement from a petit-bourgeois critic. In Fu Kexing's mind, it did not mean that there was anything wrong with revolutionary literature when someone shook his head in reading the new works. It was rather because those petit-bourgeois failed to grasp a new world outlook but stood on the side of the ruling class to attack revolutionary literature. [192] On the other hand, Qian Xingcun accepted the charge that there were many slogans in proletarian literature. But it was just natural because

proletarian art is not an art for leisure. It was an art for struggle, a weapon for struggle. The contents of the works must suit the political propagandistic slogans and agitational slogans. [193]

He also conceded that most proletarian writers, at this early stage of the movement, were not good in skills. This was unavoidable. He cited Aono Suekichi's (青野季吉) words. Even in Japan where the movement had a history of ten years, proletarian literature was still immature and poor in quality. [194] He even had Mao Dun's own words to contradict Mao. A line from Mao's "On proletarian art" was quoted:

It is inevitable to have the problem of shallowness in content for a newly born art of a class which is young and in a difficult situation. [195]

Qian also cited Mao Dun's another piece of writing (published on 5th March, 1927), the preface to Gu Zhongyi's (顧仲彝) poetry, Glare (《紅光》), in which Mao Dun praised the "slogan poems" as the products of the epoch, products of the environment and the foundation

stones of new literature since the October Revolution. [196] These words, Qian pointed out, were in great contrast with what was said in "From Guling to Tokyo". It was then easy for Qian to conclude that Mao's change in attitude was due to his own disillusionment and vacillation.

The radicals further argued that even though some works by revolutionary writers might have, in terms of the writing technique, attained considerable success, bourgeois critics could not have been contended. This was because these works would definitely be filled with new ideas and new demands which were totally unacceptable to the latter group. [197] Moreover, they could not agree upon Mao Dun's charge that there was no work on petit-bourgeoisie. On the contrary, there were too many, so many that they made young people fall into distress, pessimism and sentimentalism. [198]

It is certain that the radicals were eager to crush down the opposition raised by Mao Dun. In their articles, malicious attacks were not lacking. Mao Dun considered these "concerted attacks" by "friends and comrades". [199] But it seemed that on the whole his opponents were cautious too. The editors of Chuangzao yuekan attached a note to Fu Kexing's article:

Mao Dun's article had brought about many real and specific problems. Such problems should not be neglected but be dealt with properly. Regarding this point, the editors feel that there is a need for full discussion of Kexing's article. [200]

They were aware that this time they were debating with an old Party member who, for the time being, made a wrong evaluation of the revolution and hence was disillusioned. A battle was necessary to put him back on the right track. Qian Xingcun once said,

This time, our struggle is different from that against Lu Xun and his group. The present struggle is one between the proletarian literary

front and the unworthy spokesman of the so-called revolutionary petit-bourgeoisie.[201]

This cautious attitude is accountable. At the time when the struggle against Mao Dun began, the CCP might have already instructed to end the polemic with Lu Xun and set up a united front in the literary circle. It was therefore inappropriate to start another battle. On the other hand, Mao Dun was able to keep his temper. His reply, "On reading 'Ni Huanzhi'" (《讀“倪煥之”》), was mild and forgiving.[202] This made possible a ceasefire within a comparatively short time. It was but a little step further to the realization of a great united front among the left-wingers in Shanghai.

In her introduction to "the debate on revolutionary literature", Harriet Mills wrote the following lines:

The series of literary polemic or "pen battles" which erupted in this period were not so much literary as political or personal disputes. Despite the exaggerated importance they have received in histories of modern Chinese literature, they solved no literary problems and generated no new schools or experimental trends. Stronger on rumour, slander, innuendo and propaganda than on substance, they were one of the strident if unhappy realities of the period. The shrillest of all was the debate on revolutionary literature that began in January, 1928.[203]

This is, in certain aspects, a fair judgement of the debate. If we demand from the debate something substantial, such as solving of literary problems or generating of new literary schools, as Mills suggested, we are definitely going to be disappointed. It is also true that the greatest characteristic of the debate was its slandering and abusive nature. In fact, in the heat of the debate, much of the energy was used in personal attacks. However, there is an indirect and less obvious consequence of the debate which was invaluable to the left-wingers and which can account for the emphasis given to it in the literary histories published in the Mainland after 1949: the debate marked the rise of left-

wing literary movement and its subsequent domination of the literary arena.

Lu Xun was able to appreciate this as early as in 1928. He said,

The merit of putting forward the issue [of revolutionary literature] so that people could get noticed of it should not be overlooked.[204]

Before the polemic, the issue of revolutionary literature, though discussed by a few, attracted nobody's attention. The noisy debate made many people aware of its existence and advocacy. This provided a base for further actions, both in the literary and political fields. More young people were attracted to the leftist camp. The large membership of the Left League, even at the time of severe "white terror", was made possible by this. The case of Yin Fu (殷夫, 1909-1931) is a good example. In the beginning, he was not a member of the Sun Society. But he was attracted by it and contributed a long poem to the fourth issue of Taiyang yuekan. [205] He turned out to be one of the very few good revolutionary writers and a martyr for the cause of the communist revolution.

With a team of literary workers and artists under its control, the CCP was able to make a good use of literature and art to propagate revolutionary ideas. This aided tremendously the Red Army in their fighting against the KMT troops. A right-wing critic commented:

For twenty years, the KMT held the military and political power while the CCP held the literary power. In the end, literary power overcame the military and political power.[206]

Among the many reasons for the ultimate defeat of the KMT, the CCP supremacy in the literary field was surely one of them. Even Mao Zedong, though he himself had not done anything in gaining this literary power, could not deny its importance and contribution. [207] This time, the pen was mightier than the sword. The fact is, this control of the pen by the CCP had its origin in the revolutionary literary movement.

## NOTES

[1] The Creation Society is usually divided by critics into three stages: from its formation to 1926 was the first stage, the second stage started from 1926 to the end of 1927, while the third one lasted from 1928 till it was closed by the authorities in February, 1929. Cf., Feng Naichao, "Lu Xun and the Creation Society" (《魯迅與創造社》), Xinwenxue shiliao (《新文學史料》, hereinafter abbreviated as XWXSL) No. 1 (1978), pp. 34-35; Zheng Boqi, "Literary activities of the final stage of the Creation Society (《創造社後期的文學活動》) Recalling the Creation Society and other things (《憶創造社及其他》) (Hong Kong: Joint Publishing Co. 三聯書店, 1982), pp. 45-76; Gu Fengcheng (顧鳳城), "The Creation Society and literary movements in China" (《創造社和中國文學活動》), in Huang Renying (黃人彭) (Ed.), On the Creation Society (《創造社論》) (Shanghai: Guanghai Bookstore 光華書局, Dec., 1932), pp. 1-4.

[2] Wenhua pipan No. 2 (15th Feb., 1928). Reprinted in The institute for the study of modern literature, Academy of literature, Chinese Social Science Academy (中國社會科學院文學研究所現代文學研究室) (Ed.), Collection of materials on the 'revolutionary literature' polemic (《“革命文學”論爭資料選編》, hereinafter abbreviated as CMRL) (Beijing: Renminwenxue chubanshe, Jan., 1981), p. 154.

[3] "On 'modern Chinese literature'" (《關於“現代中國文學”》), Taiyang yuekan No. 3 (1st March, 1928), in CMRL, p. 198.

[4] John Berninghausen & Ted Hutters, "Introductory essay", Revolutionary literature in China: An anthology (New York: M.E.Sharpe, 1976), p. 5.

[5] Xianqu (《先驅》, The pioneer) No. 8 (May, 1922).

[6] Zhongguo qingnian No. 10 (22nd Dec., 1923), p.6.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Zhongguo qingnian No. 31 (17th May, 1924), p. 12-14.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Shen Zemin, "Youth and literary movements" (《青年與文藝運動》), Zhongguo qingnian No. 9 (5th Dec., 1923), p.

[11] Juewu (《覺悟》, Consciousness), Supplement of Minguo ribao (《民國日報》), 6th Nov., 1924.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Qian Xingcun, "On modern Chinese literature: An introduction" (《現代中國文學論·諸論》), On modern

Chinese literature ( 《現代中國文學論》 )(publication details missing), pp. 32 & 53.

[14] Zhang Bilai (張畢來), Outline of the history of modern literature ( 《新文學史綱》 )(Beijing: Zuoja chubanshe 作家出版社, Nov., 1955), p. 101.

[15] Wu Tenghuang (吳滕鳳), A biography of Jiang Guangci ( 《蔣光慈傳》 )(Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, Jan., 1982), p. 31.

[16] Ibid., p. 39.

[17] Ibid., p. 125. The Shanghai University was founded in the autumn of 1923. It was situated at the corner of Bubbling Well Road and Seymour Road. The school was formed under the direction of the CCP and its staff was dominantly CCP members: Qu Qiubai was the head of the Sociology Department, Chen Wangdao ( 陳望道 , 1890-1979) was the head of the Chinese Department, Zhou Yueran ( 周越然 ), head of the Foreign Languages Department. Others included Deng Zhongxia, Jiang Guangci, Yun Daiying, Xiao Chunu and Zhang Tailei ( 張太雷 , 1899-1927). It was first closed by the authorities of the international settlement after the May Thirtieth Incident (1925) and then permanently by the KMT in 1927. For more information on the Shanghai University, cf., Saito Akio & Nijima Atsuyoshi, A history of modern Chinese education ( 《中國現代教育史》 )( Tokyo: Kokudoshu, 1962), p. 108; Xiao Binru ( 蕭斌如 ), "A brief introduction to the Shanghai University" ( 《上海大學簡介》 ), Huadong shifan daxue xuebao ( 《華東師範大學學報》 ) No. 1, 1981 (undated), pp. 89-94.

[18] Qian Xingcun, On modern Chinese literature, p. 46.

[19] For a discussion on these works, see T.A. Hsia ( 夏濟安 , 1916-1965), "The phenomenon of Chiang Kwang-tz'u", The gate of darkness: Studies on the leftist literary movement in China (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), pp. 80-81.

[20] "Modern Chinese literature and social life" ( 《現代中國文學與社會生活》 ), Taiyang yuekan No. 1 (1st Jan., 1928), in CMRL, p. 82.

[21] Guo Moruo, "Ten years of the Creation Society" ( 《創造十年》 ), Works of Guo Moruo ( 《沫若文集》 ) Vol. VII, (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, Aug., 1958), p. 106.

[22] Chuangzao zhoubao No. 3 (27th May, 1927), pp. 13-15; reprinted in Itō Toramaru ( 伊藤虎丸 )(ed.), Materials on the Creation Society ( 《創造社資料》 )(Tokyo: Ajiya shuppan, 1979) Vol. IV, pp. 55-57.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] For example, see Liu Shousong ( 劉綬松 , 1912-

1969), A preliminary draft history of modern Chinese literature (《中國新文學史初稿》)(Beijing: renmin wuxue chubanshe, Nov., 1979 reprint), Vol. I, p. 131.

[26] "Our new literary movement", in Itō Toramaru, Materials on the Creation Society Vol. IV, p. 56.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid.

[29] "Sequel to Ten years of the Creation Society" (《創造十年續編》), Works of Guo Moruo Vol. VII, pp. 135-138.

[30] "Guo Moruo's reply to the young people" (《郭沫若同志答青年問》), quoted from Wang Jiquan (王繼權) & Tong Weigang (童煒綱), A chronology of Guo Moruo (《郭沫若年譜》)(Jiangsu, Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, April, 1983), p. 176.

[31] Ibid.

[32] James P. Harrison, The Long March to power, p. 63.

[33] Cf., Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, Rise of modern China (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 627.

[34] "Study on the strikes of Shanghai in the May Thirtieth Movement" (《五卅運動中上海罷工調查》), The labour movement during the period of the first revolutionary civil war (《第一次國內革命戰爭時期的工人運動》)(Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, Nov., 1954), pp. 72-74.

[35] "The era of Ah Q that had passed away", Taiyang yuekan No. 3 (1st March, 1928), in CMRL, pp. 181-182.

[36] L. Bianco, Origins of the Chinese Revolution, 1915-1949 (London: Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 55-56.

[37] "Revolution and literature", CMRL, pp. 3-4.

[38] Ibid., p. 6.

[39] Cf., Lu Xun, "A glance at the literary scene in Shanghai" (《上海文藝之一瞥》), Complete works of Lu Xun (《魯迅全集》)(Beijing: Renmin wuxue chubanshe, 1981; hereinafter abbreviated as CWLX) Vol. IV, pp. 295-296. As Harriet Mills pointed out, "though written in 1931, it reflects his earlier views". H. Mills, "Lu Hsün, 1927-1936: The years on the left" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Columbia, 1963), p. 110. And in February, 1924, Cheng Fangwu published "Criticism on 'Call to arms'" (《"吶喊"的評論》) in Chuangzao jikan Vol. II No. 2 (Feb., 1924), in Itō Toramaru, Materials on the Creation Society Vol. III, pp. 437-443. It was a harsh comment and the entire collection of Lu Xun's short stories was dismissed as "meagre" and "vulgar".

[40] CWLX Vol. XI, p. 191.

[41] "A star has fallen" ( 《墜了一顆巨星》 ), Xianshijie ( 《現世界》 ) Vol. I No. 7 (Nov., 1936), quoted from Shen Pannian ( 沈鵬年 ), "Two facts about the relationship between Lu Xun and the Creation Society" ( 《魯迅和創造社交往的兩點史實》 ) Shanghai wenxue ( 《上海文學》 , Shanghai literature ), No. 7, 1962 (5th July, 1962), p. 61. But other sources say that it was the CCP which directed the whole thing behind the scene. Xu Binru ( 徐彬如 , 1901- ), "Recalling Lu Xun in Guangzhou in 1927" ( 《回憶魯迅一九二七年在廣州的情況》 ), Luxun yanjiu ziliao ( 《魯迅研究資料》 , Materials on the study of Lu Xun) No. 1 (Hong Kong: Erya chubanshe 爾雅出版社 , March, 1979 reprint), p. 213; Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe ( 上海教育出版社 ) (ed.), Collection of materials on the reminiscences on Lu Xun ( 《回憶魯迅資料輯錄》 ) (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe, June, 1980), p. 149.

[42] Guo Moruo left Guangzhou in July, 1926 while Yu Dafu left on 5th December, 1926.

[43] CMRL, p. 20.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Letter to Li Jiye ( 李霽野 , 1904- ), CWLX Vol. XI, p. 583.

[46] CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 644.

[47] The other signatories were Cheng Fangwu, Wang Duqing and He Wei ( 何畏 , 1896-1968). In the Japanese version of the proclamation which was published in Bungei Sensen ( 《文藝戰線》 , Literary front ), Vol. IV No. 6 (1st June, 1927), other Creationists like Guo Moruo, Zhang Ziping and Zheng Boqi also put down their names. Cf., Zhang Aohui ( 張傲卉 ) (et.al.), "Cheng Fangwu and Lu Xun" ( 《成仿吾與魯迅》 ), Dongbei shida xuebao ( 《東北師大學報》 , Journal of North-eastern Normal University) No. 6, 1981 (20th Nov., 1981), p. 25; Tang Tianran ( 唐天然 ), "About a lost article of Yu Dafu 'To the comrades of the Japanese proletarian literary arena'" ( 《關於郁達夫的佚文“訴諸日本無產階級文藝界同志”》 ), XWXS No. 4, 1982 (22nd Nov., 1982), p. 187.

[48] Hongshui ( 《洪水》 , Deluge) Vol. III No. 30 (1st April, 1927).

[49] CWLX Vol. III, p. 423.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Letter to Wei Suyuan ( 韋素園 , 1902-1932), 26th Jan., 1927, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 527.

[53] "At the clock tower" ( 《在鐘樓上》 ), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 33.

[54] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left Wing Writers and Chinese literary policy" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Univeristy of Michigan, 1982), p. 347.

[55] "Revolutionary literature" (《革命文學》), CWLX Vol. III, p. 544.

[56] Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 50.

[57] Diary of Lu Xun, 9th Nov., 1927, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 679.

[58] Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 50.

[59] This pen-name of Guo Moruo was a transliteration of "Maker I", i.e., I am the maker. At the same time, it was an imitation on the British Prime Minister MacDonald (Chinese translation being Mai Ketang, 麥克唐) of the Labour Party. Cf., Guo Moruo, "Crossing the East Sea" (《跨著東海》), Works of Guo Moruo Vol. VIII, pp. 286-287.

[60] The advertisement is reprinted in Chen Songsheng (陳頌聲)(et.al.)(ed.), Materials on the Creation Society (《創造社資料》)(Fujian: Fujian renmin chubanshe 福建人民出版社 Jan., 1985), p. 482.

[61] Chuangzao yuekan Vol. I No. 8 (1st Jan., 1928), ibid., pp. 483-484.

[62] Ibid., p. 538; Ding Jingtang (丁景唐, 1920-), "Materials on Lu Xun's participation in social activities and political struggles" (《魯迅參加社會活動和政治鬥爭的一些文獻資料》), in Sun Shenzhi (孫慎之)(ed.), Lu Xun in Shanghai (《魯迅在上海》)(Shanghai: Shanghai shifan daxue, Dec., 1979), pp. 38-39.

[63] CWLX Vol. VI, p. 496.

[64] Works of Guo Moruo Vol. VIII, p. 289.

[65] Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 50.

[66] Ibid., p. 45.

[67] Feng Naichao, "Lu Xun and the Creation Society", p. 37. In an interview, he repeated, After liberation, one member of the Creation Society, Zheng Boqi, published an essay saying that they had discussed with Lu Xun on the publication of Chuangzao zhoubao before our return. But I knew nothing about that then. "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - Recollection on the literary movements in the early thirties" (《訪問馮乃超談話記錄——關於三十年代初期文學運動的點滴回憶》) collected in Chinese Department, Shanghai Normal University (ed.), Reference materials on the study of Lu Xun (《魯迅研究參考資料》)(Shanghai: Shanghai shifan daxue, Oct., 1977; hereinafter abbreviated as RMLX), p. 14.

[68] Works of Guo Moruo Vol. VIII, p. 289.

[69] Chen Songsheng, "Lu Xun and the Creation

Society (《魯迅和創造社》), Zhongshan daxue xuebao (《中山大學學報》, Journal of Sun Yat-sen University) No. 3, 1981 (undated), p. 106.

[70] Recalling the Creation Society and other things, pp. 51-52.

[71] Ibid., p. 52.

[72] Yang Cunren, "The Sun Society and Jiang Guangci" (《太陽社與蔣光慈》), Xiandai (《現代》, Les Contemporains) Vol. III No. 4 (1st Aug., 1933), p. 471.

[73] Ibid., p. 473.

[74] Yu Dafu, "The last years of Guangci" (《光慈的晚年》), Xiandai Vol. III No. 1 (1st May, 1933), p. 71.

[75] Taiyang yuekan No. 1, in CMRL, pp. 83-84.

[76] Wenhua pipan No. 2 (15th Feb., 1928), in CMRL, p. 165.

[77] Ibid.

[78] CMRL, p. 87.

[79] Ibid., p. 82.

[80] Ibid.

[81] For the discussion on Fukumotoism, I am indebted to the following works: Tatsuo Arima, "Proletarian literature: the tyranny of politics", The failure of freedom: a protrait of modern Japanese intellectuals (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 172-213; G.T. Shea, Left-wing literature in Japan: A brief history of the proletarian literary movement (Tokyo: The Hosei University Press, 1964), pp. 142-148; Liu Boqing (劉柏青), "The influence of Japanese proletarian literary thought on the left-wing literature of the thirties" (《三十年代左翼文藝所受日本無產階級文藝思潮的影響》), Wenxue pinglun (《文學評論》) No. 6, 1981 (Nov., 1981), pp. 102-109; Wang Ye (王野), "The debate on 'revolutionary literature' and Fukumoto Kazuo" (《“革命文學”論爭與福本和夫》), Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan (《中國現代文學研究叢刊》) No. 1, 1983 (March, 1983), pp. 322-331.

[82] The failure of freedom: a protrait of modern Japanese intellectuals, p. 188.

[83] Wenhua pipan No. 1, CMRL, p. 113.

[84] CMRL, p. 169.

[85] Qian Xiancun, "Criticism and copying" (《批評與抄書》), Taiyang yuekan No. 4 (1st April, 1928), in CMRL, p. 261.

[86] Taiyang yuekan No. 3, in CMRL, p. 199.

[87] "Reply to an open letter", Wenhua pipan No. 3, CMRL, pp. 234-237.

[88] Ibid., p. 237.

[89] Yang Cunren, "The Sun Society and Jiang Guangci", p. 473.

[90] Ibid., p. 474. Cheng's article "The necessity for total criticism" was attacked by Qian Xingcun, "Criticism and copying", in CMRL, pp. 264-267; Yang Cunren, "On reading Cheng Fangwu's 'The necessity for total criticism'" (《讀成仿吾的“全部的批判之必要”》), Taiyang yuekan No. 4, in CMRL, pp. 276-280.

[91] Yang Cunren, "The Sun Society and Jiang Guangci", p. 474.

[92] Ibid.

[93] Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 242.

[94] Zhang Ziping, "On reading 'The Creation Society'" (《讀“創造社”》), in Huang Renying, On the Creation Society, p. 48.

[95] Feng Naichao, "Art and Social life" (《藝術與社會生活》), Wenhua pipan No. 1, CMRL, p. 116.

[96] Ibid.

[97] "Old fellow Lu Xun" (Luxun laosheng, 魯迅老生) was supposed to be a word play on Mr Lu Xun (Luxun xiansheng, 魯迅先生). It was used to satirize Lu Xun's age and his failure to catch up with changes in society. According to Feng Naichao, he did not deliberately use the term "laosheng" at the very beginning. But during typesetting, one of the "xiansheng" was wrongly typed as "laosheng". Then Feng changed all the others into "laosheng". He later admitted that it was a mistake. But he said that he did not know Lu Xun would have reacted so vigorously. "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - recollection on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 15.

[98] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 37.

[99] Chuangzao yuekan Vol. I No. 9, CMRL, pp. 136-137.

[100] Yusi Vol. IV No. 11 (12th March, 1928), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 62.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Li Chuli, "How to create revolutionary literature", CMRL, pp. 164-166.

[103] Li Chuli, "Please watch the wild dance of our Chinese Don Quixote - In reply to Lu Xun's 'Be-fuddled' Woolliness'" (《請看我們中國的Don Quixote的亂舞——答魯迅“醉眼”中的朦朧》), Wenhua pipan No. 4 (15th April, 1928), CMRL, pp. 288-300.

[104] Ibid., p. 299.

[105] Shi Housheng (石厚生, pseud. of Cheng Fangwu), "After all, he's befuddled" (《畢竟是“醉眼陶然”罷了》), Chuangzao yuekan Vol. I No. 11 (1st May, 1928), CMRL, p. 374.

[106] Chuangzao yuekan Vol. II No. 1 (10th August, 1928), CMRL, pp. 570-579.

[107] Cf., Shan Yanyi, (單演義) & Lu Ge (魯歌), "Was Du Quan who debated with Lu Xun Guo Moruo?" (《與魯迅論戰的“杜荃”是不是郭沫若》), Xibeidaxue xuebao zengkan (《西北大學學報增刊》 Supplement to the Journal of North-western University), Oct., 1979. But I am unable to locate this article. Shi Suo (史索), "Who was Du Quan?" (《杜荃是誰?》), Luxun yanjiu wencong (《魯迅研究文叢》) No. 1 (March, 1980), pp. 95-111; Wang Jinhou (王錦厚), "Who in fact was Du Quan?" (《杜荃到底是誰?》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 7 (Dec., 1980), pp. 285-305. Their arguments are sound and well supported by facts. But Feng Naichao and Zheng Boqi did not believe that Du Quan was Guo Moruo. "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - recollection on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 15; Zheng Boqi, "Record of Zheng Boqi's interview on the questions of the 'Creation Society' and the 'Left League'" (《訪問鄭伯奇談話記錄——關於“創造社”“左聯”的問題》), RMLX, p. 22. It is important to note that when this article was being collected in Recalling the Creation Society and other things, the whole paragraph on the question of Du Quan was cut. Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 242. Guo Moruo claimed that he was not sure whether he had used the name Du Quan or not, though he admitted that he held similar views to Du Quan; see Feng Naichao, "Lu Xun and the Creation Society", pp. 37-38. But Zhang Ziping, once a member of the Creation Society, wrote in 1930 that "Criticism on Lu Xun's 'My attitude, tolerance and age'" was written by Mai Keang - a well-known pen-name of Guo Moruo; see Zhang Ziping, "In reply to Mr Huang Ji" (《答黃棘君》), in Shi Binghui (史秉慧)(ed.), Critical biography of Zhang Ziping (《張資平評傳》)(Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore 開明書店, July, 1936), p. 181. Lu Xun also said that Guo Moruo had once written in pseudonym to attack him. Lu Xun's letter to Yang Jiyun (楊霽雲), 15th May, 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 410. Duan Keqing, and Feng Xuefeng also held the idea that Du Quan was Guo Moruo. Cf., Shi Suo, "Who was Du Quan?", pp. 101-102; Wang Jinhou, "Who in fact was Du Quan?", p. 302.

In books published recently on the Creation Society and Lu Xun, Du Quan is taken as Guo Moruo. Cf., Chen Congsheng, Materials on the Creation Society, p. 1145; Lu Xun Museum (ed.), A chronology of Lu Xun (《魯迅年譜》)(Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, Jan., 1984) Vol. III, p. 82; CWLX Vol. XII, p. 411, Note [7].

[108] Taiyang yuekan No. 3, CMRL, pp. 181-182.

[109] Ibid., p. 183.

[110] Ibid., p. 192.

[111] Wu Taichang (吳泰昌), "A Ying on the Left League" (《阿英憶左聯》), XWXS No. 1, 1980 (22nd Feb., 1980), p. 16.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Mao Zedong, "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party", Selected works of Mao Tse-tung, pp. 181-182.

[114] "Resolution on the present situation of China and the role of the Communist Party" (《中國現狀與共產黨的任務的議決案》), cf., Huang Yuanqi, A history of modern China Vol. I, p. 258.

[115] For a discussion in the Autumn Uprisings, see James P. Harrison, The Long March to power: A history of the CCP, 1920-72, pp. 129-134.

[116] Qian Xingcun, "Criticism and copying", CMRL, p. 265.

[117] Shao Xin (少仙), "A reader's demand from proletarian writers" (《一個讀者對於無產文學家的要求》), Yusi Vol. IV No. 23 (4th June, 1928), CMRL, p. 492.

[118] "Correspondences" (《通信》), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 100.

[119] "'Hard translation' and the class nature of literature" (《“硬譯”與“文學的階級性”》) CWLX Vol. IV, p. 209.

[120] CMRL, p. 182.

[121] "Preface to Call to arms" (《“吶喊”自序》), CWLX Vol. I, pp. 416-417.

[122] Letters from two places (《兩地書》) No. 29 (13th June, 1925), CWLX Vol. XI, p. 89.

[123] According to his diary, Lu Xun contributed \$5 in support of the May Thirtieth Movement on 5th June, 1925. On 15th July, he again contributed \$12.5. CWLX Vol. XIV, pp. 549 & 554. Articles he commented on the movement include "It suddenly comes to me" (《忽然想到》) and "Filler" (《補白》), CWLX Vol. III, pp. 88-99 & 105-106.

[124] "The old tune is finished" (《老調子已經唱完》), CWLX Vol. III, p. 309.

[125] "On the intelligentsia" (《關於知識份子》), CWLX Vol. III, pp. 187-193.

[126] "In celebration of the recovery of Nanjing and Shanghai" (《慶祝滬寧克復的那一邊》), CWLX Vol. VIII, pp. 161-163.

[127] "Autobiography" (《自傳》), CWLX Vol. VII, p. 85.

[128] "Introduction to 'Three leisures'" (《“三

閑集”序言》) CWLX Vol. IV, p. 5.

[129] CWLX Vol. III, p. 532.

[130] Ibid.

[131] CWLX Vol. III, p. 485.

[132] During his stay in Guangzhou, CCP members Xu Binru, Hua Lei (華磊, 1902-1927), Pan Kaojian (潘考鑿) and Chen Yannian (陳延年, 1899-1927) went to visit Lu. Xu Binru, "Recalling Lu Xun in Guangzhou in 1927", pp. 214-216.

[133] "Correspondences", CWLX Vol. III, p. 454.

[134] Letter to Tai Jingnong, 25th Sept., 1927, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 580.

[135] "Reply to Mr You Heng" (《答有恒先生》), CWLX Vol. III, p. 454.

[136] Ibid., p. 457.

[137] "Foreword to 'Shadow of dust'" (《“塵影”題辭》), CWLX Vol. III, p. 547.

[138] Hou Jian (侯健), From literary revolution to revolutionary literature (《從文學革命到革命文學》) (Taipei: Zhongwai wenxue yuekanshe 中外文學出版社, Dec., 1974), pp. 113-115; Chen Jingzhi (陳敬之), The literary arena of the thirties and the League of Left-wing Writers (《三十年代文壇與左翼作家聯盟》) (Taipei: Chengwen chubanshe, 20th May, 1980), p. 53.

[139] Zeng Qingrui (曾慶瑞), Critical biography of Lu Xun (《魯迅評傳》) (Chongqing: Sichuan renmin chubanshe 四川人民出版社, May, 1981), pp. 560-564; Le Helin (李何林, 1904-), The literary thinking in the past twenty years, 1917-1937 (《近二十年中國文藝思潮論, 1927-1937》) (Shanxi: Shanxi renmin chubanshe, April, 1981 reprint), pp. 181-189; Tang Tao, A history of modern Chinese literature Vol. II, pp. 8-9; Amitendranath Tagore, Literary debates in modern China, 1918-1937 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asia Cultural Studies, 1967), p. 101; Harriet Mills, "Lu Hsün, 1927-1936: The years on the left", p. 106.

[140] "Revolutionary literature", CWLX Vol. III, p. 544.

[141] "Literature and revolution", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 82-83.

[142] CWLX Vol. IV, p. 143. Sinclair's words were quoted in Li Chuli, "How to create revolutionary literature", CMRL, p. 156.

[143] "'Hard translation' and the class nature of literature", CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 195-212. For a collection of articles of the polemic between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu, see Bi Hua (璧華) (ed.), Selected articles of

the polemic between Lu Xun and Liang Shiqiu (《魯迅與梁實秋論戰文選》)(Hong Kong: Cosmos Publishing House 天地圖書公司, 1979).

[144] "The present condition of art in dark China" (《黑暗中國的文藝界的現狀》), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 285.

[145] "Literature and revolution", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 84; "A safety verse" (《太平歌訣》), CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 103-104.

[146] Letter to Cao Jinghua, 30th Sept., 1930, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 23.

[147] Letter to Wei Suyuan, 7th April, 1929, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 663.

[148] Letter to Zhang Tingqian, 30th May, 1928, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 623.

[149] "Literature and revolution", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 84.

[150] Ibid.

[151] "'Hard translation' and the class nature of literature", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 208.

[152] Lu Xun, "The class nature of literature" (《文學的階級性》), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 127.

[153] "'Hard translation' and the class nature of literature", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 209.

[154] Xu Guangping, "The learning spirit of Mr Lu Xun" (《魯迅先生的學習精神》), in Ma Tiji (馬蹄疾)(ed.), Reminiscence of Lu Xun by Xu Guangping (《許廣平憶魯迅》)(Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe 廣東人民出版社, April, 1979), p. 266.

[155] "Preface to 'Three leisures'", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 6.

[156] "Literary anecdotes" (《文壇的掌故》), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 122; "The class nature of literature", ibid., p. 126.

[157] Harriet Mills, "Lu Hsün, 1927-1936: The years on the left", pp. 119-120.

[158] Chen Anhu (陳安湖), "On Lu Xun's development from revolutionary democracy to communism" (《論魯迅從革命民主主義到共產主義的發展》), Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan (《中國現代文學研究叢刊》) No. 1, 1980 (April, 1980), p. 79; Ma Liangchun (馬良春), "Lu Xun on the left-wing literary movement" (《魯迅論左翼文藝運動》) Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan No. 1, 1979 (Oct., 1979), p. 27.

[159] "A glance at the literary scene in Shanghai", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 297.

[160] CMRL, pp. 639-640 & 623.

[161] Wugui lieche No. 1 (25th Sept., 1928),

CMRL, p. 664.

[162] Ibid., p. 665.

[163] Cf., Hou Jian, From literary revolution to revolutionary literature, p. 123.

[164] CMRL, p. 665.

[165] The editors of the magazine included Dai Wangshu, Du Heng and Shi Zhecun.

[166] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun (《回憶魯迅》) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, July, 1981 reprint), pp. 2-3.

[167] Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[168] Feng Xuefeng, "Some fragmentary materials about the struggle between the two lines in the left-wing literary movement in Shanghai in the years 1929-36" (《同28年36年之間上海左翼文藝運動中兩條路線的鬥爭有關的一些零碎的參考資料》), RMLX, p. 2.

[169] Li Helin, "Preface", Literary polemics in China (《中國文藝論戰》) (Xian: Shenxi renmin chubanshe, Nov., 1984 reprint), p. 11.

[170] Ibid., pp. 13-18.

[171] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 4.

[172] These include "Literary anecdotes", "The class nature of literature", "Several words of Hamson" (《哈謨生的幾句話》) CWLX Vol. VII, pp. 116-117; "A brief introduction to 'The ten short years' by Ye Yongzhen" (《葉永棻作"小小十年"小引》), CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 146-148; "Revolutionary coffee shop" (《革命咖啡店》) CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 116-117; "Afterword from the editor" (《編校後記》), CWLX Vol. VII, pp. 157-193; and "'Hard translation' and the class nature of literature".

[173] Marian Galik, Mao Tun and Chinese literary criticism, (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1969), p. 90.

[174] Mao Dun, Collection of Mao Dun's essays on literature (《茅盾文藝雜論集》) (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, June, 1981), pp. 182-199.

[175] Marian Galik, Mao Tun and Chinese literary criticism, pp. 52-53; Mao Dun, The road I trod (《我走過的道路》) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, Oct., 1981), Vol. I, pp. 293-342.

[176] "From Guling to Tokyo", Xiaoshuo yuebao (《小說月報》, Fiction monthly) Vol. XIX No. 10 (10th Oct., 1928), CMRL, pp. 689-690.

[177] Ibid., p. 683.

[178] The radicals also attacked the ideas shown in Mao's Trilogy. Cf., Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", pp. 56-57.

- [179] Wenxue zhoubao (《文學周報》, Literature weekly) Vol. V, CMRL, p. 111.
- [180] "On new and old writers and revolutionary literature - On reading 'Welcome the Sun' in 'Wenxue zhoubao'" (《論新舊作家與革命文學——讀了“文學周報”的“歡迎太陽”以後》), Taiyang yuekan No. 4, CMRL, pp. 246-259.
- [181] Mao Dun, The road I trod (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, May, 1984) Vol. II, pp. 12-13.
- [182] "From Guling to Tokyo", CMRL, p. 683.
- [183] Ibid., p. 684.
- [184] Ibid., pp. 690-691.
- [185] Ibid., pp. 691-692.
- [186] Ibid., p. 695.
- [187] Ibid., pp. 692-693.
- [188] Ibid., p. 693.
- [189] They were "From Tokyo back to Wuhan" (《從東京回到武漢》), "Mao Dun and reality" (《茅盾與現實》), collected in Fu Zhiying (伏志英) (ed.), A critical biography of Mao Dun (《茅盾評傳》) (Shanghai: Kaiming Bookstore, July, 1936), pp. 255-314 & 159-216; and "Some practical problems in the nascent literature of China" (《中國新興文學中的幾個具體的問題》), CMRL, pp. 915-946.
- [190] Fu Kexing, "Fallacies in petit-bourgeois literary theories" (《小資產階級文藝理論之謬誤》), Chuangzao yuekan Vol. II No. 5 (10th Dec., 1928), CMRL, pp. 747-763; Zeng Xubai, "The new road for literature" (《文藝的新路》), Zhenshanmei (《真善美》, Truth, Kindness & Beauty) Vol. III No. 2 (16th Dec., 1928), CMRL, pp. 764-772.
- [191] Fu Kexing, "Fallacies in petit-bourgeois literary theories", CMRL, p. 759.
- [192] Ibid., p. 754.
- [193] "From Tokyo back to Wuhan", Fu Zhiying, A critical biography of Mao Dun, p. 280.
- [194] "Some practical problems in the nascent literature of China", CMRL, p. 918.
- [195] Ibid., p. 923.
- [196] Ibid., p. 922.
- [197] "From Tokyo back to Wuhan", Fu Zhiying, A critical biography of Mao Dun, p. 279.
- [198] Ibid., p. 300.
- [199] The road I trod Vol. II, p. 25.
- [200] Chuangzao yuekan Vol. II No. 5, CMRL, p. 763.

[201] "From Tokyo back to Wuhan", Fu Zhiying, A critical biography of Mao Dun, p. 295.

[202] Wenxue zhoubao Vol. VIII No. 20 (May, 1929), CMRL, pp. 847-867.

[203] Harriet Mills, "Lu Hsün; 1927-1936: The years on the left", pp. 105-106.

[204] Letter to Cao Jinghua, 20th Sept., 1930, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 23.

[205] A Ying, "Remembering Yin Fu on the anniversary of the death of Lu Xun" (《魯迅忌日憶殷夫》), Beijing ribao (《北京日報》, Beijing Daily), 20th Oct., 1956, collected in Ding Jingtang, Qu Guangxi (瞿光熙), A bibliography on the Five martyrs of the Left League (《左聯五烈士研究資料編目》)(Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, Jan., 1981 reprint), pp. 260-263. The long poem contributed by Yin Fu was "Before the arrival of death" (《在死神未到之前》), Taiyang yuekan No. 4.

[206] Quoted from Ding Miao (丁淼), A complete criticism on the literature of Communist China (《中共文藝總批判》)(Hong Kong: Hong Kong Chinese Pen Club, 1970), pp. 36-37.

[207] Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yanan forum on literature and art", Selected works of Mao Tse-tung (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965) Vol. III, p. 69.

CHAPTER TWOTOWARDS THE ROAD OF A UNITED FRONT (1929-1930):

It is well known that the white-heated debate of 1928-29 ended dramatically in a great union of left-wing writers with the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers on 2nd March, 1930. Ironically enough, the chief target of attack in the polemic, Lu Xun, was made the head of the League by the same group of people who had called him "Don Lu Xun", "feudal remnant" and "a frustrated fascist". On the other hand, it was also strange that Lu Xun could have accepted such a union without any uneasiness. How and why could this be possible? Here in this chapter we shall consider the reasons as well as the steps taken for the ceasing of fire and formation of the united front.

There have been many suggestions, especially from the right, that the attack launched against Lu Xun during the polemic was directed by the CCP.<sup>[1]</sup> Even Feng Xuefeng once hinted at this:

It is true that there was sectarian feeling among the Creation and Sun Societies. But they acted in unison in the attack on Lu Xun. (This attack on Lu Xun, if judged from this phenomenon, might at least have been discussed by the two societies, although there might not be wrong directives from higher levels. Perhaps it had been discussed in the Cultural Division. Furthermore, people other than those of the Creation and Sun Societies attacked Lu Xun too. It seemed that this was pushed by somebody.<sup>[2]</sup>

It has been argued that the attack on established writers, with Lu Xun being the most prominent one, was part of the CCP plan to grasp the leadership of the literary arena.<sup>[3]</sup> There is little doubt that the Communist Party was then eager to gain control of the pen. But obviously, there was not the need for the Party to initiate a war against Lu Xun.

Although Feng Xuefeng was a CCP member when the revolutionary literature polemic erupted, he was not in a good position to tell whether the Party had a hand in it. He was in Beijing from 1925 to March, 1928. Then in the latter half of July, 1928, he left Shanghai again and went back to his native town of Yiwu, Zhejiang until November.<sup>[4]</sup> In other words, he had missed the main part, especially the first part of the polemic when Lu Xun was under heavy fire. How could he know that the debate was directed by the Party when he was not in Shanghai? From the quotation above, we can tell that Feng was not certain of the whole thing. Such words as "although", "at least", "perhaps" and "seemed" confirm that his suggestion was mere speculation. In fact, in another part of the same piece of writing, Feng admitted that he had no knowledge of the role played by the Party in the polemic.<sup>[5]</sup> What is more, if Feng Xuefeng knew that the attack had been initiated by the Party, how could he, being a Party member, write an article to condemn the Creationists and defend Lu Xun?

We have discussed the causes for the radicals to attack Lu Xun. It was mainly due to the influence of Japanese Fukumotoism. Party influence was also important. But there was absolutely no Party directive. Zheng Boqi has once made this point very clear: "At that time, the Creation Society was not led by anybody. It initiated activities on its own accord."<sup>[6]</sup>

It is true that Qu Qiubai was interested in the affairs of the literary scene. He himself was a man of letters.<sup>[7]</sup> Qian Xingcun said that Qu gave instruction to and led the Sun Society.<sup>[8]</sup> Feng Naichao also admitted that "Qu had a hand in our works".<sup>[9]</sup> But the directions he gave could not have been an assault on Lu Xun. In the first place, if Qu Qiubai gave the order for attack, the first group to be mobilized should have been the Sun Society. Yet it turned out that the young radicals of the Creation Society, who were not much influenced by Qu,

were more eager and active in the attack on Lu Xun. Secondly, if it was the Party that instructed them to start a polemic, why was there a war between the two groups even before the polemic with Lu Xun began? If the Party was leading, there was no reason for them to argue over the question of leadership. The diversities in their opinions show that they did not receive instructions from the same source.

After all, it was pointless for the CCP to direct such a war against Lu Xun, a writer who had shown great sympathy towards the May-Thirtieth and other mass movements. The Party was in a most difficult position then. The bloodstain of Jiang's coup had not been washed away. Suppression by the KMT was most severe. The leadership of Qu Qiubai had not been firmly established and a split within the Party was likely.<sup>[10]</sup> It is to be wondered if the Party could afford to have such a large scale war in the literary field. It might not have the time to intervene deeply. Most important of all, the dispute was finally brought to an end because of the instruction of the Party. In other words, the Party was not happy with such a war.

The years following Jiang Jieshi's coup in 1927 was a period of "White terror". Even the most right-wing scholar T.A. Hsia could not deny that the KMT had carried out a massive sweeping movement.<sup>[11]</sup> Hundreds of thousands of people were arrested and executed. According to one source, in the eight months between January and August, 1928, one hundred thousand were killed.<sup>[12]</sup> These constituted a severe blow to the Communists. It brought about the near-destruction of the Communist Party.

Ironically enough, the repression policy of the

KMT brought an opposite result. A great number of men of letters, who were dismayed by the coup d'etat which they viewed as a betrayal to revolution, were attracted to Communism. The CCP was quick to grasp this chance. In view of the ever-worsening KMT terrorism, the Communists really had to do something for survival. In terms of military forces, they were unable to compete with the KMT. Mao Zedong's holding of a base at the Jinggang Mountains could achieve nothing more than guerrilla warfare harassment. The control of the literary circle was a positive and deliberate means to counter-balance the KMT's overwhelming superiority.

Meanwhile, there were also severe suppressions in the literary field. On 7th February, 1929, the publishing house of the Creation Society was raided by the police. In the same month, the authorities issued the "Regulations on the scrutiny of publicity materials". In July, the "Regulations on the examination of movies" were proclaimed. Should the left-wingers continued to fight against each other, the chance to survival would be minimal. It was only through concentration of energy and co-operation that they could put up a better fight. It is necessary to bear in mind that the Crescent School, which was closely allied with the Modern Critic group (Xiandai pinglunpai, 現代評論派), constituted a strong opposing force to the left-wing literary movement. Its literary theories were in absolute contrasts with those of the Communist group. Yet they gained a considerable degree of popularity among readers - many issues of the Xinyue yuekan (《新月月刊》, Crescent Monthly) went into several reprints. If a united front was not organized, the left wingers would obviously not be strong enough to counter such an uncompromising enemy. After all, the left-wing had no great writers, except Lu Xun, Yu Dafu and Mao Dun. But they would have gone their own way if they had not been won over. Hence, these great and important writers had to be pacified first. This could, on the one hand,

strengthen their position, and on the other, enable them to defeat their enemies. Thus, a united front was not only desirable, but essential.

However, the establishment of the Left League cannot be viewed as a sign that the CCP was regaining its strength because the position of the CCP was in no way improved in 1930. It was not until the Mukden Incident (1931) and the Shanghai Battle (1932) that they got more sympathy from the general public, presumably because the Communists were anti-Japanese.<sup>[13]</sup> But after two years experience of working underground, the CCP was now more capable of dealing with the suppressions. The Central Committee began to pay greater attention to literary matters. While Qu Qiubai did not have time to attend the meetings of the Sun Society, his successor Li Lisan could interview writers individually.<sup>[14]</sup> At the same time, Party control of literary affairs was transferred from the district to the provincial level, under the Cultural Branch (Wenhua zhibu, 文化支部) of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Committee. Then in the autumn of 1929, the Cultural Committee was established which was directly responsible to the Central Propaganda Committee.

In fact, a change in Communist policy upon the failure of Qu Qiubai's insurrection plans brought great advantages to the solidarity in the literary arena.<sup>[15]</sup> At the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (December, 1927), Lominadze, the Comintern representative in China, was rebuked for his idea that the Canton Commune (11th - 13th December, 1927) was "the beginning of a new upsurge of the Chinese revolution". Rather, it was a "heavy defeat".<sup>[16]</sup> Then in July, 1928, the CCP held its Sixth Congress at a small village outside Moscow. Its political resolution echoed with the decisions made at the Soviet Union Communist Party Congress and the ECCI's (Comintern Executive Committee) Nineth Plenum which was held in February, 1928. According to the resolution,

there was no mighty upsurge of revolutionary movement. At the present stage, the nature of the revolution was bourgeois-democratic, the main force being supplied by petty-bourgeois peasants and intellectuals.<sup>[17]</sup> This was of utmost importance as it provided the justification for a union with petty-bourgeois writers.

A former KMT investigator, U.T. Hsu, has claimed that it was Agnes Smedley (1890-1950) who suggested to the CCP that Lu Xun should be won over, and the celebration of Lu's fiftieth birthday by the left-wingers was a means to please him.<sup>[18]</sup> This idea is often taken up by critics in Taiwan.<sup>[19]</sup> However, it must be pointed out that the celebration of Lu's birthday was held in Sept., 1930, six months after the formation of the Left League. Furthermore, Agnes Smedley arrived at Shanghai in 1929. She would not have been able to realize the importance of solidarity with Lu Xun within such a short time. We must bear in mind that some sources claim that it was the end of 1928 when the Party began to intervene - that was before her arrival in Shanghai. Even Smedley herself, who wrote so much on Lu Xun, has not uttered a word about this.<sup>[20]</sup> Thus we are sure to reject U.T. Hsu's groundless information. There is little doubt that it was within the Party Central that the decision to win over Lu Xun was made.

The fame Lu Xun enjoyed as a great writer was the main incentive for the CCP's action. Ever since the publication of "Diary of a madman" (《狂人日記》),<sup>[21]</sup> Lu's position as the number one fiction writer in modern China had not been challenged. After the incident at the National Woman's Normal College, he was becoming more and more popular among young people. Eager to gain their support, the Communists could not afford to alienate their "mentor". Winning Lu Xun to their side would bring

practical advantages to the entire leftist literary movement, and even the Communist movement. As Yang Hansheng ( 陽翰笙 , 1902- ) reported the words of Li Fuchun ( 李富春 , 1900-1975):

Just imagine, if such an old warrior and progressive thinker like Lu Xun could stand on the side of the Party and the front of leftist culture, how great would the effects and advantages be.[22]

As we have proved earlier, Lu Xun never opposed revolutionary literature. In many ways, he was in support of it. But on the other hand, he had been the strongest opposing force to the revolutionary literary movement conducted by the members of the Creation Society and Sun Society. With his popularity, fame and biting essays, Lu Xun could make a very tough enemy. Is it not always better to have a friend rather than an enemy like this?

As for Lu Xun, the story is much simpler. We have no doubt he was ready to accept solidarity with the Communists for the simple fact that he believed this would do China good. He always had a most sincere wish that China could be strong one day.[23] We have seen how he was disillusioned by the KMT coup at a time when the Northern Expedition - a hope of unification - was in progress. We are also sure that before this, Lu Xun was well-disposed towards the KMT. The coup, together with the subsequent persecutions, might have brought a psychological crisis to him. It is natural that he would be eager to cling to something permanently. The approach made to him by the Communist group, after a period of pen-battle and hesitation, would certainly be comforting. What is more, we may guess that Lu Xun might believe a unity of writers could achieve something constructive. That was why he was always ready to join literary groups. His attitude in joining hands with the Creation Society was clear enough. He had also supported various literary groups formed by young people before he joined the Left

League. Joining the League was thus a way to realize his ideals.

One theory suggested is that Lu Xun was then at a most difficult time: he had no permanent job; he had nowhere to send his articles; his works were censored by the government. Consequently, he was ready to accept the invitation of the Communist group which had money and man-power.<sup>[24]</sup> But this argument is not convincing.

It is true that Lu Xun did not have a permanent teaching post in universities after his resignation from the Zhongshan University in Guangzhou. But since December, 1927, he had been employed as a "special writer" in the Daxueyuan (大學院). He held this post for four years until December, 1931 when he was sacked.<sup>[25]</sup> During this period, he received a total salary of \$10,470.<sup>[26]</sup> Then in 1929, he earned \$8,256.834 in royalties. These were very high figure then. We cannot say that he was so poor that he had to accept assistance from the Communist group. On the contrary, Lu Xun always contributed money to the League and other organizations.

It is also wrong to say that Lu Xun found problems in publishing his articles. He was the editor of Yusi from December, 1927 to January, 1929, after which he was succeeded by Rou Shi at his recommendation. There was no problem for him to publish his works there. Then he co-edited Benliu (《奔流》, Rushing stream) with Yu Dafu in June, 1928. In September, Yu's Dazhong wenyi appeared. Also in December, 1928 and June, 1929, Lu joined Rou Shi and others to publish Zhaohua yuekan (《朝花月刊》, Morning flower monthly) and Zhaohua xuekan (《朝花旬刊》, Morning flower thrice-monthly). Again, Lu Xun was free to publish articles in these magazines. Even the censorship of the KMT posed no real

great problem to him. Throughout the years from 1928-29, he published one article after another - in different pseudonyms, a good tactic to cope with the KMT censorship. Furthermore, within these two years, he published at least eight books. [28]

There is yet another popular theory which is often suggested by right-wing critics. They argued that Lu Xun joined the Left League because he felt that he had won in the fight against the revolutionary writers. In other words, they believe that the revolutionary literary polemic was part of the tactics of the Communists to win over Lu Xun. Lu was first attacked harshly, then soothed, making him believe that he was the champion of the cause. The whole scheme was set up to trap him and he was intoxicated with the flattering words of people like Feng Xuefeng and Agnes Smedley. "He unconsciously fell into the snare of the left." [29] Zhao Cong ( 趙聰 ) described Lu Xun as the Ah Q who was master of the "spiritual victory tactics". [30] Actually, this was not a new idea. Even in the early thirties, there was such a saying in the literary circle. [31]

It is true that most people like to receive honeyed words. Lu Xun might not be an exception. But what we are sure is: Lu was not intoxicated by them. We can tell, from his writings, that he was always clear-minded. He did not give up his standpoint. He kept on commenting on or even criticizing the revolutionary literary movement even after the formation of the League. His speech at the inaugural ceremony of the Left League proves that he was well aware of the his own as well as others' shortcomings and that he had no hesitation in pointing them out. [32] In a letter to Zhang Tingqian ( 章廷謙 , 1901-1981), he wrote:

Apart from the Freedom League, I have also joined the League of Left-wing Writers at the

invitation of the young people. At the meeting, I saw all the revolutionary writers of Shanghai. But to me, they are but of the colour of the aubergine flowers. I then have to run the risk of climbing stepladders again. But I am afraid they cannot even climb ladders.[33]

It is said that since the flowers of aubergine are not gaily-coloured, people around Zhejiang (Lu Xun's native province) use it to describe anything or anyone mediocre. Another explanation is that since aubergine flowers are violet but not red in colour, when Lu Xun used this to describe those revolutionary writers, he meant to say that they were not truly "red".<sup>[34]</sup> From this letter, we can be sure that Lu Xun remained sober and was able to observe keenly. His refusal to take up the post of chairman also proves that he did not aim at becoming the head of the League when he made the decision of joining it.<sup>[35]</sup> Furthermore, as we have proved, the revolutionary literary polemic was not started at the instruction of the CCP. It could not have been part of a long-term plan. In fact, it was not necessary to start such a war in order to win Lu Xun over: he had already made up his mind to collaborate with the Creationists in 1927.

Su Xuelin (蘇雪林, 1897- ), an extreme right-wing writer and critic who had long been an opponent of Lu Xun, claimed that it was out of jealousy that Lu Xun agreed to join the League. According to her, Lu Xun could not be friendly with any others but the Creation group because the others were too well-educated and famous while the various heads of the Creation Society were inferior in both qualifications and writing skills.<sup>[36]</sup>

However, like the previous theory, this one is also not well supported by facts. It is true that a distinction can be made between those who studied in Japan and those in the States or Europe.<sup>[37]</sup> It is also true that Lu Xun did not hold any university degree while

his opponents like Hu Shi ( 胡適 ,1891-1962), Liang Shiqiu, Chen Yuan ( 陳 源 ,1896-1970) and Xu Zhimo all held higher degrees. But these differences would not have caused a sense of jealousy in Lu Xun. It was a common practice, or even fashion then that people did not have to take any degree after studying abroad. Even Wen Yiduo ( 聞一多 , 1899-1946) and Zhu Xiang ( 朱湘 ,1904-1933), two leading poets of the Crescent School, obtained no degree after several years in the United States. After all, Lu Xun was not eager to retain teaching posts in universities. It was he who submitted his resignation in both Xiamen University and Zhongshan University. Even in Shanghai, he rejected all the invitations to hold teaching posts in universities.<sup>[38]</sup> From these we can see that Lu Xun would not have been jealous of others because they were in high positions. Moreover, in terms of literary fame, his opponents were far below him. Hu Shi, Liang Shiqiu and Chen Yuan might be good scholars, but good scholars do not always make good writers. Among his enemies, only Xu Zhimo was more famous as a poet. Yet in the Left League, great and famous writers were not lacking. The literary fames of Yu Dafu, Guo Moruo and Mao Dun were not lower than those in the opposing camp. Should Lu Xun be jealous, they would have been the target. The fact that Lu Xun could maintain his peace with them shows that he was not envious of others' success.

Thus we can be sure that it was because of his ideals that Lu Xun joined the Left League. He might not have been totally converted to Marxism then, but at least he was a sympathizer. The Left League, organized and run by a group of young revolutionaries, was very appealing. It held out hope for the future. Lu could not resist the temptation within him to side with the oppressed. This explained why the other two leagues he joined were the Freedom Movement League of China (Zhongguo ziyou yundong

datongmeng, 中國自由運動大同盟) and the Chinese League for the Protection of Civil Rights (Zhongguo minquan baozhang tongmeng, 中國民權保障同盟).

One study on the Left League in Mainland China suggests that Lu Xun was first approached in the latter half of 1928. Xia Yan (夏衍, 1903- ), Feng Naichao and Li Chuli were sent to contact Lu Xun and planned together the formation of the Left League.<sup>[39]</sup> However, in the diary of Lu Xun, no such contacts are recorded. Among those who had written on revolutionary literature, only Feng Xuefeng had visited Lu Xun in the latter half of 1928.<sup>[40]</sup> Feng had made it clear that his initial purpose in visiting Lu Xun was to ask Lu questions about translating and publishing books of Marxist literary theories.<sup>[41]</sup> Thus it is most unlikely that Lu Xun was approached in 1928. What is more, recent essays written by Xia Yan and Feng Naichao reveal the inaccuracy of this piece of information. Xia Yan said that he was sent to participate in the work of preparing for the formation of the League in October, 1929.<sup>[42]</sup> Feng Naichao also said that he first met Lu Xun in 1929.<sup>[43]</sup>

Then we have the formation of the Chinese Authors Association (Zhongguo zhuzuo zhe xiehui, 中國著作者協會) in Shanghai in December, 1928. It was unarguably a major step towards a united front. Qian Xingcun remarked that it had a direct relationship with the formation of the Left League.<sup>[44]</sup>

According to Qian Xingcun, the Association was formed at the order of Pan Hannian who was in charge of the Central Propaganda Department.<sup>[45]</sup> But Feng Naichao said that it was Zhang Songnian (張崧年) who took the initiative and invited others to organize it.<sup>[46]</sup> Nevertheless, Zhang was also an early member of the Communist

Party. As the aim was to win over more men of letters, the political flavour was minimized and they only claimed to be struggling for freedom of speech and publication. Preparatory work started in October, 1928, which lasted for two months. The inaugural ceremony was held at 2 p.m. on 30th December in Guangzhao Public School, with an attendance of over ninety, forty-one of them were promoters. [47]

According to the brief report written by Qian Xingcun under the pseudonym Lu Ya (魯亞), [48] there were nine executive members, namely ZhengBoqi, Xia Yan, Li Chuli, Peng Kang, Zheng Zhenduo (鄭振鐸, 1898-1958), Zhou Yutong (周予同), Fan Zhongyun (樊仲雲), Pan Zinian (潘梓年, 1893-1972) and Zhang Xichen (章錫琛); five supervising committee members, namely, Qian Xingcun, Feng Naichao, Wang Duqing, Sun Fuyuan (孫伏園, 1894-1966) and Pan Hannian. Clearly, the Creation and the Sun groups were overwhelmingly in control of the Association since four out of the nine executive and four out of the five supervising committee members were of their groups. [49] As they were then all party members, together with Xia Yan who had also joined the CCP, the Communists were actually directing the whole scene. On the other hand, other groups were also included. The inclusion of Zheng Zhenduo, Zhou Yutong and Sun Fuyuan in the committees reveal that the Literary Research Association and Thread-of-talk group were ready to be pacified. In fact, Qian Xingcun said that many members of the above mentioned two groups were persuaded to join the Association. [50]

At the inaugural meeting, four resolutions were passed:

- (A) January [1929] be made the propaganda month for the struggle for freedom of thought, speech and publication;

- (B) publish a creation yearbook;
- (C) form a committee for the publication of the Association's magazine;
- (D) employ legal consultants.[51]

These resolutions were appealing to everybody at a time when censorship was severe. There is no wonder that such a large number of writers were united. But the association was short-lived. No practical activities were started whatsoever. Qian Xingcun blamed some members of the Sun Society and students of the Shanghai Arts University for giving vigorous speeches which might have frightened away many members.[52] It has also been suggested that with the absence of Lu Xun and Mao Dun, such an organization was doomed to fail.[53] But it was the first attempt of the CCP to get command of the "literary power". The significance of this attempt, as Qian Xingcun said, is:

the short-livedness of the Chinese Authors Association made the Party consider using another form to unite the revolutionary literary circle. Very soon there began brewing the preparation for the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers.[54]

Hunter, in his dissertation on the Left League, suggested that the inaugural meeting of the Association was "tailor-made" for Lu Xun.[55] The location of the meeting, in North Sichuan Road, might be a few blocks away from the home of Lu. Many literary colleagues of Lu Xun was included. The most notable one was Sun Fuyuan who resigned from the editorship of the Chenbao fukan (《晨報副刊》, Supplement of the Morning News) and founded the Yusi because of Lu Xun.[56] The fight for freedom of speech and thought was appealing to him too. However, Qian Xingcun made it very clear that because of the debate over revolutionary literature, there still existed feelings of estrangement between both sides. No attempt was made to discuss the matter with Lu.[57] On the other hand, Lu Xun never mentioned a word about it in any of his writings. But it was unlikely that he had no knowledge

of it because there was a report on the meeting. He might have held a negative view towards it.

If 1928 was not the year of conciliation, 1929 was unmistakably so: there was a complete cease-fire from the ultra-left group. Throughout the whole year, there was only one essay commenting on Lu Xun.<sup>[58]</sup> On the other hand, contact with Lu Xun was initiated under the direction of the CCP.

In the first instance, the Party ordered an end to the debate with Lu Xun. Feng Xuefeng said that this happened at the end of 1928 or the first half of 1929.<sup>[59]</sup> This coincides with Qian Xingcun's words which said that "the Party was doing something near the end of 1928".<sup>[60]</sup> Feng Naichao also implied that at the beginning of 1929, he received the order to stop the attack on Lu Xun:

The debate ended in August, 1928. In the beginning of 1929, the Creation Society was closed down by the KMT. Why did the attack on Lu Xun stop? I seem to have heard from Pan Hannian that Li Lisan (Head of the Central Propaganda Department) passed on the idea that the Party was against attacking Lu Xun.<sup>[61]</sup>

However, another Creationist Yang Hansheng indicated another time: the autumn (around September) of 1929.<sup>[62]</sup> According to him, Li Fuchun of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Committee had a talk with him in Sept., 1929. Li gave the instruction to end the polemic immediately and win over Lu Xun. Two days later, Yang met Pan Hannian who had received similar orders. They then decided to call a Party member meeting. Xia Yan, Feng Xuefeng, Rou Shi,<sup>[63]</sup> Feng Naichao, Li Chuli, Qian Xingcun and Hong Lingfei ( 洪靈菲 , 1901-1933) were invited to attend the meeting at Gongfei Coffee Shop ( 公啡咖啡店 ).<sup>[64]</sup> Pan chaired the meeting and Yang reported the conversation with Li Fuchun. Two decisions were made at the meeting: first, stop all criticisms of Lu Xun; second, send three representatives to talk with Lu. Finally, Feng

Xuefeng, Xia Yan and Feng Naichao were chosen. But this was not for the formation of the Left League. Yang Hansheng said that it was a general demand which led to its formation:

After this meeting in autumn, 1929, there was a demand among the comrades of the Cultural Division to organize together for unity of actions. Not only the Creation Society, the Sun Society, Lu Xun and those around him, but also those who were practising art and drama held the same opinion. The Cultural Division then took the lead. There were discussions within the Party first. Several meetings were held. After a very long brewing, it was decided to form the Left League. Those who had joined the meetings were: Pan Hannian, Qian Xingcun, Xia Yan, Feng Naichao, Yang Hansheng, Feng Xuefeng, Rou Shi, Meng Chao [孟超, 1902-1976], Peng Kang, Li Yimeng and Li Chuli. Finally, there was a twelve man preparatory committee.[65]

This is a very detailed account of the situation before the formation of the Left League. However, in another place, Yang Hansheng said that he was not sure whether it was the autumn of 1928 or 1929 when Li Fuchun talked with him on the question of the debate with Lu Xun. But "there is absolutely no doubt that it was before the closing down of the publication house of the Creation society".[66] The Creation Society was closed down on 7th February, 1929.[67] The autumn before it had to be the autumn of 1928. This not only contradicts Yang's earlier words but also puts the time of Party intervention back to late 1928 which is not so different from the ideas of Feng Xuefeng and Qian Xingcun.

Moreover, Xia Yan said that it was Qian Xingcun who told him to take up the preparatory works of the Left League in October, 1929. He said that he was amazed and doubted if Lu Xun would agree to have a united front. In other words, Xia had not joined those meetings which decided the formation of the League.[68] These words got the support of Qian Xingcun who also insisted that it was he who proposed to invite Xia to act as one of the

promoters. Qian claimed that around May or June, 1929, Pan Hannian had already told him that the Party Central had the intention to set up an organization for the unity of writers.<sup>[69]</sup> Thus it was not a general demand of the members of the Cultural Division, but rather the Central Committee of the CCP which made the decision of having the League. In fact, Yang Hansheng was the only one who claimed that the League was created because of a general demand. All the others insisted that the Central Committee had made the decision which was then passed on to them for implementation. The latter opinion is more acceptable, not only because a majority of people advocated it, but also because it is more plausible. With such a hot debate shortly before, it was unlikely that they were eager to ask for unity with their opponents. Even Yang Hansheng said that some comrades were reluctant in accepting Li Fuchun's instruction to stop the attack on Lu Xun.

The words of Qian Xingcun help to explain Yang Hansheng's general demand theory. Qian said that Pan Hannian talked about the formation of an organization in May or June, 1929. Pan had also discussed this with others. Qian said,

After this, we felt that unity was an inevitable trend. Therefore, we have practically begun to pay attention to this matter.<sup>[70]</sup>

This kind of feeling among those involved may well be the "general demand" as said by Yang Hansheng. Feng Naichao also claimed that five of them (Li Chuli, Peng Kang, Feng Xuefeng, Zheng Boqi and Feng himself) had the intention of forming a proletarian writers association, or left-wing writers association in 1929, after the failure of the Chinese Authors Association.<sup>[71]</sup>

Most people recalled that actual preparatory works started in October, 1929. For instance, Feng Xuefeng said that around October or November, Pan Hannian told him to

discuss with Lu Xun about the setting up of a revolutionary literary organization.<sup>[72]</sup> Xia Yan also reported that he was sent to participate in the preparatory works from October, 1929.<sup>[73]</sup> But Qian Xingcun said that in May or June, there was already the plan of establishing an organization of left-wing writers.<sup>[74]</sup> But preparatory works were delayed till October because of two successive arresting movements of the KMT in May and July. Qian himself was caught one morning in mid-July when he was distributing pamphlets. Almost thirty people were arrested at this time. Qian was released in late September, after which the work of establishing the Left League could progress satisfactorily.<sup>[75]</sup>

From one incident, we can surmise that the CCP long had a plan to set up a organization of left-wing writers: the voluntary dissolutions of various literary groups. Following the closing down of the Creation Society by the KMT in February, 1929, the Sun Society, Us Society (Womenshe, 我們社) and Engine Society (Yinqingshe, 引擎社) were dissolved in June.<sup>[76]</sup> This was illogical in view of the pressing needs for propaganda. Beyond doubt, the dissolutions were aimed at paving the way for a greater unity. Only after the various societies had been dissolved was it possible to wipe out sectarianism completely. As for the process of dissolutions, Qian Xingcun once said that "after seeking the approval of the Party, the Sun Society dissolved itself voluntarily".<sup>[77]</sup> But in the same essay, he told us that Li Fuchun, in the autumn of 1929, met the members of the Sun Society and Creation Society for discussion about the dissolutions of the various literary societies.<sup>[78]</sup> This is an important point as it can determine the degree of Party intervention. The latter suggestion seems to be more logical as it is unlikely that these groups, with such serious sectarianism, would dissolve themselves without any directions or incentives.

In fact, the idea of forming the Left League could not have been formulated as late as the end of 1929. From the reports in Dazhong wenyi and Tuohuangzhe (《拓荒者》, the Pioneer), we can see that there was a long period of brewing, at least six months:

After being anxiously awaited on all sides for the past six months, the League of Left-wing Writers is formed.[79]

Since the Creation Society was closed down and the Sun Society, Us Society, Engine Society and others dissolved themselves voluntarily, the organization of a League of Left-wing Writers has been brewing for a very long time.[80]

Six months before the inauguration would have been early September, or even August, 1929.

Hence we may sum up the above materials and make a speculation of the steps taken for the formation of the united front. There was firstly a meeting held in Sept., 1928. This was what Qian Xingcun meant by saying that the Party was doing something. In the meeting, instructions were given to stop the attacks on Lu Xun and send representatives to visit him. That was why a complete cease fire materialized then. But no concrete plan of forming the Left League was made and no representative was sent. Then in April, 1929, various literary societies were instructed to dissolve by the Party. This was subsequently done in June. In May or June, 1929, the Party finally decided to establish an organization of the Left-wing writers and started the preparatory work. But because of the mass arrests, it was delayed until October. A meeting was held, and this was the one discussed by Yang Hansheng and Qian Xingcun.

Who was then the one, within the CCP, to give directions about ending the debate and forming a united front? Pan Hannian was often mentioned. Qian Xingcun, Feng Xuefeng and Xia Yan all said that they received

instructions from Pan.<sup>[81]</sup> Pan Hannian was firstly the secretary of the Cultural Division of the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Committee and later, that of the Cultural Committee which was to take charge of all literary matters. But he might not be the real head. Feng Xuefeng mentioned Li Lisan<sup>[82]</sup> and Yang Hansheng named Li Fuchun.<sup>[83]</sup> Both were senior to Pan Hannian. It is possible that Pan was merely passing on orders. According to Yang Hansheng, it was the Propaganda Department of the Provincial Committee, in which Li Fuchun was the top man, that gave the orders.<sup>[84]</sup> But one very important point should not be overlooked: the newly established Cultural Committee, which took up the matter of the League after its formation in autumn, 1929, was directly responsible to the Central Propaganda Committee.<sup>[85]</sup> A possible explanation is: for some time, Li Fuchun had been giving orders. For instance, the autumn meeting as mentioned by Yang Hansheng, because it was held before the formation of the Cultural Committee, was directed by him. But he declined from the scene when the Cultural Committee was formed and took over the issue of the League. People like Feng Xuefeng who got hold of the matter a bit later would only know that it was the Central Propaganda Department, or more specifically, Li Lisan who was behind the scene. Feng Naichao also said that they had more contacts with Li Lisan, although he did mention a meeting with Li Fuchun.<sup>[86]</sup> Yang Hansheng guessed that it was possible that Zhou Enlai ( 周恩來 , 1898-1976) gave orders to Li Fuchun because Zhou was in charge of the Central Organization Bureau and Li then belonged to the Bureau.<sup>[87]</sup> Qian Xingcun also once remarked that he had heard from other comrades that Zhou had instructed them to stop the debate with Lu Xun.<sup>[88]</sup> But it is possible, as one critic suggests, that this was one of the general trend towards glorifying Zhou after his death.<sup>[89]</sup>

Now the Communist group was all ready to have the

League of Left-wing Writers under its banner. Even the title of the organization had already been decided. All that was left then was Lu Xun's participation, because what the Party wanted was a union of three groups of people: the Creation Society, the Sun Society, and Lu Xun and those around him.<sup>[90]</sup> The task of informing Lu Xun and inviting him to join the League was assigned to Feng Xuefeng. It was again at the instruction of Pan Hannian - Feng Xuefeng recalled that Pan went to see him and gave him the job.<sup>[91]</sup>

Feng Xuefeng was undoubtedly the best candidate for such work. He had not written anything to attack Lu Xun. On the contrary, he abused the Creation Society for its sectarianism and wrongful attacks on Lu Xun. Although Lu presumably was not pleased by that piece of writing, there should not have been any ill-feeling between the two. Furthermore, through the introduction of Rou Shi, Feng's schoolmate in 1922, Feng went to see Lu Xun on 9th December, 1928.<sup>[92]</sup> In fact, long before that, Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun had already had certain contacts. In April, 1922, a copy of Lakeside (《湖畔》), in which were collected seventeen poems of Feng, was presented to Lu.<sup>[93]</sup> On 5th August, 1926, Feng went to see Lu at his home.<sup>[94]</sup> He also wrote two letters to Lu in mid-July, 1928.<sup>[95]</sup> Though the two did not make friends then, Lu Xun was quite happy with Feng's translation of books on Russian literature.<sup>[96]</sup> It also seems that Rou Shi, who always had the confidence and affection of Lu Xun, helped Feng Xuefeng in gaining Lu's friendship.<sup>[97]</sup> The two were on good terms within a very short time. Throughout 1929, according to the diary of Lu Xun, Feng Xuefeng visited Lu Xun more than twenty times, in addition to several correspondences by letter. Feng said that sometimes they talked for three to four hours.<sup>[98]</sup> No one from the Communist group could have enjoyed such a harmonious relationship with Lu Xun.

Feng did his work well. How Lu Xun was convinced was something mysterious and we can never be certain whether Lu hesitated or not. But Feng Xuefeng gave the impression that Lu Xun was more than eager to join the League.<sup>[99]</sup> There is ample reason for Feng to exaggerate in order to illustrate that Lu Xun was an ardent supporter of the united front, hence, the Communist Party. It is really doubtful if Lu Xun could have been that eager. After all, the issue of revolutionary literature had not been solved. On the other hand, it is also unlikely that Lu Xun was strongly opposed to the League, for even Feng Xuefeng would not have been able to force the League on a man like Lu Xun. Anyway, Lu Xun agreed to join and also agreed to employ the word "left-wing", because it was "more explicit, and the stand would be clearer".<sup>[100]</sup>

Feng Xuefeng claimed that he was the first one to contact Lu Xun and invite him to join the League.<sup>[101]</sup> But people like Peng Kang, Feng Naichao and Zhu Jingwo had begun meeting Lu Xun since October. Xia Yan and Feng Naichao also acted as mediators. Strictly speaking, Xia Yan was then not qualified to be an organizer of the League: he could not be called a writer because he had not published any creative works at that time. But he had a great advantage over others: he was on good terms with almost everybody. He knew Guo Moruo when he was in Japan. After returning to China, he was able to make friends with other members of the Creation Society, including Li Chuli, Feng Naichao and Li Yimeng. In 1927, when he joined the CCP, he was grouped into the Third Street Division of the Zabei District. The group leader was Qian Xingcun, and all other members of the Division were members of the Sun Society. Then in 1928, through the introduction of Uchiyama Kanzō (内山完造, 1885-1959), he came to know Lu Xun, who was his fellow provincial.<sup>[102]</sup> He was also able to keep aloof from the 1928 debate. Next to Feng Xuefeng, he was the best candidate as a mediator.

When compared with Feng Xuefeng and Xia Yan, Feng Naichao was in a more difficult situation. He had written essays attacking Lu Xun. But in early 1929, again through the introduction of Rou Shi, Feng Naichao paid a visit to Lu. Lu seemed to be very forgiving and they made friends easily. Lu Xun even told him stories of his native place. [103] Thus, Feng Naichao, representing the Creation Society, was able to conciliate Lu Xun.

As seen in the previous paragraph, it was Lu Xun who gave the final say in employing the term "left-wing" for the title of the organization, as it represented a clear stand. But Mao Dun's remark is different:

The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers in 1930 was to liquidate the mistakes of the proletarian literary movement in the last two years. Therefore, the League was called "left-wing" and not "proletarian".[104]

On the other hand, right-wing commentators consider this a tactics of the Communists to win over more writers. C.T. Hsia ( 夏志清, 1918- ) said,

Though the manifesto maintained a firm stand on "the liberation struggle of the proletariat", the choice of the key term "left-wing" was intended to disguise the overt communist character of the League and to attract writers merely an anti-feudal, anti-imperialist, and anti-kuomintang bias. It proved to be a wise choice: upon the formation of the League, communist dominance of Chinese letters became a reality.[105]

But the fact was: this moderate title was in no way a life-buoy because the KMT continued to suppress its activities and arrest its members.

After Lu Xun had nodded, the remaining work was comparatively easy. A twelve man committee was set up for the preparatory work. The candidates of the committee were decided by Pan Hannian, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun, Xia Yan and Feng Xuefeng, all were members of the Cultural Committee. [106] However, at least four different membership list of the preparatory committee are now available:

## (A) According to Xia Yan:

- |                   |                   |                               |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Lu Xun        | (2) Zheng Boqi    | (3) Feng Naichao              |
| (4) Yang Hansheng | (5) Peng Kang     | (6) Qian Xingcun              |
| (7) Jiang Guangci | (8) Dai Pingwan   | (9) Hong Lingfei              |
| (10) Rou Shi      | (11) Feng Xuefeng | (12) Xia Yan <sup>[107]</sup> |

## (B) According to Yang Hansheng:

- |                  |                    |                               |
|------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Lu Xun       | (2) Pan Hannian    | (3) Qian Xingcun              |
| (4) Feng Naichao | (5) Feng Xuefeng   | (6) Hong Lingfei              |
| (7) Rou Shi      | (8) Li Chuli       | (9) Jiang Guangci             |
| (10) Zheng Boqi  | (11) Yang Hansheng | (12) Xia Yan <sup>[108]</sup> |

## (C) According to Feng Xuefeng:

- |                   |                   |                               |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| (1) Lu Xun        | (2) Feng Naichao  | (3) Hong Lingfei              |
| (4) Rou Shi       | (5) Shen Qiyu     | (6) Qian Xingcun              |
| (7) Jiang Guangci | (8) Yang Hansheng | (9) Feng Xuefeng              |
| (10) Peng Kang    | (11) Zheng Boqi   | (12) Xia Yan <sup>[109]</sup> |

## (D) According to Qian Xingcun:

- |                                  |                   |                   |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| (1) Lu Xun                       | (2) Rou Shi       | (3) Feng Xuefeng  |
| (4) Pan Hannian                  | (5) Yang Hansheng | (6) Qian Xingcun  |
| (7) Xia Yan                      | (8) Jiang Guangci | (9) Feng Naichao  |
| (10) Zhu Jingwo                  | (11) Tian Han     | (12) Hong Lingfei |
| (13) Zheng Boqi <sup>[110]</sup> |                   |                   |

With the exception of Qian Xingcun, the other three seemed to be certain of their own versions. But there are altogether seventeen names. At least five of them should be ruled out.

Firstly, we can mark out those who have been mentioned in all the four sources. It is reasonably safe that the same mistake would not have been committed by all four. We can then have ten names:

- |                   |                   |                  |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| (1) Lu Xun        | (2) Rou Shi       | (3) Feng Xuefeng |
| (4) Xia Yan       | (5) Jiang Guangci | (6) Hong Lingfei |
| (7) Zheng Boqi    | (8) Yang Hansheng | (9) Feng Naichao |
| (10) Qian Xingcun |                   |                  |

The remainings are (1) Shen Qiyu ( 沈起予 , 1903-1970), (2) Pan Hannian, (3) Peng Kang, (4) Zhu Jingwo. (5) Li

Chuli, (6) Dai Pingwan (戴平萬, ?-1945), and (7) Tian Han(田漢, 1898-1968). Only two of them could have belonged to the Committee.

In the first instance, we can rule out three names. They are Shen Qiyu, Tian Han and Li Chuli. In the case of Shen Qiyu, he was in Japan in 1929 and returned only in February, 1930.<sup>[111]</sup> Regarding Tian Han, only Qian Xingcun mentioned him. But Qian was not certain about this. He only said, "in terms of representation, it seemed that Tian Han and Zheng Boqi should also be included".<sup>[112]</sup> However, there would have been little point in having Tian Han who was then the head of the South Nation Society (南國社) because in the field of drama, the Communists had the Art Drama Association.(藝術劇社) with Zheng Boqi, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun, Xia Yan and others as members.<sup>[113]</sup> As for Li Chuli, in a letter written on 22nd December, 1979, Li cleared away all the puzzles. He said,

At the end of 1928, I left the literary circle and joined "practical work". Consequently, I did not join the Left League. But I attended its inaugural meeting. This was because I met Zhu Jingwo on the road and he dragged me along.  
[114]

Thus it is perfectly clear that Li Chuli was not one of the twelve preparatory committee members.

It is difficult to tell which of the remaining four should be ousted. Among them, Dai Pingwan was mentioned by Xia Yan only. It is possible that Xia might be wrong. However, there are good reasons for crediting Dai with membership. As Xia Yan said, it had been decided that the number of representatives from the Creation and Sun Societies should be balanced.<sup>[115]</sup> Of the ten names we have above, Yang Hansheng, Feng Naichao and Zheng Boqi came from the Creation Society while Qian Xingcun, Jiang Guangci and Hong Lingfei were members of the Sun Society. It is obvious that each group should provide one more

member to the committee in order to make the balance. Dai Pingwan was the only one from the Sun Society.

It is more difficult to decide which of Pan Hannian, Zhu Jingwo and Peng Kang was a member because all of them were members of the Creation Society. Both Pan Hannian and Zhu Jingwo had been secretaries of the Cultural Committee: Zhu succeeded Pan in March, 1930.<sup>[116]</sup> It may be possible that they did not participate directly. Xia Yan once recalled that Pan Hannian joined the preparatory meetings as a liason man from the Central Propaganda Department.<sup>[117]</sup> Zhu Jingwo was only named by Qian Xingcun who, as we have seen, has no confidence when he tried to recall the name list. As for Peng Kang, both Xia Yan and Feng Xuefeng included him. But he was rejected by Feng Naichao.<sup>[118]</sup> Thus, the last committee member is still a puzzle. Any of the above three may well fit in. We can only say, from the above analysis, that Zhu Jingwo was least probable, while Peng Kang was very likely to have been one because he was the only one of the above four who made a speech in the inaugural meeting.

Hence, we can see that the preparatory committee was made up of carefully chosen members from three groups: from the Sun Society, there were Jiang Guangci, Hong Lingfei, Qian Xingcun and Dai Pingwan; those around Lu Xun included Xia Yan, Rou Shi, Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun himself; from the Creation Society, we have Feng Naichao, Zheng Boqi, Yang Hansheng plus one of the followings: Peng Kang, Pan Hannian or Zhu Jingwo. A deliberate balance is obvious, which shows that uneasy feelings might still have existed and that the Party was careful not to offend or discriminate against any side.

Meetings were held by the committee in the few months before the inauguration of the League in March, 1930. Xia Yan said that usually they held meetings once a

week, sometimes once in every two or three days.<sup>[119]</sup> In other words, a dozen or more meetings were held. If we compare this figure with those in other recollections, we can see a great difference. Feng Xuefeng said that there were one to two meetings.<sup>[120]</sup> Qian Xingcun said that there was only one,<sup>[121]</sup> while Yang Hansheng did not specify the number, but it seems he was saying that everything was decided in one meeting.<sup>[122]</sup> But Xia Yan got the support of Feng Naichao. Feng said,

At the time when the preparation of the Left League was in progress, we met at the Gongfei Coffee shop which was situated at the end of the North Sichuan Road. There were very few customers in this coffee shop which was almost used exclusively by us. We frequently held meetings there.<sup>[123]</sup>

Here, Feng suggested quite a few meetings were held. This idea is more acceptable. Who can expect such an important matter and complicated issue as forming the Left League could be achieved in one or two meetings? A plausible explanation is: most of these meetings were held in an informal way and not every member went to each of them. Consequently, to some members, this might leave the impression that very few meetings were held. Take the case of Lu Xun. According to his diary, he went to one meeting only:

16th [February, 1930], Sunday...In the afternoon, went out to drink coffee with Rou Shi and Feng Xuefeng.<sup>[124]</sup>

This meeting was the one reported in the Mengya (《萌芽》, the Sprout), known as "A seminar of the participants of the modern literary movement in Shanghai" (《上海新文學運動者底討論會》). It was chaired by Feng Naichao who was chosen in the meeting to draft the programme for the League. Twelve were present, including Lu Xun. People expressed their views freely.<sup>[125]</sup> In the meeting, four aspects of the past literary movement were criticized:.

- (A) Sectarianism and even individualism;
- (B) Incorrect method of criticism - failure to adopt scientific methods and attitudes in literary criticism;

- (C) Inability to take note of real enemies;
- (D) Neglecting the role of literature in assisting political movements.

Three roles were assigned:

- (A) Destruction of the old society and all its ways of thought;
- (B) Propagation of the ideals of new society and its promotion;
- (C) Establishment of new literary theory. [126]

It was also reported that a decision was made to set up an organization of left-wing writers and that a committee was formed in the meeting. [127] This statement needs qualification as we have already seen that these two decisions had been made several months before. Most probably, a formal decision was made in the meeting, with all the committee members present. From the date of the meeting, we can deduce that this could not have been the first of its kind. Xia Yan reported that another one was held in mid-October, 1929. [128] This was probably the first meeting of the preparatory committee. It seems that this and other meetings were less formal. Sometimes, people not belonging to the Committee were also present. [129]

At the October meeting, Pan Hannian gave the instruction of the Party concerning the work of the Preparatory Committee, including: (A) make out a list of promoters of the League; (B) draft the programme for the League; (C) establish the organization of the League. [130] All these documents, added Xia Yan, should be sent to Lu Xun for approval and then to the Central Committee of the Party. [131]

The list of promoters was not a real problem to the committee. They could simply include those so-called "progressive" and Party member writers. But sometimes it is not easy to define "writers". Consequently, it took

more than one meeting for the discussion of this name list. As the other leagues, such as the League of left-wing Dramatists (Zuoyi xijujia lianmeng, 左翼戲劇家聯盟) and the Chinese League of Social Scientists (Zhongguo shehuikexuejia lianmeng, 中國社會科學家聯盟), had not been formed at that time, large numbers of "non-writers" were included.

When compared with the first, the second task, drafting of the programme, was more complicated. It was basically the responsibility of Feng Naichao. But others like Feng Xuefeng, Xia Yan and Jiang Guangci also helped with the work.<sup>[132]</sup> Obviously, they had nothing concrete in mind. They could only consult the declarations of other literary organizations. Xia Yan said that because most of the committee members knew only Japanese, their main source was the programme of the NAPF (All Japan Federation of Proletarian Art, 全日本無產者藝術聯盟).<sup>[133]</sup> The only member in the Committee who knew Russian was Jiang Guangci. But he did not always attend the meetings. Nevertheless, with his occasional help, Feng was able to benefit from the declarations of such as Russian literary associations as the VAPP, the October and others.<sup>[134]</sup>

The above documents were ready by the latter half of January, 1930.<sup>[135]</sup> Lu Xun was then consulted. According to Lu Xun's diary, Feng Naichao went to see Lu on 24th February, 1930.<sup>[136]</sup> As on the side of Lu Xun, it seemed that he was not very active in the preparatory work. His diary recorded that he had attended one meeting only. He did not alter one word of the programme. Some sources said that a meeting was held at Lu Xun's home several days before the inauguration.<sup>[137]</sup> Not only Xia Yan was unable to remember, there was no such record in the diary of Lu. Shen Pengnian claimed that Lu Xun had sought the opinion of Feng Naichao on the contents of his speech which would be delivered at the inaugural meeting.

[138] Yet Feng Naichao has already pointed out that this was but an invented story. [139]

The inaugural meeting of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers was held at 2 p.m. on 2nd March, 1930. Before that, Lu Xun had attended yet another meeting. It was the inaugural meeting of the Freedom Movement League of China on 13th February, 1930, seventeen days before that of the Left League. Just like the latter, it can be viewed as an attempt by the Communist Party to form a wide united front against the oppression of the Nationalist regime. There were altogether fifty-one promoters, with Yu Dafu leading, followed in turn by Lu Xun, Tian Han and Zheng Boqi. Other well-known leftists included Feng Xuefeng, Zhou Quanping ( 周全平 ), Shen Duanxin ( 沈端先 , i.e., Xia Yan), Pan Hannian, Yao Pengzi ( 姚蓬子 , 1905-1969), Wang Renshu ( 王任叔 , 1901-1972) and Ye Lingfeng ( 葉靈鳳 , 1904-1975). [140] According to Feng Xuefeng, it was again Pan Hannian who directed him to approach Lu Xun and asked him to act as a promoter. Lu Xun agreed reluctantly because he believed that nothing could be achieved this way. But Lu Xun did turn up at the meeting. Feng reported that he was happy with it and talked about it for several days. [141]

Nevertheless, Lu Xun's own account was quite a different story. In a letter to Zhang Tingqian which was written only a month after the meeting, he said,

There was such a thing called the Freedom Movement League. My name was on the list. Originally, it was at the bottom. But it was placed second when the pamphlet came out. (The first was Yu Dafu's) Recently, I have given several talks in literary groups in schools, all about literature. I do not know anything about "movement". Therefore, all these talks were out of tune with that League. [142]

It seems that he did not hold an affirmative attitude

towards the Freedom Movement League. Xu Shoushang ( 許壽 裳 , 1883-1948), one of Lu Xun's life-long friends, supplied a piece of information which further proves this point. He recalled Lu Xun's words on the subject:

The Freedom League was not promoted by me. At first, I was invited to give a speech there. When I arrived at the right time, one guest had already signed his name there (I remembered that it was Mr Yu Dafu). The order of giving speeches was: I was the first, Yu the second. I left after Yu had finished. Later I heard that someone there proposed to have a certain organization and that everyone present was taken as promoter.[143]

These words were more believable than Feng Xuefeng's account since the former was published before 1949 while the latter was named "The Party gave strength to Lu Xun" (《黨給魯迅以力量》), which published in 1951 and would tend to exaggerate the relationship between Lu Xun and the Party. Nevertheless, apart from being its promoter, Lu Xun was also elected as an executive committee member. [144] He was even wanted by the Zhejiang Nationalist government because of this incident. [145]

As we have seen, the Freedom Movement League was set up at the direction of the CCP. It seems that it bore some relations with the Left League. The closeness in time of inaugurations of the two Leagues was no coincidence. Since both were steps taken by the CCP to fight back, there is little wonder that they were launched at roughly the same time. Furthermore, the manifesto of the Freedom League appeared in the Mengya yuekan, the official organ of the Left League. [146] Because of this, one critic could not help saying that the growth of the Left League was closely associated with the movement for democratic rights. [147]

NOTES

[1] For example, see Zheng Xuejia (鄭學稼), A true story of Lu Xun (《魯迅正傳》) (Taipei: Shibao Cultural Press 時報文化事業公司, July, 1978), pp. 195-196; Jin Dakai (金達凱), "Guo Moruo in the thirties" (《三十年代的郭沫若》), Fuxinggang xuebao (《復興岡學報》) No. 24 (20th Sept., 1980), p. 102.

[2] "Some fragmentary materials about the struggle between two lines in the left-wing literary movement of Shanghai in the years 1929-36" (《同28年36年之間上海左翼文藝運動中兩條路線的鬥爭有關的一些零碎的參考資料》), RMLX, p. 4.

[3] Li Mu (李牧), On the literature of the thirties (《三十年代文藝論》) (Taipei: Liming wenhua shiye gongshi 黎明文化事業公司, June, 1973), pp. 34-43.

[4] Bao Ziyan (包子衍), "Feng Xuefeng in Lu Xun's diary" (《魯迅日記中的馮雪峰》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 6 (Oct., 1980), pp. 174-175.

[5] "Some fragmentary materials about the struggle between two lines in the left-wing literary movement of Shanghai in the years 1928-36", p. 4.

[6] Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 242.

[7] For a portrait of the literary career of Qu Qiubai, see T.A. Hsia, "Ch'u Ch'iu-po: The making and destruction of a tenderhearted Communist", The gate of darkness, pp. 3-54; Paul G. Pickowicz, "Ch'u Ch'iu-po and the origins of Marxist literary criticism in China" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973), pp. 52-93.

[8] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 16.

[9] "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - Recollection on the literary movement in the early thirties" (《訪問馮乃超談話記錄——關於三十年代初期文學運動的點滴回憶》), RMLX, p. 16.

[10] Chang Kuo-t'ao (張國燾), The rise of Chinese Communist Party, 1928-1938: Volume two of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1972), pp. 54-55; James P. Harrison, The Long March to power, p. 151.

[11] C.T. Hsia, A history of modern Chinese fiction, 1917-1957 (New Haven: Yale University of Press, 1971), pp. 116-117.

[12] Quoted from Liu Shousong, A preliminary draft history of modern Chinese literature Vol. I, p. 188.

[13] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'" (《“左聯”成立前後》), Wenxue pinglun No. 2, 1980 (March, 1980), p. 10.

[14] Zheng Boqi, Recalling the Creation Society and other things, p. 244. Zheng reported that he went to see Li Lisan together with Tian Han. Li Lisan also met Lu Xun on one occasion on 7th May, 1930. This was reported by both Feng Xuefeng and Xu Guangping. For details, see Zhu Zheng (朱正), Corrections on the reminiscences of Lu Xun (《魯迅回憶錄正誤》)(Hunan, Hunan renmin chubanshe, Nov., 1979), pp.62-69.

[15] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 63.

[16] Richard C. Thornton, The Comintern and the Chinese Communists, 1928-1931 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969), pp. 44-48; James P. Harrison, The Long March to power, p. 154.

[17] Richard C. Thornton, The Comintern and the Chinese Communists, pp. 47-48.

[18] U.T. Hsu, The invisible conflict (Hong Kong: China Viewpoints, 1958), pp. 43-44; Tao Xisheng (陶希聖), "Trivial talks about the literature of the thirties" (《三十年代文藝瑣談》), On the literature and art of the thirties (《三十年代文藝論》)(Taipei: Zhongyang ribaoshe 中央日報社, 1966), p. 14.

[19] For example, see Hou Jian, From literary revolution to revolutionary literature, p. 214.

[20] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China (London: Gollancz Ltd., 1944), pp. 60-66.

[21] Xinqingnian Vol. IV No. 5 (May, 1918), CWLX Vol. I, pp. 422-432.

[22] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers" (《中國左翼作家聯盟成立的經過》), Wenxue pinglun No. 2, 1980, p. 15.

[23] Harriat Mills, "Lu Hsun, 1927-1936: The years on the left", p. 82.

[24] Hou Jian, From literary revolution to revolutionary literature, p. 82. According to Hou Jian, it was Cao Juren (曹聚仁, 1900-1972) who reported that Wang Shijing (王士菁) proposed such a theory. But this is not true. What Cao said was: Wang Shijing believed that Lu Xun was in the midst of a cross-fire. Cao Juren, Critical biography of Lu Xun (《魯迅評傳》)(Hong Kong: Xinwenhua chubanshe 新文化出版社, Aug., 1973), p. 101.

[25] Letters to Shao Wenrong (邵文熔, 1877-1943), 19th Dec., 1927, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 604.

[26] Cf. Xi Jin (錫金), "Why did Lu Xun not go to Japan for recuperation" (《魯迅爲什麼不去日本療養》), XWXSL No. 1, pp. 148-149.

[27] Fudan University (et.al.), A chronicle of Lu Xun (《魯迅年譜》)(Anhui: Anhui renmin chubanshe, March, 1979) Vol. II, p. 420.

[28] These included (1) Little John (《小約翰》) (Beijing: Unnamed Society 未名社, Jan., 1929); (2) Dawn blossoms plucked at dawn (《朝花夕拾》) (Beijing: Unnamed Society, Sept., 1928); (3) And that's that (《而已集》) (Shanghai: Beixin Bookstore, Oct., 1928); (4) Translations under the wall (《壁下譯叢》) (Shanghai: Beixin Bookstore, April, 1929); (5) On art (《藝術論》) (Shanghai: Dajiang Bookstore 大江書局, June, 1929); (6) Literature and criticism (《藝術與批評》) (Shanghai: Shuimo shudian 水沫書店, Oct., 1929); (7) Various questions of modern nascent literature (《現今新興文學諸問題》) (Shanghai: Dajiang bookstore, 1929); (8) On the history of modern art (《近代美學史潮論》) (Shanghai: Beixin Bookstore, 1929).

[29] Hou Jian, From literary revolution to revolutionary literature, p. 125.

[30] Zhao Cong, The various personages of the literary scene of the thirties (《三十年代文壇點將錄》) (Hong Kong: Junren bookstore 俊人書店, 1970), p. 48.

[31] Nan'er (男兒), "The turncoat official of the world of letters - Lu Xun" (《文壇上的貳臣傳——魯迅》), Minguo ribao, 7th May, 1930; Fei Lang (飛狼), "The motive behind Lu Xun's joining the left-wing" (《魯迅加盟左翼的動機》), Jin'gangzuan ribao (《金鋼鑽報》), 6th Feb., 1931; both are reprinted in Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 3 (Feb., 1979), pp. 343-346 & 352-353. Qu Qiubai also reported this. He Ning (何凝, pseud. of Qu Qiubai) "Preface to The selected essays of Lu Xun" (《"魯迅雜感選集"序言》) (Shanghai: Qingguang bookstore 青光書店, July, 1933), p. 20.

[32] "Thoughts on the League of Left-wing Writers" (《對於左翼作家聯盟的意見》), CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 233-238.

[33] Letter to Zhang Tingqian, 27th March, 1930, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 8.

[34] Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, p. 18.

[35] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[36] Su Xuelin, Writers and works of the twenties and thirties (《二三十年代作家與作品》) (Taipei: Guangdong chubanshe, 1979), p. 561.

[37] For a discussion of the topic, see Y.C. Wang, Chinese intellectuals and the west (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966).

[38] Letter to Zhai Yongkan (瞿永康), 18th Nov., 1927, CWLX Vol. XI, p. 595.

[39] Chinese Department of the Nanjing University (ed.), Proletarian revolutionary literature in the Left League period (《左聯時期無產階級革命文學》) (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe, 1960), p. 352. Here the name of Li Chuli was misprinted as Xu Chuli (徐初梨).

[40] Dairy of Lu Xun, 9th Dec., 1928; CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 735.

[41] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 1.

[42] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[43] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League" (《左聯成立前後的一些情況》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 6, p. 77; "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 16.

[44] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 13.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 78.

[47] "Declaration of the Chinese Authors Association" (《中國著作者協會宣言》), Xixiang yuekan No. 5 (1929), reprinted in Rong Taizhi (榮太之), "The report on the formation of the Chinese Authors Association and the Association's declaration" (《中國著作者協會成立的報導和宣言》), XWXSL No. 3, 1980 (22nd Aug., 1980), pp. 261-262.

[48] Haifeng zhoukan (《海風周刊》, Sea breeze) No. 2 (6th Jan., 1929), p. 15, reprinted in Materials on modern Chinese literary history (《中國現代文學史資料》) abbreviated as MMCLH (Tokyo: Daian, 1968), Vol. XII, p. 43. In the table of contents, the author's name was printed as Ya Lu (亞魯). Qian Xingcun recalled that the report was written by him. Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[49] Those in the executive committee who belonged to the two groups included Zheng Boqi, Li Chuli, Peng Kang and Pan Zinian while those in the supervisory committee included Qian Xingcun, Feng Naichao, Wang Duqing and Pan Hannian.

[50] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[51] MMCLH Vol. XII, p. 43.

[52] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the 'Left League'", p. 14.

[53] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 75.

[54] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[55] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 75.

[56] Lu Xun, "My relations with the Yusi" (《我和“語絲”的終始》), CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 165-166.

[57] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[58] Li Baiyu (李白裕), "Introducing Mr Lu Xun's secret of conducting himself" (《介紹魯迅先生的做人秘訣》), Haifeng zhoukan No. 3 (13th Jan., 1929), MMCLH Vol. XII, pp. 59-60.

[59] Feng Xiaxiong (馮夏熊), "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League" (《馮雪峰談左聯》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 3.

[60] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[61] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 77.

[62] "The process of the formation of the League of Left-wing writers", p. 15.

[63] However, Rou Shi joined the CCP only in May, 1930. Dictionary of Chinese Writers - Modern Vol. II (《中國文學家辭典——現代分冊》)(Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, March, 1982), p. 719.

[64] "The process of the formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", pp. 15-16.

[65] Ibid., p. 16.

[66] "Interview with comrade Yang Hansheng" (《訪問陽翰笙同志》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 5 (May, 1980), p. 172.

[67] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties (《三十年代左翼文藝資料選編》)(Chengdu: Sichuan renmin wenxue chubanshe, Nov., 1980), p. 27; Itō Toramaru, A study of the Creation Society, p. 140.

[68] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[69] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 18.

[70] Ibid., p. 15.

[71] "Feng Naichao on the Left League", p. 19.

[72] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[73] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[74] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 15.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, p. 30.

[77] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 18.

[78] Ibid., p. 17.

[79] Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4 (1st May, 1930), p. 1248, MMCLH Vol. VI, p. 442.

[80] Tuohuangzhe No. 3 (10th March, 1930), p. 1129, MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295.

[81] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", pp. 14-15; Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4; Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[82] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[83] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", p. 14.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 15; Recollections on the Left League, p. 781.

[86] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 78.

[87] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", p. 14.

[88] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 14.

[89] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 66.

[90] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 8. But no date was given here. For the date of the visit, see Lu Xun's diary, 9th Oct., 1928, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 735.

[93] Qi Shan (齊山), "The earliest contact between Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun" (《雪峰與魯迅最早的交往》), Luxunyanjiu ziliao No. 5, p. 397.

[94] CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 611; also "Letters from Feng Xuefeng to Bao Ziyan" (《馮雪峰致包子衍的信》), XWXSL No. 4 (1979), p. 142.

[95] Lu Xun's diary, 19th July, 1928 and 26th Sept., 1928, CWLX Vol. XIV, pp. 720 & 727.

[96] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 2; "Letters from Feng Xuefeng to Bao Ziyan", p. 142.

[97] Ibid., p. 8.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[103] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 77; "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 16.

[104] Mao Dun, "About the 'Left League'" (《關於左聯》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 151.

[105] C.T. Hsia, A history of modern Chinese fiction, 1917-1957, p. 124-125.

[106] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4; Wu Liping, "Always remember the red banner of the literary front" (《長念文苑戰旗紅》), Wenxue pinglun No. 4, 1980 (15th July, 1980), pp. 97-98.

[107] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left league'", p. 4.

[108] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 16.

[109] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[110] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 17.

[111] Li Lan's letter to the Social Sciences Academy, 13th June, 1980, Recollections on the Left League, p. 824.

[112] "A Ying on the Left League", p. 17.

[113] For information on the Art Drama Association, see Zheng Boqi, "Recalling the Art Drama Association", (《回憶藝術劇社》), Recalling the Creation Society and other things, pp. 97-107; Zhao Mingyi (趙銘彝), "Recalling the Art Drama Association" (《回憶藝術劇社》), XWXSL No. 1, 1980, pp. 260-263.

[114] Quoted from Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers" (《關於參加中國左翼作家聯盟成立大會的盟員名單》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 44.

[115] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[116] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 6.

[117] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[118] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 78.

[119] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[120] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 4.

[121] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 19.

[122] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 16.

[123] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 78.

[124] Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 810. But from others' recollections, we can tell that Lu Xun attended other meetings too. For instance, Wu Liping recalled a meeting at Oriental Hotel at which Lu Xun was present. Wu Liping, "Always remember the red banner of the literary front", Recollections on the Left League, p. 76. Feng Naichao said that a meeting was held at Lu Xun's home. Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 77; "Records of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 16; "Feng Naichao on the Left League", p. 20.

[125] "Feng Naichao on the Left League", p. 20.

[126] Mengya Vol. I No. 3 (1st March, 1930), pp. 274-275, in Iida Yoshio (飯田吉郎)(ed.), Materials on the Left League period (《左聯期資料》, hereinafter abbreviated as MLLP)(Tokyo: Ajiya Shuppan, Sept., 1978) Vol. I, pp. 526-527.

[127] Ibid., p. 527.

[128] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[129] Yang, Qianru, "Left-wing writers in the Shanghai Arts University" (《左翼作家在上海藝大》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 89.

[130] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 4.

[131] Ibid.

[132] "Records of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 17; Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[133] Ibid.

[134] Ibid.; "Records of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 17.

[135] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[136] Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 811; "Records of Feng Naichao's interview - recollections on the literary movement in the early thirties", pp. 16-17; Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the

Left League", p. 78. But Xia Yan insisted that he had accompanied Feng when he went to seek Lu Xun's advice on the list of promoters and the programme. He even suggested that it was not 24th February when Lu Xun was consulted. "Records of the two interviews with comrade Xia Yan", p. 160.

[137] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[138] Shen Pengnian, "Two facts about the relationship between Lu Xun and the Creation Society", p. 65.

[139] Feng Naichao, "Lu Xun and the Creation Society", p. 38.

[140] The date of the inauguration of the Freedom Movement League is a mystery. The date marked at the bottom of the declaration of the League, which was published in Yishu yuekan, was 15th Feb., 1930. Yishu yuekan Vol. I No. 1 (16th march, 1930), pp. 203-204, in MMCLH Vol. XII, pp. 541-542. But Lu Xun's diary recorded that Lu went out for the meeting on 13th Feb., 1930. Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 810. On the other hand, Liang Shiqiu said twice that the inauguration of the Freedom Movement League was held at 7 p.m. on 14th Feb., 1930. Liang Shiqiu, "A reply to Mr Lu Xun" (《答魯迅先生》), Xinyue yuekan Vol. II No. 9 (Oct., 1929 - wrong date), p. 6; "Proletarian literature", p. 12. For materials on the Freedom Movement League, cf., "Selection of materials on the Freedom Movement League of China" (《中國自由運動大同盟資料選編》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, pp. 473-521.

[141] Feng Xuefeng, "The Party gave strength to Lu Xun" (《黨給魯迅以力量》), Wenyibao (《文藝報》) Vol. IV No. 5, reprinted in Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 173.

[142] Letter to Zhang Tingqian, 21st March, 1930, CWLX Vol. XII, pp. 6-7.

[143] Xu Shoushang, Impressions of my deceased friend Lu Xun (《亡友魯迅印象記》) (Shanghai: E'mei chubanshe 峨嵋出版社, Oct., 1947), pp. 91-92.

[144] "Resolutions of the first meeting of the second general committee" (《第二屆第一次常委會決議案》) Ziyou yundong (《自由運動》, Freedom movement) No. 1 (10th July, 1930), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, p. 491.

[145] Lu Xun, "Preface to the Russian translation of 'A true story of Ah Q' and the author's autobiography" (《俄文譯本“阿Q正傳”序及著者自敘傳略》), CWLX Vol. VII, p. 85.

[146] Mengya yuekan Vol. I No. 3 (1st March, 1930) MLLP Vol. I, pp. 523-524.

[147] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of the Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 89.

CHAPTER THREETHE LEFT LEAGUE: ITS FORMATION, MEMBERSHIP AND STRUCTURE:

After several months of preparation, the League of Left-wing Writers finally held its inaugural ceremony at the Chinese Arts University ( 中華藝術大學 ) on 2nd March, 1930. This date was chosen for no particular reason, except that it was Sunday when there was no school at the premises.<sup>[1]</sup> From then on it was remembered as an important day in the history of modern Chinese literature.

The Chinese Arts University, which was not a boarding school, was an ideal meeting place. It was established by the CCP with Chen Wangdao as headmaster. The site, 233 of Doule'an Road ( 寶樂安路 , at present, 145, Duolun Road 多倫路 , a nursery), was not very far away from the home of Lu Xun.<sup>[2]</sup> According to the old residents of Shanghai, the building was built before 1925. As it was situated between the Chinese area and the cross-boundary road-building area ( 越界築路區 ), it was in effect a noman's land. This made it an ideal place for left-wing activities.<sup>[3]</sup> The building was a three-storeyed construction. But in fact, there were only two floors of classrooms: both the ground and first floors had four classrooms of about twenty square metres each.<sup>[4]</sup> Yang Qianru claimed that for safety's sake the left-wing writers met on the ground floor so that they could evacuate easily.<sup>[5]</sup> But a recent check of the building showed that the ground floor was too dim for holding meetings.<sup>[6]</sup> Both Han Tuofu ( 韓托夫 ) and Feng Naichao have confirmed that the meeting was held on the first floor.<sup>[7]</sup>

From its beginning, the League was driven underground because of the suppression of the KMT. Therefore, one practical preparation before the meeting actually took place was to ensure the safety of the writers. Han

Tuofu claimed that he was then the secretary of the Party division of the Chinese Arts University and the division was responsible for security.<sup>[8]</sup> However, Xia Yan pointed out that the Central Committee of the Party had participated in the security arrangements. On the afternoon of 1st March, Pan Hannian, together with one holding a responsible position in the Party, went to see Xia. They, joined by Dai Pingwan, had a good look over the meeting site. On the day of the meeting, almost twenty monitors were sent to guard along the site as well as the roads leading to the University. Special attention was paid to the safety of Lu Xun. Four strong workers were assigned to protect him and Feng Xuefeng and Rou Shi were instructed to bring Lu Xun away through the back gate immediately in case of emergency.<sup>[9]</sup>

The number of people present at the inaugural meeting is a puzzle. According to the first report on the meeting, the one that appeared in Tuohuangzhe, over fifty people were there. But only thirty of them were named:

The inaugural meeting was held at 2 p.m. Those who were present included Feng Naichao, Gong Binglu, Meng Chao, Wan Er [ 莞爾 ], Qiu Yunduo [ 邱韻鐸 ], Shen Duanxin, Pan Hannian, Zhou Quanping [ 周全平 ], Hong Lingfei, Dai Pingwan, Qian Xingcun, Lu Xun, Hua Shi, Huang Su [ 黃素 ], Zheng Boqi, Tian Han, Jiang Guangci, Yu Dafu, Tao Jingsun [ 陶晶孫 , 1897-1952 ], Li Chuli, Peng Kang, Xu Yinfu [ 徐殷夫 , 1909-1931 ], Zhu Jingwo, Rou Shi, Lin Boxiu [ 林伯修 ], Wang Yiliu, Shen Yechen, Feng Xianzhang [ 馮潤璋 ], Xu Xingzhi [ 許幸之 , 1904- ] and others, altogether over fifty. <sup>[10]</sup>

This report came out on 10th March, 1930, that was, eight days after the meeting. But later reports gave a different picture. The one in Dazhong wenyi did not specify the attendance, saying simply that the number of League members then was over fifty.<sup>[11]</sup> But on 1st April, in Mengya yuekan, there was the following report:

The inaugural meeting was held on 2nd March.

Over fifty joined the League and more than forty attended the meeting that day.[12]

The first issue of Shalun (《沙倫》), which came out more than two months later, reported the same number.[13]

In other words, from the very early days of the League, there was controversy over the number of people attending the inauguration. Even those who attended argued over the question. Xia Yan, in a letter, claimed that the number in attendance was sixty to seventy, or even more.[14]

In a recent article, he gave the same figure:

There were different versions about the number in attendance of the meeting that day. Some said thirty to forty. Some said fifty to sixty, or even more. I prefer the latter idea. This is because the room for the meeting could hold forty to fifty people. On the day of the inauguration, almost all the seats were occupied. There were people standing even around the podium.[15]

He claimed that he was in a good position to say since he was then sitting on the podium, which enabled him to see clearly the entire scene.[16] However, both Feng Naichao and Xu Xingzhi argued that it was not possible to have such a large attendance. Fifty or so should be considered the total membership of the League then, rather than the attendance at the inaugural meeting.[17]

Qian Xingcun was the one who wrote the report in Tuohuangzhe. In 1977, he confirmed that the number of people present that day could not have been less than fifty.[18] He added that both the incompleteness and incorrectness in the report were deliberate. On the one hand, for the sake of security, some names had to be omitted. On the other, some well-known or influential writers, though they had not turned up, were added so as to give an impression that the united front was broad and strong.[19]

Though it is impossible to make out a complete list of those who attended the meeting, we can add the names of those whose presence we are sure. Qian Xingcun

mentioned Pan Mohua ( 潘漠華 , 1902-1934) and Li Weisen ( 李偉森 , 1903-1931).<sup>[20]</sup> In fact, Pan Mohua, as the representative of the Freedom Movement League, made a speech at the meeting.<sup>[21]</sup> Xia Yan, in supplementing the list, mentioned four names: Li Weisen, Pan Mohua, Pang Daen ( 龐大恩 ) and Tong Changrong ( 童長榮 , 1907-1934).<sup>[22]</sup> In another place, he said that Chen Boer ( 陳波兒 , 1910-1951), Liu Guan ( 劉甲 ), Chen Jingsheng ( 陳勁生 ), Li Shengyu ( 李聲韻 ) and Wang Jieyu ( 王潔予 ) of the Art Drama Association and South Nation Society were present too.<sup>[23]</sup> But this idea was contested by Feng Naichao who maintained that Li Shengyun and Chen Boer definitely did not go to the meeting. But he added Cheng Shaohuai ( 程少懷 ), Shen Yechen and Hou Lushi ( 侯魯史 ).<sup>[24]</sup> In addition, Yang Qianru, in two essays, claimed that he was present too. He said that it was Yang Hansheng who brought him along.<sup>[25]</sup> Chen Yi ( 陳沂 , 1921- ), being a member of the Anti-imperialistic Youth League (Qingnian fandi datongmeng, 青年反帝大同盟), joined the meeting.<sup>[26]</sup> Shi Linghe ( 石凌鶴 , 1906- ) recalled that he was present that day too.<sup>[27]</sup> Wang Xuewen ( 王學文 ), in an article on the Left League and the Social Scientists League, also claimed that he was there at the meeting.<sup>[28]</sup> Zhou Boxun ( 周伯勛 ) said that he was present in his recollection on the Left League.<sup>[29]</sup> Shi Zhecun ( 施鰲存 , 1905- ), who was in Songjiang and did not attend the ceremony himself, said that his two good friends, Dai Wangshu ( 戴望舒 , 1905-1950) and Du Heng ( 杜衡 , 1906-1964) went to the inaugural meeting.<sup>[30]</sup> Furthermore, Yi Ding ( 一丁 , pen-name of Lou Zichun 樓子春 ) claimed that he, accompanied by three others, Li Baiying ( 李白英 ), Jiang Heng ( 蔣衡 ) and Song Yi ( 宋易 ), went to the meeting although they were not invited.<sup>[31]</sup> There is also one source saying that Ozaki Hotsumi ( 尾崎秀實 , 1901-1944) first met Lu Xun in the inaugural meeting.<sup>[32]</sup> We may, of course, add Han Tuofu, who was responsible for the security of the meeting. Altogether we have twenty-two additional names.

On the other names, at least two names should be cancelled from the list. They were Jiang Guangci and Yu Dafu. For the former, it was said that he was too ill that day to attend the meeting.<sup>[33]</sup> For the latter, from his diary, we know that he was at home the whole day:

2nd March, 1930. Sunday. (Lunar: 3rd of the second month), cloudy with sunny intervals, windy in the evening. It seems that it will rain soon. Today, stayed at home for the whole day. Before noon, Wang [Ernan 王二南] came and had lunch here. Slept for a while after lunch. When I woke up, it was some time past four already.

Wrote letters to Zhang Juling [張菊齡] and Xia Laidi [夏萊蒂]. Waiting for a letter from Beixin. It did not come. Wrote a letter to ask about it.<sup>[34]</sup>

Both Jiang Guangci and Yu Dafu fit in the category of "well-known and influential writers" as said by Qian Xingcun. Although they were absent, their names appeared in the report.

Other than these two, it seems that the remaining twenty eight mentioned in the report did turn up at the meeting. In other words, we have now got fifty names. But who were the rest? There is yet another source. The Secretariat of the KMT Central Executive Committee compiled a list of those who were present at the inaugural meeting of the Left League. It was annexed to the official letter No. 15889 issued by the Secretary General Chen Lifu (陳立夫, 1899- ) on 10th September, 1930. Altogether forty-nine names were listed.<sup>[35]</sup> When we compare the KMT list with that in Tuohuangzhe, we can see that the former, apart from having all the thirty names of the latter, had nineteen more. They were Wang Jieyu, Feng Runzhang (馮潤璋, 1902- ), Xu E (許峨), Feng Keng (馮鏗, 1907-1931), Wang Renshu (王任叔, 1901-1972), Du Heng, Yao Pengzi (姚蓬子, 1905-1970), Han Shiheng (韓侍桁, 1908- ), Wu Guanzhong (吳貫中), Hou Lushi, Liu Xiwu (劉錫伍), Ye Lingfeng (葉靈鳳, 1904-1975), Dai Wangshu, Xu Xunlei (徐迅雷), Cheng Shaohuai, Chen

Zhengdao ( 陳正道 ), Guo Moruo and Shen Qiyu. [36]

Among these nineteen names, we can delete the names of three people, who we know were absent. The most obvious one is Guo Moruo who was then in Japan. Feng Runzhang had left Shanghai and was teaching in the Shandong Provincial Senior High School in early 1930. [37] The remaining one was Ye Lingfeng - according to some recollections, he had not turned up at the meeting. [38]

As for the remaining fourteen, the presence of some were beyond doubt and we have discussed them already - Wang Jieyu was mentioned by Xia Yan, Hou Lushi and Cheng Shaohuai were supported by Feng Naichao; Dai Wangshu and Du Heng were referred to by Shi Zhecun. In the end, only eleven are doubtful. But as there is no proof to reject them at the moment, we cannot say for sure that they were absent. In fact, it was very probable that some of them were present. For example, Xu Xunlei had been a member of the Sun Society. Chen Zhengdao was an active member of the League in its early stage. Han Shiheng had taken part in the 1928 polemic while Feng Keng was one of the earliest members of the League. It would not be surprising if they were present at the inaugural meeting.

We also know of the presence of some non-writers at the meeting. These included the monitors who were responsible for the safety of the writers. The actual number is unknown, but four were assigned to look after Lu Xun. [39] There had to be some more to account for the rest. Other than these, there were the staff and students of the Chinese Arts University. Both Xia Yan and Yang Qianru confirmed that students from the Shanghai Arts University and the Chinese Arts University were present. [40]

According to the report in Tuohuangzhe, the meeting started at 2 p.m. and a board of chairmen

was immediately set up. Lu Xun, Xia Yan and Qian Xingcun were elected as chairmen.<sup>[41]</sup> Yet the word "elected" should be qualified. According to Qian Xingcun, these three candidates had been agreed upon at the preparatory meeting of 16th February. The decision was first sent to the Cultural Committee which then recommended it to the inaugural meeting where it was passed by the delegates.<sup>[42]</sup>

After the election of chairmen, Feng Naichao went on to report the process of the preparation while Zheng Boqi explained the Programme of the League.<sup>[43]</sup> Then speeches were made by the delegates. The first one to give a speech was not Lu Xun, but Pan Mohua who was the representative of the Freedom Movement League. Pan was also the one who formed the Beiping branch of the Left League several months later. His name was omitted on the report in Tuohuangzhe, definitely for safety reasons.<sup>[44]</sup> Lu Xun was second in line, followed by Peng Kang, Tian Han and Yang Hansheng.<sup>[45]</sup> It was planned to have some more speakers. But the lack of time forbade it.

Save for Lu Xun, it is impossible to know what was said by the speakers. There is no record of them. Xia Yan said that this was due to lack of experience and confidential reasons.<sup>[46]</sup> Lu Xun's speech was published in Mengya, which was jointly edited by Lu and Feng Xuefeng. The latter, using the pseudonym of Wang Limin (王黎民), was the one who recorded and published Lu's speech. According to Feng, he had not made any record on the spot. The speech was written up from memory several days later and Feng deliberately added some words which were not said at the meeting but were expressed by Lu in daily conversations.<sup>[47]</sup> It is not certain how great the differences between Lu Xun's speech and Feng's report were. Nevertheless, Lu Xun had read it and given his approval before it was published. On the other hand, Xia

Yan claimed that he had made a record of Lu Xun's speech and it was lost during the Cultural Revolution.<sup>[48]</sup> This is hard to believe as it is unreasonable that he should not have published it long before. On the other hand, we may guess that Rou Shi did make a record - Lin Danqiu (林淡秋, 1906-1981) recalled that Rou referred to a notebook when he was asked about the speech of Lu Xun.<sup>[49]</sup>

When the speeches were over, the Programme of the League was passed at the meeting. Originally there was a programme for action attached to the end of the general programme and it was passed at the same time.<sup>[50]</sup> But it cannot be found anywhere: the general programme appeared four times in the League magazines, but the programme for action was not attached to any of them. Qian Xingcun explained that this was again for confidential reasons.<sup>[51]</sup> Nonetheless, the report in Tuohuangzhe provided the two main points of the action programme:

- (A) the purpose of our literary movement was for the liberation of the rising class;
  - (B) to oppose all oppressions of our movement.
- [52]

It was four o'clock when voting started.<sup>[53]</sup> Seven standing committee members were elected. Again, all the candidates were decided on before hand, this time by the Cultural Committee, with the approval of the Party Central.<sup>[54]</sup> This is significant because they were the ones whom the CCP wanted to lead the Left League. Qian Xingcun said that the ratio of party members to non-party members was taken into consideration,<sup>[55]</sup> and this ratio was four to three: Xia Yan, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun and Hong Lingfei were CCP members while Lu Xun, Zheng Boqi and Tian Han (he joined the Party in 1932) were non-members. Therefore a rough balance was there. What is more, every group was well represented. Xia Yan did not belong to any group and was close to everybody. Qian Xingcun said that he could be taken as representing both the Sun and the Creation groups.<sup>[56]</sup> Feng Naichao and Zheng Boqi represented the later and earlier stages

of the Creation Society respectively. Qian Xingcun and Hong Lingfei were from the Sun Society, with the latter especially representing the Us Society (Womenshe 我們社), an affiliated group of the Sun Society.. Lu Xun could be viewed as speaking for the Yusi group while Tian Han was the undisputed head of the South Nation Society. From this we can see that the Party Central was conscious of the necessity for a balance of power between the various groups. This may well mean that the united front in the literary field was not yet consolidated. But the voting did show the popularity of the candidates because the order of the committee members as listed in the report in Tuohuangzhe was in accordance with the number of votes the candidates got.<sup>[57]</sup> Hence we have the following sequence: Xia Yan, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun, Lu Xun, Tian Han, Zheng Boqi and Hong Lingfei. In addition, there were two alternate members: Zhou Quanping and Jiang Guangci.<sup>[58]</sup>

When the standing committee had been decided, seventeen motions were then put and passed.<sup>[59]</sup> There is not way to find out the contents of all these seventeen resolutions. But from the several reports which appeared subsequently in League magazines, we are able to list the followings which were believed to have been agreed upon at the inaugural meeting:

- (A) organize a branch of the Freedom Movement League;
- (B) develop relationship with other countries in field of literature;
- (C) form four study groups, namely the Association for the study of Marxist literary theory (馬克思文藝理論研究會), the Association for the study of international cultures (國際文化研究會), the Association for the study of popularization of literature and art (文藝大眾化研究會) and the Association for the study of cartoons (漫畫研究會);

- (D) build up close relations with revolutionary groups;
- (E) promote the formation of the General League of Left-wing Arts (左翼文化總同盟);
- (F) determine the plans for publishing left-wing magazines;
- (G) join in the education of workers and peasants;
- (H) publish the official organ Shijie wenhua (《世界文化》, World Culture).<sup>[60]</sup>

The report in Tuohuangzhe also mentioned the guiding principles of the League:

- (A) to learn from the experiences of nascent literature of other countries and spread our movement with the formation of various study associations;
- (B) to aid the training of new writers and promote worker and peasant writers;
- (C) to establish Marxist artistic and critical theories;
- (D) to publish journals and book series for the League;
- (E) to produce works for the rising class.<sup>[61]</sup>

The above, as we shall see, were the main lines followed up subsequently by the League.

## (II) MEMBERSHIP:

How many members did the Left League have in its six years of existence? This is a question that cannot be answered for sure by anybody. At present, scholars in mainland China are trying to reconstruct a membership list of the League.<sup>[62]</sup> However, even the project meets with diverse reactions. Some consider it very important and necessary.<sup>[63]</sup> But others believe that it is futile.<sup>[64]</sup>

Firstly, there is absolutely no doubt that neither the League itself nor any League member kept a membership

list. This was, in the first instance, due to security reasons: at the time of White terror, such a record could expose its members to danger. But what is more important, no members could have had a complete picture of the membership. This was largely due to the structure of the League. The organization of the Left League will be presently dealt with. But what we can say here is, the basic units of the Left League were small groups and each member was assigned to these groups of four to five members. There were only vertical contacts between members, but no horizontal ones. That is to say, members of the League, apart from knowing their fellow members in the same group, could only get in touch with their seniors. They had no knowledge of the memberships of other groups. Furthermore, they were not even allowed to ask the names and addresses of those of the same group. Such measures were prudent at a time when betrayals were common. Consequently, sometimes even good friends did not know that each other had joined the League.<sup>[65]</sup> Some people do not even know whether they should be considered as a member or not.<sup>[66]</sup> There are even some cases in which someone was taken as a member by many but it was denied by himself.<sup>[67]</sup>

But group members did change. Very often, one was transferred to another group, thus providing chances of getting to know more people. What is more, rules were not always observed strictly. Thus from the recollections of League members, it is possible to make out an incomplete list of membership of the League: in Shanghai alone, there were over two hundred and fifty members, together with some one hundred and fifty members in other branches, making a total of over four hundred.<sup>[68]</sup>

We have seen that one of the tasks of the preparatory committee of the Left League was to prepare a list of promoters for the League. They were supposed to be its basic members. This arrangement implies that

people were asked, or invited to join the League, rather than that they took the initiative. A recollection by a League member, Ma Ning (馬寧, 1909-), confirmed this fact. Ma said that Qian Xingcun invited him to a meeting on 28th February, 1930. At the meeting, he was informed of the formation of the League. At the same time, he was invited to join and attend the inaugural meeting.<sup>[69]</sup> We may suppose that similar meetings with others also took place. This had advantages as well as disadvantages. The advantage was: the preparatory committee could have a control over membership. The disadvantage was: this would close the door to other progressive writers who had no connection with the members of the committee, thus producing serious sectarianism and hindering the development of a larger united front.

Nevertheless, this arrangement was confined to the promoters only. There is no way of knowing the number of the promoters that the League had. Xia Yan said that the important members of the Creation Society, Sun society, South Nation Society, Us Society and the Art Drama Association were enlisted as promoters.<sup>[70]</sup> It is also reasonably safe to assume that most of those who had attended the inaugural meeting were promoters, with the exception of those who came on their own like Yi Ding and his group, as well as the monitors. But we can also tell that some promoters did not turn up at the meeting. Ma Ning was an example. He was not allowed to leave the hospital that day.<sup>[71]</sup> Jiang Guangci and Yu Dafu were clear cases too: Jiang was one of the twelve preparatory committee members while Lu Xun had insisted that Yu Dafu should be included in the list of promoters.<sup>[72]</sup> Other promoters included Guo Moruo,<sup>[73]</sup> Meng Chao,<sup>[74]</sup> Wang Renshu<sup>[75]</sup> and Dong Qiusi (董秋斯, 1899-1969).<sup>[76]</sup>

Mao Dun was a member, but not a promoter. According to his autobiography, he returned to Shanghai

from Japan on 5th April, 1930 and stayed at the home of Yang Xianjiang ( 楊賢江 ). Though he had learned of the establishment of the Left League from Feng Xuefeng immediately upon his return (Feng lived with Mao Dun's family), he was not approached until about a month later. Yang Xianjiang told him that Feng Naichao wanted to see him. On the following day, Feng Naichao came and invited Mao Dun to join the League. In this way, Mao became a League member.<sup>[77]</sup> But it looks strange that he was not enlisted as a promoter. That he was in Japan was not a good reason: Guo Moruo was in Japan during the six years of the existence of the League. The 1928 polemic might not have been without any consequence. It is also strange that Feng Naichao was sent to contact him. Mao Dun had never met him before. He knew Feng only by name.<sup>[78]</sup> On the other hand, Mao had seen Lu Xun and Feng Xuefeng. Lu Xun did not even know that Mao Dun was recruited until he was told by Mao Dun himself.<sup>[79]</sup>

As stated earlier, the Left League developed into an organization with over four hundred members in few years. It is impossible to know the ways of recruitment. One League member, Shi Linghe revealed that he had filled in an application form.<sup>[80]</sup> Han Tuofu mentioned that application forms were distributed at the inaugural meeting.<sup>[81]</sup> What is more, one recollection tells us that a registration form had to be filled in at the time of joining the League.<sup>[82]</sup> It is likely that this registration form was the application form mentioned by Shi Linghe and Han Tuofu.

In the process of recruitment, one or two League members were required as referees. This rule seemed to be observed strictly throughout. But there was no restriction over the number of people recommended by one League member. For instance, He Jiahuai ( 何家槐 , 1911-1969 ) acted as referees for quite a number of members.

[83] Guan Lu ( 關露 , pen-name of Hu Mei 胡楣 , 1908- ), Pan Hannian, Zhou Yang ( 周揚 , 1908- ) and many others also acted as referees frequently. [84] Unlike joining the Communist Party, League members were not required to undergo any ceremony for admission. But very often, an informal meeting was held with an old member appointed by the organization. The new member had to give an account, sometimes an explanation, of his past deeds. [85] Usually, one was said to be admitted as a League member when one was allocated to a group.

The Left League was made up of very young members. With the exception of a few established writers like Lu Xun, Guo Moruo, Yu Dafu, Mao Dun, Tian Han and Hong Shen ( 洪深 , 1894-1955), most of them were under thirty. Many were even in their teens when they joined the League. [86] Some of them were students in universities, though very often they only enrolled at one for cover. These young members were tough, courageous and energetic, ready to sacrifice their lives for their ideals. This put the Left League in a good position in their struggle against oppression from the authorities. But on the other hand, with such a membership, the League could in no way live up to the name of an organization of writers: who can expect students in their early twenties to have produced literature worthy of the name? But this was a decision that the League had to make. It could either have a broad united front of energetic young fighters or a small group of old and lethargic established writers. After all, China did not have many established writers then.

However, the League was cautious in recruiting members. All League members had attained a certain level of education. A resolution passed by its Secretariat on 9th March, 1932 specified the requirements for members:

Every League member must at least participate in one practical line of work: (1) creation or

criticism, (2) join the work of mass literature (3) lead the "Literary Study" Movement; (4) translation work....before they can qualify as a League member.[87]

Thus illiterates were completely out of the question. Consequently, although the League was eager to have members from the workers and peasants, these conditions greatly diminished the chance of success. Yet they were aware of this and set up another regulation to save the case:

Those who earnestly desire to join the League and yet do not have the qualifications to become a League member should be made the reserves of the League - join the "Literary Study" or other literary organizations led by the Left League first so as to develop a close relationship with the League and join it after a considerable time.[88]

As for the "politically unclean", there were two additional conditions. First, those who were suspected of being once related with the reactionaries had to publish articles, in their real names, against the reactionaries. Second, those who belonged to a certain reactionary group had, in addition to publishing articles denouncing the group, to reveal the secrets of the organization and the activities of that group to the League.[89] However, in the time of white terror, this was impractical since such deeds could expose the new member to danger. As far as I am aware, no such article had ever been published in the League journals. But some members had to give verbal explanation to the League before they were allowed to join it.

In the early stage, Japanese returned students made up a large part of the League membership. This was understandable since almost all the Creationists had studied in Japan. Others like Lu Xun, Lou Shiyi ( 樓適夷 , 1905- ) were also returned students from Japan. But as new members were recruited from local universities, the ratio changed considerably. Nevertheless, Japanese returned students still played a very important part in

the League throughout its existence. Such leading members as Zhou Yang, Ren Jun (任鈞, 1909- ) and Hu Feng (胡風, 1902-1985) had studied in Japan too. There were also returned students from other countries. For instance, Jiang Guangci, Cao Jinghua (曹靖華, 1897- ), Ying Xiuren (應修人, 1900-1933) and Xiao San (蕭三, 1896-1983) were back from Russia. Hong Shen had studied in the United States. Yet the number of those who graduated in western universities was incomparable with such groups as the Xinyue.<sup>[90]</sup> But many League members were jobless. This, in most cases, had nothing to do with their ability or qualifications. It was rather a consequence of League membership. In an age of severe white terror, it was dangerous for them to have a permanent job. They would be arrested easily. Guan Lu had to give up a good job in an airline company.<sup>[91]</sup>

Many League members had experience of political activities. Some like Guo Moruo, Dong Qiushi and Pan Mohua had taken part in the Northern Expedition. Others like Ren Baige (任白戈, 1906- ), Sima Wensen (司馬文森, 1916-1968) and Wang Ruowang (王若望, 1918- ) were members of the Communist Youth League (Gongchanzhuyi qingniantuan, 共產主義青年團). Some, such as Wang Xuewan, Zheng Boqi, Feng Xuefeng, were promoters of the Freedom Movement League. In fact, many were CCP members. But this was not a prerequisite for joining the League. Many of them did not join the Party throughout their lives. Lu Xun was an example. Others joined the Party only after they had long been a League member. For instance, Tian Han was a League member from 1930 onwards, but he only joined the Communist Party in 1932. Lin Lin (林林, 1910- ) joined the League in 1934, but joined the Party in 1938, a long time after the dissolution of the League.

Most of the League members had joined various literary associations before they became members of the Left League. Ren Jun reported that all members of the

Creation and Sun Societies were asked to join the League. [92] Those of the Yusi group were in evidence too, including Lu Xun, Rou Shi and Han Shiheng. Members of the Literary Research Association were not lacking either. Mao Dun, Jian Xian'ai ( 蹇先艾 , 1906- ), Cao Jinghua and Wang Renshu came from that group. Drama groups like the South Nation Society and Art Drama Association were represented too. Some members of the League came from such less well-known associations as the Dawn Association (Chenguangshe, 晨光社 ), [93] Lakeside Poetry Association (Hupan shishe, 湖畔詩社), [94] Sunlight Association (Xishe, 曦社 ), [95] and Green Waves Association (Lüboshe, 綠波社 ). [96] Many of them had also worked together in 1928 in the formation of the China Authors Association.

In an interview in 1975, Mao Dun said,

After the arrest of the five writers [1931], there was no significant development in the Left League. After 1932, when white terror became more and more severe, the development work practically came to a halt. [97]

We are not certain what "development" was in the mind of Mao Dun. But if he was referring to the recruitment of new members, his words were then contrary to the facts. From a document of the Secretariat of the League, we know that they were eager to recruit new members: the target was to enrol twenty new members in two weeks' time. [98] We can also cite many names of those who joined the League after 1932. For instance, Bai Shu ( 白曙 ), [99] Ai Wu ( 艾蕪 , 1904- ), [100] Guan Lu [101] and He Jiahuaì ( 何家槐 , 1911-1969 ) [102] joined the League in 1932; Liu Qian ( 柳倩 , 1911- ), [103] Cao Ming ( 草明 , 1913- ), [104] Ren Baige [105] and Wang Leijia ( 王蕾嘉 ) [106] joined in 1933 while Wang Shuming ( 王淑明 , 1902- ), [107] Sima Wensen [108] and Tian Jian ( 田間 , 1916- ) [109] joined in 1934. There were many who joined during the final years of the League, such as Luo Feng ( 羅峰 , 1909- ), [110] Lin Danqiu [111] and Lin Di ( 林蒂 ). [112] We can be sure that recruitment of new members was always an important task of the Left League.

But then who were left out of the League? It is fairly safe to say that most of the left-wing writers were, at one time or another, members of the League. In other words, the League was successful in achieving a united front in the left-wing literary circle. This was by no means an easy task in view of the severe oppression from the KMT regime. Nevertheless, what about the middle or right elements? If the Communists were aimed at creating a broad united front, these two groups should not be totally disregarded. It was not impossible that the so-called middlers or right-wingers would be transformed into left-wingers. After all, Lu Xun was a case in point. But the fact is, even some pro-left writers were excluded. The most obvious examples were Ye Shengtao and Zheng Zhenduo (鄭振鐸, 1898-1958). It has been suggested that the exclusion was "a need of the situation and a policy of the Party".<sup>[113]</sup> Ye Shengtao himself also said that Feng Xuefeng had told him to stand outside the organization so as to unite more writers.<sup>[114]</sup> Nevertheless, Mao Dun's autobiography reveals a different story. Mao Dun says that he had talked about this with Feng Xuefeng. Feng's reply was, "most people did not agree with their admission".<sup>[115]</sup> This is to say, the exclusion of these writers was simply an act of closed-door policy. Feng Xuefeng also confirmed that he had explained the case to Ye Shengtao.<sup>[116]</sup> Most probably, he had to make up a story to pacify him and this was the account provided by Ye above.

In fact, it is not difficult to make a list of possible allies for the League. For instance, Shen Congwen (沈從文, 1902- ), close friend of He Yepin (胡也頻, 1903-1931) and Ding Ling (丁玲, 1904- ), as well as Ba Jin (巴金, 1904- ), whose novels like "Family" (《家》) and "Trilogy of love" (《愛情三部曲》) were anti-feudalistic, were very good allies. Even the Crescentist Wen Yiduo (聞一多, 1899-1946) whose patriotic

poems were well-known, could have made a good League member. Not to mention those who were sympathetic to the left like Shi Zhecun, Wang Tongzhao (王統照, 1897-1957), Zhu Ziqing (朱自清, 1898-1948) and Xu Dishan (許地山, 1893-1941). The exclusion of these writers greatly diminished the strength and influence of the League.

The behaviour of the League members is understandable. We have seen that the most active and important members of the League in its early stage were the ultra-leftists from the Creation and Sun Societies. Who could expect an over-night change in their thinking? Furthermore the failure of the Chinese Authors Association confirmed for them the "impossibility" of creating a united front with people of all sorts of background. This time, they wanted to have a more efficient fighting body. We must also add that even the Communist Party was in its so-called left-deviation phase when the Left League was formed.

### (III) STRUCTURE:

Just like the question of membership, it is by no means easy to know for sure the structure and organization of the Left league. In the first instance, there was no systematic record of its organization. Secondly, for security reasons, even League members did not have the chance of getting a complete grasp of the organization of the League. Thirdly, the organization of the League was not perfectly delineated from the very beginning. Even League members would give a different picture if they joined the League at different times.

According to Xia Yan, one of the twelve preparatory committee members, there was originally a draft of the organization of the League. After Lu Xun had declined the post of Chairman or Committee Chairman, the Left League practised a system of collective leadership.<sup>[117]</sup> This collective leadership was made up of an executive committee

and a standing committee. But in the first reports on the Left League, nothing was mentioned about the executive committee. They all reported that a standing committee was formed at the inaugural meeting.<sup>[118]</sup> It seems that there was not such a thing as an executive committee in the very beginning. Hence, some critics suggest that the standing committee was called the executive committee only subsequently.<sup>[119]</sup> However, from the documents of the League, we can tell that the two committees were two distinctive bodies and they co-existed at the same time. The report on the first general meeting of the League, which was published on 11th May, 1930, said that the secretary of the standing committee had made a report on the League affairs.<sup>[120]</sup> The same thing was recorded in "Report on the two general meetings of the League of Left-wing Writers" (《左翼作家聯盟的兩次大會記略》).<sup>[121]</sup> These prove that a standing committee was functioning at that stage. Then about two months later, in the first issue of Wenhua douzheng (《文化鬥爭》, Cultural struggle), there published a resolution "New situations in the proletarian literary movement and our mission" (《無產階級文學運動新的形勢及我們的任務》) passed by the executive committee of the Left League on 4th August, 1930.<sup>[122]</sup> In other words, the executive committee had already been formed and was functioning at that time. Then on 15th October, 1931, this executive committee issued, in its own name, an article called "To proletarian writers, revolutionary writers and all those young people who love literature and art" (《告無產階級作家革命作家及一切愛好文藝的青年》).<sup>[123]</sup> Roughly at the same time, the Secretariat sent out a notice saying that the executive committee called for a self-criticism of the proletarian literary movement of China.<sup>[124]</sup> Again, in November, 1931, it passed a resolution on the new mission of Chinese revolutionary proletarian literature.<sup>[125]</sup> Meanwhile, the standing committee continued to function. On 20th April, 1931, it passed a resolution to expel

three League members: Zhou Quanping, Ye Lingfeng and Zhou Yuying ( 周毓英 ).<sup>[126]</sup> This was eight months after the publication of the resolution passed by the executive committee mentioned above. It is therefore incorrect to say that the standing committee was replaced by the executive committee. Furthermore, recollections by League members confirm that the standing committee did exist in the last few years of the League. Ouyang Shan ( 歐陽山 , 1908- ) said that there was a standing committee in 1933 while Zheng Yuzhi proved that it was there even after 1934.<sup>[127]</sup>

According to many League members, the standing committee was elected by and from the members of the executive committee. Feng Xuefeng claimed that at the inaugural meeting, an executive committee of thirteen to fifteen was formed. The committee met several days later and elected the standing committee.<sup>[128]</sup> Ren Baige said that in the beginning of 1934, the Left League held a secret election. Firstly, an executive committee of up to twenty members was elected. Then these twenty executive committee members elected a standing committee of four members.<sup>[129]</sup> Thus we may assume that the League was led by a standing committee and an executive committee. As members of the former were elected from those of the latter, the differences between the two were not great and it is not entirely wrong to take the two bodies as one.

Names of the first standing committee were published in the League organs: Xia Yan, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun, Lu Xun, Tian Han, Zheng Boqi and Hong Lingfei, with two supplementary members, Zhou Quanping and Jiang Guangci. There was no record of the first executive committee. As stated earlier, Feng Xuefeng said that it had thirteen to fifteen members. One source suggests that they were Lu Xun, Xia Yan, Feng Naichao, Qian Xingcun, Tian Han, Zheng Boqi, Hong Lingfei, Zhou Quanping, Jiang Guangci, Hu Yepin, Rou Shi, Yao Pengzi and Yang Hansheng.<sup>[130]</sup>

There is no way to trace the changes of the membership of these two committees. We cannot even be sure how often changes took place. Nevertheless, from the many recollections made by League members, we are able to know some of the names of those who had been elected to the committees.

Firstly, Sha Ting (沙汀, 1904-) recalled that once the standing committee held a meeting at his home. Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Zhou Yang, Peng Hui (彭慧) and Sha Ting himself attended it.<sup>[131]</sup> He did not specify the time. But since the meeting discussed the question of the investigation team of Henri Barbusse (1873-1935), the meeting would have been held around 1932 or 1933 as the team came to China in 1933.

Secondly, Wang Jinding (汪金丁, 1901-) said that around the end of 1932 or the beginning of 1933, Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Ding Ling, Zhou Yang, Lou Shiyi, Hua Di (華蒂, i.e., Ye Yiqun 葉以群, 1911-1966), Li Huiying (李輝英, 1911-) and Wang Jinding held a meeting of the executive committee in a church.<sup>[132]</sup> This was an incomplete list of the membership of the newly elected committee which altogether had eleven members. As for the time of the meeting, we can be sure that it was the beginning of 1933, rather than the end of 1932. This was because at the meeting, the executive committee, at the suggestion of Feng Xuefeng, celebrated the publication of Mao Dun's Midnight (《子夜》) - Midnight was published in January, 1933.

Ren Baige also suggested that there was again an election in the beginning of 1934. There were more than twenty executive members; among them we know Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Tian Han, Yang Hansheng, Sha Ting, Ai Wu, Xia Zhengnong (夏征農, 1904-), He Gutian (何谷天, i.e., Zhou Wen 周文, 1907-1952), Hu Feng and Ren Baige. The standing committee included Lu Xun, Hu Feng,

He Getian and Ren Baige. [133]

On the other hand, Lin Dianqiu recalled that half a year before the dissolution of the League, that was, at the latter half of 1935, Xu Maoyong (徐懋庸, 1911-1977), He Jiahuai and Lin himself were on the standing committee. [134] According to Xu Maoyong, he was first elected onto the standing committee in the autumn of 1934. [135] Qian Xingcun recalled that he himself was once on the standing committee for a short time. [136] Apart from the above, the followings were also said to have been on the two committees at one time or another: Ding Ling, [137] Yang Chao (楊潮), Ren Jun, [138] Wang Yaoshan (王堯山), Wang Shuming, [139] Zhou Libo (周立波, 1908-1979) and Mei Yi (梅益). [140]

Under the two committees, there was a Secretariat. It was also a central part of the League. A report in Mishuchu xiaoxi (《秘書處消息》, News from the Secretariat) had the following description of the body:

Under the leadership of the General Cultural League and the executive committee of the Left League, it [the Secretariat] will constantly carry out the role of the executive committee to lead the Left League. [141]

The Secretariat was made up of three persons, one for organization, one for propaganda and the secretary. [142] However, we have reason to believe that in the later stage of the League, the Secretariat was mixed up, if not combined, with the standing committee. Many League members said in their recollections that the standing committee was made up of one secretary, one person for organization and one for propaganda. To list some examples, we have:

(A) Zheng Yuzhi said that in April, 1934, the secretary of the standing committee was Zhou Yang, Hu Feng was responsible for propaganda and Zhou Wen for organization. [143]

(B) Xu Maoyong recalled that in the autumn of 1934, he was "elected onto the standing

committee of the Left League to take charge of the propaganda section".<sup>[144]</sup> He also said that he was later made the Secretary of the standing committee to make contacts with Lu Xun.<sup>[145]</sup>

(C) Ren Baige said that at the beginning of 1934, Lu Xun, Hu Feng, He Getian and Ren were in charge of the standing committee. Lu Xun was the secretary, Hu Feng was the secretary-general, He Gutian was the head of the organization section, Ren was the head of the propaganda section.<sup>[146]</sup>

It is unreasonable to think that all of them made the same mistakes. They all agreed that the standing committee consisted of the same three posts as the Secretariat. This is a very important point which should not be overlooked in the discussion of the organization of the Left League.

Members of the Secretariat changed frequently. Zhou Quanping was its first secretary. This arrangement shows that in the early days of the League, the post of secretary was not very important since Zhou Quanping was not a prominent member of the League: he was only elected as a supplementary member of the standing committee. His term of office could not have been long either. On 20th April, 1931, he was expelled from the League. In fact, some time before February, 1931, he had already been transferred to the Revolutionary Mutual-aid Association (Geming hujihui, 革命互濟會).<sup>[147]</sup>

Who succeeded Zhou Quanping as the secretary after his expulsion? We have no information about this. Then in the second half of May, 1931, Mao Dun, upon the request of Feng Xuefeng, took the post.<sup>[148]</sup> Again, his term of office was extremely short. In October, he asked to resign. This was not granted. But he was given a long leave. Yet he still had to share some work of the

Secretariat until the end of 1931.<sup>[149]</sup> From then on, he was busy with his own literary creations and he produced such works as "Midnight", "Spring Silkworms" (《春蠶》), "Autumn Harvest" (《秋收》) and "Winter" (《殘冬》).<sup>[150]</sup>

In the first issue of Mishuchu xiaoxi which was published on 15th March, 1932, there was a letter from the Secretariat which invited League members to take part in a competition with the Social Scientists League.<sup>[151]</sup> In the letter, four names of those who worked in the Secretariat were mentioned: Dang Lang (璫瑯), Luo Yang (洛揚), Ling Tie (凌鐵) and Yuan Shan (原山). They are now identified as Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng, Lou Shiyi and Peng Hui.<sup>[152]</sup> We have seen that the Secretariat was made up of three to four members. Definitely one of them was the secretary. Hu Feng suggested that Ding Ling was once the secretary.<sup>[153]</sup> On the other hand, Wang Jinding said that Peng Hui was responsible for propaganda.<sup>[154]</sup>

Then in February, 1933, Mao Dun was instructed to act as the secretary again. Once more, it was he who submitted resignation, in October, 1933.<sup>[155]</sup> Sha Ting might have been the one who succeeded him because Sha claimed that he acted as the secretary around the summer and winter of 1933. But his term of office was extremely short.<sup>[156]</sup> From December, 1933, Hu Feng took up the post of secretary until October, 1934 when he submitted his resignation.<sup>[157]</sup> Hu once said that the position was then taken up by Tian Han.<sup>[158]</sup> However, this may not be correct because both Ren Baige and Xu Maoyong have pointed out that it was Ren Baige who acted as secretary from the autumn of 1934.<sup>[159]</sup> But Ren left Shanghai for Japan in the summer of 1935.<sup>[160]</sup> He was succeeded by Xu Maoyong who was the last secretary of the League as in autumn, the organization began to plan to dissolve itself.<sup>[161]</sup>

What was the work of a secretary? It seems that

the main role was to hold meetings: meetings within the Secretariat, meetings with the executive committee and meetings with the General Cultural League.<sup>[162]</sup> According to Mao Dun, the secretary was also responsible for drafting the annual reports on the League. Mao himself had drafted the 1931 one.<sup>[163]</sup> Hu Feng claimed that he had to write to the International Union of Revolutionary Writers to report on the progress and the work done by the League. He also said that he took charge of the publishing of an internal organ, Wenxue shenghuo (《文學生活》, Literary life).<sup>[164]</sup>

The secretary was assisted by the other two members of the Secretariat, one to lead the propaganda section, the other, the organization. We have no knowledge of those who occupied these positions in the early stage of the League. Hu Feng became the head of the propaganda section in the second half of 1933 until he took up the post of secretary at the end of that year.<sup>[165]</sup> Ren Baige was the one to follow Hu Feng to take up the post. But in less than a year, he was appointed to replace Hu Feng as the secretary.<sup>[166]</sup> Ren's original position was then transferred to Yang Chao,<sup>[167]</sup> whose term of office was very brief and Xu Maoyong was soon in charge of the propaganda section. Xu held the post till the summer of 1935 when he became the secretary.<sup>[168]</sup> It is difficult to know who were his successors. Wang Shuming said that he was the head of the propaganda section when Xu Maoyong was the secretary. Yet before him, Wang said, there was Xia Zhengnong.<sup>[169]</sup> On the other hand, Xu Maoyong reported that after his transfer, the propaganda section was put under Lin Dianqiu and Mei Yi.<sup>[170]</sup>

As for the organization, Ouyang Shan mentioned that Zhou Yang was its head in early 1933.<sup>[171]</sup> But the post was soon taken by Ren Jun until he was arrested in early 1934. Then Zhou Wen came onto the scene. He held the post until the latter half of 1934 when he left after

Hu Feng resigned from the post of secretary.<sup>[172]</sup> A newcomer, Wang Yaoshan was appointed to replace Zhou Wen.<sup>[173]</sup> According to Wang, he held the post until the autumn of 1935. The last head of the organization section seems to have been He Jiahuai.<sup>[174]</sup>

It would be a mistake to assume that there were large departments within the Secretariat of the League. Mishuchu xiaoxi stated that there were only three persons in the Secretariat.<sup>[175]</sup> In other words, the so-called organization or propaganda sections were but one-man sections. Their heads had to take care of everything. Wang Yaoshan complained that it was extremely difficult for one to do so much work. He had to quit his job so as to devote all his time to the League.<sup>[176]</sup> However, Ren Baige reported that there were several members in the two sections. When he was in charge of the propaganda section, Wei Mengke (魏猛克, 1911- ), Yang Chao, Su Lingyang (蘇靈揚) and Hu Shouhua (胡壽華) were its members.<sup>[177]</sup> One League member even suggested there was a post of deputy head: He Jiahuai was the deputy head of the organization section in the spring of 1934.<sup>[178]</sup> Neither the propaganda nor the organization sections had anything to do with literary creations. The main task of the organization section was to mobilize the masses for action against the KMT rule and capitalists. It also looked after the activities of the various districts.<sup>[179]</sup> On the other hand, the propaganda section took care of the various committees below.

It seems that there were other sections in the League too. Feng Xuefeng recalled that there was probably a workers and peasants section as well as an editorial section.<sup>[180]</sup> It was said that Feng Keng, one of the "Five martyrs", had joined the workers and peasants section.<sup>[181]</sup> Another martyr, Rou Shi, was in charge of the editorial section.<sup>[182]</sup> But obviously both sections did not last long.

For easier reference, a table is made to show the changes in the holders of the three posts of the Secretariat:

Time	Secretary	Head of Propaganda Section	Head of Organization Section	Time
1930	Zhou Quan-ping	?	?	1930 to 1931
? - 5/31	?			
5/31 - 11/31	Mao Dun			
1932	Ding Ling	Peng Hui	Feng Xuefeng/ Lou Shiyi	1932
2/33 - 10/33	Mao Dun		Zhou Yang	early 1933
winter, 33	Sha Ting	Hu Feng		5/33 - early 1934
12/33 - 10/34	Hu Feng	Ren Baige	Zhou Wen	1934
10/34 - summer, 1935	Ren Baige	Yang Chao	Wang Yaoshan	winter, 1934 to autumn, 1935
		Xu Maoyong		
summer, 1935 - dissolution	Xu Maoyong	Xia Zheng-nong Wang Shuming Lin Dianqiu Mei Yi	He Jiahuai	autumn, 1935 - dis- solution

Below the Secretariat, there were various committees, each with its own scope of activities and functions. These committees were not formed at the same time and very often, they bore different names at different times. At the time of the formation of the League, there were altogether four associations: Association for the study of Marxist literary theories, Association for the study of international cultures, Association for the study of popularization of literature and art, and the Association for the study of cartoons.[183] But these associations

were later changed into committees. On 9th March, 1932, there was a resolution about the reorganization of the League. Only three committees were formed below the Secretariat: the Committee for creation and criticism (創作批評委員會), Committee of mass literature and art (大眾文藝委員會) and the International liason committee (國際聯絡委員會).<sup>[184]</sup> When we compare with the former four, we can see that there was the addition of the Committee for creation and criticism. On the other hand, the Association for the study of cartoon was dispensed with. The Association for the study of Marxist literary theory went too. Nevertheless, from the recollections of League members, there was a committee for the study of theories which was in effect that association. In fact, there were altogether seven committees which functioned at one time or another.

First, the Committee for creation and criticism. Very often, it was called the Creation committee (創作委員會),<sup>[185]</sup> or the Association for the study of creations (創作研究會).<sup>[186]</sup> According to Wang Jinding, Mu Mutian (穆木天, 1900-1971) was the head of the Committee, with Shen Qiyu, Jin Kuiguang (金奎光) and Wang himself as members.<sup>[187]</sup> Others recalled that Ren Jun, Sha Ting, Ye Zi (葉紫, 1912-1939), Yang Sao (楊騷, 1899-1960), He Jiahuai, Ai Wu, Ouyang Shan, Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Zhou Yang, Hu Feng and Wu Xiru (吳奚如, 1906- ) had all belonged to this committee.<sup>[188]</sup> As for its works, Mishuchu xiaoxi had the following descriptions:

- (A) to study the forms and methods of the creation of revolutionary mass works; and to study the question of popularization of westernized literary works;
- (B) to decide the roles and themes for literary creations;
- (C) to criticize reactionary literary works and theories;

(D) to fight against the trends of criticism on literary creations and theories. [189]

Yet in practice, according to Ren Jun, the main thing to do was to discuss the works of the League members, good ones were to be recommended for publication while comments would be made about bad ones. They also tried to encourage League members to write. Such questions as the means of making contacts with workers and peasants, fostering peasant and worker writers were discussed. [190]

Second, the Committee of mass literature and art. [191] Again, it had various names: Committee for the work of popularization (大衆化工作委員會), [192] and Committee for popularization (大衆化委員會). [193] It was said that Wu Xiru, Ai Wu, Xu Pingyu (徐平羽) and He Jiahuai had been its members. [194] According to Wu Xiru, he himself acted as its head for two years, from the spring of 1933 to the winter of 1934. Before him, it was Xu Pingyu, while after him, it was He Jiahuai. [195] Other members we know of include Chen Dage (陳大戈) and Peng Boshan (彭柏山, 1910-1968). [196] Mishuchu xiaoxi also reported its functions:

- (A) the creation of revolutionary mass literature art;
- (B) the study of the organization and methods of the "reportage movement";
- (C) the study and criticism of reactionary mass literature and art;
- (D) the organization of reading classes for workers peasants and soldiers, newspaper-reading groups and the training of peasant and worker reporters;
- (E) the organization of story-telling and letter-writing teams. [197]

Third, the International liason committee. From the report in Mishuchu xiaoxi, we know that it was similar to the Association for the study of international cultures

formed at the inaugural meeting. The work of the committee included:

- (A) to report the literary movement and struggles in China to other countries; to report to other countries, in the form of correspondences, the massacres of the Chinese people by Japanese imperialists and the KMT as well as the struggle of the people against imperialism and the KMT;
- (B) to translate good proletarian revolutionary works;
- (C) to draft a list of other countries' proletarian revolutionary works which should be translated and find out those which have already been translated. [198]

On the other hand, the Association for the study of international cultures had four areas of attention: European and American cultures, Japanese culture, Soviet culture and the cultures of the colonies, small and weak nations. [199] According to the report in Mengya, two meetings had been held within the first three months of the establishment of the League and the theme for the first discussion was set: the present situation of various countries' culture and their relations with economy and politics. [200] Nevertheless, we have very little knowledge of the subsequent development of the committee. It was said that Feng Xuefeng was in charge of it and Xia Yan had also led it for a brief period. [201]

Fourth, the Committee for the study of theories. This was similar to the Association for the study of Marxist literary theory and it was sometimes called the Association for the study of theories (理論研究會), [202] the Association for the study of Marxist theories (馬克思理論研究會), [203] Theory committee (理論委員會), [204] Theory study section (理論研究部), [205] or Theory study group (理論研究組). [206] According to Ren Baige, Ren and Han Qi (韓起, ?-1934) were responsible for the committee.

[207] Zhu Xiuxia, Zhou Libo and Xu Maoyong were once its members. [208] Three months after the establishment of the League, the Association for the study of Marxist literary theories had decided upon the study of the following topics:

- (A) a review of the development of proletarian literary works and theories in China;
- (B) a study of foreign Marxist literary theory;
- (C) a study of Chinese literature by using the materialist conception of history;
- (D) a study of foreign non-Marxist literary theories;
- (E) a study of foreign proletarian literary works;
- (F) a study of literary criticism. [209]

It was also decided that seminars should be held while individuals could publish research results. [210] Mao Dun once published a report on the Association entitled "A review of the 'May fourth' Movement" (《“五四”運動的檢討》) in a League journal when he was the secretary of the League. [211]

Fifth, the Committee for the study of fiction. (小說研究委員會). [212] In many places, it was called the Association for the study of fiction (小說研究會). [213] Sha Ting said that this was equivalent to the Fiction and prose group (小說散文組). [214] It was said that this committee studied the trend, ideas and methods of creation. [215] Ouyang Shan, Sha Ting and Nie Gannu (聶紺弩, 1903-) were its leaders. [216] Members of the committee included Ai Wu, Yang Sao, Cao Ming, Ye Zi, Yang Chao and He Jiahuai. [217]

Sixth, Committee for the study of poetry. (詩歌研究委員會). [218] Again, it bore different names, such as the Association for the study of poetry (詩歌研究會), [219] or the Poetry division (詩歌組). [220] According to Hu Feng, Mu Mutian was mainly responsible for the committee.

[221] Ouyang Shan's recollection said that Ren Jun was also one of the leaders.<sup>[222]</sup> Apart from the two, Yang Sao, Pu Feng (蒲風, 1911-1942), Guan Lu, Bai Shu and Liu Qian were also members of the committee.<sup>[223]</sup> Bai Shu said that the committee led the Chinese Association of Poetry (Zhongguo Shigehui, 中國詩歌會), a peripheral organization of the League.<sup>[224]</sup>

Lastly, the Committee of the culture of workers, peasants and soldiers (工農兵文化委員會). Xia Yan said that the Committee was led by Hong Lingfei.<sup>[225]</sup> But Hu Yepin was once responsible for a committee called the Committee for the communication movement among workers, peasants and soldiers (工農兵通訊運動委員會).<sup>[226]</sup> Mao Dun also confirmed that there was a worker and peasant communication movement in the League.<sup>[227]</sup> One source suggests that there was yet another committee called the Committee for worker and peasant education (工農教育委員會), led by Xu Pingyu.<sup>[228]</sup> Most probably, the three were just the same.

Although a large number of League members were involved in the activities of these committees, it was by no means a must for every member to join them. These committees, together with the Secretariat, executive and standing committees, could be regarded as the core of the League. Ordinary members took no part in them.

According to the League members, the League divided Shanghai into four main districts: Zhabei (閘北, North gate), Hudong (滬東, East Shanghai), Huxi (滬西, West Shanghai) and Fa'nan (法南, French concession and southern Shanghai). The Zhabei district included the area around the North Gate, Hongkou (虹口), and area of the Suzhou River. Hudong was the area around Yangshupu (楊樹浦). Fa'nan covered the French concession and the southern part of Shanghai while Huxi district was mainly the area

around Jing'an Temple (靜安寺) and Shadu Road (沙渡路). [229] Each district had a district committee and a secretary. For instance, Zhuang Qidong (庄啓東, 1901-) was once a committee member of the Zhabei district in the latter half of 1934 while the secretary was He Jiahuai. [230] Zhou Gangming had acted as the secretary of the Hudong district with Qi Su (齊速) and Zhao Zhuo (趙卓) as committee members. [231] Wang Yaoshan said that Tan Lintong (譚林通) was also responsible for the Hudong district while Wang Chenwu (王塵無), Ye Zi and Zhang Shiman (張士曼) led the Huxi district. Fa'nan district was headed by Yin Geng (尹庚, 1908-), Peng Boshan, Xu Pingyu and Wu Xiru. [232] These secretaries and committee members were to lead the many groups in their districts. They were in turn supervised by members of the Secretariat. It was reported that Ren Baige supervised the Hudong district. [233] As for the groups, every League members was allocated to a group according to their place of residence. Since they moved frequently (so as to avoid being detected), they had the chance of being re-allocated to other groups. Each group had a leader who was to hold the group meetings. Usually there were four to six members in a group. But sometimes there were bigger groups. On the other hand, there might be only two members in one group. [234] For the sake of security, it was a rule that only group leaders had the address of their members while group members were not allowed to ask for the leaders' and others' addresses. These groups were also found in universities, secondary schools, factories and even among farmers. [235]

Meetings were held regularly, but the frequency varied from group to group. Some League members said that they met once a week. [236] Some said they met fortnightly, [237] and even three-weekly. [238] With the exception of a very few, there was no fixed place of meeting. Sometimes they met at members' homes. But more often, they met in

public: in restaurants, parks, on farmland and even in graveyards. [239] The content of the meetings varied greatly too. It depended on the decision of the group leaders or district committees. One League member said that they talked freely in the meeting, without any specific topic. Very often, they would discuss the documents passed down from the Party's Central Committee. [240] One said that they discussed only literary creations [241] while another reported they talked nothing but politics. [242] One said that literary theories were alternated with literary creations. [243]

We have so far discussed the structure of the "League proper", that is, the main body of the Left League. But as many League members were at the same time members of the Communist Party, there was a party group within the League. Its secretary played a vital role in the League. Feng Xuefeng has provided a list of these secretaries: Feng Naichao (March, 1930 - February, 1931), Feng Xuefeng (1931), Yang Hansheng (1932 - second half of 1933), Zhou Yang (second half of 1933 - 1935) and Ren Baige (1936). [244] But there are faults in this list. Firstly, Ren Baige was not in Shanghai in 1936. He went to Tokyo in the summer of 1935. [245] Secondly, there were others who acted as secretaries but were missed out by Feng. Ding Ling was the secretary of the Party group from the second half of 1932 until she was arrested in May, 1935. Before her, the secretary was Qian Xingcun who was again missed out by Feng Xuefeng. [246] Yang Hansheng was able to provide a longer list. He said that the first secretary was Pan Hannian, rather than Feng Naichao. According to Yang, Feng Naichao was the second secretary, followed in turn by Yang himself (second half of 1930 - second half of 1932), Qian Xingcun, Feng Xuefeng, Ye Lin (耶林, pen-name of Zhang Tiao 張眺), Ding Ling and Zhou Yang. [247]

According to Feng Xuefeng, the Party group's job

was to discuss and put into practice the policies and decisions of the Communist Party. In other words, it was a link between the Communist Party and the League. This Party group was directly responsible to the Cultural Committee of the CCP which was established in the winter of 1929 to take charge of all cultural matters. It in turn was responsible to the Party. All party policies concerning cultural matters were discussed and decided by this Committee and then passed onto the Party group of the League. In fact, the Party Central sometimes sent representatives to attend meetings held by the Party group of the League. Ding Ling reported that Yang Shangkun (楊尚昆) and Hua Gang (華岡) were once present at their meetings.<sup>[248]</sup> On the other hand, there was also a non-Party organization to head the Left League as well as other leagues. It was called the General League of Chinese Left-wing Culture (Zhongguo zuoyi wenhua zongtongmeng, 中國左翼文化總同盟). Under this General League, there were many other leagues, such as the Social Scientists League, the League of Left-wing Dramatists and the League of Left-wing Artists. But the League of Left-wing Writers was by far the largest and most active group.

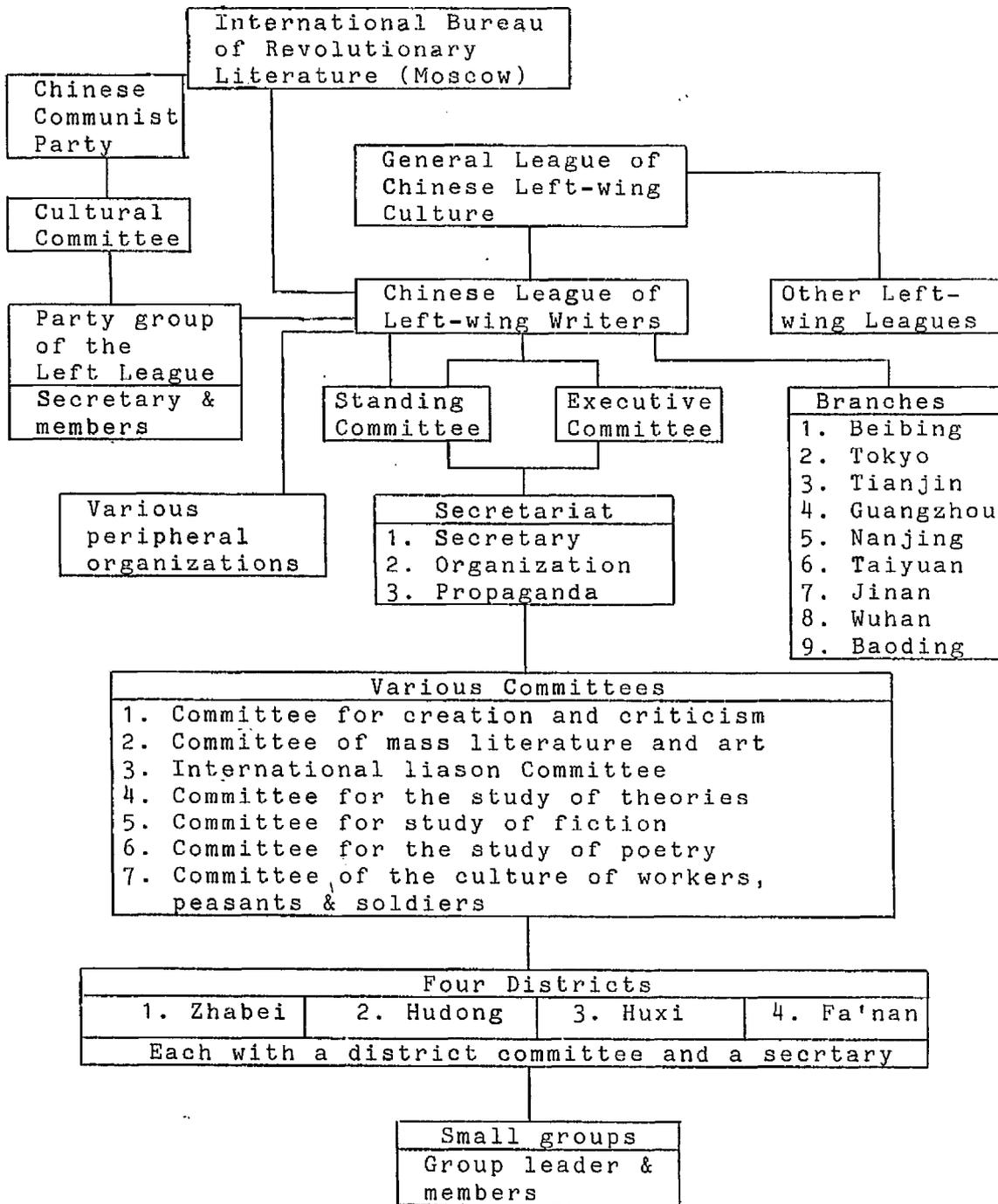
The Left League also established branches in other parts of China, as well as in Tokyo. There are controversies over the number of branches the League had. But the one in Beijing was unarguably the biggest.<sup>[249]</sup> The one in Tokyo was also well-organized.<sup>[250]</sup> Other cities where branches of the League were established included Tianjin, Guangzhou, Nanjing, Taiyuan, Jinan, Wuhan and Baoding. In fact, as early as 1932, the League had plans to set up branches even in Qingdao, Hankou, Hangzhou and the Soviet areas in Jiangxi, Hubei and Anhui.<sup>[251]</sup> Although these branches enjoyed a great degree of independence and held activities on their own, the mother League in Shanghai exercised a great influence over them. Ren Baige was once sent by Zhou Yang to lead

the branch in Tokyo in 1933.<sup>[252]</sup> In fact, it was said that Zhou Yang was responsible for all the branches of the League.<sup>[253]</sup>

On the other hand, organizationally, the Left League was affiliated to the International Bureau of Revolutionary Literature (IBRL). Xiao San, who was then in Moscow teaching Chinese, was appointed by the League to act as representative to attend the meeting of the Bureau in 1930.<sup>[254]</sup> He was even elected as a member of the Secretariat of the Bureau. Some correspondence took place between the Left League and the Bureau.

The Left League had many so-called peripheral organizations too. They were those which were either directly led by the League or indirectly by the League members. Among them the most important one was the Association for the study of literature and art. It was often mentioned in League magazines. It was also a reserve organization for League members: those who were not yet qualified as League members would be put into the Association. Apart from this one, we have, in the field of poetry, the Chinese Association of Poetry which was one of the most important poetry groups in the thirties.<sup>[255]</sup> Politically, there were the Revolutionary Mutual-aid Association and the Anti-imperialistic League of Shanghai which can also be taken as peripheral organizations of the League. These, together with other minor ones, made up a strong force in driving forward the left-wing movement of Shanghai in the thirties.

Structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers



NOTES

[1] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 6.

[2] Ji Wen (紀文), "Several former sites of the 'Left League' in Shanghai" (《“左聯”在上海的幾個舊址》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan (《中國現代文藝資料叢刊》) No. 5 (April, 1980), p. 100.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Yang Qianru, "Left-wing writers in Shanghai Arts University", Recollections on the Left League, p. 104.

[6] Ji Wen, "Several former sites of the 'Left League' in Shanghai", p. 100.

[7] "Lu Xun in the eyes of a Communist Party member" (《一個共產黨員眼中的魯迅》), Wenyibao (《文藝報》) No. 19, 1956 (15th Oct., 1956), p. 28; Ji Wen, "Several former sites of the 'Left League' in Shanghai", p. 100.

[8] Han Tuofu, "Lu Xun in the eyes of a Communist Party member", p. 28. But Yang Qianru said that the secretary of the division was Yuan Deyu (袁德裕). Yang Qianru, "Left-wing writers in Shanghai Arts University", Recollections on the Left League, p. 104.

[9] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 8.

[10] Tuohuangzhe No. 3, MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295.

[11] Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4 (1st May, 1930), MMCLH Vol. XII, p. 442.

[12] Mengya No. 4 (1st April, 1930), reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu (《紀念與研究》, Commemoration and study) No. 2 (March, 1980), pp. 5-6.

[13] Shalun Vol. I No. 1 (16th June, 1930), MMCLH Vol. XII, p. 775.

[14] Quoted from Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing Writers", Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 41.

[15] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 7.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing writers", pp. 41-42. Ding Jingtang also agrees with Feng Naichao and Xu Xingzhi, ibid., p. 45.

- [18] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 19.
- [19] Ibid.
- [20] Ibid.
- [21] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 6.
- [22] Ibid., p. 8.
- [23] Quoted from Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing Writers", p. 41.
- [24] Ibid.
- [25] "Left-wing writers in Shanghai Arts University", p. 104; Yang Qianru, "Random recollections on the Northern League of Left-wing Writers" (《北方左翼作家聯盟雜憶》), XWXS No. 4 (Aug., 1979), p. 218.
- [26] Chen Yi, "The left-wing cultural movement in the north during 1931-1932" (《1931—1932年的北方左翼文化運動》), XWXS No. 4, p. 205.
- [27] "Around the time of joining the Left League" (《參加左聯的前前後後》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, pp. 85-86.
- [28] Wang Xuewen, "The relationship between the Left League and the Social Scientists League" (《左聯和社聯的一些關係》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 143.
- [29] "From the Left League to the Dramatists League" (《從左聯到劇聯》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 725.
- [30] A letter from Shi Zhecun to the writer in December, 1982; Shi Zhecun, "My last old friend - Feng Xuefeng" (《最後一個老朋友——馮雪峰》), XWXS No. 2, 1983 (22nd May, 1983), p. 203.
- [31] "Recalling Feng Xuefeng" (《記馮雪峰》), Guanchajia (《觀察家》, Observer) No. 5 (March, 1978), pp. 38-40; "Random recollections on the inaugural meeting of the 'League of Left-wing Writers'" (《“左翼作家聯盟”成立大會雜記》), Lu Xun, the man, the deeds and the age (《魯迅：其人、其事及其時代》) (Universite Paris 7, centre de publication Asia orientale, Sept., 1978), p. 57.
- [32] Tian Jianong (田家農), "Ozaki Hotsumi and the 'Left League'" (《尾崎秀實與“左聯”》), Beijing ribao 18th Dec., 1980.
- [33] Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing writers", p. 45.
- [34] Ibid., p. 47.
- [35] "Letter from the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Nationalist Party, No. 15889" (《中國國民黨中央執行委員會秘書處公函 15889

號》), reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 192-193.

[36] Ibid., p. 193.

[37] "The Left League as I could remember" (《我記憶中的左聯》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 76.

[38] Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing Writers", p. 45.

[39] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 8.

[40] Ding Jingtang, "About the list of League members who had attended the inaugural meeting of the League of Left-wing Writers", p. 41; Yang Qianru, "Left-wing writers in Shanghai Arts University", p. 104.

[41] "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295.

[42] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 19.

[43] "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295; Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 6.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 6

[47] Feng Xiexiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 5.

[48] "Xia Yan's recollections on the 'Left League'" (《夏衍關於“左聯”一些情況的回憶》), RMLX, p. 5.

[49] "Random recollections on the 'Left League'" (《“左聯”散憶》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 470.

[50] "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295.

[51] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 20.

[52] "The formation of the League of Left-wing writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 296.

[53] Ibid., p. 295.

[54] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 19.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Ibid., p. 296.

[62] Library of Shanghai Normal College, "A list of membership of the Chinese League of left-wing Writers" (《中國左翼作家聯盟盟員考錄》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, pp. 52-81. The Literary Research Centre of the Social Sciences Academy of China also prepared a list of membership which was intended to be published as an appendix to Recollections on the Left League. But it was withdrawn for fear that it was incomplete and inaccurate. Zhang Daming, "Echoes to the 'Membership list of the Left League'" (《對“左聯成員名單”的回聲》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 822.

[63] Liu Fengsi's (劉風斯) letter to the Shanghai Normal College on 27th June, 1980, collected in "Left League members on the Left League" (《“左聯”盟員談“左聯”》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 6, p. 87.

[64] Chen Luo's (陳落) letter to the Shanghai Normal College on 29th Dec., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", p. 142.

[65] Zhu Zhengming (朱正明) reported that he and Wang Qing (王清) were very good friends. Yet they did not know that each other had joined the Left League, although both were introduced by Qi Su and He Jiahuai. Zhu Zhengming, "During the Left League period" (《在左聯時期》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 424.

[66] Wang Zaoming's (王照明) and Zhao Xian's (趙先) letters to the Social Sciences Academy of China on 30th June and 6th July, 1980, Recollections on the Left League, pp. 833 & 831.

[67] Wei Bo (魏伯) is an example. Sun Xizhen (孫席珍, 1906-) said that he was a member. Sun Xizhen, "About the Northern Left League" (《關於北方左聯的事情》), XWXS No. 4, pp. 240-248. But Wei Bo himself denied this. Wei Bo's letter to the Social Sciences Academy of China on 15th May, 1980, Recollections of the Left League, p. 855.

[68] Refer to the appendix of the present thesis for a list of League membership.

[69] Ma Ning, "Miscellaneous recollections on the Left League" (《左聯雜憶》), Recollections on the Left League, pp. 111-112.

[70] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[71] "Miscellaneous recollections on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 112.

[72] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[73] Bu Qinghua (卜慶華), A critical biography of Guo Moruo (《郭沫若評傳》)(Changsha: Hunan remin chubanshe, April, 1980), pp. 91-92.

[74] "The memorial speech on comrade Meng Chao" (《孟超同志追悼會悼詞》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 282.

[75] "The memorial ceremony of comrade Wang Renshu was held in Beijing" (《王任叔同志追悼會在京舉行》), Guangming ribao (《光明日報》), 28th June, 1979.

[76] "The memorial ceremonies of comrades Xu Maoyong, Chen Xianghe [1901-1969] and Dong Qiusi [1899-1969] were held in Beijing" (《徐懋庸、陳翔鶴、董秋斯同志追悼會在京舉行》), Guangming ribao, 13th April, 1979.

[77] Mao Dun, "The early stage of the 'Left League'" (《"左聯"前期》), The road I trod Vol. II, p. 51.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Mao Dun, "The contacts I made with Lu Xun" (《我和魯迅的接觸》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 1 (March, 1979 reprint), p. 66.

[80] Shi Linghe, "Around the time of joining the Left League", p. 86.

[81] Han Tuofu, "Recollection and commemoration - in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun" (《回憶與紀念——紀念魯迅誕生一百週年》), Jinan daxue xuebao (《濟南大學學報》) No. 4, 1981 (15th Nov., 1981), p. 39.

[82] Wu Qiang (吳強), "Recollections on the life of the half year in the Left League" (《左聯半年生活回憶》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 332.

[83] For instance, Ma Zihua (馬子華, 1912-), Qi Su, Zhang Tianxu (張天虛), Zhu Zhengming and Wang Yuqing (王玉清) were introduced by him. Ma Zihua, "The spirit was high" (《意氣方遒》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 313; Qi Su, "My relationship with the Shanghai Left League" (《我和上海左聯的一段關係》), ibid., p. 413; Zhu Zhengming, "During the Left League period", ibid., p. 424; Wang Yuqing's letter to the Social Sciences Academy of China in July, 1980, ibid., p. 833.

[84] For example, Ye Zi was introduced by Guan Lu. Guan Lu, "Random recollections on the Left League and others" (《左聯瑣憶及其他》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 6, p. 102. Ding Ling and Hu Yepin were introduced by Pan Hannian. Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League" (《關於左聯的片斷回憶》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, pp. 29-32. Zhou Yang was responsible for the recruitment of Sha Ting and Xu Pingyu. Sha Ting's and Xu Pingyu's letters to the Shanghai Normal College on 31st & 23rd Nov., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", pp. 138 & 144.

[85] Ma Ning, "Miscellaneous recollections on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 112.

[86] For instance, Lin Huanping (林煥平, 1911-), Li Xiushi (李岫石, 1911-1938), Chen Beiou (陳北鷗, 1912-1981) and Xu Ying (徐盈, 1912-) were nineteen when they joined the League. The first two were born in 1911 and joined the League in 1930 while the latter two were born in 1932 and joined the League in 1931. Some League members were even younger. For instance, Tian Jian and Sima Wensen were born in 1916; Zang Yunyuan (臧雲遠, 1913-) was born in 1913; Yuan Qianli (遠千里, 1915-1968) in 1915. Wang Ruowang (王若望, 1918-) was only fifteen or sixteen when he joined the League in 1933.

[87] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1 (15th March, 1932), reprinted in Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 19.

[88] Ibid., p. 23.

[89] Ibid.

[90] For discussions on the membership of the Crescent group, see Wang-chi Wong, "The Crescent School in twentieth century Chinese poetry" (《新月詩派研究》) (Unpublished M.Phil. thesis, University of Hong Kong, 1981), pp. 159-171.

[91] Guan Lu, "I recalled the Left League" (《我想起了左聯》), Recollections on the Left League, pp. 241-242.

[92] Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 246.

[93] Feng Xuefeng and Pan Mohua were members of the Dawn Association.

[94] Feng Xuefeng, Ying Xiuren (應修人, 1900-1933) and Pan Mohua were members of the Lakeside Poetry Association.

[95] Jian Xian'ai was a member of the Sunlight Association.

[96] Sun Xizhen was a member of the Green Waves Association.

[97] Mao Dun, "The contacts I made with Lu Xun", p. 68.

[98] "The contract of competition with the Dramatists League and the Social Scientists League" (《和劇聯及社聯競賽工作的合同》), Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 25.

[99] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past" (《難忘的往事》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 278.

[100] Ai Wu's letter to the Shanghai Normal College, 6th Dec., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", p. 136; Ai Wu, "A sketch of the thirties - the situation around the joining of the Left League" (《三十年代的一幅剪影——我參加左聯前前後後的情況》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 230.

[101] "I recalled the Left League", p. 243.

[102] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past", p. 278.

[103] Liu Qian's letter to the Shanghai Normal College, 22nd Dec., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", p. 143.

[104] Cao Ming, "Fragmentary recollections on the 'Left League'" (《“左聯”回憶片斷》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 364.

[105] "When I worked in the 'Left League'" (《我在“左聯”工作的時候》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 371.

[106] "Left League members on the Left League", p. 136.

[107] "Several things between the 'Left League' and me" (《我與“左聯”二三事》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 444.

[108] "Sima Wensen", Biographies of modern Chinese writers (《中國現代作家傳略》) (Chongqing: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, May, 1983) Vol. II, p. 49.

[109] Tian Jian's letter to the Shanghai Normal College, 20th Dec., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", p. 137.

[110] Dictionary of Chinese writers: Modern Vol. I (Chengdu: Sichuan renmin chubanshe, Dec., 1979), p. 380.

[111] "Random recollections on the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 471.

[112] Lin Di's letter to the Social Sciences Academy of China on 12th July, 1930, Recollections on the Left League, p. 837.

[113] Wu Taichang, "On Zheng Zhenduo's and Ye Shengtao's not joining the 'Left League'" (《從鄭振鐸、葉聖陶沒有參加“左聯”談起》), Miscellaneous talks on literature and art (《藝文軼話》) (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe, May, 1981), pp. 62-63.

[114] Ibid., p. 62.

[115] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 55.

[116] Ibid.

[117] "Around the formation of the Left League", p. 5.

[118] "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 295; "The League of Left-wing Writers is formed!", MMCLH Vol. VI, p. 442; "The formation of the League of Left-wing Writers", MMCLH Vol. XII, p. 775.

[119] Zhang Daming (張大明), "General information on the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers" (《中國左翼作家聯盟簡況》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 108.

[120] Li Zhu (力竹), "Report on the first general meeting of the Left League" (《記左聯第一次全體大會》), Ba'erdishan Vol. I No. 4 (11th May, 1930), reprinted in MMCLH Vol. I, p. 37.

[121] Xindi (《新地》) No. 1 (June, 1930), Ji'nan yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 20.

[122] Wenhua douzheng Vol. I No. 1 (15th Aug., 1930), MLLP Vol. II, pp. 394-398.

[123] Wenxue daobao (《文學導報》, Literary herald) No. 6&7 (23rd Oct., 1931), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 100-103.

[124] "Notice from the Secretariat" (《秘書處通告》), ibid., p. 127.

[125] "The new mission of Chinese proletarian revolutionary literature" (《中國無產階級革命文學的新任務》), Wenxue daobao No. 8 (15th Nov., 1931), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 132-137.

[126] "Notice of expulsion of Zhou Quanping, Ye Lingfeng, Zhou Yuying" (《開除周全平、葉靈鳳、周毓英的通告》), Wenxue daobao No. 2, MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

[127] "Records of Ouyang Shan's interview - On the Left League" (訪問歐陽山談話記錄—關於"左聯"的一些情況) RMLX, p. 31; Zheng Yuzhi, "Recollecting the 'Left League'" (《回憶"左聯"的一些情況》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 301.

[128] Wu Taichang, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 5.

[129] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 472.

[130] Library of the Shanghai Normal College, "Collection of materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers" (《中國左翼作家聯盟組織機構資料匯錄》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 87.

[131] Sha Ting, "Recollection from a member of the Left League" (《一個左聯盟員的回憶瑣記》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 217.

[132] [Wang] Jinding, "Some recollections on the Left League" (《有關左聯的一些回憶》), ibid., p. 187.

[133] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 371.

[134] "Random recollections on the Left League", ibid., p. 471.

[135] Memoirs of Xu Maoyong (《徐懋庸回憶錄》) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, July, 1982), p. 78.

[136] Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 20.

[137] Wang Zhongchen (王中忱) & Shang Xia (尙俠), The life and literary road of Ding Ling (《丁玲生活與文學的道路》)(Changchun: Jilin renmin chubanshe, Sept., 1982), p. 71.

[138] "Records of Ouyang Shan's interview - On the Left League", p. 31.

[139] Zhang Daming, "General information on the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 108.

[140] "Collections on materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 87.

[141] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 19.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Zheng Yuzhi, "Recollecting the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 301.

[144] Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 371.

[145] Ibid., p. 79.

[146] "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 371.

[147] "Notice of expulsion of Zhou Quanping, Ye Lingfeng, Zhou Yuying", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 49.

[148] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 71.

[149] Ibid., p. 88.

[150] About the work done by Mao Dun after he had resigned from the post of secretary, see, Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 91-146.

[151] "Letter from the Secretariat about the competition of work" (《秘書處關於競賽工作的一封信》), Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, pp. 26-29.

[152] Zhou Guowei (周國偉), "A genuine record of the internal activities of the Left League - the Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1 kept by Lu Xun" (《左聯內部活動的真實記錄——魯迅珍藏的“秘書處消息”第一期》), Zhandi (《戰地》, Battleground) No. 4, 1980 (July, 1980), pp. 69-70.

[153] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun" (《關於“左聯”與魯迅關係的若干回憶》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 9 (Jan., 1982), p. 177.

[154] [Wang] Jinding, "Some recollections on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 185.

[155] "About the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 149.

[156] Sha Ting's letter to the Shanghai Normal College, 30th Jan., 1979, "Left League members on the Left League", p. 138.

[157] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 178.

[158] Ibid.

[159] "Interview with comrade Ren Baige", p. 132; Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 375; Xu Maoyong, "The complete story of my relationship with the Left League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang" (《我和左聯魯迅周揚關係的始終》), RMLX, p. 49.

[160] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 373.

[161] Wang Shuming, "Several things between the 'Left League' and me", Recollections on the Left League, p. 444; Xu Maoyong, "The complete story of my relationship with the Left League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang", p. 49.

[162] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 375.

[163] Mao Dun, "The early stage of the 'Left League'", The road I trod Vol. II, p.

[164] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 179.

[165] Ibid., p. 177; Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 248; "Records of Zhóu Gangming's interview" (《訪問周鋼鳴談話記錄》), RMLX, p. 39. But this sentence was omitted when the article was openly published in Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 6, p. 119.

[166] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 375.

[167] "Records of Ouyang Shan's interview", RMLX, p. 31; Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'" (《憶在“左聯”工作的前後》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 310.

[168] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 78.

[169] Wang Shuming, "Several things between the 'Left League' and me", Recollections on the Left League, p. 444.

[170] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 192.

[171] "Records of Ouyang Shan's interview", RMLX, p. 31.

[172] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 309.

[173] Ibid.; Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 377.

[174] Wang Shuming, "Several things between the 'Left League' and me", ibid., p. 444.

- [175] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 19.
- [176] "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 311.
- [177] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 373.
- [178] Qi Su, "My relationship with the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 417.
- [179] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", p. 372.
- [180] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 5.
- [181] "Collection of materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 89.
- [182] "Biographies of the murdered comrades" (《被難同志傳略》), Qianshao (《前哨》, The Outpost) No. 1 (25th April, 1931), in MMCLH Vol. I, p. 7.
- [183] "The League of Left-wing Writers is formed!", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 442.
- [184] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, pp. 19-20.
- [185] Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 247.
- [186] "Records of Wu Xiru's interview - about the Two Slogan Polemic, the relationship between Lu Xun and the Party, and the popularization of art and literature" (《訪問吳奚如談話記錄——關於兩個口號、魯迅和黨的關係、文藝大眾化的一些情況》), RMLX, p. 79.
- [187] Jinding, "Some recollections on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 185.
- [188] Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 247; "Records of Wu Xiru's interview", p. 79.
- [189] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 21.
- [190] "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 247.
- [191] "Ren Jun on the 'Left League' and the 'Chinese Association of Poetry" (《任鈞談“左聯”和“中國詩歌會”的一些情況》), Luxun yanjiao ziliao No. 6, p. 121.
- [192] Wu Xiru, "The activities of the Left League's Committee for the work of popularization" (《左聯大眾化工作委員會的活動》), Recollections on the Left League, pp. 337-352.
- [193] "Records of Zhou Gangming's interview", RMLX, p. 19.
- [194] Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 337.

[195] Wu Xiru, "The activities of the Left League's Committee for the work of popularization", Recollections on the Left League, p. 337.

[196] Ibid., p. 339; Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 247.

[197] Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 21.

[198] Ibid.

[199] "News of the League of Left-wing Writers" (《左翼作家聯盟消息》), Mengya Vol. I No. 5 (1st May, 1930), in MLLP Vol. II, p. 362.

[200] Ibid.

[201] "Xia Yan's recollection on the 'Left League'", p. 28.

[202] Cao Ming, "Fragmentary recollections on the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 369.

[203] "News of the League of Left-wing Writers", MLLP Vol. II, p. 362.

[204] "Ren Jun on the 'Left League' and the 'Chinese Association of Poetry'", p. 121.

[205] Feng Xuefeng, "Some fragmentary materials about the struggle between two lines of the Shanghai left-wing literary movement in the years 1928-1936", p. 9.

[206] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 371.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Ibid.; "Ren Jun on the 'Left League' and the 'Chinese Association of Poetry'", p. 121; "Collection of materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 90.

[209] "News of the League of Left-wing Writers", MLLP Vol. II, p. 362.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Bing Shen (丙申), "A review of the 'May Fourth' Movement - Report of the Association for the study of Marxist literary theories" (《“五四”運動的檢討——馬克思主義文藝理論研究會報告》), Wenxue daobao No. 2 (5th Aug., 1931), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 41-48.

[212] "Record of Zhou Gangming's interview", p. 119.

[213] Cao Ming, "Fragmentary recollections on the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 369.

[214] "Interview with comrades Sha Ting and Ai Wu" (《訪問沙汀·艾蕪同志》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 6, p. 146.

[215] Cao Ming, "Fragmentary recollections on the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 369.

[216] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'left League' and Lu Xun", pp. 178-179.

[217] "Record of Ouyang Shan's interview", p. 31.

[218] "Record of Zhou Gangming's interview", p. 118.

[219] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 179.

[220] "Lin Huanping on the organization and activities of the Left League and its Tokyo branch" (《林煥平談左聯的組織活動和東京支盟的情況》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 6, p. 111; Guan Lu, "I recalled the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 241.

[221] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 179.

[222] "Record of Ouyang Shan's interview", p. 31.

[223] "Lin Huanping on the organization and activities of the Left League and its Tokyo branch", p. 111; "Records of Bai Shu's interview - about the 'Left League'" (《訪問白曙談話記錄——關於“左聯”》), RMLX, p. 34.

[224] Ibid.

[225] "Xia Yan's recollection on the 'Left League'", p. 28.

[226] "Biographies of the murdered comrades", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 9.

[227] Mao Dun, "About the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 152.

[228] "Collections of materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 91.

[229] Ibid., p. 92. But some members have suggested other ways of division. Zhou Gangming said that there were only three districts. Zhabei and Hudong were combined as the Dongbei district. "Record of Zhou Gangming's interview", p. 118. He got the support of Ren Jun. But Ren suggested that there were a Shizhong district (市中區) and a Bei Sichuanlu district (北四川路). Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 250. Wang Yaoshan did not specify that there was a Dongbei district, but he said that there were three districts only and his Hudong district included the area of the Zhabei district. Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", pp. 310-311. Ma Zhihua even claimed that there were many districts, including Public concession, French concession, Zhabei, Pudong (浦東), Nanshi (南市), Huxi, Jiangwan (江灣), Zhenru (真茹), Xujiahui (徐家匯) and Yangshupu. Ma Zihua, "The spirit was high", Recollections on the Left League, p. 317.

[230] Zhuang Qidong, "Fragmentary recollections on my participation in literary activities during the 'Left League' period" (《我參加“左聯”時期文學活動的回憶片斷》), Recollections on the Left League, p. 405.

[231] Qi Su, "My relation with the Shanghai Left League", ibid., pp. 417-418.

[232] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 301.

[233] Qi Su, "My relation with the Shanghai Left League", ibid., p. 418.

[234] Zheng Yuzhi, "Recollecting some facts about the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 301.

[235] Ibid.

[236] Zhu Zhengming, "During the Left League period", ibid., p. 424.

[237] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable years", ibid., p. 282.

[238] Sha Ting, "Recollection from a member of the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 218.

[239] Ren Jun, "Some facts about the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 250; Bai Shu, "The unforgettable years", ibid., p. 280.

[240] Ibid., p. 250.

[241] Sha Ting, "Recollection from a member of the Left League", ibid., p. 218.

[242] Ai Wu, "A sketch of the thirties - the situation around the joining of the Left League", ibid., p. 231.

[243] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable years", ibid., p. 282.

[244] "Comrade Feng Xuefeng on Lu Xun and the 'Left League'", p. 168.

[245] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 380.

[246] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", ibid., p. 164.

[247] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 17.

[248] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 164.

[249] For information about the Beiping branch of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, cf., "The formation of the Beiping branch of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, and its programme of actions and theories" (《中國左翼作家聯盟北平分盟的成立及其行動綱領和理論綱領》) Zhuanhuan (《轉換》, Transformation) No. 2 (1st Jan., 1931), reprinted in Zhongguo xiandai wenyi

ziliao congkan No. 5, pp. 6-8; and the many recollections in Recollections on the Left League, pp. 495-653.

[250] Cf., Lin Huanping, "Mr Guo and the literary activities of the schoolmates in Tokyo" (《郭先生與留東同學的文藝運動》), Dagongbao (《大公報》) (Hong Kong), 16th Nov., 1941; also the many recollections in Recollections on the Left League, pp. 669-719.

[251] "Resolution on the work of the Left League at the present stage" (《關於左聯目前具體工作的決議》), Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 18.

[252] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, pp. 380-381.

[253] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", ibid., p. 310.

[254] Xiao San, "The Chinese representative's report on the meeting on international revolutionary literature at Haerkefu" (《出席哈爾可夫世界革命文學大會中國代表的報告》), Wenxue daobao No. 3 (20th Aug., 1931), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 52-62; Xiao San, "What have I done for the 'Left League' abroad?" (《我為“左聯”在國外作了些什麼?》), Recollections on the Left League, pp. 175-181.

[255] Cf., Liu Qian, "The Left League and the Chinese Association of Poetry" (《左聯與中國詩歌會》), ibid., pp. 258-277. Members of the Association included Yang Sao, Pu Feng, Ren Jun, Bai Wei, Ai Wu, Song Hanyi (宋寒衣), Lei Jianbo (雷濺波), Shi Ling (石靈, 1909-1956) and Guan Lu - all were League members.

CHAPTER FOURYEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT - THE FIRST HALF OF THE LEFT LEAGUE,  
(1930-1933)(I):

In our discussion of its history, the League is being divided into two stages: 1930 - 1933 being its first half, and 1934-1935, its second stage. This is not merely for the sake of convenience. In actual fact, great contrasts can be found between the two stages. In the early stage, after a brief period of trial and error, the League can be said to have been in a period of construction. During this time, sectarianism was suppressed. Members co-operated peacefully to work for a common cause. Successful wars were fought against various enemies in the literary field. What is more important, during most of the time at this early stage, the relationship between Lu Xun and the League was most cordial. But after 1934, no great achievement could be named. Lu Xun, who had always been an ardent supporter of the League, declined to hold any responsible position in the League. He, together with a group of young men around him, was said to have drifted away from the central leadership of the League. Serious sectarianism developed and internal strife took up much of the League's energy.

Even the leadership of the League changed. Before 1934, the League was mainly led by Lu Xun, Qu Qiubai and Feng Xuefeng. But the last two left Shanghai for Ruijin roughly at the same time: Feng at the end of 1933 and Qu at the beginning of 1934.<sup>[1]</sup> As said earlier, Lu Xun was isolated from the leadership of the Left League, which was taken up by Zhou Yang. This period witnessed a series of quarrels between Lu Xun and the new leadership. Thus, the Left League was dissolved in early 1936 in a most unhappy atmosphere. The consequence of this was another bitter polemic within the leftist camp: the Two Slogan Polemic. The united front in the literary field was shattered.

To begin with, we shall first go into the "Theoretical programme" which was passed in the inaugural meeting of the League. We have reason to believe that the League thought highly of the programme. In many places, it was mentioned proudly:

Under this programme, under such an explicit revolutionary programme, the "Left League" started its activities.[2]

Since the League made public its programme, there has not been any direct attack on the programme.[3]

The activities of the League of Left-wing Writers stem from its theoretical programme. If you want to attack the League, you must first make a thorough examination of the programme on a theoretical level.[4]

Furthermore, according to some League members, the programme was distributed among the members for discussion. [5] Its impact could not have been small. However, it had nothing new to offer the League members. There is little problem to sum up its ideas in a few sentences. We have to stand on the side of the proletarians who are the grave diggers of the bourgeoisie in the final class struggle. We, being poets and artists, will devote our art to the fight. Therefore, we oppose all reactionary forces. All these ideas can easily be found in articles written by the ultra-leftists during the 1928 polemic on revolutionary literature.

In the programme, a strong political flavour can be found. The following lines are most explicit:

They [poets and artists] have no choice but to stand on the frontline of history and take up the cause of literary struggle for the progress of human society and the wiping out of conservative forces.

We have no choice but to stand on the battlefront of the struggle for proletarian liberation, attacking all reactionary and conservative elements, fostering all oppressed and progressive ones. This is a foregone conclusion?

Our art has to be devoted to the bloody "victory or death" struggle.

Our art is anti-feudal, anti-bourgeois and against the trend of those of the petty bourgeoisie who "have lost their social

standing".[6]

Our attitude towards existing society is that we have no choice but to support the liberation movement of the proletarians of the world and to fight against all reactionary forces which oppose the proletariat.[7]

This programme was described by one critic as "an astonishing document" which "talked a minimum about literature but a maximum about the 'liberation of the proletariat'".[8] while another said that "art was not their sole, or even their major, concern. Their works were dedicated to class struggle, to the 'bloody', 'death or victory' battle, to the 'complete liberation of mankind'".[9] However, such attitudes seem to have neglected the emphasis that was given to "art" in the programme. It is true that the League's ultimate aim was the liberation of the proletariat and mankind, and that they were ready to participate in the struggle against reactionary forces. But what was the weapon to be used in this liberation war? Art! The drafters of the programme were well aware of this. The several sentences quoted above have already shown this clearly. In fact, the word "art" appeared frequently in the programme. Its second to last paragraph reads:

Our theory has to point out a correct direction for the movement and help its development. We shall constantly point out the central problems and resolve them and we shall step up the criticism of artistic works. At the same time, we shall not forget literary research, and we shall intensify the criticism of the art of the past. We shall bring in the achievements of proletarian art of other countries and build up a theory of art.[10]

This paragraph deals solely with art and mentions nothing about political struggle. We cannot say that art and literature was neglected. They still maintained that they were poets and artists. Even Mao Dun, who always made a clear distinction between politics and literature and valued the importance of literary skills, was ready to accept the programme.[11] He described it as "natural", "not vigorous" and "comparatively moderate".[12] After all, what was the purpose of setting up another organization if it was concerned with political struggles

only, when there was the CCP to take charge of this?

A certain "Ling Sheng" ( 靈聲 ), possibly a League member, once remarked in a League journal that "those who joined the Left League had agreed to accept and support the programme".<sup>[13]</sup> One critic, interpreting these words, concluded that "there was never hint of dissatisfaction with the Manifesto [programme], no sign that it was unacceptable either to a majority or to a minority within the group".<sup>[14]</sup> However, Han Tuofu recalled that objection had been raised to the programme by some League members even at the inaugural meeting.<sup>[15]</sup> His words may not be totally authentic, as no other League members reported the same thing. But Lu Xun's speech made in the meeting is incontestable. Feng Naichao, the drafter of the programme, admitted in retrospect that "the speech made by Lu Xun in the meeting, that was 'Thoughts on the League of Left-wing Writers', was in spirit a criticism of the programme".<sup>[16]</sup>

In the speech, Lu Xun retained his usual critical attitude. Obviously, his comments were aimed at his once-enemies but now-friends who were sitting next to or in front of him. One very important point of his speech was his warning against turning "right".

According to Lu Xun, there were several ways that "left-wing" writers could turn into "right-wing" writers. First, no contact with actual social struggles. Lu Xun condemned those who talked of socialism in the salon, that was, the "salon-socialists". He said, "it is easy to talk of radical ideas when one shuts oneself in a room. But it is also extremely easy to turn 'right'". Second, no real understanding of the actual nature of revolution. Lu Xun argued that revolutions were painful, mixed with filth and blood, requiring all sorts of petty and tiresome works. It was not "as romantic as the poets

think". Unless one was ready to face all these troubles, Lu Xun warned, one would become disillusioned, desperate or even reactionary when revolution arrived, just like the members of the South Society (Nanshe, 南社). Thirdly, believing that poets or literary men were most lofty and noble. Lu Xun agreed that intellectuals should not be looked down upon since they had duties of their own. But by no means should they enjoy privileges. Lu cautioned writers not to expect handsome rewards from the working class after the revolution was successful. "It is certainly not the duty of the working class to give poets or writers any preferential treatment."

In his speech, Lu Xun suggested several points to which left-wing writers should pay attention. First, it was necessary to be tough and protracted in the war against the old society and forces whose bases were indeed very strong. He despised those who were contented with little achievements - especially personal successes only. Secondly, the battlefield should be broadened to include all kinds of old literature and thinking. Third, new fighters should be fostered. Lastly, a common aim should be established so that a united front could be built up. [17]

This speech of Lu Xun, especially the first part, certainly made many people feel uncomfortable. There was no word of compliment. All we have were critical comments which might have seemed inappropriate or inopportune for such an occasion. It is significant that Lu Xun chose to criticize his allies in this occasion. It further confirms our argument that the question of revolutionary literature had not been solved despite the setting up of the united front. In Lu Xun's eyes, his allies had not made any improvements. They were still preys to all those weaknesses which would make them turn right-wing. Lu Xun was well aware of this and he hastened to give his warnings. What is more, he did not hesitate

to name both the Creation and Sun Societies, pointing out their weakness in the previous polemic. It is not difficult to imagine how embarrassed people like Qian Xingcun and Feng Naichao were. Obviously, some were even annoyed. Feng Xuefeng reported two reactions from the audience:

First, since Lu Xun still stuck to his guns over certain questions and criticized the Creation and Sun Societies as well as others, they thought that Lu Xun "had not changed". Obviously, those holding this attitude believed that it was Lu Xun who should change, rather than themselves. The second group took Lu Xun's words as platitudes, deserving no attention.[18]

We know that Lu Xun had read the programme of the League before the inaugural meeting. He did not alter a word, saying that he could not write this kind of thing.

[19] But this did not mean that he gave his unconditional approval. Xia Yan gave a clue which could be helpful in understanding why Lu Xun did not make any correction to the programme:

He basically agreed to the programme. (He would not agree easily. We told him that it had been agreed upon by the Party's Central Committee.) [20]

In other words, Xia Yan was suggesting that it was because of the Party that Lu Xun gave his approval to the programme.

In the first few months, the League seemed to be active and progressing well. According to a report which came out less than two months after its establishment, the League had developed very fast: close contacts were made with literary groups in schools and factories; various study associations were set up, and an official organ, Shijie wenhua was going to be published soon. We also learn that two meetings had been held by the Association for the Study of International Cultures while the Association for the Study of Marxist Literary Theories started its activities in early April. [21]

Nevertheless, on the same day as the appearance of this report, discontent was voiced in another League magazine, Ba'erdisan ( 《巴爾底山》 , Partisan). Chen Zhengdao, a League member who had attended the inaugural meeting, could not help expressing his disappointments. His "May Day and literature" ( 《五一與文學》 ) aimed at criticizing the writers. But as one critic correctly pointed out, "it implied, by a blistering criticism of magazines almost wholly run by members of the League of Left-wing Writers, that the League itself was failing to carry out the mission enunciated in its Manifesto [programme]". [22] According to Chen, the writers just sat in their rooms imagining the lives and struggles of the proletarians. They could never get hold of real proletarian consciousness because they had not linked themselves up with political movements, and their works, so-called proletarian literature, could not be understood by the masses. Their mood was of the petty bourgeoisie and they were a world away from the proletarians. [23]

Chen Zhengdao's article was followed almost immediately by another piece of criticism from a certain Ju Hua ( 菊華 ) who claimed that he was a supporter of the League. But this time, the comments were directed to the League itself. In his long letter "Several words to the 'Left League'" ( 《想對“左聯”說的幾句話》 ), Ju Hua queried if the League had taken any actions that accord with the directions laid down in its programme:

The first shortcoming of the "Left League" is: we cannot see any action taken by it. It is almost a month since the inaugural meeting was held. But I do not know what has been done by it apart from publishing an incomplete membership list and its programme in some magazines. . . . What has been said by the Left League in the face of this severe White Terror?[24]

According to Ju Hua, the League magazines were unable to constitute a progressive force. Nothing had changed after the formation of the Left League: the same old writers writing the same old things. Tuohuangzhe was

even criticized as non-Marxist and individualistic, because there was an article boosting Jiang Guangci's "The sorrows of Lisa" ( 《麗莎的哀怨》 ) and "The moon that forces its way through the clouds" ( 《衝出雲圍的月亮》 ), both, in the eyes of Ju Hua, were of petty-bourgeois nature. [25] Ju gave a warning:

These many mistakes have already caused discontents among the members. Many sincere young people are wondering if the League is simply hanging out a new signboard while selling the same old medicine. [26]

Both criticisms attacked proletarian writers and the Left League for fighting only on paper. What they wanted was direct participation in actual political activities.

The approaching May Day, in fact, the whole so-called "Red May", was a chance to test the League's fighting power. A general meeting, the first of its kind, was held by the League on 29th April. A paragraph in the report on the meeting accounted for the holding of the meeting. It can be viewed as an answer to the criticisms made by people like Chen Zhengdao and Ju Hua:

It will soon be two months since the great inaugural meeting was held and the cadres elected on 2nd March. What has been done by the Left League during these two months? People outside want to know. All its members want to know too. The revolutionary May is coming. In this great month of commemoration, what plans have been made by the League to forge ahead? All the members want to know. People outside ought to know too. [27]

However, in the meeting, the Secretary of the standing committee had to admit that the work done by the League in the past few months was "loose" and "ineffective". Every League member as well as the leading cadres should be responsible for this. [28]

Even the general meeting itself was considered a failure too. It was attended by about thirty members, plus three representatives from the South Nation Society and two Japanese students. [29] This attendance was regarded

as inadequate. Furthermore, because of an unfavourable environment, speeches were restricted. Time was limited too. Many important discussions could not be developed fully. It was also reported that the preparations for the meeting were not adequate and the proposals made in the meeting had not been drafted beforehand, but were suggested by individuals sporadically. As a result, many important issues were left out. What was worse, criticisms were directed to individuals, instead of taking as a trend. The social roots of the problems were not pursued and errors were not corrected at a theoretical level. [30]

Despite all these deficiencies, this meeting deserves our attention for the fact that it was the first general meeting of the League. As the report in Ba'erdisan said, it was of great significance that the League could hold a general meeting at the time when White Terror was getting more and more severe. The full report on the proceedings enables us to have a deeper understanding of the League at its earliest days. In the meeting, after "animated discussion", eleven motions were adopted:

- (A) To examine the adoption of the programme;
- (B) To publish a weekly organ;
- (C) To establish contact with the Japanese Proletarian Science Academy;
- (D) To organize a visiting group to the Soviet Union;
- (E) To attend the Conference of Delegates from the Soviet Areas;
- (F) To oppose the internecine wars between warlords;
- (G) To wage a struggle against the theories of liquidationists;
- (H) To send representatives to the League of Social Scientists;
- (I) To organize public speeches and debates;
- (J) To have a criticism session for self-criticism;
- (K) To participate in an organized way on May Day and mobilize the masses. [31]

To be fair, these eleven motions could not be considered perfunctory. The two-thirds attendance could not be taken as low either. The reporter of Ba'erdisan was a

bit too critical. But this proves that the League was determined to make improvements.

Among the eleven motions, only the last one was concerned with May Day. It seemed that the meeting had not given enough attention to the issue. But Xia Yan's words revealed a different picture:

On the surface, the purpose of this meeting was to reveal the work done by the "Left League" in the past two months. But in reality, it was for the preparation and planning of the activities in the "Red May". [32]

Mao Dun also reported that a lot had been said about May Day in the meeting. Firstly, a manifesto for the commemoration of May Day was passed. [33] Practical arrangements for League members to take part in demonstrations; putting up posters and distributing pamphlets were then made. [34] Apart from these, the League also started a series of propaganda movements. On 1st May, the League sent out three publications: Vol. I No. 5 of Mengya, Vol. I No.2/3 of Ba'erdisan and Vol. II No. 4 of Dazhong wenyi. Except for the last one, the other two inevitably carried articles commenting on May Day. On top of this, a May Day Special ( 《五一特刊》 ) was jointly published by thirteen journals. [35] It had also been planned that a May Day Pictorial ( 《五一畫報》 ) was to be published by the Association for the Study of Cartoon and a May Day Song was to be composed. [36] But these were not carried out.

The attitude of the Left League was clearly shown in the May Day Commemoration Manifesto which was passed in the first general meeting of the League and published in full in May Day Special. To them, May Day was not a simple commemoration day, but a day for bloody struggle. Therefore, they had the idea of a "Blood-bright May Day" and that "the 'May Day' of this year is a 'Blood-bright 'May Day'". The following paragraph is of great importance:

We wholeheartedly stand under the banner of proletarian liberation and take part in the revolutionary struggle. We will join the workers all over the world in the mighty demonstration movement on the blood-bright "May Day" against imperialism and all its reactionary minions.[37]

Important League members like Feng Naichao and Peng Kang also published articles expressing their desire to fight a brave war on this great day.[38]

There was no formal report on what happened on the May Day of 1930. It could not have been a success on the part of the Left League, or the League would have reported it proudly. According to Mao Dun, the more important writers like Lu Xun, Yu Dafu and Mao Dun himself did not take part in the demonstration. He heard afterwards that the masses dispersed quickly when the police marched in. There was no such thing as a "Blood-bright 'May Day'".[39] It is easy to imagine how unhappy the leading cadres were. Once again, the League could only fight on paper.

In fact, repression came before they started this May Day demonstration. On the evening of 29th April, the day when the Left League held its first general meeting, the Art Drama Association, a close ally of the League, was closed down by the KMT authority. In the raid, dummy weapons and military uniforms for the performance of "All quiet on the western front" (《西線無戰事》) the night before were taken as proof of insurrection. A rickshaw puller who was hired for moving goods was arrested too.[40] The Left League immediately issued a protest. Apart from condemning the raid, the League called for a "staunch resistance against the authorities for destroying cultural movements" and a struggle for freedom of assembly, speech, publishing and performance on stage.[41] The Federation of Drama Movement (戲劇運動聯合會) and the Art Drama Association also published similar protests in League magazines.[42] But these were the only things that the leftist camp could do in the face of military superiority of the KMT.

Upon the failure of the first general meeting and the May Day demonstration, the Left League called another general meeting on the eve of May-Thirtieth for the same purposes: review the past and plan the activities for the following day. [43]

In reviewing the work done by the League, the meeting agreed that no remarkable progress had been made. Various sections were still inactive. "It is undeniable that she [the League] is not yet a strong and firm fighting body." [44] Several reasons were suggested. One, League members did not have a clear understanding of the political situation and were unable to grasp the historical, cultural and political significance of the League. Two, because of the first reason, League members were not united. Three, most League members did not take part in the work of the League. Four, there were deficiencies in the editing of League magazines, most of which did not work in accordance with the resolutions of the League. [45] Nevertheless, several things had been done. Firstly, literary study groups were formed in universities. Secondly, the editorial section had held two meetings with the editors of left-wing magazines. Thirdly, the Association for the Study of Marxist Literary Theories had held a seminar, though the discussion was inadequate. Another notable achievement was the sending of representatives to the Conference of Delegates from the Soviet Areas. Rou Shi, Hu Yepin and Feng Keng attended the Conference in May. They made a congratulatory speech on behalf of the League. [46] Rou Shi, after the meeting, wrote a reportage, "A great impression" ( 《一個偉大的印象》 ).

As for the activities of the next day, there was a May-Thirtieth Preparatory Committee for the job. Its representative, gave an account on the preparations and lectured on the significance of a demonstration on May-Thirtieth. [47] A resolution was passed insisting that

every member should join in the demonstration. They were to be divided into small groups led by group leaders and there was a captain to take charge of the whole procession. League members would also take part in the re-opening of the Chinese Arts University, the site of the inaugural meeting of the League, which was closed down by the authorities several days before.

Once again, we have no knowledge of the events happened on 30th May, 1930. No report was made on it. Yet the two general meetings could be viewed as attempts made by the League to struggle for achievements in its early days. Yet a less obvious but more important achievement during this period was the overcoming of, or the effort made to overcome, sectarianism in the League.

About two to three months after the formation of the League, the secretary of its party group, Feng Naichao wrote the article, "Proletarian literary movement in China and the historical significance of the formation of the Left League" (《中國無產階級文學運動及左聯產生之歷史的意義》). There are many lines in this article which show that the League was anxious to check sectarianism:

Its [the League's] premise is the extermination of the "clique" concept of petty bourgeois consciousness.

Anyone who insists on the "clique" concept, or evaluates the present movement in terms of the past oppositions between the small groups, is himself destroying the literary movement!

We cannot guarantee the past and future of anybody. As long as he is ready to join in the struggle under the banner and the programme of the Left League, he is a comrade of the League. Does the small group (the so-called "clique") consciousness still exist in the Left League? If yes, the comrades in the Left League, . . . are anxious to overcome it immediately.

The organization of the Left League is growing every day. Its relation with the literary societies of young people is becoming closer every day. The door of the Left League is "wide open". [48]

These are not empty words. The leading members of the League were conscious of the need of clearing away any concept that might lead to sectarianism. In one instance, Qian Xingcun and Jiang Guangci repudiated the remark made by a reader of Tuohuangzhe, an official organ of the Left League and a continuation of the defunct Xinliu yuekan, that the journal was a joint publication of the Creation and Sun Societies:

Tuohuangzhe is not a collaboration of the Creation and Sun Societies. After it was raided, the Creation Society has ceased to exist. The Sun Society was also dissolved voluntarily last year. Tuohuangzhe is a common magazine of the left-wing writers, but not a magazine of any organization! [49]

In another case, they published an open letter to the Professors of Fudan University denying that they had sent a threatening letter to the University. Though they insisted that they would continue their struggle for the liberation of the proletariat and fight against all reactionary elements in literature, they declared that their struggle was on the level of theory and they would not adopt sly and underhand tricks.<sup>[50]</sup> This proves that the League was eager to make friends, not enemies.

However, fighting against sectarianism does not mean that the League was not left-deviationist. We have seen that League members were sent onto the street to demonstrate in "Red May". The left-deviationist trend was most clearly revealed in the resolution "New situation in the proletarian literary movement and our mission" passed by the executive committee on 4th August, 1930. This was the first resolution passed by this committee after the formation of the League.

The political flavour of this resolution was extremely strong. It began with an analysis of the international situation: there were two opposing camps in the world, one made up of dying capitalist countries and the reactionary ruling class, the other one consisted of all the socialist countries and the revolutionary

proletarian masses in capitalist countries. There were hunger, murders, struggles, anger and revolution in the former camp while the life of those in the latter was improving. On the other hand, revolutionary masses were preparing for the final war in world revolution. Revolution in China had also started with the establishment of Soviet rule in various parts of the country.<sup>[51]</sup> In the eyes of the executive committee members, the proletarian literary movement had entered a new stage: from attacking bourgeois literature and gaining leadership to actively taking part in the organizational activities for the struggle towards Soviet rule. This change was considered to be a result of the development of both the Chinese revolutionary movement and the proletarian literary movement. In this new situation, the Left League could not be purely an organization of writers, but one which should lead the literary struggle of the masses.<sup>[52]</sup>

Roughly at the same time, another resolution was passed by the Left League concerning the Conference of Delegates from the Soviet Areas.<sup>[53]</sup> The same political flavour was to be found in this resolution. It first gave a report on the decisions made in the Conference, which, the resolution declared, would be firmly supported by the League. It then called for the support of the Soviet regime. For the building up of the nascent culture the Left League had to accomplish six roles: (1) fight against imperialism; (2) fight against the internecine wars between warlords; (3) support the motherland of the proletariat - Soviet Russia; (4) fight against Trotskyists and social democrats; (5) support the Soviet regime of China; (6) create worker and peasant culture.<sup>[54]</sup> Five out of these six roles were political ones. It is obvious that the Left League was going to become a fighting body which would be deeply involved in political struggles:

The proletarian literary movement should be for the life-and-death struggle of the Soviet

regime. The Soviet literary movement should be started from this bloody stage.

We call for every member of the "Left League" to go to the factories, villages and the grass-roots level of society.

The organizational principle of the "Left League" is not a gathering of writers. It has a programme for struggle of its own. [55]

There were political reasons for this. The left-deviationist Li Lisan party line was in its prime when these resolutions were passed. On 11th June, the Politburo of the Central Committee passed a resolution called "The new revolutionary high tide and winning victory in one or more provinces" ( 《新的革命高潮與一省或幾省的首先勝利》 ) which stated that a new revolutionary high tide had arrived and that the Communists should try to win victories in one or more provinces by military insurrections. [56] Mao Zedong once made an analysis on the Li Lisan line. According to him, the left-deviationist party line arose because Li Lisan and other comrades failed to see that adequate preparation was necessary before revolution could be successful. They also misapprehended the situation in China. They thought that incessant wars between warlords and the initial success of the Red Army movement made China ready for "big actions". They then called for victory in one or more provinces which might, they thought, bring about a socialist revolution. Adventurist plans for organizing armed insurrections in key cities were drawn up. "They merged the various leading bodies of the Party, the Youth League and the trade unions into action committees at corresponding levels for preparing armed insurrections and this brought all day-to-day work to a standstill." [57]

It is not difficult to find similarities between the Li Lisan line and the League's policy during this period. Feng Naichao's words in a political report made in the first general meeting of the League show clearly such influence:

At a time when a revolutionary high tide is imminent, revolutionary writers must unreservedly join in the painful activities. Even if they have to drop their work and status as writers, there is nothing for regret. [58]

Mass demonstration was one of the most important political activities organized by the League. It can be viewed as a part of the military insurrections organized by the Party. Whenever there was any special day, the League would inevitably launch a mass demonstration in the main streets. May was the busiest month. There were May Day, May Fourth, May Fifth (birth of Karl Marx) and May Thirtieth. Anti-KMT and anti-imperialist slogans were shouted. It is ironic that the authorities were also aware of these dates. Very often, police were waiting for the masses even before the demonstration started. The left-wingers then developed shock tactics: a special kind of demonstration called "flying meeting" (飛行集會) would be held. That is to say, they would try to do everything, such as distributing pamphlets, shouting slogans and giving speeches in a very short time before the police arrived. They then dispersed as quickly as possible when the police marched in. In fact, this was one of the demonstration methods listed in a document of the CCP on the organization of the Grand Demonstrations on 1st August, 1930. [59]

Apart from mass demonstrations, putting up posters was another thing to be done. There were two ways of doing this. One was to have the posters ready beforehand and they were put up onto the walls wherever possible. Another way was to write slogans directly onto the walls. From the recollections of League members, we can tell that these activities were quite well organized. League members were divided into groups which were led by group leaders. One would be punished if one failed to attend the demonstration. [60] However, members like Lu Xun and Mao Dun never joined such activities and they

were not punished. It was simply difficult to know if the fellow members had turned up or not, as the situation was so chaotic. But there was a scrutiny system to check the putting up or writing of posters. Many League members said that they had to put up a fixed number of posters. They wrote down their initials or an English letter on the posters so that the scrutineers could count the number put up by one particular member. One would be praised if one put up a large number of posters. The best billposters would even be awarded a prize of a notebook or a vest.<sup>[61]</sup>

Before they went out for these anti-government activities, League members would clear out everything in their houses so as to make sure that no evidence would be found even if they were arrested.<sup>[62]</sup> League members said that they were as delighted and happy as going to fairs when they went to demonstration.<sup>[63]</sup> But they all regarded these activities as sacred and joined in eagerly. They believed that posters were a most effective weapon.<sup>[64]</sup> There was a saying among League members: "One poster can do the work of a red grenade".<sup>[65]</sup> Most League members believed that since the activities were organized by the Party, they would support them unconditionally.<sup>[66]</sup> Many others considered these activities a means of forging willpower.<sup>[67]</sup> In fact, it was said that these activities were employed as a test for both League members and those who wanted to join the League.<sup>[68]</sup> But the cool report in a newspaper on a demonstration held on the International Women's Day, 1930, showed that people were indifferent and used to such disturbances:

#### Communist Attack on Tramcars

The now familiar form of minor demonstration which is composed of pamphlet throwing and the breaking of windows in railless tramcars was again in evidence on March 8, the occasion being International Women's Day.

Between 9:30 and 9:40 A.M. some 200 Chinese students and workers were scattered along Nanking Road between Fokien and Chekiang Roads

and several of the number distributed communistic handbills bearing on Interational Women's Day. The arrest of three of the distributors resulted in the crowd retreating to Avenue Edward VII via Fokien Road. [69]

But on the other hand, the moderates within the League were alarmed by the instruction that they should drop their pens and participate in actual fightings. Mao Dun said,

We can imagine, if all the League members were sent out on the street [for demonstration] and one-third of them were arrested, it would have been extremely difficult to accomplish the role stated in the theoretic and action programmes. [70]

The KMT, now well established in Nanjing, had the strength to crush this kind of small scale disturbance easily. The adventurist policy on the part of the leading cadres subjected the League members to danger. After all, the mightiest weapon of writers is the pen. It is more suitable for them to act as propogandists, rather than actual fighters in revolutions. If these writers were arrested and imprisoned in large numbers, what would then be left of the League and who would do the work of propaganda?

Despite the influence of the left-deviationist Party line which put too much emphasis on political activities, the Left League was still able to pay great attention to literary activities. Among the various literary activities engaged in by the League, the popularization of literature received most attention. Pan Hannian named it as one of the four major works to be carried out by the League. [71] The Association for the Study of Popularization of Literature was formed almost immediately after the setting up of the League. In fact, the discussion of the issue had already been started even before the League held its inaugural meeting.

It is ironic that Dazhong wenyi should be used for the discussion of the topic. In 1928, even the term "mass literature" (dazhong wenyi 大眾文藝) was attacked

because of its Japanese origin which referred to vulgar mass literature of the feudal period, not to say the editor of the journal, Yu Dafu.<sup>[72]</sup> However, Dazhong wenyi was taken up gradually by the ultra-leftists.<sup>[73]</sup> This could be viewed as the result of the building up of the united front. In March and May, 1930, Dazhong wenyi published two special issues on nascent literature. Apart from carrying the experiments made by the League members in creating the so-called "mass literature",<sup>[74]</sup> they published a number of treatises and a report on the seminar which was attended mainly by members of the former Creation and Sun Societies such as Shen Duanxin, Feng Naichao, Xu Xingzhi, Meng Chao, Zheng Boqi, Tao Jingsun, Jiang Guangci, Hong Lingfei, Pan Hannian, Yu Huai and Qiu Yunduo. They were able to touch upon a number of important problems, like the language problem which constituted a main barrier for popularizing literature as the masses could not read the written texts. It was also suggested that old literary forms might be employed for the benefit of the masses who could not understand and accept new ones.<sup>[75]</sup> Unfortunately, most of them did not shake free from ultra-leftist viewpoints. It was argued that writers did not write for the sake of enjoyment, but for agitating and organizing the masses. For the sake of popularization, they were ready to sacrifice the artistic value of literature. Xia Yan said that all they wanted was black bread, not fine biscuits.<sup>[76]</sup> Guo Moruo's words were most explicit:

Therefore the slogan for the popularization of literature should be the vulgarization of proletarian literature. So vulgar that it can be no literature. [77]

It was again Lu Xun who cautioned against these attitudes. Firstly, he stressed the importance of readers. "Readers should reach a certain standard. The first thing is to become literate. The second thing is to have an average standard of general knowledge."<sup>[78]</sup> Secondly, he argued that it was a wrong concept to lower the value of literature so as to toady and pander to the masses. This would not do any good to them. Lu Xun believed that,

with so many problems, it was idle talk to ask for a complete popularization at that time.<sup>[79]</sup> When compared with those of his contemporaries, Lu Xun's words were more profound and less idealistic. However, not even Lu Xun could provide any prescription.

Nevertheless, the activities of the Left League were not solely political or literary ones. The celebration of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday was one which had a human touch. Lu Xun's birthday was on 25th September. But this birthday party was held on the 17th. Some sources said that it was the idea of the Communist Party to hold such a party.<sup>[80]</sup> But openly, it was said to be organized by Lu Xun's friends Rou Shi, Feng Xuefeng and Feng Naichao.<sup>[81]</sup> Dong Shaoming (董紹明, i.e., Dong Qiusi), one of the promoters of the Left League and his wife, Cai Yongshang (蔡咏裳, 1901-1940) were sent to approach Agnes Smedley who rented a western restaurant, the Surabaya, for the occasion.<sup>[82]</sup> Smedley reported that over one hundred guests were invited, but half of them left before dinner. Among the guests, there were writers, artists, professors and students in universities, actors and news reporters. Representatives from the Left League, the Social Scientists League, Artists League and Dramatists League were present. Others like Ye Shengtao and Fu Donghua went to the party too.<sup>[83]</sup> Although this meeting was apolitical in nature, sentries had to be posted because of the presence of important Communist personages.<sup>[84]</sup>

The party was chaired by Rou Shi, who was the first one to make a speech after dinner.<sup>[85]</sup> Others, including Feng Keng<sup>[86]</sup> and a representative from the Association for the Rear Support of the Red Army (紅軍後援會) who was just released from prison, spoke too.<sup>[87]</sup> Smedley also gave a report on the proletarian movement in China. Finally, Lu Xun made a speech in reply. This was the only occasion of this kind in the League's history.

We can tell that at this early stage, Lu Xun was given great respect by the Communist Party.

Meanwhile, the KMT further tightened their control. In December, 1930, forty-four clauses of the "Publication laws of the Republican government" (《國民政府的出版法》) were issued, prohibiting the publication of anything which caused or would cause damage to the KMT, the Three Principles or the interests of the country.<sup>[88]</sup> This was supplemented by the "Details for the implementation of the Publication laws" (《出版法施行細則》) on 7th October, 1931. In November, 1932 and June, 1934, there were the "Standards for the examination of propaganda materials" (《宣傳品審查標準》) and "Methods for the censorship of books and magazines" (《圖書雜誌審查辦法》).<sup>[89]</sup> Vested with such power, the KMT inspectors could forbid the publication of large numbers of articles, books and journals. The Left League was put in a difficult position. League journals were banned immediately after they were put out.

The real threat to the League came in September, 1930. Chen Lifu, secretary-general of the executive committee of the KMT Party Central Committee, formally placed a ban on the League. Orders were issued to close the League down and arrest its responsible members.<sup>[90]</sup> From then on, the Left League was driven underground completely.

There was no way for the KMT police to "close down" the League. It had no definite premises - at first, the League had rented an "office" at Niuzhuang Road (牛莊路), but it withdrew after two months.<sup>[91]</sup> However, the order to arrest members was carried out efficiently. On 9th October, 1930, a member of the South Nation Society and Freedom Movement League Zong Hui (宗暉, 1910-1930) was shot dead at Yuhuatai (雨花臺), Nanjing. Then on 7th February, 1931, there was the execution of the so-called

"Five martyrs of the Left League" (左聯五烈士) at Longhua (龍華), Shanghai. Eighteen other Communists were shot at the same time. Among them were three women, one pregnant. [92]

The five martyrs were Li Weisen, Hu Yepin, Rou Shi, Yin Fu and Feng Keng. It is generally believed that all five were arrested on 17th January, 1931 by the British police during a meeting in the Oriental Hotel. They were among the earliest members of the Left League. Except Hu Yepin who joined the League in May, 1930, [93] the other four were believed to have been present at the inaugural meeting. Rou Shi was even one of the twelve preparatory committee members. In the first year of the League, that is, the year after they had joined the League and before they were arrested, they were actively engaged in League affairs. According to the reports in Qianshao, Rou Shi was an executive as well as a standing committee member, taking charge of the publication section of the League. He was also the representative of the Left League in the Conference of Delegates from the Soviet Areas. Hu Yepin was an executive committee member, responsible for the reportage movement of workers, peasants and soldiers. Feng Keng was sent by the League to work with the Central Preparatory Committee for the All-China Soviet Congress while Yin Fu was a frequent contributor to League journals. [94] Their death was undoubtedly a great loss to the League.

Until very recently, there were controversies over the circumstances as well as the causes of their arrest. There is absolutely no doubt that the meeting was held in the Oriental Hotel (東方旅社). Room 31 was the meeting site. [95] According to an article in Qianshao the meeting was connected with the preparation of the All-China Soviet Congress. [96] This idea was endorsed by a book written by Feng Keng's husband:

On the night of 17th January, crowded in a

room in the Oriental Hotel . . . were over thirty men and women who were at a meeting . . . one of the meetings of the preparatory committee for the All-China Soviet Congress. [97]

If this is the case, although the circumstances which led to their arrest had no direct link with the Left League, the League did play a part in it since they were sent by the League to help in the preparatory works of the All-China Soviet Congress.

Nevertheless, it has also been held that they were attending a different kind of Communist Party meeting when the British police forced their way in. The five martyrs were but the victims of power struggles of the CCP. [98] To have a deeper understanding of the picture, we have to go into the history of the Communist Party. [99]

In June, 1928, Li Lisan was made the head of the Propaganda Department of the CCP in the Sixth General Meeting. On 11th June, 1930, the Politburo passed a resolution which declared the possibility of winning victory in one or more provinces. This was the most important document of the Li Lisan line. During the summer of 1930, Li Lisan started an attack on Wuhan. After some minor successes, the Communists suffered a disastrous defeat. In mid-August, Qu Qiubai and Zhou Enlai were sent back by the Comintern to call for the Third Plenum which was held in November. It was designed to suppress the "adventurist" or "putschist" policy of Li Lisan. Nevertheless, the criticism turned out to be very moderate. Li's mistakes were considered to be tactical ones. This was not acceptable to the Comintern which sent a letter to the Central Committee of the CCP in November. [100] This letter harshly condemned Li Lisan who had to go to Moscow for trial. [101]

There was then a group of young members who had just returned from the Sun Yatsen University of Moscow. The head of this group, known as the "Twenty-eight

Bolsheviks", was Wang Ming.<sup>[102]</sup> They gained the confidence and support of Pavel Mif, Chancellor of the Sun Yatsen University and head of the Chinese branch of the Comintern, during the anti-Trotsky campaign in the University. They were anxious to grasp the leadership of the Party. But their ambition was checked in the Third Plenum.

As the Comintern was not happy with the Third Plenum, Mif was sent to China. He called the Fourth Plenum on 13th January, 1931. Apart from liquidating the Li Lisan line, it also criticized the Third Plenum. With the support of Mif, the "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks" climbed to the top of the Party Central. Wang Ming was soon made the secretary. Among the old cadres, only Xiang Zhongfa (向忠發, 1888-1931) and Zhou Enlai were able to retain positions in the Central Committee. This usurpation of power by a group of inexperienced returned students caused great discontent in the Party. The opposition mainly gathered around He Mengxiong (何孟雄, 1898-1931), Xu Degen (徐大戈), Luo Zhanglong (羅章龍, 1901- ) and Wang Kequan (王克全). They withdrew from the Fourth Plenum and set up emergency committee with their own candidates.

The Oriental Hotel meeting on 17th January was held only four days after the Fourth Plenum. Harold Isaacs, who was close to the scene and the people involved, said in his book The tragedy of the Chinese revolution:

A group of these older Party members and trade unionists, and some younger men, led by the veteran Ho Mung-shung [He Mengxiong], met at a Shanghai hotel on the night of January 17th to consider the new situation with which they were confronted. [103]

This idea was taken up by later historians. Benjamin Schwartz, whose Chinese Communism and the rise of Mao has been considered a classic, pointed out that it was a meeting of a newly formed "Emergency committee".<sup>[104]</sup> Robert North held a similar view, saying that the meeting

was one held by a newly constituted Central Committee formed by Wang Ming's opponents. [105]

T.A. Hsia queried these ideas by pointing out that the "Left League martyrs" "had not yet earned enough seniority to be qualified for a meeting on such a high level; and any such meeting should have included some more of the known secessionists, namely Lo Chang-lung [Luo Zhanglong], Wang K'o-ch'uan [Wang Kequan] and others, who, however, were not among those apprehended that night". [106] This is a sensible argument. But materials available today reveal that Issacs's and others' accounts were closer to the facts.

Firstly, we have Feng Xuefeng's words. Although he had no knowledge of the meeting when it was being held, [107] yet, as T.A. Hsia said, he was "a cadre in charge of a news agency under the Central Propaganda Department of the CCP". [108] Furthermore, he was responsible for the publishing the commemoration issue of Qianshao. Thus, his information is reliable. He recalled:

That meeting had nothing to do with the Left League. It was a meeting of some comrades within the Party to oppose Wang Ming's Fourth Plenum....The one who played the greatest role was Li Weisen. He was then very young and active. Bai Mang [白莽, pseudonym of Yin Fu] was then editing Liening qingnian [《列寧青年》]. Feng Keng worked in the workers and peasants division of the Left League. Both had frequent contacts with Li Weisen. Hu Yepin joined the Party in June, 1930. But he was very active. They were discontented with the Fourth Plenum and so joined the meeting....

At noon on 17th January, I met Hu Yepin on the road. He talked of much of his discontent towards the Fourth Plenum angrily. I told him I could do nothing about it. [109]

His attitude towards the matter was probably the reason why Rou Shi did not tell him anything about the meeting.

Secondly, we have Luo Zhanglong. We have seen that he was one of the most active opponents of the Wang Ming

leadership. His knowledge of the whole story is unquestionable. He said:

In order to exchange ideas on our reactions towards Mif-Wang Ming's changing of the Party leadership and our expulsion, in order to oppose Wang Ming's opportunist line, in order that the affairs of the Party would not come to a halt and that the revolution could be pushed forward continuously, Shi Wenbin [史文彬], He Mengxiong, Li Qiushi [Li Weisen], Lin Yunan [林育南, 1897-1931] and I, together with other comrades, planned together to call a Party meeting in the Shanghai Oriental Hotel. This meeting was presided over by He Mengxiong, Li Qiushi and Lin Yunan. Those attending included the representatives from the General Union, Railway Union, Sailors' Union, Shanghai Union as well as the delegates from Shanghai, Jiangsu and the Soviet areas. At that time, Li Qiushi was in charge of cultural matters. He came to ask me, should people like Rou Shi be invited to the meeting. I consented. This meeting was a Party meeting. It discussed the work for the whole nation, insisting on the Party line of the Sixth General meeting and opposing the Wang Ming clique. Therefore, it was not a "Left League" meeting. Five martyrs of the "Left League" was a term formulated afterwards. [110]

These words, apart from confirming that it was not a Left League meeting but a Party meeting, also account for the presence of the Left League martyrs. In another paragraph Luo explained the reason why he himself, being the head of the opposition, was not arrested:

Originally, I had to go to the Oriental Hotel to make a report. But at that time, a comrade from another province came to talk to me. I arrived late. There were many others who, for different reasons, could not attend the meeting on time. [111]

This can clear away the doubts of T.A. Hsia. What is more, both Xia Yan and Feng Naichao also agreed that the meeting was held by an opposition group in the Communist Party against the Fourth Plenum. [112] They both said that on that day, the Left League held a meeting. Xia Yan even went further to point out that it was a general meeting for passing on the political programme of Wang Ming. [113] After this meeting, the five martyrs went to the Oriental Hotel meeting. According to Xia Yan, Rou Shi had invited

Yang Hansheng and Xia to go to the Oriental Hotel meeting. [114]

But then how can we account for the report in Qianshao? In the first instance, there might be political reasons behind it. How could a Left League organ publish anything against the new leadership of the CCP? Secondly, according to an article "The incident at the Oriental Hotel" (《東方旅社事件》), whose writers seemed to have been able to get hold of the KMT documents and the recollections of those who were arrested at the same time, Room 31 of Oriental Hotel had been hired by the literary representatives for the Conference of delegates from the Soviet Areas. [115] This tallies with Hu Yepin's note which was passed out from prison: Hu was arrested at an organ of the preparatory committee for the Soviet Congress. [116]

Around the time when the five martyrs were arrested, thirty-one other CCP members were caught too. [117] This was the greatest known catch by the KMT since the "4.12 Incident". How could this be possible? T.A. Hsia, in his paper "Enigma of the five martyrs", quoted the words of Isaacs, Schwartz, North and Li Ang (李昂), [118] and alleged that the meeting was betrayed to the police by Wang Ming or his group in an attempt to eliminate the opponents. [119] Isaacs' words were:

In circumstances which are still a whispered scandal in the Party ranks, that meeting was betrayed to the British police of the International Settlement. [120]

Schwartz and North were more specific. The former said that "hostile sources have strongly intimated that Wang Ming was implicated in this event" while the latter said that "the British police had been informed by Wang Ming." [121] However, Hunter was right in pointing out that both Schwartz and North "acknowledge their indebtedness to Harold Isaacs and Li Ang for the suggestion". [122] He also tried very hard to reject the idea of treachery.

Firstly, he pointed out that "Schwartz and North seem to have merely copied Isaacs".<sup>[123]</sup> But he could not say anything against Isaacs' ideas.<sup>[124]</sup> Secondly, he argued that since the principal enemy was not He Mengxiong but Luo Zhanglong, "what would be the point of betraying the relatively minor characters in the drama (including some raw novices in the Party like the League members present) when the main threat would still be around?"<sup>[125]</sup> Yet we have already quoted Luo Zhanglong's own words which confirm that he was supposed to be present in the fatal meeting. Thirdly, he said that He Mengxiong and his groups had already been expelled from the Party then and so there was no need to resort to treachery.<sup>[126]</sup> But which one is more effective in wiping out opposition: expulsion from Party or let the KMT do the killing? As many members were not happy with the Wang Ming leadership, there was no way to expel them all. We have to bear in mind that altogether thirty-six were arrested. Thus a large number of opponents could be eliminated at one stroke. Was this not tempting to Wang Ming? After all, expulsion from the Party was not a good way to solve the problem. Those expelled could form a separate party, just as Luo Zhanglong did, to fight against the Communist Party.<sup>[127]</sup> This could constitute a great nuisance to Wang Ming. Hunter's last argument was clever. He said that a Wang Ming betrayal could easily have led to Wang Ming's own destruction because the thirty-six arrested, under torture and interrogation, might defect and reveal the secret of the Wang Ming leadership. Wang Ming would not be that stupid, Hunter argued.<sup>[128]</sup> This is a fair point, but in view of the lack of support from Chinese speculation at the time, the logic does not seem to have applied.

Isaacs said that there was a widespread scandal in the Party ranks that the meeting was betrayed to the police. If we go to the writings of some Party members, we can see that many Party members then did believe that Wang Ming was responsible for the treachery.

Zhang Guodao (張國燾, 1897-1979), one of the founding members of the CCP and who had always been in its top echelon, said in his autobiography that it was Zhou Enlai who told him this rumour:

The arrest of Ho [He Mengxiong] and party was misunderstood by Lo Chang-lung and his friends, who misconstrued it as the consequence of Ch'en Shao-yu's [Wang Ming] secret information. [129]

But after a short stay in Shanghai, Zhang himself was convinced that it was not impossible for Wang Ming and his group to do such things:

The blundering, rash Polish youth [Mif's deputy] unconcernedly continued to chatter some anti-rightist words and then suggested the elimination of Lo Chang-lung through assassination. Not only was he apathetic over the arrest of Ho Meng-hsiung and party, but he was also of the opinion that these anti-Party elements had surrendered themselves. [130] He believed that Lo Chang-lung was the brains behind Ho Meng-hsiung and his group and that since Lo openly defied the Party, it was necessary to restrain and even secretly assassinate this despicable opponent....Judging by the Pole's violent words and manner, [I came to the conclusion that] the Comintern would do anything to achieve its goals. Perhaps it was not mere slander when some comrades accused and suspected Mif and Chen Shao-yu of secretly causing injury to Ho Meng-hsiung and his sixteen other old cadres. [131]

Secondly, we have the words of Wang Fanxi (王凡西), once a CCP member who later became a Trotskyist. He said,

The death of the "rightist" comrades caused a long deep grief and anger within the Party. A rumour spread there, saying that the incident was a plan of Chen Shaoyu to "murder with a borrowed knife". It was he who informed the police. [132]

The most direct and affirmative accusation came from Luo Zhanglong, whose authority, as we have shown, could not be dismissed easily. He said for sure that there were traitors who informed the KMT. [133] According to him, two persons were suspected. One was Gu Shunzhang

(顧順章).<sup>[134]</sup> The other one was Tang Yu (唐虞), who was very close to Wang Ming.<sup>[135]</sup> Luo further mentioned that during the trial, a woman, who returned from Moscow, hid behind the judge, pointing out the identities of the arrested. In another paragraph, Luo asserted that Wang Ming once sent Gu Shunzhang to track down some comrades.<sup>[136]</sup> To Luo, it was definitely Wang Ming who betrayed the meeting to the police so as to eliminate his opponents within the Party.

This idea was also expressed in the "The incident at the Oriental Hotel". It said that even during the preliminary trial, those arrested, judging from the testimony given by the KMT detectives, were convinced that they had been betrayed. Very shortly, they found out that Tang Yu was to be suspected. But they believed that Tang Yu, being only a reporter of Hongqi (《紅旗》, Red Flag), could not have had the information about so many comrades. The arrest of such a large number of Party members from different organizational systems and Party divisions meant that something went wrong in the top level.<sup>[137]</sup> According to the authors of the article, on 17th January, 1931; both the KMT Shanghai Municipal Party division and the police of the international settlement received an anonymous phone call, informing them that the CCP was going to hold a meeting in the Oriental Hotel. At that time, the CCP had infiltrated special agents into the police department of the international settlement. They immediately informed the Party of this news. But Wang Ming took no action to warn He Mengxiong and others. As a result, they were arrested.<sup>[138]</sup>

We have to point out that even Wang Ming claimed that the meeting was betrayed. According to Luo Zhanglong, Wang Ming once spread a rumour that the informer was the adopted son of He Mengxiong. This was refuted by Luo who said that He had no adopted son.<sup>[139]</sup> On the other hand, in his essay called "The struggle against the Luo Zhanglong

clique" (《反羅章龍派的鬥爭》), Wang Ming wrote that the comrades were betrayed by Tang Yu, who was a member of the Luo Zhanglong clique.<sup>[140]</sup> It seems that Tang Yu had no way to exculpate himself.

In fact, books published in mainland China now usually agree that there were traitors in the incident, though they do not often mention the names of the traitors.<sup>[141]</sup> Taiwan publications mostly allege Wang Ming was responsible for the treachery.<sup>[142]</sup> It seems that the question of "enigma of the five martyrs" has now been, to some extent, solved. The allegation of treachery was by no means a method used to discredit the martyrs.<sup>[143]</sup> Treachery or no treachery, "the 'masterpiece' on which the fame of all twenty-three martyrs 'can securely rest' would surely be the quality of their lives and deaths".<sup>[144]</sup>

Upon their arrest, the Communist Party started a campaign to save them.<sup>[145]</sup> But nothing could be done. On 7th February, the five martyrs, together with eighteen CCP members, were shot at Longhua.<sup>[146]</sup> Although the Communists were able to get hold of this news very soon,<sup>[147]</sup> no report was made in any newspaper or magazine, until the appearance of a "reader's letter", "Are the writers alive or dead?" (《在地獄或人世的作家?》) on 30th March, 1931 in Wenyi xinwen (《文藝新聞》, Literary news). This was the very first time when the news of the death of the Left League writers was made public. But Wenyi xinwen was not a League magazine.<sup>[148]</sup> Then on 13th April, again in the form of readers' letters, Wenyi xinwen published "Alas, they are dead!" (《嗚呼，死者已矣!》) and "The writers are dead" (《作家在地獄》) confirming the news of the death of the writers. In the next issue, the photographs of the martyrs were published.<sup>[149]</sup>

The first report on the massacre in League journal came with the appearance of the first issue of Qianshao

which carried a subtitle of "In memory of those who have fallen down in battle". But it was not, as some have suggested, published for this special incident.<sup>[150]</sup> As early as in August, 1930, notice was given that the League would publish an official organ, the title of which, i.e., Qianshao, had already been decided then.<sup>[151]</sup> It was said that the editorial board was composed of Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Xia Yan and Yang Hansheng.<sup>[152]</sup> According to the notice, the first issue would come out in October, 1930.<sup>[153]</sup> This thirty-two page publication was put out in July with great difficulty.<sup>[154]</sup> At first no publisher dared to undertake the printing work. Eventually, they were able to find a small publisher who charged highly and laid down many restrictions: the title of the magazine and the photographs of the martyrs could not be printed directly on the magazine (they were stamped and stuck on afterwards); the entire printing process had to be finished in one night; a League member had to be present throughout so that he could bear the responsibility in case anything went wrong; and the finished product had to be removed immediately.<sup>[155]</sup> Prepared in great hurry and in poor working conditions, Qianshao was filled with typographical errors.

The poor quality of the printing did not lower its value. The content of the magazine was rich. Apart from carrying a statement and an international appeal from the Left League, it had the articles written by Lu Xun, Mei Sun (梅孫) and Feng Xuefeng, together with the brief biographies of the six martyrs (the sixth one was Zong Hui) and works of the four of the five martyrs, plus letters from the board of chairman of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers and the editor of New Masses, a leftist magazine in the United States.

The statement and international appeal had similar contents. According to Agnes Smedley, the appeal was

first drafted by Lu Xun and her. She took it to Mao Dun and they together translated it into English. [156] The English version finally appeared in the New Masses. This appeal, with some minor alterations and additions, was translated into other languages too. The Japanese version appeared in A collection of Chinese fiction: The true story of Ah Q (《支那小說集·“阿Q正傳”》). A Russian version was printed in World revolutionary literature - and since World revolutionary literature was printed in four languages, namely Russian, English, French and German, it was possible that the appeal was translated into German and French too. Reaction came fast. New Masses carried a special issue cursing the terrorist policy of the KMT. We also know that Malcolm Cowley published an article "Twenty-four youngsters" in New Republic. [157] What is more, the above mentioned A collection of Chinese fiction - The true story of Ah Q was in fact a special publication in commemoration of the death of the martyrs. Lastly, the International Union of Revolutionary Writers sent in a statement. This was signed by the Secretariat of the Union, whose members included such famous writers as A. Fadeev (1901-1956), H. Barbusse (1873-1935) and U. Sinclair. It was published in Wenyi xinwen and Wenxue daobao. [158] It is difficult to estimate the impact of these on the KMT regime. Smedley reported that the KMT was shocked when it knew that the western world condemned its policy. [159]

Immediately following the statement and the appeal was Lu Xun's article "The Chinese proletarian revolutionary literature and the blood of our forerunners" (《中國無產階級革命文學和前驅的血》). [160] Lu Xun's sorrow and anger was well-shown in the article. He was outspoken, condemning the brutal massacre of the KMT in a most direct way. He gave up his usual satiric style. He was not calm enough for satire. But he had not given up hope. In his eyes, the death of the writers testified to the strength of proletarian revolutionary literature which was growing

each day. The outspokenness of the article definitely put Lu Xun in danger, especially as his name had long been on the wanted list. In fact, because Rou Shi carried a contract made between Lu Xun and the Beixin Bookstore at the time when he was arrested, Lu Xun had to leave home and take refuge in a Japanese inn.<sup>[161]</sup> But this could not keep Lu Xun's mouth shut. The pseudonym "L.S." used in this article could be identified easily and so would provide no cover. But obviously Lu Xun was not afraid. Agnes Smedley said that she had warned Lu Xun of the danger of publishing such outspoken piece. Lu said in reply:

Does it matter? .... Someone must speak! [162]  
 This, as one critic suggests, can illustrate what the Communists mean when they say that Lu Xun "led" the Left League. "He led it by setting a standard of integrity". [163]

Lu Xun's grief was not without reason. Apart from feeling sorry over the loss of five good comrades, Lu Xun was in particular sorry over the death of Rou Shi, one of his few very good friends. To Lu Xun, Rou Shi was one with whom he could talk and joke freely, one whom he could ask to do personal business. "He was in fact supporting me," Lu Xun said two years after Rou's death. [164]

Mei Sun, whose identity is unknown, wrote "A lesson in blood - Lament over the deaths on 7th February" (《血的教訓—悼二月七日我們的死者》). He gave an account of the circumstances in which the martyrs were arrested. But the most important part of the article was its final paragraph which re-evaluated the whole left-wing literary movement. In the writer's words, in the past they were not serious and firm enough. Some people joined the movement because they thought that it was in fashion. Therefore it was necessary to reinforce it with an iron discipline. This "follow fashion" comment on the League

members can also be found in Lu Xun's writings. [165]

Feng Xuefeng's (pseud. Wenying 文英) article was "The death of our comrades and the despicableness of the flunkys" (《我們同志的死和走狗的卑劣》). Again, the grief came to the surface: "We will weep, of course, because of our loss, and because of the love among comrades". The loss was great. But Feng said, one would do the work of two as to make good the loss. [166]

Because of the background which led to its publication, Qianshao was less dogmatic than any other League publications. There was no trace of dry and dull theory in it. All we can see is the sorrow over the loss of comrades, the condemnation on the KMT policy and the determination of the left-wing writers to push forward their cause despite suppression and other difficulties. Readers could easily be moved, because of the sincerity of the writings, to conceive hatred towards the KMT authorities. This was one of the effects caused by the death of the martyrs and it is little wonder that right-wing critics consider the publication of Qianshao as propaganda, a Communist device to rally support and sympathy. [167]

There was once a quarrel over the status of the martyrs. Some commentators argued that not all of the five martyrs could be described as writers while one held that all five were at least promising writers, if not accomplished ones. [168] What we would like to point out here is: no matter whether they were writers or practical revolutionaries, they had one and the same aim, the liberation of the proletariat. Both their literary creations and revolutionary activities were part of their efforts for the accomplishment of that goal. In fact, this was the case with most League members. They wrote for the proletariat. At the same time, most of them joined in practical revolutionary activities. In

the case of a League member, there is no way to tell for certain whether one was a writer or a revolutionary. Therefore, although we should not ignore their achievement in literary creation, their death as martyrs was of even greater significance. That is why we have the following assessment of the five martyrs in mainland China:

The five martyrs of the Left League were not only writers. What is more, they were revolutionary fighters of the proletariat. They were foremost members of the CCP and proletarian revolutionaries, only secondarily were they revolutionary writers. [169]

The Wang Ming leadership of the CCP caused the Left League to lose five of its best members. But at the same time, it brought it a very important one who soon became the de facto leader of the League. He was Qu Qiubai, once the chief secretary and a member of the Politburo of the CCP.

We understand that Qu Qiubai was sent as a reporter by the Chenbao in 1920 to Moscow where he joined the CCP the next year. [170] He returned to China in December 1922, armed with a thorough knowledge of Russian and Marxist theories. In January, 1925, he was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party. On 7th August, 1927, he called the famous "August Seventh Emergency Conference", after which he became the leader of the Party. But the Qu Qiubai leadership lasted for less than a year. Because of the failure of various uprisings launched under his direction, Qu was stripped of the position of secretary in the Sixth Congress in July, 1928. In the congress, he was appointed as the representative of the CCP to the Comintern in Moscow, where he stayed for another two years. During this period, there was already a series of quarrels between Qu and the "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks". [171] If not for the latter, Qu might have been able to regain his political power in 1930 when he was sent back to call the Third

Plenum to liquidate the Li Lisan Party line. But the Fourth Plenum, as we have seen, condemned not only the Lisan line but also the Third Plenum. Qu Qiubai was severely criticized. He was even dismissed from the Politburo. He became but an ordinary Party member. Tired and seriously ill, he asked for a year's sick leave, thus leaving the political arena. [172]

The Left League had already come into existence when Qu Qiubai was sent back from Moscow in August 1930. Pickowicz was wrong in saying that Qu immediately became the advisor of the League upon his return. [173] He had no time for this. It was after the Fourth Plenum that Qu returned to the literary circle again. But it was almost half a year before Qu came to lead the Left League. Mao Dun said that this was some time after Mao became secretary of the League - Mao was secretary from late May 1931. Qu started to influence the League in June. [174]

Feng Xuefeng said that Qu Qiubai came to lead the Left League on his own initiative. It had nothing to do with a Party decision. [175] Although there were queries on this point, mainly from the right, this is certainly believable. Since Qu Qiubai was the target of attack in the Fourth Plenum, it was not likely that the new Party leadership would have assigned him such an important job as to lead the left-wing literary movement. As we have noted, he was then an ordinary Party member and had asked for a year's leave.

Despite the fact that Qu never became a member of the Left League, his position as its leader was soon acknowledged. [176] Mao Dun was then the secretary of the League's party division. They all, without hesitation, accepted Qu's leadership. [177] There were reasons for this. First, it was the high position that Qu Qiubai enjoyed in the Communist Party in the past. He had long

had intimate relationships with people like Mao Dun. Most of the leading cadres of the Left League joined the Communist Party when Qu Qiubai was in power. They were ready and used to accept Qu Qiubai's leadership and directions. Although he had lost all the posts in the Party's Central Committee, he still commanded respect because the new leadership, which caused the downfall of Qu, as we have seen, did not have general support. Second, it was, and is, commonly agreed that Qu Qiubai's knowledge of Marxist theories was second to no one in China at that time. His four year stay in Moscow, plus his hard working character and the effort put in the subject, enabled him to be well versed in Marxism. Prior to 1931, he had already written a large number of articles and treatises introducing and using Marxist theories.<sup>[178]</sup> Furthermore, he was long quite well known in the literary circle. Even before his first trip to Russia, he had started the Xinshehui (《新社會》, New society) with Zheng Zhenduo, Qu Shiying and Geng Jizhi. He had also published two collections of beautifully written prose: A journey to the land of hunger (《餓鄉歷程》) and History of the heart at the Red Capital (《赤都心史》).<sup>[179]</sup> He was also well acquainted with members of the Literary Research Association.<sup>[180]</sup> These, together with his political background, made him qualified to be a leader of the Left League.

Behind the scenes, Qu Qiubai actively directed the League's affairs. Feng Xuefeng said that he went to see Qu every three to four days for instructions.<sup>[181]</sup> Very often, Qu gave very specific directions. For instance it was he who suggested to Mao Dun to write a long article to evaluate the literary movement since the May Fourth.<sup>[182]</sup> The result was "A review of the 'May Fourth' movement - Report of the Association for the Study of Marxist Literary Theories". Qu also gave direction to continue the publication of Qianshao, though the name might be changed, as a theory guiding organ. Yet another

literary magazine should be started for literary creations.<sup>[183]</sup> Consequently, Beidou (《北斗》, the Dipper) came into existence which became one of the most successful and popular publications of the League. He had helped in drafting resolutions for the League too, a job that should be done only by members of the Secretariat, the standing committee and the executive committee.<sup>[184]</sup> Moreover, he kept an eye on the activities as well as the works created by League members. He once passed censure on Jiang Guangci's "The sorrows of Lisa", voicing his discontent over the pessimistic sentiment of the work.<sup>[185]</sup> On another occasion, he commented on an article of Zheng Boqi for drawing too clear a line between the masses and the writers.<sup>[186]</sup> Apart from criticizing him face to face, Qu also wrote an article called "Who are 'we'?" (《"我們"是誰?》) because he thought Zheng Boqi's mistake was a general trend in the left-wing literary circle.<sup>[187]</sup> He gave much advice to Mao Dun in the latter's writing of Midnight.<sup>[188]</sup> It was again Qu who gave the instruction to left-wing writers to break into the cinema.<sup>[189]</sup>

Qu Qiubai joined in the literary debates actively too. He wrote several most important articles attacking the nationalist literary movement. Under his direction and initiation, the left-wing writers launched another campaign in the popularization of literature in 1931. Qu himself wrote a number of essays which are considered to be most thorough. He was also busily engaged in the debate with the "Free Men" (Ziyouren, 自由人) and the "Third Category Men" (Disanzhongren, 第三種人). For the success of the League in these several campaigns, the part played by Qu Qiubai should not be under-estimated. Both Feng Xuefeng and Mao Dun often stressed the merits of the co-operative efforts of Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai in putting the League on the right track and driving the left-wing literary movement forward.<sup>[190]</sup>

There was yet another indirect consequence of the massacre of the five martyrs. In the memorial articles on the five martyrs, the League urged members to overcome the slackening of the movement. "Iron discipline" would be employed to strengthen the organization.<sup>[191]</sup> Even before these articles were put into print, drastic action was adopted. Three members were expelled from the League in April and May, 1931. These were the decisions of the standing committee and an announcement was published in Wenxue daobao.<sup>[192]</sup>

Among the three, Zhou Quanping was the first one to be expelled - on 20th April. In the earliest days of the League, he was very active. In the inaugural meeting, he was elected an alternate member of the executive committee. He had been the secretary of the League for a short time. Even the announcement of his expulsion could not deny that he had once worked hard for and pledged determination to the League. For this reason, he was sent to represent the League to work in the Revolutionary Mutual Aid Society. But in February, 1931, the Society reported that Zhou consciously committed brazen acts against the revolution. After a long, comprehensive and detailed investigation, the League decided that this kind of despicable counter-revolutionary element could not be tolerated. It was not reported in the announcement what "brazen act" was committed by Zhou. We now know that he ran away with two thousand dollars belonging to the Mutual Aid Society.<sup>[193]</sup>

The second one expelled was Ye Lingfeng, on 28th April. This time, the charge was made clear in the announcement. First, he had not worked for the League for six months and hidden up, refusing to meet the League members sent to find him. It was then reported that he had written a repentant statement to the KMT and started working for the nationalist literary movement. A

week was given to him to clarify the above charges. After ten days, nothing was heard from him and so he was expelled.

The third one expelled was Zhou Yuying. Again, he had not participated in the League affairs for some time. He also joined the nationalist literary movement and even published anti-League writings openly in the press. This, by all means, was unacceptable to the League. In fact, Zhou Yuying had long been criticized by League members. As early as February, 1930, that was, even before the formation of the Left League, Pan Hannian had written two articles condemning Zhou Yuying's attitude and attack on the left-wingers. One of the articles was called "Hidden traitor and Zhou Yuying" (《內奸與周毓英》).<sup>[194]</sup> Feng Naichao and Qiu Shi also published articles in League magazines cursing Zhou.<sup>[195]</sup> The attitude and wordings were by no means friendly but harsh.

The fact that the three were expelled less than three months after the execution of the five martyrs was significant. This could be viewed as an effort of the League to strengthen itself in the face of increasing oppression and white terror. The execution of the martyrs and the ban on the League, added to the promotion of nationalist literature, showed that the KMT was determined to wipe out left-wing influence in the literary circle by any means. It is necessary to bear in mind that at that time, Jiang Jieshi was preparing for the third encirclement and suppression campaign, after the first two had failed.<sup>[196]</sup> In these circumstances, disloyal members had to be purged. In fact, a year before, the League had made it clear that League members would be expelled should there be any tendencies to opportunism, timidity or treachery.<sup>[197]</sup> This time, the three cases were definitely treachery. Furthermore, the latter two were involved with the nationalist literary movement,

which, as we shall see, was totally unacceptable to the League. Their expulsion confirmed the League's uncompromising attitude towards the movement.

Interestingly enough, this was the only time that the League openly announced the expulsion of its members. This does not mean that there were no more treachery cases. As we shall see, defection became a serious problem and brought great dishonour to the League in its latter stage. However, the organization of the League then was loosening. It was not in a position to tighten the control over its members. Furthermore, as there were too many cases of defection, each announcement of expulsion could only reveal the weakness of the League. Consequently, the League could only turn a blind eye to such acts. At the most, they published articles denouncing the defector.

## NOTES

[1] Feng Xuefeng left Shanghai and arrived Ruijin in December 1933. Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 118; Bao Ziyan, "A chronology of Feng Xuefeng" (《馮雪峰年表》), Shehui kexue zhanxian congkan (《社會科學戰線叢刊》 Series of social science front) No. 1, 1980 (undated), p. 72. Qu Qiubai left Shanghai on 11th January 1934 and arrived Ruijin on 5th Feb., 1934. Chen Tiejian (陳鐵健), "The date of arrival at Ruijin of Qu Qiubai" (《瞿秋白到瑞金日期訂誤》), XWXS No. 1, 1981 (22nd Feb., 1981), p. 282.

[2] Feng Naichao, "The significance of the formation of the League League and its role" (《左聯成立的意義和它的任務》), Shijie wenhua No. 1 (10th July, 1930), reprinted in Jinianyuan yanjiu No. 2, p. 36.

[3] "Letter from the Left League to the editors of Be'erdisan" (《左聯給“巴爾底山”編者的信》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5 (21st May, 1930), in MMCLH Vol. I, p. 45.

[4] Ling Sheng, "Criticism - abuse, attack - instigation" (《批評——謾罵，攻擊——挑撥》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5, in MMCLH Vol. I, p. 42.

[5] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past", Recollections on the Left League, p. 279.

[6] In Tuohuangzhe, this phrase of the programme was "who have strengthened their social standing". Tuohuangzhe Vol. I No. 3, in MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 297. But in other places where the programme appeared again, it was, as quoted, "who have lost their social standing". See Mengya Vol. I No. 4 (1st April, 1930); Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4, in MMCLH Vol. VI, p. 444; Shalun vol. I No. 1 (16th June, 1930), in MMCLH Vol. XII, p. 776. Cai Qing (蔡青) once asked Feng Naichao, the drafter of the programme, about the question. Feng confirmed that "who have lost their social standing" was correct. Cai Qing, "'Strengthened' and 'lost' - interview with comrade Feng Naichao on the two phrases of the theoretical programme of the Left League (《關於“左聯”理論綱領中的兩個詞語——馮乃超同志談“穩固”和“失掉”》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, p. 28.

[7] Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4, MMCLH Vol. VI. pp. 443-444.

[8] Amitendranath Tagore, Literary debates in modern China, 1918-1937 (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1967), pp. 115-116.

[9] T.A. Hsia, "Enigma of the five martyrs", The gate of darkness, p. 101.

[10] Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4, MMCLH Vol. VI, p. 444.

[11] Mao Dun, "The early stage of the 'Left League'", The road I trod Vol. II, p. 51.

[12] Mao Dun, "Also casual talks" (《也是漫談而已》), Collection of Mao Dun's essays on literature and art Vol. II, p. 1131.

[13] Ling Sheng, "Criticism - abuse, attack - instigation", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 42.

[14] N. Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 106.

[15] Han Tuofu, "Recollection and commemoration - in commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Lu Xun", p. 39.

[16] "Record of Feng Naichao's interview - recollection on the literary movement in the early thirties", p. 17.

[17] "Thoughts on the League of Left-wing Writers", CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 233-238.

[18] Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 5.

[19] Ibid.; Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 5.

[20] "Xia Yan's recollections on the 'Left League'", p. 28.

[21] Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 4, MMCLH Vol. VI, p. 442.

[22] N. Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 114.

[23] Chen Zhengdao, "May Day and literature", Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 2&3 (1st May, 1930), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 17-18.

[24] Ibid., p. 21.

[25] The article was Feng Xianzhang's "'The sorrows of Lisa' and 'The moon that forces its way through the clouds'" (《“麗莎的哀怨”與“衝出雲團的月亮”》), Tuohuangzhe Vol. I No. 3, MMCLH Vol. IX, pp. 255-267.

[26] Ju Hua, "Several words to the 'Left League'", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 21.

[27] Li Zhu, "Report on the first general meeting of the Left League", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 37.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid. It is difficult to know if Lu Xun was present at the meeting. "Collection of materials about the organization and structure of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers" said that Lu Xun was present and made a speech. Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 92. But Mao Dun said that Lu Xun had not attended it. Mao Dun, The road I trod, p. 53. Lu Xun's diary had no record of it.

[30] Li Chu, "Report on the first general meeting of the Left League", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 37.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 7.

[33] The manifesto can be found in the May Day Special Issue (1st May, 1930), MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 331.

[34] Mao Dun, "The early stage of the 'Left League'", The road I trod Vol. II, p. 53.

[35] The thirteen magazines were Wenyi jiangzuo (《文藝講座》, Literary forum), Tuohuangzhe, Mengya, Xiandai xiaoshuo (《現代小說》, modern fiction), Xinwenyi (《新文藝》, New literature), Shehui kexue jiangzuo (《社會科學講座》), Xinsichao, Huanqiu xunkan (《環球旬刊》, Universe thrice-monthly), Ba'erdisan, Nanguo yuekan (《南國月刊》, South nation monthly), Yishu yuekan, Dazhong wenyi and Xinfund zazhi (《新婦女雜誌》, New women magazine). May Day Special Issue, MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 331.

[36] "News of the League of Left-wing Writers", MLLP Vol. II, p. 361.

[37] May Day Special Issue, MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 331.

[38] Peng Kang wrote "The international meaning of this May Day" (《今年五一的國際意義》) and Feng Naichao wrote "The May Day of this year" (《今年的五一》). May Day Special Issue, MMCLH Vol. IX, pp. 334-339.

[39] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 53.

[40] "Letter to the masses of Shanghai from the Art Drama Association: Protest against unreasonable raid and arrest" (《藝術劇社爲反抗無理被抄封逮捕告上海民衆書》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5 (21st May, 1930), MMCLH Vol. I, p. 49.

[41] "Protest against the raid on the Art Drama Association" (《反對查封藝術劇社》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 4, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 38.

[42] The Art Drama Association issued the "Letter to the masses of Shanghai from the Art Drama Association: Protest against unreasonable raid and arrest", MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 48-49. The Federation of Drama Movement's statement was "To the people on the raid on the Art Drama Association" (《爲藝術劇社被封事告國人》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 49.

[43] "Report on the two general meetings of the League of Left-wing Writers", Jinianyu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 21-22.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Shijie wenhua No. 1 (10th Sept., 1930), Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 57.

[47] Selected works of Rou Shi (《柔石選集》) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, Sept., 1978), pp. 218-226.

[48] Xindi yuekan No. 1 (1st June, 1930), Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 25-29.

[49] Tuohuangzhe Vol. I No. 3, MMCLH Vol. IX, pp. 310-311.

[50] "Letter from the Left League to the professors of the literature department of Fudan University" (《左聯給復旦大學文學系諸教授的信》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 45.

[51] Wenhua douzheng Vol. I No. 1, MLLP Vol. II, pp. 394-395.

[52] Ibid., p. 396.

[53] "Resolution of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers on the report of the representatives after attending the Congress of Delegates from the Soviet Areas" (《中國左翼作家聯盟在參加全國蘇維埃區域代表大會的代表報告後的決議案》), Wenhua douzheng Vol. I No. 2 (22nd Aug., 1930), MLLP Vol. II, pp. 405-406.

[54] Ibid., p. 406.

[55] "New situation in the proletarian literary movement and our mission", Wenhua douzheng Vol. I No. 1, MLLP Vol. II, pp. 396-398.

[56] For a full version of the document, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, pp. 42-51.

[57] Mao Zedong, "Resolution on certain questions in the history of our Party", Selected works of Mao Zedong Vol. III, pp. 183-184.

[58] Quoted from Li Zhu, "Report on the first general meeting of the Left League", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 37. The report did not specify that the political report was made by Feng Naichao, but Mao Dun's autobiography did. Mao Dun, The road I trod vol. II, p. 53.

[59] Hantano Kenichi (波多野乾一), A history of the Chinese Communist Party (《中國共產黨史》) (Tokyo, 1961) Vol. I, p. 508.

[60] "Record of Bai Shu's interview - about the 'Left League'", RMLX, p. 36.

[61] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past", Recollections on the Left League, p. 283.

[62] Ibid., p. 284.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 312.

[65] Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past", Recollections on the Left League, p. 283.

[66] Yang Qianru, "Left-wing writers in Shanghai Arts University", Recollections on the Left League, p. 100.

[67] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 312.

[68] Ibid.

[69] North China Herald, 11th March, 1930, p. 392; quoted from T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 214.

[70] Mao Dun, "The early stage of the 'Left League'", The road I trod Vol. II, p. 53.

[71] Pan Hannian, "The significance of the League of Left-wing Writers and its role" (《左翼作家聯盟的意義及其任務》), Tuohuangzhe Vol. I No. 3, MMCLH Vol. IX, p. 274.

[72] Cf., Peng Kang, "Revolutionary literature and mass literature" (《革命文藝與大眾文藝》), Chuangzao yuekan Vol. II No. 4 (10th Nov., 1928), in CMRL, pp. 723-733; Gao Changhong (高長虹, 1902-?), "Mass literature and revolutionary literature" (《大眾文藝與革命文藝》), Changhong zhoukan (《長虹周刊》) No. 8 (1st Dec., 1928), ibid., pp. 744-746.

[73] Dazhong wenyi was originally edited jointly by Yu Dafu and Xia Laidi. But from Vol. II No. 1, the editor became "The mass literature society". The editorial works fell mainly on Tao Jingsun. From this issue onwards, people like Feng Naichao, Duan Keqing, Meng Chao, Yang Cunren, Wang Duqing and Zheng Boqi published more and more articles in it.

[74] In Vol. II No. 3, there were a column of "short pieces of mass literature" (《大眾文藝小品》) and a puppet show. MMCLH Vol. V, pp. 129-147 & 342-352.

[75] Ibid., p. 312.

[76] Shen Duanxian, "The question of popularization" (《所謂大眾化的問題》), Dazhong wenyi Vol. II No. 3, ibid., p. 300.

[77] Guo Moruo, "The realization of nascent mass literature" (《新興大眾文藝的認識》), ibid., p. 303.

[78] Lu Xun, "The popularization of literature" (《文藝的大眾化》), CWLX Vol. VII, p. 349.

[79] Ibid.

[80] He Zhi (何之), "The celebration party of Mr Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday" (《魯迅先生的五十壽辰慶祝會》), Wenyibao No. 19, 1956 (15th Oct., 1956), p. 8; Tang Tianran, "The report in 'Hongqi ribao' about the

celebration party of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday" (《“紅旗日報”關於魯迅五十壽辰紀念會的報導》), Geming wenwu (《革命文物》, Revolutionary relics) No. 5, 1980 (30th Sept., 1980), p. 6.

[81] Fang Ming, "The celebration party of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday" (《魯迅五十生壽紀念會》), Chuban yuekan (《出版月刊》, Publication monthly) No. 8/9/10 (Oct., 1930), Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 52.

[82] Ge Baoquan (戈寶權, 1913-)(ed. & tr.), "Smedley's recollection on Lu Xun" (《史沫特萊回憶魯迅》), XWXS No. 3, 1980 (22nd Aug., 1980), notes (1) & (5), p. 119.

[83] Fang Ming, "The celebration party of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday", Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 52.

[84] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China, pp. 78-79.

[85] Fang Ming, "The celebration party of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday", Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 52; Tang Tianran, "The report in 'Hongqi ribao' about the celebration party of Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday", p. 7.

[86] Smedley made the following record in her book:

A short heavy-set young woman with bobbed hair began to tell of the need for developing proletarian literature. She ended her address by appealing to Lu Hsun to become the protector and "master" of the new League of Left writers, etc. (Battle hymn of China, p. 79)

He Zhi said that the woman was Ding Ling. He Zhi, "The celebration party of Mr Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday", pp. 8-9. But this cannot be true because Ding Ling said that she was not present at the party. Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 161. Shen Pengnian said that the woman was Feng Keng. Shen Pannian, "Concerning Lu Xun's fiftieth birthday celebration party" (《關於“魯迅五十壽辰慶祝會”》) Renminribao, 27th Sept., 1961. Ge Baoquan expressed the same idea in his annotation on Smedley's book. Ge Baoquan, "Smedley's recollection on Lu Xun", note (6), p. 120.

[87] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China, p. 79.

[88] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, p. 53.

[89] Ibid., p. 76.

[90] "Letter from the Secretariat of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Nationalist Party No. 15889", Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 192.

[91] Wen Ying, "The death of our comrades and the despicableness of the flunkies", Qianshao Vol. I No. 1, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 29. The twenty-three shot were Lin Yunan, Li Weisen, He Mengxiong, Long Dadao (龍大道,

1902-1931), Yun Yutang ( 惲雨棠 ), Li Wen ( 李文 ), Wang Qingshi ( 王青士, 1901-1931), Cai Bazhen ( 蔡伯真, 1905-1931), Wu Zhongwen ( 伍仲文, 1903-1931), Rou Shi, Hu Yepin, Feng Keng, Yin Fu, Fei Dafu ( 費達夫, 1907-1931), Tang Shilun ( 湯士倫, 1908-1931), Tang Shide ( 湯士德 ), Ouyang Lian ( 歐陽立安, 1911-1931), Ah Gang ( 阿剛, 1909-1931), Li Yunqing ( 李雲卿, 1901-1931), Sun Yufa ( 孫玉法, 1902-1931), He Zhiping ( 賀治平 ), Wang Heding ( 王和鼎, 1900-1931) and Peng Shougeng ( 彭碩耕 ). See Li Haiwen ( 李海文 ) & She Haining ( 佘海寧 ), "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", Shehui kexue zhanxian No. 3, 1980 (25th July, 1980), pp. 10-11. It also carries short biographies of these twenty-three martyrs.

[91] Feng Xiaxiang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 5.

[93] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 160.

[94] "Biographies of the murdered comrades", MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 7-12.

[95] Li Haiwen, She Hanning, "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", p. 7.

[96] Mei Sun, "A lesson in blood - Lament over the deaths on 7th February", Qianshao Vol. I No. 1, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 5.

[97] Xu Meisun ( 許美勛 ), Feng Keng, the martyr ( 馮鏗烈士 ) (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, Sept., 1957), p. 83.

[98] Franz Michael, "Preface", T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. vii.

[99] For the following paragraphs on the history of the CCP, I have consulted mainly the following books. Wang Jianwen, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, pp. 1-132; Schwartz, Chinese communism and the rise of Mao (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 145-171; Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese revolution (London: Harvard University Press, 1965).

[100] This letter was received on 16th Nov., 1930. For a full version of the letter, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, pp. 61-67.

[101] Cf., "The Moscow trial of Li Lisan", in T.L. Hsiao ( 蕭作樑 ), Power relations within the Chinese Communist movement, 1930-1934 (Seattle & London: University of Washington, 1967) Vol. I, pp. 74-92.

[102] The "Twenty-eight Bolsheviks" were Yang Shangkun ( 楊尚昆 ), Wang Shengdi ( 汪盛荻 ), Chen Shaoyu, Zhang Wentian ( 張聞天, 1900-1976), Shen Zemin, Wang Jiexiang ( 王稼祥 ), Qin Bangxian ( 秦邦憲, 1907-1946), Yin

Jian (殷鑑), Wang Yuncheng (王雲程), Chen Changhao (陳昌浩), Chen Yuandao (陳原道), Wang Baoli (王保禮), Sun Jimin (孫繼民), Wang Shengrong (王盛榮), Zhu Zichun (朱子純), He Zhishu (何子述), Guo Miaogen (郭妙根), Zhu A'gen (朱阿根), Wang Xiu (王修), Du Ting (杜廷), Meng Qingshu (孟慶樹), Zhang Qingqiu (張琴秋), Yun Yurong (恽玉榮), Xia Xi (夏曦), Li Zhusheng (李竹聲), Du Zuoxiang (杜作祥), Sheng Zhongliang (盛忠亮) and Yuan Jiayong (袁家庸). Cf., Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party, p. 100.

[103] Harold A. Isaacs, The tragedy of the Chinese revolution (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), p. 407.

[104] Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the rise of Mao, p. 166.

[105] Robert C. North, Moscow and Chinese Communists (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1953), p. 150.

[106] T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, pp. 227-228.

[107] Feng Xuefeng even went to visit Rou Shi the next day. Feng Xiaxiong, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 7.

[108] T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 230.

[109] "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 7.

[110] Luo Zhanglong, "Before and after the Shanghai Oriental Hotel meeting" (《上海東方飯店會議前後》), XWXS No. 1, 1981 (22nd Feb., 1981), p. 143.

[111] Ibid., p. 144.

[112] "Records of the two interviews with comrade Xia Yan", p. 162; Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 80.

[113] "Records of the two interviews with comrade Xia Yan", p. 162.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Li Haiwen, She Haining, "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", pp. 9-10.

[116] Ding Ling, "The life of a real person - on Hu Yepin" (《一個真實人的一生活——記胡也頻》), Selected works of Hu Yepin (《胡也頻選集》)(Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, July, 1981), p. 15.

[117] Li Haiwen, She Haining, "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", pp. 6-10.

[118] Li Ang, The red stage (《紅色舞台》)(Taipei: Shengli chuban gongshi, Feb., 1954 reprint), p. 112.

[119] T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 169.

[120] Harold Isaacs, The tragedy of the Chinese revolution, p. 407.

[121] Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the rise of Mao, p. 166; Robert North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, p. 150.

[122] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 182. For their acknowledgement, see Schwartz, Chinese Communism and the rise of Mao, p. 234; Robert North, Moscow and Chinese Communists, p. 150.

[123] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 184.

[124] Hunter stressed that Isaacs' book has an introduction by Leon Trotsky. Hunter commented, "of all the people who might have had an axe to grind where the arch-Stalinist Wang Ming and his '28 Bolheviks' were concerned, Trotsky would be the first". Yet he said that "this does not invalidate Isaacs' work". Ibid., p. 181.

[125] Ibid., p. 185.

[126] Ibid.

[127] For Luo Zhanglong's activities against Wang Ming, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, pp. 130-131.

[128] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 186.

[129] Chang Kuo-t'ao, The rise of the CCP, 1928-1938 - Vol. II of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao (Lawrence, Manhattan: The University Press of Kansas, 1972), p. 144.

[130] This sentence is misleading. The Chinese version of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao was "自投羅網", i.e., commit a mistake and bit the net. Chang Kuo-t'ao, My recollection (《我的回憶》)(Hong Kong: Ming Pao Press, 1973) Vol. II, p. 868.

[131] Chang Kuo-t'ao, The rise of the CCP, 1928-1938 - Vol. II of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao, p. 146.

[132] Wang Fanxi, Shuangshan recollection (《雙山回憶錄》)(Hong Kong: Zhoujihang 周記行, Dec., 1977), p. 171.

[133] Luo Zhanglong, "Before and after the Shanghai Oriental Hotel", p. 144.

[134] Jerome Ch'en also alleged that Gu Shunzhang was responsible for the death of He Mengxiong and others. He said, "Ku Shun-cheng [Gu Shunzhang], the chief of the 'special affairs unit' of the CCP, on a visit to Wuhan to obtain money from the Soviets for the use of the Central Committee, was arrested and turned traitor with the result that Ho Meng-hsiung and many other leaders of the Party were captured and shot by the police". Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese revolution, p. 173. But this

cannot be true because Gu Shunzhang was arrested on 25th April, 1931, about three months after the arrest of the martyrs. Zheng Derong (鄭德榮), Zhu Yang (朱陽), Teaching notes on the history of the Chinese Communist Party (《中國共產黨史講義》)(Yanbian: Jilin renmin chubanshe 吉林人民出版社, Aug., 1980), p. 157. What Luo Zhanglong meant in his article was that Gu Shunzhang acted as an informer before he was arrested.

[135] Luo Zhanglong, "Before and after the Shanghai Oriental Hotel meeting", p. 144.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Tang Yu was suspected because he was the only one, except He Mengxiong who was captured too, who knew the address of Yun Yutang. He was also the only one who knew that Tang Shilun had lost a finger in a battle. Li Haiwen, She Haining, "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", p. 8.

[138] Ibid., p. 9.

[139] Luo Zhanglong, "Before and after the Shanghai Oriental Hotel meeting", p. 144.

[140] The main points of "The struggle against the Luo Zhanglong clique" can be found in Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, pp. 98-99.

[141] For example, see Ding Jingtang, Qu Guangxi, A catalogue of research materials on the five martyrs of the Left League, p. 357; Zheng Derong, Zhu Yang, Teaching notes on the history of the Chinese Communist Party, p. 163; Chen Nongfei (陳農菲), "Reminiscence on comrade Li Qiushi" (《憶念李求實同志》), The Communist Youth Corps, my mother (《共青團、我的母親》)(Beijing: Zhongguo qingnian chubanshe 中國青年出版社, Aug., 1958), p. 287.

[142] For example, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, p. 99.

[143] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 174.

[144] Ibid., p. 172.

[145] For a record of the efforts made by the Communists and the Left League to save the arrested, see Wang Yuhe (王育和, 1903-1971), "The whole story of Rou Shi's arrest, rescue and death" (《柔石烈士被捕、營救及犧牲經過》), XWXS No. 1, 1981, pp. 145-147.

[146] According to the biography of Feng Keng, they were shot at 8 p.m. on 7th February, 1931. "The biographies of the murdered comrades", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 11. But Wang Yuhe said that they were shot at midnight. Wang Yuhe, "The whole story of Rou Shi's arrest, rescue and death", p. 146.

[147] Li Haiwen, She Haining said that the Communists were told of their execution by the soldiers at Longhua the next day, 8th February. Li Haiwen, She

Haining, "The incident of the Oriental Hotel", p. 10. Feng Xuefeng also said that the news was confirmed within a few days. Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 88.

[148] For information on Wenyi xinwen and its relationship with the Left League, see Lou Shiyi (樓適夷, 1905- ), "Recalling the two publications of the 'Left League'" (《記“左聯”的兩個刊物》), Wenxue pinglun No. 2, 1960 (April, 1960), pp. 69-73, reprinted in Recollection on the Left League, pp. 167-171. Yu Hai (于海), "My relation with Wenyi xinwen" (《我與“文藝新聞”的一段因緣》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 6, pp. 111-115.

[149] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, p. 55.

[150] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 146.

[151] "Notice to the revolutionary masses from the League of Left-wing Writers concerning the building up of the official organ Qianshao" (《左翼作家聯盟為建立機關雜誌“前哨”向廣大革命群眾的通告》), Wenhua Douzheng Vol. I No. 2, MLLP Vol. II, p. 410.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid. The actual date of the coming out of Qianshao was delayed. Chen Shuyu claimed that it should be between June and the end of July. Chen Shuyu, "About the publication date of Qianshao" (《關於“前哨”的出版日期》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, pp. 273-274.

[154] Lou Shiyi, "Recalling the two publications of the 'Left League'", pp. 171-172; Zhou Guowei (周國偉) Liu Xiangfa (劉祥發), "The whole story of the publication of Qianshao" (《“前哨”出刊始末》), Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 104.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China, p. 65.

[157] Malcolm Cowley, "Twenty-four youngsters", New Republic (8th July, 1931), quoted from T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, pp. 167-168.

[158] "Letter from the Secretariat of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers to its branches" (《革命作家國際聯盟秘書處給各支部的信》), Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 2, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 49.

[159] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China, p. 65. T.A. Hsia said that the statement "met with the expected response" because "the tragic incident had in itself an appeal not only to the political left but to all who cared about the worth of human life". T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 167.

[160] CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 282-283.

[161] Lu Xun left home from 29th January to 28th

February. Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XIV, pp. 866 & 870.

[162] Agnes Smedley, Battle hymn of China, p. 65.

[163] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 149.

[164] "Written for the sake of forgetting" (《爲了忘却的記念》), CWLX Vol. IX, pp. 481-483.

[165] Letters to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong, 17th Nov., 1934 & 10th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, pp. 566 & 593.

[166] Qianshao Vol. I No. 1, MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 28-30.

[167] Franz Michael, "Preface", T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. vii.

[168] Franz Micheal said that only one of the five martyrs could be called a writer while T.A. Hsia said that four were writers. Ibid., pp. vii & 206. But Hunter, with the support of the works published by the five martyrs, held that all five were at least promising writers. Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", pp. 154-174.

[169] Ding Jingtang, Qu Guangxi, A catalogue of research materials on the five martyrs of the Left League, p. 3.

[170] The date of Qu Qiubai's joining the CCP is still a puzzle. Official sources in mainland China say that Qu joined the CCP in February, 1922. Lu Dingyi ( 陸定一 ), "A report on the life of comrade Qu Qiubai" (《瞿秋白同志生平報告》), Renmin ribao, 19th June, 1955; "Qu Qiubai", Dictionary of Chinese Writers - Modern Vol. II, p. 1005. But Qu Qiubai himself said that he was introduced by Zhang Tailei ( 張太雷 , 1899-1927) in May, 1921 and became a full member in September, 1921. "A short autobiography of comrade Qu Qiubai - The dates recalled" (《瞿秋白同志自敘傳略——記憶中的日期》), Shanghai shifan xueyuan xuebao (《上海師範學院學報》, Journal of Shanghai Normal College) No. 4, 1980 (25th Dec., 1980), p. 32.

[171] Chang Kuo-t'ao, The rise of the CCP, 1928-1938 - Vol. II of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao, pp. 88-102.

[172] Qu Qiubai, "Superfluous words" (《多餘的話》) Yi Jing (《逸經》) Nos. 25 (5th March, 1937), pp. 17-22; 26 (20th March, 1937), pp. 16-21; 27 (20th March, 1937), pp. 6-10. But it is now said that the version published in Yi Jing was not complete and there should be two paragraphs more. Ruan Yuan ( 阮園 ), "The two missing paragraphs of 'Superfluous words'" (《“多餘的話”的兩段佚文》), Shanghai shifan xueyuan xuebao No. 4, 1980, pp. 27-29.

[173] Paul G. Pickowicz, Marxist literary thought

in China: The influence of Ch'u Ch'iu-pai (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), p. 97.

[174] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 71.

[175] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 106.

[176] No member, in their recollections, considered Qu Qiubai as a member of the Left League, except Feng Xuefeng. Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 6.

[177] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 71; Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 108.

[178] For the writings and translations of Qu Qiubai, see Ding Jingtang, Wen Cao (文操)(ed.), A chronological catalogue of Qu Qiubai's writings and translations (《瞿秋白著譯系年目錄》)(Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Jan., 1959). This has been supplemented by Huang Meizhen (et.al.), "Supplement to A chronological catalogue of Qu Qiubai's writings and translations" (《瞿秋白著譯系年目錄補遺》), Xueshu yuekan (《學術月刊》) No. 4, 1981 (20th April, 1981), pp. 54-58.

[179] Works of Qu Qiubai Vol. I, pp.3-196.

[180] His three colleagues in the publication of Xinshehui, Zheng Zhengduo, Qu Shiyong and Geng Jizhi, were among the twelve promoters of the Literary Research Association. Feng Xuefeng even said that Qu Qiubai himself was a member of the Association. Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 109. But Qu's name cannot be found in "The membership list of the Literary Research Association (Incomplete)" (《文學研究會會員錄(部份)》), XWXS No. 3, pp. 290-291.

[181] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 108.

[182] Mao Dun, The road I trod, Vol. II, pp. 72-73.

[183] Ibid., p. 73.

[184] Ibid., p. 86.

[185] Feng Naichao, "The situation around the formation of the Left League", p. 79.

[186] Zheng Boqi, "Fragmentary recollection of the 'Left League'" (《“左聯”回憶片斷》) and "Piecemeal recollection on the 'Left League'" (《“左聯”回憶散記》), Recalling the Creation Society and other things, pp. 114 & 132.

[187] Works of Qu Qiubai Vol. III, pp. 875-878.

[188] Mao Dun, "Around the writing of 'Midnight'", The road I trod, Vol. II, pp. 109-111.

[189] "A Ying on the Left League", p. 22; Xia Yan, "Reminiscence on Comrade Qu Qiubai" (《追念瞿秋白同志》), Wenyibao No. 12, 1955 (30th June, 1955), p. 42.

[190] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, pp. 106-112; Mao Dun, The road I trod, Vol. II, p. 102.

[191] "A lesson in blood - Lament over the deaths on 7th February", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 6.

[192] Unless otherwise stated, the following discussion on the expulsion of the three members is based on "Notice of expulsion of Zhou Quanping, Ye Lingfeng, Zhou Yuying", MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

[193] "Records of the two interviews with comrade Xia Yan", p. 161.

[194] Pan Hanian, "Hidden traitor and Zhou Yuying", Xiandai xiaoshuo Vol. III No. 4 (15th Jan., 1930), MLLP Vol. V, pp. 581-590. The other article by Pan Hannian was "Proletarian literary movement and self-criticism" (《普羅文學運動與自我批判》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 2, MMCLH Vol. VIII, p. 376.

[195] Feng Naichao, "Proletarian literary movement in China and the historical significance of the formation of the Left League", Xidi No. 1, reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 18-19; Qiu Shi, "The advertising technique of Zhou Yuying" (《周毓英的廣告術》), Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 50.

[196] The first two encirclement and suppression campaigns were launched at the end of 1930 and in April, 1931. Both failed almost instantly. In May, 1931, Jiang Jieshi planned the third campaign which was started in July, 1931. Again, he was defeated by the Red Army. For discussion of the encirclement and suppression campaigns, see Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese revolution, pp. 160-184.

[197] Ling Sheng, "Criticism - abuse, attack - instigation", Ba'erdisan Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 42.

CHAPTER FIVEYEARS OF ACHIEVEMENT - THE FIRST HALF OF THE LEFT LEAGUE,  
(1930-1933)(II):

After the expulsion of the three members in April, 1931, it was natural, in fact necessary, for the Left League to tighten its control over the members as well as to secure more support. On the other hand, the new leadership of Qu Qiubai provided new momentum for the left-wing literary movement. Thus we see in the latter half of 1931 a number of attempts made by the League to show its strength and solidarity.

On 1st September, the Secretariat issued a statement in the official organ of the Left League, Wenxue daobao, concerning a letter sent, in the name of the Left League, to the editors of some most important magazines in Shanghai such as Xiaoshuo yuebao, Dongfang zazhi (《東方雜誌》, The Eastern miscellany) and Zhongxue sheng (《中學生》, Middle school student).<sup>[1]</sup> The letter demanded that the editors devote one-third of their magazines to the publication of articles and creative works on the Soviet Union, or their premises would be bombed. As we have seen in the last chapter, the League had denounced one threatening letter which was sent to the professors of Fudan University in May, 1930.<sup>[2]</sup> This time, the League's response was similar. The Secretariat declared that this letter had nothing to do with the League and the League did not have the slightest intention of sending such. It also speculated that this was done by nationalist writers.<sup>[3]</sup>

Then on 20th September, the League launched another major campaign. Beidou appeared. According to Ding Ling, its editor, it was the idea of the propaganda department of the CCP to start this journal and Ding Ling was chosen precisely because she was then not a CCP member and she appeared to the outside that she was not

so "red". Hence, she was in a better position to win over some non-Party writers.<sup>[4]</sup> In other words, Beidou was designed to be a means to broaden the influence of the League over the literary circle. This accounted for the "greyishness" of its first few issues.<sup>[5]</sup> In this respect, Ding Ling did her job well. The first issue of Beidou included such writers as Bing Xin (冰心, 1900-), Chen Hengzhe (陳衡哲), Ye Shengtao and even Lin Huiyin (林徽音, 1903-) and Xu Zhimo, while in the second issue, the names of Ling Shuhua (凌叔華, 1904-) and Dai Wangshu appeared.<sup>[6]</sup> Ding Ling was able to bring in new writers. The first works of Ai Qing (艾青, 1910-, pseud. E Ga, 俄伽), Ge Qin (葛琴, 1907-), and Yang Zhihua (楊之華, 1900-1973, pseud. Wenjun 文君) were published in Beidou.<sup>[7]</sup> She did not hesitate to publish and recommend works from the working class.<sup>[8]</sup> Letters from the readers were answered either openly in the magazine or privately.<sup>[9]</sup> What is more, Beidou also organized seminars for the readers. Ai Wu, then unknown in the literary circle, was invited to attend such seminars simply because he had sent in an article (which was not accepted for publication).<sup>[10]</sup> Beidou took these seminars seriously and famous writers, such as Zheng Boqi, Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng and Ye Yiqun, were present.<sup>[11]</sup> Although the "greyish" colour could not be maintained long<sup>[12]</sup> and it was banned in less than a year's time,<sup>[13]</sup> Beidou was undeniably a success for the Left League. In Mao Dun's words, "Beidou was the first magazine or the first serious attempt of the 'Left League' in overcoming closed-doorism, sectarianism and expanding left-wing literary movements".<sup>[14]</sup>

On 18th September, 1931, the Japanese staged the Mukden Incident. A total area of 1.3 million square kilometres of north-eastern China was lost to Japan.<sup>[15]</sup> The KMT government could only raise an appeal to the League of Nations.<sup>[16]</sup> This weak attitude offended the

public and there were large-scale demonstrations all over the country.<sup>[17]</sup> But on the other hand, the CCP issued a number of declarations and even declared war on Japan.<sup>[18]</sup> The League was also quick to grasp this opportunity. Within a month, it issued two statements condemning the Japanese and the KMT: one addressed to the proletariat and cultural organizations of the world and another to the revolutionary writers and young people of China.<sup>[19]</sup> In the face of national calamity, these actions might have won them considerable support. As Xia Yan reported, after the Mukden Incident and the Shanghai Battle in January, 1932, the left, because of their firm stand against Japanese invasion, won the support of the masses. People would provide help and protection to these anti-Japanese heroes.<sup>[20]</sup>

Then near the end of 1931, the executive committee of the Left League passed a resolution "The new missions of Chinese proletarian revolutionary literature".<sup>[21]</sup> This is generally regarded as the most important document of the League since its theoretical programme.<sup>[22]</sup> Mao Dun even took it as a mark of the beginning of a new era in the history of the Left League.<sup>[23]</sup> Feng Xuefeng was responsible for drafting this resolution while Mao Dun and Qu Qiubai were also active in the matter.<sup>[24]</sup> Obviously, we may add the advice of Lu Xun who was, firstly a member of the executive committee and secondly, a good friend of Feng Xuefeng.

To the executive committee, China and the world had entered a new era. Economic crises of the capitalist world brought in severe political crises. These in turn led to further exploitation by the colonising people. But, in the committee's opinion, the imperialists met more and more opposition at home as well as in the colonies. They also expressed an optimistic view towards the situation in China. There were reasons for this

optimism. Firstly, the Red Army in Jiangxi had just successfully crushed the third encirclement campaign.<sup>[25]</sup> On 7th November, the First All-China Congress of Soviets was held, which led to the establishment of the Chinese Soviet Provisional Central Government.<sup>[26]</sup> On the other hand, Japanese invasion was becoming more and more imminent. Facing these new changes, people of China and the proletarians of the world would co-operate in the world revolution which would bring about the downfall of the capitalists.<sup>[27]</sup>

This evaluation of the political situation of the world and of China was by no means "new". There is little problem to find similar ideas, even similar tones and wordings in past resolutions and declarations of the League. For instance, it maintained that the disarmament conferences of the Powers were a means of diminishing their conflicts, so as to launch a successful invasion against the Soviet Union. These ideas were persistently expressed by the CCP and the Left League.

What makes this resolution "new" and attracts our attention was its emphasis on literature. This was what Mao Dun meant when he said that the resolution corrected the mistakes made in the resolution of August, 1930.<sup>[28]</sup> In the resolution, the executive committee stressed time and again that the role of the Left League was to lead the proletarian literary movement. In five of the seven sections of the resolution, the problems of the creation of proletarian literature were discussed in detail. Several new tasks were assigned, including publicising, in the field of literature, anti-imperialistic, anti-bourgeois and anti-KMT struggles; Soviet revolution and rules; organizing reporters movement, wall-newspaper movement and other cultural activities among workers, peasants and soldiers; taking part in the education of the masses, and lastly, fighting against nationalist, fascist, liquidationist and all kinds of reactionary

ideas and literature.<sup>[29]</sup> Popularization of literature was considered as the most urgent work. The resolution also tried to list out the subject matters, methods and forms of proletarian revolutionary literature. Although emphasis was still laid on the struggle against imperialists, landlords and the ruling class, it underlined the use of simple language which could be understood by the public. What is more, idealist, mechanical, subjective and romantic approaches, as well as slogans, were to be avoided.<sup>[30]</sup>

Another noteworthy point of the resolution was its stress on the absorption of new elements into their rank. The executive committee pointed out that it was a mistake in the past to exclude young people and students from the proletarian literary movement. Hence, the Left League should win over and lead those progressive writers, young people as well as those who were likely to turn to revolution.<sup>[31]</sup> This was extremely important as it represented an attempt made by the leading members to liquidate sectarianism.

The last section of the resolution dealt with the organization of and discipline in the League. The following sentences are important:

The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers ... is a militant action group having a definite and unanimous political viewpoint. It is not a voluntary association of writers. <sup>[32]</sup>

This was the nature of the League as conceived by its top level. This explained why such strict discipline was enforced. Any anti-programme actions, anyone refusing to carry out decisions made in resolutions, or anything like cliquism, or transcending organization, or going slow would be condemned.<sup>[33]</sup> These words in the resolution might, on the one hand, reveal that there were signs of indiscipline within the League, or it would not have been necessary to stress it in the resolution, and on the other hand, showed that the League was still powerful

enough to exert a strong influence on its members.

In dealing with the question of discipline, the League inevitably called for self-criticism among its members. In fact, in more than one place, the resolution deliberately drew a distinction between the past and the present. In the past, the League had committed serious mistakes - being right-opportunistic and left phrase-mongering.<sup>[34]</sup> Although no great improvement was apparent after the passing of the resolution, it was, in any case, a good thing that the League was aware of its own mistakes and shortcomings.

Another attempt made by the left-wingers to strengthen their own position was a war waged against the nationalist literary movement.

On 1st June, 1930, that was, exactly three months after the formation of the Left League, a group of advocates of nationalist literature met in Shanghai and issued "The manifesto of the 'nationalist literary movement'" (《“民族主義文學運動”宣言》).<sup>[35]</sup> Those involved included, among others, Wang Pingling (王平陵, 1898-1964), Zhu Yingpeng (朱應鵬), Huang Zhengxia (黃震遐, 1907-1974), Fan Zhengbo (范爭波), Ye Qiuyuan (葉秋原), Fu Yancheng (傅彥長 1891-?), Pan Gongzhan (潘公展), Wang Tiran (汪倜然), Wan Guoan (萬國安) and Shao Xunmei (邵洵美, 1906-1968).<sup>[36]</sup> A number of journals were published, such as Qianfeng yuekan (《前鋒月刊》, Vanguard monthly), Qianfeng zhoubao (《前鋒周報》, Vanguard weekly), Wenyi yuekan (《文藝月刊》, Literary and art monthly), Kaizhan yuekan (《開展月刊》, Development monthly) and Huangzhong yuekan (《黃鍾月刊》). Some newspapers, such as the Shanghai Chenbao (《上海晨報》, Shanghai morning news) (directed by Pan gongzhan), Dongnan ribao (《東南日報》, Southeast daily) (directed by Hu Jianzhong 胡健中 in Hangzhou) and Wuhan ribao (《武漢日報》,

Wuhan daily)(directed by Wang Yeming 王亞明 ), were also in support of the movement. [37]

In the manifesto, they proclaimed that "the greatest mission of literature is to give full play to the spirit and consciousness of the nation to which it belongs" and that "the greatest meaning of literature is nationalism". Apart from showing the ways of thinking of a certain nation, art and literature could also eliminate all obstacles which blocked the nation's development. Consequently, it played an active role in assisting the building up of nationalist feelings in the political field. On the other hand, the growth of literature depended largely on the consciousness of the nation. Thus, the development of nationalist literature had to rely upon the establishment of nationalist feelings. [38]

The manifesto cited many examples to support their argument: from the pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, architecture and constructions in Greece to Iliad, Odyssey, Book of songs (《詩經》) and the works of Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) and Geoffrey Chaucer (1340?-1400). Modern examples were also quoted. These included the unification of Italy and Germany, the establishment of Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and even the U.S.S.R. What they tried to prove was that nationalism was closely related to literature. [39]

At a time when China was facing severe foreign imperialist aggression, there appeared to be good cause to advocate nationalist literature. However, the nationalists met relentless attacks from the Left League. There were several reasons for this.

Firstly, its connection with the KMT regime. We know that one of the "Three People's Principles" ( 三民主義 ) put forward by Dr. Sun Yat-sen was nationalism.

As early as 1929, the head of the Central Propaganda Department of the KMT, Ye Chucang (葉楚傖), had already advocated the "literary policy of the Three People's Principles". A number of articles were published in Zhongyang ribao (《中央日報》, Central daily) of Nanjing, one of the editors of which was Wang Pingling, one who was labelled by the left as a "hack writer" of the authorities.<sup>[40]</sup> This was the prelude to the advocacy of nationalist literature. The manifesto of the nationalist literary movement was drafted by Wang Pingling who received a handsome fee from the KMT for this. It was also reported that the movement was sponsored by the KMT while many of its advocates worked in the government. Pan Gongzhan was a committee member of the Shanghai Municipal government. Fan Zhengbo was a standing committee member of the Shanghai KMT branch, head of the detective section of the police department of the Wusong and Shanghai areas as well as the head of the martial department, while Zhu Yingpeng was the head of the detective section of the Shanghai Municipal police department.<sup>[41]</sup> The magazines of the nationalist movement were also supported by the authorities. An article by Pan Hannian revealed that the authorities forced bookshops and publishers to stop publishing for the leftists, but still retained the titles of the left-wing magazines and filled their pages with nationalist literature.<sup>[42]</sup>

Secondly, their hostile attitude towards the left. From the start, the nationalists took a hostile attitude towards left-wing literature. In the very beginning of their manifesto, the nationalists declared that the literary circle of China was in an abnormal and morbid stage. The left-wing was named as one of the two major forces which had dragged the literary circle into this crisis. Sentences from the theoretical programme of the Left League were quoted for criticism.<sup>[43]</sup> It is beyond doubt that the advocacy of nationalist literary movement was an attempt by the KMT to counteract the

influence of left-wing literature.<sup>[44]</sup> That is to say, it was the nationalists who launched the attack on the leftists while the latter defended themselves. It was a war that the League had to fight.

Thirdly, the nature of nationalism. In the eyes of the left-wing critics who believed only in class struggle, the self-styled "nationalists" represented the interests of the ruling class, which, far from opposing the menace of imperialists, colluded with the imperialists to exploit the masses. Hence, the slogan of nationalist literature was a reactionary one. In an article called "Butcher literature" (《屠夫文學》), Qu Qiubai alleged that nationalist literature was a kind of literature that encouraged "killing and burning" (sharen fanghuo, 殺人放火), and those killed and burnt were the ordinary Chinese who, in the eyes of the nationalists, were people of a foreign race, or bandits. Citing paragraphs from the works of the nationalists, he accused that the so-called nationalist wars were in fact wars between the oppressors and the oppressed. The Chinese gentry, promoting their kind of nationalism, acted as flunkeys of the imperialists. They were eager to fight against the Communists and the Soviet Union only. Before British, American, Japanese and French imperialists, the nationalist writers dared not fart, Qu said.<sup>[45]</sup>

We have seen that in the resolutions and declarations of the Left League as well as the CCP, there were calls for the proletarians to protect their motherland, the Soviet Union. It was often argued by the Communists that the Japanese invasion into China was part of their plan of invading Russia. This idea was reflected in the fight against the nationalist writers. The left-wingers believed that the nationalists made use of the slogan of nationalist literature to rally support for a war against the Soviet Union. Lu Xun, using a pen-

name of Yan Ao ( 晏敖 ), pointed out that one of the works of the nationalists, "Blood of the yellow race" ( 《黃人之血》 ) by Huang Zhenxia, was written to serve this end.<sup>[46]</sup> This was about the western expedition of the Mongols. According to Lu Xun, "their target was Europe, but it was mainly Russia - this was the purpose of the author".<sup>[47]</sup> Lu Xun even associated this with the Japanese aggression in China:

These days, among the yellow races in Asia, only the Japanese are comparable to the Monguls then. [48]

The taking of the north-eastern part of China by the Japanese was the first step in the modern "western expedition" and this was welcomed by the KMT. Qu Qiubai's words were most direct:

The nationalist writers are watchdogs which slavishly obey the British, American and Japanese imperialists and are ready to invade Soviet Russia. [49]

For these reasons, the Left League took this fight seriously. The nationalist literary movement was officially denounced in a resolution passed by its executive committee.<sup>[50]</sup> It also paraded the best of its theoreticians to write articles to attack the movement. Qu Qiubai wrote "Butcher literature", "The September of the young people" ( 《青年的九月》 ) and "'Blood of the yellow race' and others" ( 《"黃人之血"及其他》 ). Lu Xun wrote "The role and fate of 'nationalist literature'" ( 《"民族主義文學"的任務和運命》 ) and Mao Dun wrote "Revealing the true features of 'nationalist literature'" ( 《"民族主義文藝"的現狀》 ). The former two attacked not only the theory of the nationalists, but also their works, such as "Blood of the yellow race", "The battle of Gansu" ( 《隴海綫上》 ), "The destruction of great Shanghai" ( 《大上海的毀滅》 ) and "The battle at the gateway of the nation" ( 《國門之戰》 ). Lu Xun called the nationalists "a mess of floating corps" which joined their masters to oppress the proletarians in their last

struggle.<sup>[51]</sup> On the other hand, Mao Dun concentrated entirely on the manifesto. He pointed out that the main idea of the manifesto came from the theory of H.A. Taine (1828-1893) which had been refuted scathingly by western Marxists.<sup>[52]</sup> The efforts of these three big wheels of the Left League effectively crushed the movement.

1932 was a busy and constructive year for the Left League. While Beidou was still in print and there was also Shizi jietou (《十字街頭》, Crossroad) which was started in the last month of 1931, at least four new organs were started within the first half of the year although all were short-lived. On 15th March, Mishuchu xiaoxi appeared. In April, there were Wenyi xindi (《文藝新地》, New land in literature)(20th April) and Wenxue banyuekan (《文學半月刊》, Literature biweekly)(25th April) while Wenxue yuebao (《文學月報》, Literature monthly) came out in June. They together constituted an efficient weapon for fighting successful wars in the literary circle.

On 28th January, 1932, the League met a most serious challenge, this time, from the Japanese. Using the pretext that their citizens in Shanghai needed protection, the Japanese started the infamous Shanghai Battle. Unlike previous ones, Japanese aggression this time took place in the very heartland of the Left League. The daily lives of its members were definitely affected. Lu Xun had to flee for shelter in Uchiyama Bookstore and hotels for more than a month and his flat was damaged, though not seriously, by the bombs.<sup>[53]</sup> Some, like Xia Yan, participated directly in the resistance.<sup>[54]</sup> The League journal, Beidou, ceased publication until May<sup>[55]</sup> while Wenyi xinwen published a special daily Fenghuo (《烽火》, Battle flames) in order to report the news of the battle.

The Shanghai Battle intensified the crisis of

China and revealed most clearly Japan's ambition in her aggression in China. Jiang Jieshi and his nationalist government were not prepared to fight a large-scale war against Japan. But there was a general demand from the public for a stronger policy towards imperialist invasion. On 4th February, forty-three signed the "Letter from the cultural circles of Shanghai to the world" (《上海文化界告世界書》). [56] This might probably be the work of the left because it was addressed to "the proletarians and revolutionary cultural organizations and writers of the world" and more than half of the signatories were members of the Left League. [57] However, another declaration made on 10th February was quite a different matter. This declaration was drafted by Hu Qiuyuan (胡秋原) who had already published his controversial articles "A call to truth" (《真理之檄》) and "On the literature of the dogs" (《阿狗文藝論》). [58] According to Hu, on 7th February, forty-five men of letters met in a secondary school to discuss the formation of the Anti-Japanese Writers Association (Zhuzuo zhe kangrihui, 著作者抗日會). From the Left League, only Ding Ling was elected as an executive member. [59] Hu also reported that in the meeting, there was a dispute between the left and others. Most favoured a united resistance while "the left were only eager to fight a civil war". In the end, the declaration was passed with an overwhelming majority. In Hu Qiuyuan's opinion, the left was defeated and for the first time lost their ascendancy. [60]

This story, if authentic, reveals the left's determination to reject a united front against Japanese invasion. To the CCP, under the new leadership of Wang Ming, any suggestion for the formation of a national government was completely out of the question. [61] In 1932, when the fighting was still going on, there were discussions among League members on a slogan "Literature

of a national revolutionary war " (Minzu geming zhanzheng wenxue, 民族革命戰爭文學). In March, Qu Qiubai published "The Shanghai Battle and war literature" (《上海戰爭和戰爭文學》) which openly publicized the idea of a national revolutionary war.<sup>[62]</sup> This war, under the leadership of the proletariat, was to wage against both the imperialists and the bourgeoisie. This, in effect, ruled out the possibility of having a broad united front. Then a meeting was held in a school for the discussion of this question. Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Feng Xuefeng, Ding Ling, Lou Shiyi and Xia Yan were present. They all agreed on the promotion of the literature of a national revolutionary war.<sup>[63]</sup> The slogan was put forward in an article called "The May of pomegranate flowers" (《榴花的五月》) in Wenyi xinwen. The closing lines of the article read:

We must promote and expand the revolutionary national war of the masses!

We must promote the mass literature of the revolutionary national war!<sup>[64]</sup>

Feng Xuefeng also published in Beidou "The May of the national revolutionary war" (《民族革命戰爭的五月》) to expound this idea. In Feng's words, the national revolutionary war was one against the imperialists as well as against the bourgeoisie, and the literature of a national revolutionary war was to support such a war. Feng also stressed the question of leadership which, undoubtedly, should be in the hands of the proletariat.<sup>[65]</sup> Although this movement was extremely short-lived and nothing on the question was heard thereafter, we can view this as the prelude to the bitter Two Slogan Polemic in 1936 when the question of united front popped up again - one of the two slogans was "Mass literature of the national revolutionary war" (Minzu geming zhanzhengde dazong wenxue, 民族革命戰爭的大眾文學).

Before peace was completely restored,<sup>[66]</sup> the League hastily put things back in order. On 15th March, they put out Mishuchu xiaoxi. This was one of the most

important publications of the League as it was printed by the Secretariat for internal circulation. It was supposed to be a bi-weekly but only one issue is available at present. [67]

From the first issue of Mishuchu xiaoxi, we know that the Secretariat held an enlarged session on 9th March. [68] A number of resolutions were made. The first one listed the tasks for the League members. [69] By and large, it repeated the resolution made in November, 1931: League members were asked to use their weapon of art to help in the anti-imperialist struggle, to speed up the popularization of literature, to carry out systematic criticism and self-criticism programmes, and to introduce international revolutionary literature and art. However, possibly because it differed from the previous ones in that its circulation was restricted, it touched on the organization of the League. The resolution stated that reserves for the Left League should be built up by organizing literary study groups among young people. These organizations should be linked up with the literary groups of workers and peasants, thus expanding the influence of revolutionary literature. It also called for the establishment of League branches in various parts of China, like Guangzhou, Hankow, Qingdao, Nanjing, Hangzhou and the Soviet areas in Jiangxi, Hubei, Henan and Anhui. This represented the ambition and determination of the leading members of the League to make the Left League movement a nationwide one. Unfortunately, although some branches were actually built up, their activities were relatively insignificant.

On the same day, resolutions were made on the reorganization of the League and the guiding principles for the various committees were established. [70] It was also decided in the enlarged session that an organ, Wenxue (《文學》, Literature) should be published for

theoretical matters.<sup>[71]</sup> In these resolutions, a strong emphasis was given to the question of popularization of literature. Not only was a committee for mass literature established, but also the Committee for writing and criticism was assigned the tasks of studying the question of popularization as well as the means and forms for the creation of mass literature.<sup>[72]</sup>

Apart from these resolutions, Mishuchu xiaoxi also carried an interesting report on a race between the Left League, the Dramatists League and the Social Scientists League.<sup>[73]</sup> Under the direction and scrutiny of the General League of Left-wing Culture, an agreement was signed by the secretary of the Left League on 12th March. It listed the work to be done by the League in the one and a half months between 15th March and the end of April. The plan was ambitious, but rather unrealistic. For instance, among other things, in the field of creation, it was requested that twenty pieces of revolutionary literature, two story books for the Soviet areas and three hundred thousand words on the theme of anti-imperialist and anti-landlord struggle were to be created. It was also scheduled that altogether twenty-seven dissertations on various topics should be written up.<sup>[74]</sup> The Secretariat was so optimistic as to ask for an overfulfilment of the target.<sup>[75]</sup>

Responding to this challenge from the other Leagues, four members of the Secretariat, at the suggestion of Ding Ling, held a competition among themselves.<sup>[76]</sup> Ding Ling, Feng Xuefeng, Lou Shiyi and Peng Hui individually made a list of work, including editing, literary creations, thesis writing, introducing new members, giving public speeches and participating in the work of the Secretariat.<sup>[77]</sup> However, it does not seem that these targets were reached. No report on the results of the race is available. Despite this, the League was in actual fact an active body. The resolutions and the

competition agreement recorded in Mishuchu xiaoxi provide evidence that the League was eager to make achievements and contributions.

1932 was also the year when the Left League was engaged in what was considered by some as the biggest literary debate fought by the organization, [78] the debate with the "free men" and the "third category men". Because of the theme of the polemic, it was often referred to as the "Debate on the freedom of literature and art". [79]

The debate was caused by an article by Hu Qiuyuan, an avowed Marxist who went to study in Japan in 1929. In the summer of 1931, he returned to Shanghai for a short visit. But upon the outbreak of the Mukden Incident in September, he decided not to return to Japan. [80]

Hu Qiuyan was a former member of the Communist Youth Corps. According to some sources, he was reportedly a member of the A.B. (Anti-Bolsheviks) Corps, though Hu himself denied it vigorously. [81] Yet his association with the Shenzhou guoguangshe (神州國光社) would easily arouse people's suspicion. This was a small publishing firm that had been publishing books on art since 1903. In 1930, its control fell to Chen Mingshu (陳銘樞), commander of the Nineteenth Route Army of the KMT. But Chen soon came into contact with the A.B. Corps in Jiangxi and was acquainted with the leader of the movement Wang Lixi (王禮錫). Both were then searching for the creation of a political movement opposed to both the KMT and the CCP. Chen was said to have formed the Social Democratic Party and been in close relationship with the Third Party (第三黨, Disandang). In September, 1931, through his influence, Wang became the editor of Dushu zazhi (《讀書雜誌》, Reader's magazine), a publication

of Shenzhou guoguangshe. Hu Qiuyuan was a frequent contributor to the magazine. Near the end of the year, Hu, together with Wang Lixi, started and edited Wenhua pinglun (《文化評論》, Cultural critic). [82]

The political backgrounds of Hu Qiuyuan and his journal inevitably aroused the suspicion of the left. Worse still, Hu's several articles in the first issue of Wenhua pinglun directly challenged the theories of the left. In the foreword to the magazine, "A call to truth", Hu declared that his group held no specific viewpoint. They belonged to "the class of free intellectuals" who would explain and criticize everything with an objective attitude. He maintained that the anti-traditional May Fourth movement came to an abrupt end upon the failure of the Chinese revolution. "Future cultural activities are to complete the unfinished task of the May Fourth". [83] This idea was unacceptable to the left-wingers who believed that the May Fourth Movement, with its emphasis on democracy and science, had long been over and that the future cultural activities should be for the general masses who were suffering from imperialist oppression. A mild protest, which was believed to be made by the Left League in the name of the Wenyi xinwen Association, appeared to rebut Hu's ideas. It urged Hu to take off the garb of May Fourth and concentrate firepower in the struggle for the liberation of the proletariat. [84]

If the foreword had not ignited the debate, Hu's another piece of writing in the same issue of Wenhua pinglun soon became target of attack. Although "On the literature of the dogs" was in the main a severe attack on nationalist literature - the literature of dogs - which was also harshly hit by the Left League, it touched on the sensitive issue of the relationship between politics and literature. In a section called "Art is not the lowest" (《藝術非至下》), Hu attacked the nationalist writers for using literature for political purposes. To

Hu, there was only one purpose for art: that it was for the manifestation, recognition and criticism for life. "It is treachery to art to degrade art to the level of a gramophone of politics", Hu said.<sup>[85]</sup>

Upholding the "weapon of art", the left-wingers viewed Hu's article a challenge to their own theories. The first response was made by Tan Sihai (譚四海), whose identity is uncertain. His article "The 'cultural' theories of the 'free intellectuals'" (《“自由知識階級”的“文化”理論》) appeared in a journal of the General League of Left-wing Culture, Zhongguo yu Shijie (《中國與世界》, China and the world).<sup>[86]</sup> Tan accused Hu Qiuyuan for being unable to realize the nature of the present struggle. In advocating that art was only for the manifestation, recognition and criticism of life, Hu was in effect denying the reformative uses of art. Trying to find a land of peace in the midst of a severe battle would eventually "help the tiger" (Wei hu zuo cheng 爲虎作倀, i.e., help the evil).<sup>[87]</sup>

Hu Qiuyuan wrote two separate articles in reply to the editors of Wenyi xinwen and Tan Sihai. In the first article, Hu began with a denunciation of the author of the article in Wenyi xinwen, that he could not understand Marxist-Leninism thoroughly. He made an analysis of the situation in China, quoting lines from Lenin, Luppol and Deborin to support his argument. He denied the charge that he wanted to revive the May Fourth. What he wanted to do was to surpass the May Fourth, "aufhenben" the May Fourth. He alleged that if left-wingers could not grasp Marxist theories strongly and unite under the banner of Marxism, the firepower would only be dispersed.<sup>[84]</sup> Likewise, Tan Sihai was also charged of misunderstanding genuine Marxism. Hu ironically said that he suspected that Tan, for his attack on Hu's criticism on the nationalist literary movement, was the lawyer solicited by the nationalists.

"Who was in fact working for the dogs? [weigou zuochang, 爲狗作倂]", Hu asked.<sup>[89]</sup>

Hu's two articles were published in the fourth issue of Wenhua pinglun. The same publication carried yet another article on the same question. This showed most clearly that Hu was eager to put up a fight. In this article labelled "Hands off art" (《勿侵略文藝》), Hu denied that he had attacked proletarian literature or nationalist literature. Being a "free man", he would tolerate the existence of any kind of literature, left or right alike. But he would not allow any particular kind to monopolize the literary circle.<sup>[90]</sup> He insisted that art is not propaganda. Hence, before he closed his article, he urged people to keep their "hands off art".

Roughly at the same time, Hu Qiuyuan published another lengthy article in Dushu zazhi. On the one hand, he continued with the attacks on nationalist literature. On the other, he picked out Qian Xingcun, an important member and theoretician of the Left League, for criticism. This behaviour may be related to his political association with the Third Party which was against both the KMT and the CCP. In the article, he accused that Qian Xingcun lacked the talent of being a critic. Qian could only be regarded as a "copyist" or "journalist", because all his writings were just copied out from various books.<sup>[91]</sup> Qian stood out as a Marxist critic, yet what he had made was only a caricature and a distortion of Marxism.<sup>[92]</sup> Qian's theories were, in Hu's eyes, confusing, subjective, and being both left and right deviated.<sup>[93]</sup> For this reason, he, being a genuine believer in historical materialism, had to write the article.

In the article, Hu Qiuyuan specified that he was not against the theories of proletarian literature, nor did he mean to attack Qian personally. It did not mention anything about the debate that had already been going on between him and the left. But the Left hastened

to relate the article to the debate. Feng Xuefeng, in the name of Luo Yang (洛揚), wrote an open letter to the editor of Wenyi xinwen. Though admitting that Qian had made theoretical errors and that they themselves could not correct Qian in time, Feng was harsh in his criticism of Hu. Feng Xuefeng said:

Here Hu Qiuyuan does not criticize Qian Xingcun for the sake of upholding genuine Marxism. He attacks Qian Xingcun for the sake of opposing proletarian revolutionary literature. He is not attacking Qian Xingcun alone. He is attacking the entire proletarian revolutionary literary movement. Recently Hu Qiuyuan, taking the stand of a "free man" and in the name of opposing nationalist literature, secretly carried out the role of fighting against proletarian revolutionary literature. Now he openly wages a war against proletarian literary movement. [94]

Feng Xuefeng did not hesitate to point out that Hu Qiuyuan belonged to the group of Trotskyists and social democrats, who were now more active in fighting against proletarian literature than nationalist writers. A campaign against them should therefore be launched immediately. [95]

At this time, Su Wen stepped in. Su Wen (alias of Du Heng) was a member of the Left League and he was present in its inaugural meeting. In the guise of an impartial observer, he accounted for the debate between Hu Qiuyuan and Wenyi xinwen (the left) in terms of a difference in standpoint. To Su Wen, Hu Qiuyuan was a pedantic Marxist who wanted only books. But what the left demanded was actions and that was the reason why they gave excessive emphasis to the political mission of literature. It was just natural that Hu should have been attacked by the left. [96]

But Su Wen was in no way in support of Hu Qiuyuan. He could not agree that Hu truly stood for freedom because Hu fiercely attacked goal conscious literature. When he said "hands off art", he was implying "let me do

it".<sup>[97]</sup> On the other hand, the freedom of writers was further restricted by the left's advocacy of class literature. When the concept of class literature was introduced, literature became a whore. Today, she was sold to the bourgeoisie and tomorrow, to the proletariat.<sup>[98]</sup> Writers had to follow suit, that is, write for a special purpose, or simply stop writing, "lay down their pens", if they did not want to be attacked. In the end, those who continued to write were no longer writers but agitators and literature became serial pictures.<sup>[99]</sup> Here Su Wen was hinting at the attempts made by the left to popularize literature by using serial pictures and puppet shows.

Su Wen brought up the issue of "men of the third category" to refer to those writers who held fast to literature. But this "third category" was in no way related to the Third Party of Chen Mingshu and others. Nor was it in support of or similar to the "free men" of Hu Qiuyuan. When he gave a definition of "men of the third category" in his article, it is obvious that he was deliberately drawing a distinction between Hu's "free men" and his own "third category":

At a time when the "free men of the intellectual class" and the class that is "not free, having cliques" are struggling for the hegemony of the literary arena, those suffering most are the men of the third category other than these two groups. This third category is the so-called "writer group".<sup>[100]</sup>

Su Wen's article posed an important challenge to the left because it was published in Xiandai, one of the most successful and popular journals in the thirties. His demand for freedom for writing was appealing too. The League paid great attention to this challenge. A meeting was called to discuss the matter.<sup>[101]</sup> Qu Qiubai hastily published a lengthy article to ridicule both Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen. He claimed that in a class society, there was no absolute or genuine freedom for literature. No one could be of the third category because every writer,

no matter whether he was conscious or not conscious, writing or keeping silent, was a representative of the ideologies of a particular class, helping it in the class struggle. Consequently, all art, in a broad sense, was agitation and propaganda, a gramophone of politics. To Qu, literature and revolution was not incompatible. He admitted, unreservedly and proudly, that revolution was invading literature. Those literary pieces which had a high artistic value could still be agitational. He cited the example of Gorky (1868-1936) to support his argument that agitators could at the same time be good writers. [102]

The upstart Zhou Yang also wrote an attack on Su Wen. But obviously he was then a close follower of Qu Qiubai, because even Su Wen clearly pointed out that Zhou's article was a repetition of the ideas of Qu. [103] On the other hand, his tone was more dogmatic. Su Wen was even labelled "a dog":

Even if Mr Su Wen has not been "the dog of that class", he has at least helped "the dog of that class" to bite the "left-wing literary circle". [104]

Su Wen was able to read these two articles before they were published in Xiandai because of his friendship with its editor Shi Zhecun. Consequently, his defence was able to be published in the same issue of the journal. [105] Su claimed that he, just like the left-wingers did, believed in the class nature of literature. It was probable that petit bourgeois writers would unconsciously expose their class character in their works. But this did not necessarily mean that these works served the bourgeoisie. Even a depiction of the life of the bourgeois could not be said of serving that class. Moreover, Su maintained, many bourgeois writers were critical of bourgeois society. He was particularly resentful of the left's assertion that "being not very revolutionary is not revolutionary, and being not revolutionary is counter-revolutionary". Their

"excluding middle" attitude, taking friends as enemies, was in effect weakening and isolating the proletariat in the literary front. [106]

Until recently, it has been a prevailing idea in mainland China that this debate was one between hostile groups: that the Left League was fighting another war against exponents of reactionary bourgeois literary theories. One of the arguments is that both Su Wen and Hu Qiuyuan shortly afterwards turned to and worked for the KMT. [107]

However, during the polemic, neither Hu Qiuyuan nor Su Wen considered themselves enemies of the Left League. In more than one place, Hu Qiuyuan denied that he had the slightest intention of hurting the proletarian literary movement. [108] Rather, he was sympathetic with it. [109] In the last article he wrote on the issue, he said that he was surprised that his articles condemning the nationalist literary movement had invited criticism from the left. When he came to read the articles of Feng Xuefeng in Wenyi xinwen, he "realized that he had angered some friends". [110] He asserted that when he demanded freedom for literature, he was aiming against the nationalist writers, rather than the left. In fact, in so doing, he was indirectly helping the development of proletarian literature:

At the time when the reactionary class openly forces literature to act as tools for oppression, anyone who stands up and cries out loudly "hands off art" is in fact disarming the reactionary class. This is advantageous for the development of all genuine literature (proletarian literature is by all means included). [111]

For this reason, he considered the debate with the left wasteful. [112]

Su Wen's stand was even more positive. It seems that all along, Su Wen regarded himself as a friend of

the left. He complained that the left took friends for enemies in the debate. He stated in various articles that he did not mean to attack anyone or any group. In his eyes, he was pointing out a different viewpoint to the left, rather than quarrelling or being engaged in a polemic.<sup>[113]</sup> The fact that a lot of articles on the issue from both sides appeared in Xiandai is significant. Su Wen was a very good friend of its editor, Shi Zhecun. He had helped in the design and preparation of the magazine even before it was started. Although he was not formally listed as an editor until May, 1933 (Vol. III No. 10), he had been invited by Shi to read contributions from the beginning.<sup>[114]</sup> In other words, he had a considerable influence over the magazine. The appearance of hostile articles in the magazine shows that he was liberal and open. In a recollection, Shi Zhecun said that many important treatises were read by the other side before they reached him.<sup>[115]</sup> Feng Xuefeng also pointed out that Su Wen permitted him to take home Hu Qiuyuan's article.<sup>[116]</sup>

In other words, the fault may have lay in the left in causing the outbreak of the polemic. Before long, there came the criticism of the left from the left. Chen Wangdao, one of the earliest CCP members, published an article voicing his discontent towards left-wing theoreticians. They were, in Chen's opinion, impractical, irresponsible and lazy. It was high time for them to introspect and admit mistakes.<sup>[117]</sup>

More significant still was Lu Xun's article "On the 'men of the third category'" (《論“第三種人”》). It was in the main a rebuke of Su Wen's ideas. Just like Qu Qiubai and Zhou Yang, he denied the possibility of there being a "third category". Lu Xun said,

To live in a class society and wanting to be a writer who transcends class, to live in a fighting era yet to leave the battlefield and stand alone, to live in the present yet to

write for the future, this is sheer fantasy.  
There are no such men in real life. [118]

He could not agree that writers were forced to lay down their pens by the left. "Leftist writers are still being oppressed, imprisoned and killed under the laws of feudal and bourgeois society". [119] They found it difficult even to publish their own creative works. There was no way for them to monopolize the literary arena. He also tried to answer Su Wen's queries on the mass literary movement. Citing the works of Michelangelo (1475-1564) and Da Vinci (1452-1519), he pointed out that great art could be born out of caricatures and serial pictures.

What makes this article different from those of Qu Qiubai and Zhou Yang is that it never accused Su Wen of doing harm to the proletarian literary movement. On the contrary, Lu Xun expressed his willingness to accept different viewpoints:

Left-wing writers are not supernatural soldiers from the heaven, nor foreign foes who have fought their way in from abroad. They welcome not only those "fellow travellers" who walk along for a few steps, but would also invite those onlookers at the roadside to walk along.  
[121]

From these words, we can tell that Lu Xun did not hold a hostile attitude towards Su Wen. In fact, in the year 1933 alone, Lu Xun wrote six letters to him. Su also claimed that in principles, there was no difference between Lu and him. [122]

On the other hand, at the time of the debate, Lu Xun never openly mentioned Hu Qiuyuan or the "free men" theory, let alone criticized it. This was an uncommon, if not abnormal, phenomenon since after he had joined the League, Lu Xun never failed to support them in all the polemics engaged in by the left. His silence might well mean that he did not share the same opinion. The fact that Hu Qiuyuan was a firm believer of Plekhanov

[123] made him readily acceptable to Lu - Lu himself had translated and quoted in his works much of Plekhanov's writings. [124] We must add that during the revolutionary literary polemic in 1928 when Lu Xun was attacked by the radicals, Hu Qiuyan had come to Lu's aid in an article called "The question of revolutionary literature". (《革命文學問題》). [125]

It seemed that someone in the Communist Party was also against the dogmatic attitudes of some of the left-wing critics. On 3rd November, 1932, a certain Ge Te ( 歌特 ) published an article "The closed-doorism of the literary front" (《文藝戰綫上的關門主義》) in the official organ of the Central Committee of the CCP, Douzheng (《鬥爭》, Struggle). [126] It is impossible to know the identity of this Ge Te. But judging from the article, we can tell for sure that he was among the leading rank of the CCP. [127] This article was reprinted, with some minor adjustment, in the organ of the General League of Left-wing Culture, Shijie wenhua (《世界文化》, World culture). [128]

It is obvious from the title of the article that the aim of Ge Te was to liquidate sectarianism within the left-wing cultural circle. But from its content, we can also be certain that it was largely because of the polemic with the "third category" that made him write the article. In the article, Ge Te wrote that the first sign of closed-doorism was the negation of the "third category men" and the "third category literature". He considered this wrong and ultra-leftist:

This is because in the society of China, apart from bourgeois and proletarian literature, there is obviously the existence of the literature of other classes. It may be non-proletarian, but at the same time, it may be a kind of revolutionary petit bourgeois literature which opposes to the landlord and capitalist classes. Not only is this kind of literature in existence, it is also the dominating kind of revolutionary literature in China today.

(In fact, even the literary works of those who claim to be proletarian writers belong to this group.) To reject this kind of literature and to curse this kind of writers, naming them flunkeys of the bourgeoisie, is in effect destroying the revolutionary cultural front in the literary circle. [129]

This paragraph is of utmost importance as it harshly condemned the attitudes of "several leading comrades" during the polemic with the "third category". Here, even Lu Xun's concept that there could not be any "third category" was rejected. In other word, Ge Te was more ready to accept people like Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen.

It was possibly because of this article that left-wing critics in the literary arena of Shanghai began to resolve the battle. Feng Xuefeng, the first one from the left to rebuke Hu Qiuyuan's ideas, in the name of Dan Yan (丹仁), published an article called "On the inclination and theories of the 'third category' literature" (《關於“第三種文學”的傾向與理論》)<sup>[130]</sup> In the article, Feng continued to attack what he considered to be Su Wen's mistakes. Su Wen was still attacked for being anti-revolutionary. Su's analysis of class nature of literature was refuted.<sup>[131]</sup> But the most noteworthy part of the article lay in the first section, "Our attitudes towards Mr Su Wen and others". In the very beginning, Feng hastened to clarify that the left wanted to ally themselves with all progressive writers. They would not label those writers as "flunkeys of the bourgeoisie". More important still, Feng openly admitted that some in his group had committed the mistake of "taking friends for enemies", a charge first made by Su Wen. Both Qu Qiubai and Zhou Yang were named for criticism.<sup>[132]</sup> Feng claimed that they themselves would in the first instance correct such mistakes as well as the sectarian feelings in their camp.<sup>[133]</sup> According to Feng Xuefeng, since Su Wen was then, at least passively, opposing bourgeois literature, the left should not take him as an enemy, but rather an ally. Feng even called

upon the left-wingers to build up friendship with Su Wen.<sup>[134]</sup> It seems that this was carried out. Su Wen recalled that the left had sent many people to talk to him, saying that some of his ideas were more acceptable and that Su Wen was excellent in writing argumentative articles.<sup>[135]</sup> On the other hand, Hu Qiuyuan also reported that people from the left, including Feng Xuefeng, went to see him. They even gave Hu a picture of Plekhanov as present and invited him to contribute to Xiandai.<sup>[136]</sup> Both Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen claimed that it was the left who were defeated.<sup>[137]</sup> It does not seem that either side, on the theoretical level, was convinced by the opponents.

Hence, the significance of the debate lies on the attitude adopted by the Left League. As we have shown earlier, at the beginning of the debate, the League adopted a dogmatic and uncompromising stance. This was the main cause of the intensification of the debate. Nevertheless, the League showed an abrupt change in attitude. Although "On the inclination and theories of the 'third' category literature" brought disastrous results to its author decades later,<sup>[138]</sup> it was not true that, as Shi Zhecun once said, it pleased nobody at that time.<sup>[139]</sup> It marked a successful attempt of the Left League to liquidate sectarianism. Lu Xun's influence was important. On the one hand, as we have already pointed out, Lu might not be totally against the ideas of Hu and Su. On the other, Lu Xun was paying attention to and for the benefit of the entire left-wing literary movement. His usual stance was best illustrated in a letter to Wang Zhizhi (王志之), one of the most prominent members of the Beijing branch of the Left League:

I believe that it is better for us to adopt a more moderate stance. In fact, there are some people who may not be of any great help and yet do not bear any ill-will. At present, they are certainly not our enemies. It will be our loss if we make a stern look and repel them. Do not ask for perfection at the moment. If you do so, people will keep away from you.<sup>[140]</sup>

Thus Lu Xun was satisfied with Feng's article. His words and main ideas in "On the 'men of the third category'" were repeated. On the other hand, Su Wen was happy to see the appearance of this article. He described it as "the most valuable gain of the debate".<sup>[141]</sup> The fact that the left became silent on the question shortly afterwards shows that there was a general agreement within the camp.

Meanwhile, the League was also busy discussing another important issue and there were diversified opinions among its members. It was on the popularization of literature and art.

As we have seen earlier, this question had already been a centre of attention in the left-wing literary movement even before the formation of the Left League. The League, with its emphasis on the promotion of proletarian literature, took the problem seriously. Apart from establishing the Association for the study of Popularization of Literature, it also initiated a discussion on the issue. Seminars were held and a large number of articles were published in its organs. However, even Lu Xun expressed a pessimistic view: "It is idle talk to ask for a complete popularization at the present moment."<sup>[142]</sup>

There were reasons for the revival of the discussion in 1932. The most important factor was the leadership of Qu Qiubai. As noted in the previous chapter, Qu came to take up the work of the Left League in May, 1931. A writer himself, he was particularly keen on the popularization of literature. Some sources recorded that Qu went in disguise to watch the performances of folk artists in order to familiarize himself with the kind of popular literature and art enjoyed by the common people.<sup>[143]</sup> On 28th September, 1931, he published a long verse "The invasion of the Japanese" (《東洋人出兵》) which

was written in the dialects of Shanghai and the north. [144] In the same issue of Wenxue daobao, he also published an article called "Mass literature and the struggle against imperialism" (《大眾文藝和反對帝國主義的鬥爭》) shouting "revolutionary literature, go to the masses!" [145] His emphasis on the popularization of literature was reflected in the Left League. According to Mao Dun, Qu spent much effort in the drafting of the resolution made by the executive committee of the League in September, 1931. [146] In the resolution, an entire section was devoted to the "Significance of the question of popularization", stressing that the popularization movement was for the success of the anti-imperialistic and anti-KMT Soviet revolution. Furthermore, proposals such as the organization of a reporters movement and study groups for the workers, peasants and soldiers were made. Apart from manoeuvring behind the scenes, Qu also wrote treatises to promote the movement. Between September 1931 and July 1931, he wrote several articles on the topic. They were described by one critic as "extraordinarily interesting and provocative", "more systematic and creative" and most of all, they "are related far more explicitly to the peculiarities of the Chinese revolutionary scene". [147]

There were also political reasons for the bringing up of the issue again in 1932. With the intensification of Japanese aggression towards China in the Mukden and Shanghai Incidents, the League felt a more urgent need to unite with the masses whose power was demonstrated in the events: strikes, demonstrations and petitions had broken out in various big cities and voluntary self-defence corps had been organized. Claiming to be the upholder of mass movement and rejecting all KMT-led anti-Japanese efforts, the League could not lag behind. Declarations and resolutions made by the League were not direct enough to win or educate the masses. Popularization of literature and art was definitely more effective.

Revival of the discussion on popularization can also be viewed as an act of counter-balance against the nationalist literary movement and the "mass literature" of the ruling class. Although it is true that Jiang Jieshi was not eager to fight a war against Japan at that moment, propaganda was actually made by the right against Japanese aggression. Songs, stories and posters were employed to call for the people to resist against Japanese aggression and not to buy Japanese goods. [148] Even Qu Qiubai and Feng Xuefeng had to admit that this exerted a considerable influence on the masses. [149] But they did not view that this could help in the cause of resisting the Japanese. Rather, they believed that it would help the ruling class in consolidating their rule, thus constituting an obstacle to both the political and literary movements of the left. In other words, the left's desire in promoting mass literature carried an important mission of washing away the "bad" influences on the masses.

Near the end of 1931, there were increasing demands from the leading members of the League for a massive movement in popularization of literature. As we have seen earlier, various resolutions and declarations called for a more active attitude among its members. Qu Qiubai wrote a number of articles on the topic. The first one was "The practical questions of proletarian mass literature" (《普洛大眾文藝的現實問題》) which was published in the first (and only) issue of the League journal Wenxue on 25th April, 1932. But because the circulation of Wenxue was not wide, Qu's article did not attract much attention. [150] But his next treatise, "Questions of mass literature" (《大眾文藝的問題》) was able to initiate discussion on the left.

At the beginning of these two articles, Qu pointed out that the masses were still enjoying a cultural life of the middle ages. There was a kind of "reactionary mass

literature and art": picture storybooks, historical novels (Yanyi 演義), puppet shows, shadow plays and local opera. The present task of the left was to build up proletarian mass literature to fight against this reactionary kind. But several problems had to be solved first, namely the problems of language, form and content.

Unlike many other May Fourth writers, Qu did not believe that the language problem had been solved in the May Fourth new cultural movement because there was still a wide gap between spoken and written languages and between the languages of the gentry and the masses. In Qu's opinion, the May Fourth was a failure.<sup>[151]</sup> There emerged only a kind of new classical language (xinwenyan, 新文言), or a mule language (non-horse and non-donkey) which, just like the classical language, was still monopolized exclusively by the intelligentsia. This language was by no means "vernacular". It was but an admixture of classical Chinese, modern and old vernacular as well as European and Japanese grammar and could not be understood when read aloud.<sup>[152]</sup> As it could not serve the masses, this kind of vernacular would never be used to create proletarian literature and art. He said that a better alternative was the "vernacular" used in traditional mass literature such as serialized fiction and story teller tales. It was indigenously Chinese as it was developed from the spoken language of the Ming Dynasty. It was therefore better understood and welcome by the masses.<sup>[153]</sup> Yet he could not agree that it would likewise be used for proletarian literature.

On the other hand, Qu claimed that a modern Chinese language was emerging in the big cities - the common speech (Putonghua, 普通話). It was not the "national language" (Guoyu 國語) endorsed by the ruling class, but one used in communication by people from various provinces. The development, growth and assimilation of foreign elements of this common speech were based

on the customary grammar of spoken Chinese.<sup>[154]</sup> He considered this the solution to the language problem in the popularization of proletarian literature and art. He urged writers to use this "common speech" for their writings and this would eventually help the establishment of a genuine modern Chinese.<sup>[155]</sup>

As for the question of form, Qu Qiubai also adopted an attitude different from those of other iconoclastic and Europeanized May Fourth writers. He saw merits in the traditional forms: their relationship to the oral literary heritage and simple and plain means of narration.<sup>[156]</sup> Therefore, he cautioned revolutionary writers to take heed of these in the creation of revolutionary mass literature because they could help in the problem of receptivity. But Qu was against imitating all the traditional forms blindly. Two things were to be done. First, take up and reform the traditional forms. Second, make use of various elements of traditional forms to create new forms.<sup>[157]</sup>

On the question of content, Qu insisted that revolutionary mass literature and art had only one central idea: unmask all kinds of false fronts and show the revolutionary struggle of heroes. This would contribute to the development and growth of revolution. Qu claimed that a great variety of themes could be undertaken. There was hardly any subject inappropriate.<sup>[158]</sup> He listed some for reference. First, something like reportage which could reflect revolutionary struggles and political incidents most directly and quickly. Second, a revision on old themes, such as "New water margin". Third, yanyi on revolutionary struggles such as the Taiping, May Thirtieth, Great Strike of Hong Kong. Fourth, translation of foreign revolutionary literature and art. Fifth, works exposing the aggression of imperialist powers. Sixth, adaptation from daily news.<sup>[159]</sup>

Qu also asserted that revolutionary mass literature and art should describe the family life and the question of love of the masses. [160]

When compared with the sporadic discussion of mass literature previously, these two articles of Qu Qiubai were more systematic and richer in content. Apart from presenting and discussing the problems, Qu was able to provide answers. Nevertheless, Qu could not win unanimous support among the left. Mao Dun, taking a pseudonym of Zhi Jing ( 止敬 ), expressed a different view in "The mass literature and art in question" (《問題中的大眾文藝》).

In the first instance, Mao Dun could not agree with Qu Qiubai's remark that the masses could understand the "vernacular" of traditional fiction. He insisted that only those who frequented "story-telling places" ( 說書場 ) or had received traditional education could, still with some difficulties, understand the language. On the other hand, those who had studied in new primary schools for two to three years were able to read works written in the "new classical" but would never like traditional fiction. Mao's conclusion was: there were limitations in saying that "the vernacular in old fiction was closer to the masses". [161]

Another point of disputé centred on the question of the artistic value of mass literature. Mao Dun stressed that being an artistic piece itself, mass literature and art should be able to move the readers. This had nothing to do with the language, but the narrative skill of writers. Sometimes, even though there was no problem in understanding, the masses still did not like a particular piece. Mao Dun concluded that skill was the principal while the language was a minor factor. Just like Qu Qiubai, Mao also believed that there were defects in revolutionary literature. But the problem lay not in

the language, but in the skill.<sup>[162]</sup> Qu Qiubai's fault was caused by over-emphasizing the role of language in literary creations.

Mao Dun was also against the notion of "modern Chinese common speech". After conducting a survey of the workers of a laundry, a printing house, a textile factory and a wharf in Shanghai, Mao Dun concluded that there was not a "common speech" developing in China. Rather, individual cities had their own dialects as the dominating communication medium while taking in speech patterns from other parts of the country. Moreover, this "common speech" used for communication by people from different regions was not rich enough for literary creations. Mao cited an example of a woman from Tianjin who could communicate with the so-called common speech and yet would shift back to her native dialect when she wanted to tell a story. It was thus impossible to use the so-called "modern Chinese common speech" for the creation of mass literature. Mao Dun insisted, at a time when there was not a better way out, that the much condemned "vernacular" had to be employed.<sup>[163]</sup>

Qu Qiubai made an open reply to Mao's article. He claimed that on the one hand, Mao Dun had misunderstood him in certain aspects and yet on the other, there was a difference in principle.<sup>[164]</sup> Qu tried to clarify the misunderstanding that he had advocated the use of traditional vernacular for literary creations and that he had over-emphasized the question of language. Yet he remained firm on the matter of principles. He asserted that it was wrong to give so much weight to technique in mass literature and ignore the language problem. There was no point to have a skilfully written piece of work that could not be understood by the masses. Moreover, at this early stage of the movement, there was no way to have first class writers and thus intrinsically inferior works could still be accepted. Limiting the scope of

mass literature to outstanding pieces only, Mao Dun was in effect obstructing, or even stopping the movement.<sup>[165]</sup>

Mao Dun did not respond to Qu's article. The reason for his silence, according to his own later account, was that he realized there was a difference between the two in the understanding of the concept of popularization of literature and art.<sup>[166]</sup> For Mao Dun, popularization meant the efforts made by writers to create, in the language used by the masses, literary works intelligible and acceptable to the masses. It was therefore natural that Mao would pay emphasis on the question of techniques. On the other hand, Qu Qiubai was also concerned with the question of enabling the masses to create a literature of their own.<sup>[167]</sup> Consequently, attention should not be put on the techniques of the writers, but rather, because of the illiteracy problem, to the question of a viable language. Once again, this difference was one between a writer and a politician. Mao Dun took the stand of a writer whilst Qu paid more attention to mobilizing the creative energies of the proletariat. That was the reason why Qu repeatedly pointed out that the popularization movement was part of the political struggle.<sup>[168]</sup>

Once again, the significance of this debate lay not so much in its content but the manner how the debate was conducted, or more specifically, the behaviour of Qu Qiubai in face of challenges raised by his subordinates. His tolerance was clearly manifested in his reply to Mao Dun. In more than one place in his article, he praised the merits of Mao Dun's essay - Mao's discussion on form and content was thorough and useful.<sup>[169]</sup> This open and graceful manner won him support and respect within the leftist camp.

Apart from the debate between Qu Qiubai and Mao Dun, other efforts were also made by the left to promote

the movement. For four issues, Wenyi xinwen published articles entitled "To the brothers in factories", teaching the workers to read and write.<sup>[170]</sup> Beidou also invited answers to four questions:

- (A) Should the present Chinese literature be popularized?
- (B) Can the present Chinese literature be popularized?
- (C) Will popularization lower the artistic standard of literature?
- (D) How to achieve the popularization of literature?<sup>[171]</sup>

Eleven answers were published in Beidou in June, including those of Chen Wangdao, Zhang Tianyi, Zheng Zhenduo, Du Heng and Wei Jinzhi.<sup>[172]</sup> In general they were optimistic. To them, there was no reason why literature could not and should not be proletarianized. But unfortunately, they could not provide an acceptable solution to the fourth question. It was still a great problem to decide on the right method for the popularization of literature.

Several articles in the same issue of Beidou were also devoted to the same popularization problem. Here we can see that Qu Qiubai's ideas were dominant within the left. Articles such as Zhou Yang's "On the popularization of literature" (《關於文藝大衆化》) and Han Sheng's (寒生, pseud. of Yang Hansheng) "Popularization of literature and mass literature" (《文藝大衆化與大衆文藝》) were repetitions of Qu's earlier writings.<sup>[173]</sup> For instance, Zhou Yang also stressed that the solving of the language problem was essential and that traditional forms should be borrowed. He, too, believed it a must for training new writers from the masses. Heavy political flavour can also be found in these articles. In some cases, they were more extreme than Qu Qiubai. Unlike Qu who welcomed all sorts of topics, Zhou Yang claimed that their main task was to write about the struggle of

revolutionary proletarians.<sup>[174]</sup> Xia Yan said that the ultimate aim of their literary movement was to bring about the destruction of the capitalist system and therefore, "class struggle must absolutely be the central theme of everything we write".<sup>[175]</sup> This was interpreted by some as the sign of the rise of radicals in the Left League.<sup>[176]</sup>

1930-32 was thus an active and constructive period for the Left League. Comparatively speaking, 1933 was less successful. On the first day of the year, Yang Cunren, one of the founders of the Sun Society, published an article "Leaving the trench of political party life" (《離開政黨生活的戰壕》) declaring his defection.<sup>[177]</sup> Although Yang did not occupy any senior post in the League, it was nevertheless a blow to the organization because this was the very first time when one of its members openly declared defection. We have to point out too that unlike other defectors, Yang had not been arrested by the government before he made his decision. This would easily lead people to think that there were problems within the League, especially when Yang wrote the following lines in his declaration:

Leading a political party life is like squatting down in a trench. You have to be careful of the bullets of the enemies. On the other hand, you have to be aware of the betrayal, frame-up and discrimination of companions.<sup>[178]</sup>

Judging from the internal strife of the League in its later periods, we may say that Yang's complaints were not groundless.

There was other bad news too. On 14th May, Ding Ling and Pan Zinian were arrested while Ying Xiuren was killed at the same spot and Zhou Yang narrowly escaped.<sup>[179]</sup> On 26th July, Hong Lingfei was arrested in Beijing and soon put to death. Then near the end of the year, the head of the Beijing and Tianjin branches, Pan Mohua was arrested and died on hunger strike in prison. These

were heavy blows to the Left League as all the arrested and killed were active and experienced members of the League. Being underground, the League could do nothing either to rescue them or to stage effective protests. They could only make use of another open channel, the Chinese League for the Defence of Civil Rights (中國民權保障同盟, Zhongguo minquan baozhang tongmeng) which was formed at the end of 1932 under Song Qingling (宋慶齡, 1893-1981), widow of Dr Sun Yatsen, and Cai Yuanpei. [180] In May, they issued "A declaration on the murder of the young writer Ying Xiuren" (《對青年作家應修人被害宣言》). [181] Yet it was ironic that the chief executive of the Civil Right League, Yang Xingfo (楊幸佛, 1893-1933), could not escape assassination on 18th June, 1933.

On the other hand, since the latter half of 1932, the Communists were fighting a hard war against Jiang Jieshi's fourth encirclement campaign. With half a million troops, Jiang was able to dislodge the Red Armies under Zhang Guodao from the Soviet areas and force them to retreat into northern Sichuan. He Long (賀龍, 1896-1969) was also driven to the Miao areas on the borders of Hupei, Hunan, Sichuan and Guizhou. It was not until March 1933 that the KMT troops withdrew. But in the same year, there was the disastrous fifth encirclement. Jiang Jieshi, experienced from the previous four campaigns and with the advice of the German general Hans von Seeckt, employed new tactics. Instead of rushing hastily into the Communist strongholds, the KMT troops set up a tight blockade over the entire Central Soviet district, causing serious shortage of food and other supplies. In the end, the Communists had to abandon the Central Soviet and started the Long March. [182]

But the League was by no means in complete stagnancy in 1933. In February, it issued in its own name a letter of protest in China forum concerning the

death of the Japanese proletarian writer Kobayashi Takiji ( 小林多喜二 , 1903-1933).<sup>[183]</sup> Kobayashi was generally regarded "both as the dominant writer of the NAPF-KOPF period and the most outstanding writer in the history of proletarian literary movement" in Japan.<sup>[184]</sup> In 1927, he was secretary of the Otaru branch of the WPAL (Worker-Peasant Artists' League) and VAL (Vanguard Artists' League). He was also responsible for the organization of the Otaru branch of NAPF. He put out a number of successful works such as "March 15, 1928" and "Kani Kōsen" ( 《蟹工船》 , "The crab canning boat"). In 1931, he became the secretary of the Central Committee of the Writers' League and a member of the Japanese Communist Party. In 1932, being one of the twenty-nine members of the Central Council of the KOPF and taking charge of the Communist party group of the organization, "he was doubtlessly the single, most important man in Japan's proletarian cultural movement".<sup>[185]</sup> He was arrested and beaten to death by the Japanese police on 20th February, 1933 at the age of twenty-nine.<sup>[186]</sup> Apart from making a protest, the Left League of China also ran a fund-raising campaign. Yu Dafu, Mao Dun, Ye Shengtao, Chen Wangdao, Hong Shen, Du Heng, Lu Xun, Tian Han and Ding Ling signed a notice in Wenxue zazhi ( 《文學雜誌》 , Literature magazine) inviting donations for Kobayashi's family.<sup>[187]</sup> Lu Xun also sent in a telegram which was collected in the complete works of Kobayashi Takiji.

Then in June, upon the arrest of Ding Ling and Pan Zinian, the League published a declaration in China Forum.<sup>[188]</sup> As expected, it condemned the KMT rule for its exploitation of the people, capitulationist policy towards Japanese imperialists and murder of Chinese writers. The declaration also revealed that a new organization was established under the Blue-shirt Society ( 藍衣社 ) of the KMT to kidnap left-wingers.<sup>[189]</sup> It

accused too that there was an understanding between the KMT and the police of the concessions areas - signs of co-operation between foreign imperialists and autocrats at home. [190]

The League also actively participated in the Far East session of the Committee of the World Anti-imperialistic Wars. It was convened in Shanghai on 30th September 1933 in secret because the KMT had denounced it as illegal. But under the direction of Song Qingling and participated in by delegates from Britain, France and Belgium, the session was considered a success. [191] The Left League was one of the active groups in preparing and organizing the session. Hua Di headed the team which was made up of Zhou Wen, Zheng Yuzhi, Liang Wenruo ( 梁文若 ) and Wang Hanwen ( 汪漢雯 ). [192] Apart from offering practical help, the League also published a statement to welcome the delegates. [193] Another welcome notice could also be viewed as the results of the League's efforts because a large proportion of the one hundred and seventy-three signatories were its members. [194] On top of this, Lu Xun, Mao Dun and Tian Han, the three heads of the League, issued yet another declaration for this occasion. [195] We can be sure that the League laid great emphasis on this Far East session.

During this period, beneath the surface, there was a shift of power within the League which greatly affected its fate. Near the end of 1932, Zhou Yang rose rapidly into power in the League. Returned from Japan in the summer of 1932, Zhou Yang was introduced to and lived with Zhao Mingyi who was then very active in the Dramatist League. [196] Zhao put him into the Dadao Drama Association ( 大道劇社 ), playing minor parts in drama performances. Around March and April, the secretary of the Party group of the Dramatists League invited Zhou to join the League. But as Zhou could not speak proper Mandarin, he was not eager to accept this suggestion. He

requested to join the Left League.<sup>[197]</sup> He was then introduced to Xia Yan and became a member of the Left League. This started his career in the Chinese cultural circle.<sup>[198]</sup>

Meanwhile, Zhou Yang began contributing to the Left League journals. His first piece was a translation, "Freudianism and art" (《弗洛伊特主義與藝術》) which won the praise of the editor of Wenxue yuebao, Yao Pengzi.<sup>[199]</sup> The next issue saw his two translations of Russian short stories.<sup>[200]</sup> It was not until the end of July that we found his first theoretical treatise: "On the popularization of literature". As noted earlier, there were few original ideas as he was merely repeating the words of Qu Qiubai.

Then at the beginning of third issue of Wenxue yuebao, Yao Pengzi published a full-page editorial notice announcing that the editorship of the magazine had been transferred to Zhou Yang. This was an unusual phenomenon. The last line of the notice read,

Fearing that those who took the trouble of sending manuscripts might be anxious, I make this special announcement, and add my regrets.  
[201]

As one critic correctly commented, "there is more than a hint of bitterness in this statement".<sup>[202]</sup> According to Ding Ling, it was Feng Xuefeng's idea to dismiss Yao Pengzi and have him replaced by Zhou Yang.<sup>[203]</sup> There is no hint as to the reasons why Feng wanted to cashier Yao, except that one of Yao's pieces had been described by Xia Yan as "a work of 'pure' humanism",<sup>[204]</sup> which might be sign of discontent among the left. If Feng Xuefeng had the foresight to predict Yao's becoming a traitor, he could not foresee that the upstart Zhou Yang would constitute a strong opposing force against his policy a few years later.

Within a short time, Zhou Yang was able to grasp

real power within the League. He became secretary of the Party group of the Left League from the second half of 1933.<sup>[205]</sup> He was also secretary of the Cultural Committee and the party group of the General Cultural League from February, 1935.<sup>[206]</sup> It also seems that he had held all the three key posts of the Secretariat of the Left League. Holding all these responsible posts and being a Party member, hence, appearing as the spokesman of the CCP in the cultural field, he was always the man who gave instructions. He was also able to attract under him and exert great influence over a large number of League members.

Roughly at the same time, another man was emerging within the League. He was Hu Feng who became a rival of Zhou Yang in the last two years of the League. Hu was a member of the Communist Youth League from 1922-1925.<sup>[207]</sup> As early as 1925, he had already started contributing to Zhongguo qingnian and writing short stories.<sup>[208]</sup> In September, 1929, he went to Tokyo and began reading Japanese proletarian literary works. He was able to meet Left-wing writers such as Eguchi Kiyoshi (江口渙, 1887-?), Akita Ujaku (秋田雨雀, 1883-?), Kobayshi Takiji and Ikeda Hisao (池田壽夫). In 1931, Hu became a member of the Japanese Communist Party as well as a member of the Tokyo branch of the Left League.<sup>[209]</sup> Near the end of 1932, he returned to Shanghai for a short while and was then introduced to people like Feng Xuefeng, Ding Ling, Zhou Yang and Mu Mutian. Even at that time, he was invited to take part in the organizational works of the General League of Left-wing Culture.<sup>[210]</sup> Feng Xuefeng also wanted to make him the head of the propaganda section of the Left League.<sup>[211]</sup> Fearing that he would be dragged into party disputes of the League, Hu turned down these proposals and went back to Japan.

But in July, 1933, after three months imprisonment, Hu Feng was sent home by the Japanese police for his

involvement in the Communist-led proletarian literary movement. By then, he had already made himself famous in the Left League of Shanghai as a literary critic.<sup>[212]</sup> Upon his return, he was immediately approached by Zhou Yang who put him in charge of the propaganda section of the Left League.<sup>[213]</sup> Three months later, he succeeded Mao Dun as the secretary of the League.<sup>[214]</sup> In other words, within a very short time, Hu Feng became part of the centre core of leadership of the Left League in Shanghai.

At this early beginning, Zhou Yang and Hu Feng were on good terms. This could be verified by Zhou Yang's eagerness to pull Hu into the Left League. Wu Xiru, a good friend of Hu, also confirmed that relations between Zhou and Hu were most cordial during 1933-1934.<sup>[215]</sup>

However, even during his first return to Shanghai, that was, near the end of 1932, and within the short period of stay, Hu Feng realized that there was a gap between Feng Xuefeng and Zhou Yang.<sup>[216]</sup> Mu Mutian also attacked Feng Xuefeng to his face for Lu Xun's publishing an article about Mu. He sensed too that Lu Xun was opposed to the group of Creationists within the League.<sup>[217]</sup> In other words, the subsequent split of the League had its origin in 1932. It did not come to surface then only because there were such people as Qu Qiubai and Feng Xuefeng who could on the one hand pacify Lu Xun and on the other exercise a considerable influence over other League members.

NOTES:

[1] "Notice from the Left League" (《左聯啓事》), Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 4, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 82.

[2] "Letter from the Left League to the professors of the literature department of the Fudan University", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 45.

[3] "Notice from the Left League", ibid., p. 16.

[4] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 161.

[5] In the notice inviting contributions, Ding Ling wrote, "the magazine welcomes anything to do with literature - fiction, plays, poetry, criticism, reviews, commentaries - all are equally welcome". Beidou Vol. I No. 1 (20th Sept., 1931), MMCLH Vol. III, p. 135. Very little was mentioned about politics in the magazine.

[6] In the first issue, Bing Xin published a poem "I urge you" (《我勸你》); Chen Hengzhe, a short story, "The old cypress and the wild roses" (《老柏與野薔薇》); Ye Shengtao, "Morning glory" (《牽牛花》); Lin Huiying, "Excitement" (《激昂》); and Xu Zhimo, "The wild geese" (《雁兒們》). In the second issue, Ling Shuhua published a short story "Jingzi" (《晶子》) while Dai Wangshu published two poems, "Last night" (《昨晚》) and "An outdoor feast" (《野宴》).

[7] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 162. Ai Qing's poem was "The meeting of the Oriental section" (《東方部的會合》), Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4 (20th July, 1932), MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 530-531. Ge Qin's first creative work was "The general retreat" (《總退却》), Beidou Vol. II No. 2 (20th May, 1932), ibid., pp. 279-302. Yang Zhihua's "The bean-curd lady" (《豆腐阿姐》) also appeared in the same issue, ibid., pp. 303-326.

[8] In Vol. II No. 3&4 of Beidou, there were the works of Bai Wei (白葦), ("The couples" 《夫婦》, "Trilogy on the wall" 《牆頭三部曲》), Hui Zhong (慧中), ("Rice" 《米》) and Dai Shuzhou (戴叔周) ("Correspondences from the front" 《前線通信》). In the editorial, Ding Ling strongly recommended these pieces and reported that Bai Wei was a worker in road building, Hui Zhong worked for the education of workers and peasants while Dai Shuzhou was an artilleryman. Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4, MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 571.

[9] "Correspondences" (《代郵》), Beidou Vol. I No.2 (20th Oct., 1931), MMCLH Vol. III, p. 262; "Letter from a reader" (《讀者通信》), Beidou Vol. I

No. 4 (20th Dec., 1931), ibid, pp. 525-526; "Correspondences", Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4, MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 570. Ye Lin, "The four letters to Ding Ling" (《寫給丁玲的四封信》), XWXS No. 1, 1980, pp. 93-98.

[10] Ai Wu, "A sketch of the thirties - the situation around the joining of the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 230.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Articles with a stronger political flavour began to appear from Vol I No. 4. For instance, in that issue, there was Shen Qiyu's "The literature among the voices raised against Japan" (《抗日聲中的文學》), MMCLH Vol. III, pp. 409-415; together with the short stories of Yao Pengzi, Shi Xia (石霞) and Ye Lin, which took the struggle in the north-east as backgrounds.

[13] Beidou was banned by the authorities after Vol. II No. 3&4 (20th July, 1932), ten months after the appearance of the first issue.

[14] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 72.

[15] For information about the Mukden Incident, cf., Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The rise of modern China (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 1978), pp. 660-663. Detailed studies of the topic can be found in Ye Xianshi (易顯石) (ed.), A history of the "September Eighteenth Incident" (《“九一八”事變史》) (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, Aug., 1981), p. 357.

[16] On 19th September, the Chinese delegates Shi Zhaoji (施肇基) reported the incident to the League of Nations and a formal statement was made on 21st September. On 22nd September, the League of Nations issued warnings to China and Japan, asking both countries to withdraw their troops immediately. Upon Japan's refusal to retreat, the League of Nations decided on 10th December to despatch an investigatory mission to Manchuria. This International Commission of Inquiry, led by the Acting Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, began their trip from Europe on 3rd February, 1932 and spent six weeks (21st April - 4th June) in Manchuria. But it was not until 2nd October, 1932 when the investigatory report was promulgated. This report condemned Japan as an aggressor, refuting her argument that military operations in Manchuria was necessary in order to protect the lives and properties of the Japanese. It also refused to recognize the legality of Manchukuo (滿州國, The Manchu State, formed in March, 1932) which was but a puppet state under Japanese domination. Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The rise of modern China, pp. 663-665; Liu Shengxiong (廖勝雄), The North-east Incident of the twentieth

year of the Republic and the intervention of the League of Nations (《民國廿年東北事變與國際聯盟調處之經緯》)(Taipei: Political Science Research Centre of the National Taiwan University 國立台灣大學政治學研究所, June, 1969), pp. 87-104. But nothing could stop the Japanese. On 24th February, 1933, Japan rejected the report and a month later (27th March), she withdrew from the League of Nations.

[17] After the Mukden Incident, large scale demonstrations and protests broke out all over the country. On 24th September, 1931, 35,000 workers joined in the anti-Japanese strike in Shanghai. On 28th, students of the Nanjing University, together with students from Shanghai and Beijing, staged a demonstration before the Foreign Office and the foreign minister Wang Zhengting (王正廷) was beaten up. From November, student unions, trade unions and other organizations from cities all over the country sent in protest teams to Nanjing. Pamphlets distributed by these teams showed that the Communists were active in the mass movements. Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 4-8.

[18] On 22nd September, the Party Central of the CCP issued the "Resolution on the forceful occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists" (《中央關於日本帝國主義強佔滿州事變的決議》). For the resolution, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 12-16. Then on 26th April, 1932, the CCP, in the name of "Central democratic government of workers and peasants" (中央工農民主政府), sent in a telegram declaring war on Japan. For the telegram, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 24-25.

[19] The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, "Letter to the cultural organizations of the proletariat and the toiling masses of the world" (《告國際無產階級及勞動民衆的文化組織書》) Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 83-87; The executive committee of the League of Left-wing Writers, "To proletarian writers, revolutionary writers and all those young people who love literature and art", MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 100-103.

[20] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the 'Left League'", p. 10.

[21] MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 132-137.

[22] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 208.

[23] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 86.

[24] Ibid. This resolution is collected in Works of Feng Xuefeng (《雪峰文集》)(Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, Jan., 1983) Vol. III, pp. 332-333.

[25] The third encirclement campaign started in July, 1931 with Jiang Jieshi leading three hundred thousand troops. After some minor successes in the beginning, it was crushed in September. For the encirclement campaigns, see Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese revolution, pp. 160-184; Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 568-624. The news of the success over this third encirclement campaign was reported in the resolution, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 132.

[26] The First All-China Congress of Soviets was held on 7th November, 1931 and it adopted the Constitution of the Soviet Republic, its land and labour laws, and its economic policies. Mao Zedong was elected chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the All-China Soviet Government and Chief Political Commissar of the First Front Red Army. Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, The rise of modern China, p. 670; Jerome Ch'en, Mao and the Chinese revolution, p. 172. The resolution did not mention the All-China Congress of Soviets, but the establishment of the Chinese Provisional Central Government was reported. MMCLH Vol. I, p. 132.

[27] MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 132-133.

[28] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II. p. 87.

[29] MMCLH Vol. I, p. 134.

[30] Ibid., pp. 135-136.

[31] Ibid., p. 135.

[32] Ibid., p. 137.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid., p. 133.

[35] Qianfeng yuekan Vol. I No. 1 (10th Oct., 1930). A complete version of the manifesto can be found in Anthology of materials for literary movement Vol. III, pp. 78-85.

[36] Others who participated in the movement included Li Zanhua (李贊華), Fang Guangming (方光明), Sun Lianggong (孫儂公), Chen Baoyi (陳抱一), Ke Pengzhou (柯蓬州), Yi Kang (易康), Hua Xing (華興), Yang Minwei (楊民威), Gu Jianchen (谷劍塵), Hu Zhongchi (胡仲持), Li Yizhi (李翼之), Jin Mancheng (金滿成), Zhong Xianmin (鍾憲民), Miao Chongqun (繆崇群), Shen Congwen, Chen Mengjia (陳夢家, 1911-1966), Fei Jianzhao (費鑑照), Li Qingya (李青崖), Zhong Tianxin (鍾天心), Wei Congwu (韋叢燕) and Hong Weifa.

[37] Tao Xisheng, "Trivial talks about the literature and art in the thirties", On the literature and art of the thirties, p. 32.

[38] "The manifesto of 'nationalist literary movement'", Anthology of materials for literary movement Vol. III, pp. 81-84.

[39] Ibid., pp. 80-81.

[40] Tang Tao, A history of modern Chinese literature Vol. II, p. 28.

[41] Lu Xun, "The present situation of the literary circle in dark China" (《黑暗中國的文藝界的現狀》), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 287; Mao Dun, "Revealing the true features of 'nationalist literature'", Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 4, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 75; Si Yang (思揚), "Correspondences from Nanjing" (《南京通訊》), ibid., p. 81.

[42] Pan Hannian, "The significance and mission of the publication of this magazine" (《本刊出版的意義及其使命》), Wenhua douzheng Vol. I No. 1, MLLP Vol. II, p. 389.

[43] "The manifesto of 'nationalist literary movement'", Anthology of materials for literary movement Vol. III, p. 79.

[44] Even right-wing critics like C.T. Hsia agree to this. C.T. Hsia, A history of modern Chinese fiction, 1917-1957, p. 126.

[45] Shi Tie'er (史鐵兒, pseud. of Qu Qiubai), "Butcher literature", Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 3, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 63; Shi Beng (石崩, pseud. of Qu Qiubai), "'Blood of the yellow race' and others", Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 98.

[46] Lu Xun, "The role and fate of 'nationalist literature'", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 115.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid., p. 116.

[49] Shi Beng, "'Blood of the yellow race' and others", ibid., p. 98.

[50] "The new mission of the Chinese proletarian revolutionary literature" (《中國無產階級文學的新任務》), Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 8, ibid., p. 134.

[51] Lu Xun, "The role and fate of 'nationalist literature'", ibid., p. 114.

[52] Mao Dun, "Revealing the true features of 'nationalist literature'", ibid., p. 72.

[53] On 30th January, 1932, Lu Xun moved his family to Uchiyama Bookstore. On 6th February, they moved again into the branch of Uchiyama Bookstore in the British concession. Then on 13th March, because of the measles of Haiying (周海嬰, 1929- , Lu Xun's son); they moved to the Dajiangnan Hotel and stayed

there until 19th May. See Lu Xun's diary, 30th Jan.; 6th Feb. and 13th March, 1932, CWLX Vol. XV, pp. 4 & 7. For the damages, see Lu Xun's letter to Xu Shaoshang, 15th March, 1932, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 71.

[54] Shen Duanxian, "Two unforgettable impressions" (《兩個不能遺忘的印象》), Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 2 (10th July, 1932), MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 299-300.

[55] Ding Ling, "Editorial", Beidou Vol. II No. 2 (20th May, 1932) p. 363, MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 373.

[56] Fenghuo No. 2 (4th Feb., 1932), in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 129-130.

[57] Out of the forty three signatories, twenty-two were Left League members, including Lu Xun, Mao Dun, Yu Dafu, Ding Ling, Zheng Boqi, Shen Qiyu, Mu Mutian, Zhang Tianyi, He Danren (Feng Xuefeng), Zhou Qiyong (Zhou Yang), Bai Wei, Yao Pengzi, Tian Han, Lou Jiannan (Lou Shiyi), Qian Xingcun, Yang Sao, Shen Duanxin, Ye Huadi, Hua Han (Yang Hansheng), Xie Bingying (謝冰瑩, 1906- ), Chen Zhengdao and Gu Fengcheng.

[58] The declaration drafted by Hu Qiuyuan was "Declaration from Chinese writers on the Japanese invasion of Shanghai and massacre" (《中國著作者爲日軍進攻上海屠殺民衆宣言》). Hu Qiuyuan, "About the 1932 debate on the freedom of literature and art" (《關於一九三二年文藝自由論辯》), Zhonghua zazhi (《中華雜誌》, The Chinese magazine) Vol. VII No. 1 (16th Jan., 1969), p. 19; collected in Hu Qiuyuan, Essays on literature and art (《文學藝術論集》) (Taipei: Xueshu chubanshe, Nov., 1979) Vol. II, p. 933.

[59] Hu Qiuyuan, Piecemeal collection of works written in my youth (《少作收殘集》), quoted from Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. II, p. 138.

[60] Hu Qiuyuan, "About the 1932 debate on the freedom of literature and art", Essays on literature and art Vol. II, p. 933.

[61] On 2nd February, 1932, the CCP issued the "CCP's outline for struggle concerning the Shanghai Incident" (《中國共產黨關於上海事件鬥爭綱領》). In the document, there were such words as "Down with the KMT!". It also persuaded the KMT soldiers to kill their seniors. For a summary of the outline, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 16-17.

[62] Wenxue Vol. I No. 1 (25th April, 1932), pp. 1-7, MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 5-11.

[63] Lou Shiyi, "To forget, for solidarity - On reading comrade Xia Yan's 'Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten'" (《爲了忘却，爲了團結——讀夏衍同志“一些早該忘却而未能忘却的往事”》), reprinted in Annual of Lu Xun study (《魯迅研究年刊》); 1980, p. 95.

[64] Quoted from Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, pp. 70.

[65] Beidou Vol. II No. 2. MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 327-329.

[66] Peace was restored on 5th May when China and Japan signed the "Song-Hu cease fire agreement" (《淞滬停戰協定》).

[67] "Agreement on the competition of works with the Dramatists League and the Social Scientists League", Mishuchu xiaoxi No. 1, p. 25. The only issue of Mishuchu xiaoxi available today was kept by Lu Xun, now stored in the Shanghai Lu Xun Museum. "Editor's Note", Zhongguo xiandai wenyi ziliao congkan No. 5, p. 15.

[68] Ibid., pp. 16, 19-21 & 23.

[69] "Resolution on the work of the Left League at the present stage", ibid., pp. 16-18.

[70] The two resolutions were "Resolution on the reorganization of the Left League" and "Guiding principles of the work of various committees", ibid., pp. 19-21.

[71] "Resolution concerning the official organ on theories of the League League, Wenxue" (《關於左聯理論指導機關雜誌“文學”的決議》), ibid., pp. 21-23.

[72] "Resolution on the reorganization of the Left League" and "Guiding principles of the works of various committees", ibid., pp. 19 & 21.

[73] "Agreement on the competition of works with the Dramatists League and the Social Scientists League", ibid., pp. 24-26.

[74] Ibid., p. 24.

[75] "Letter from the Secretariat about the competition of work", ibid., pp. 26-27.

[76] Ibid. In this letter, Ding Ling took a pseudonym of "Dang Lang".

[77] Ibid., pp. 27-29. The four all adopted pseudonyms. Ding Ling's pseudonym was "Dang Lang"; Feng Xuefeng, "Luo Yang"; Lou Shiyi, "Ling Tie" and Peng Hui, "Yuan Shan". Zhou Guowei, "A genuine record of the internal activities of the Left League - The first issue of Mishuchu xiaoxi kept by Lu Xun", pp. 69-70.

[78] Tang Tao. A history of modern Chinese literature Vol. II, p. 37.

[79] Su Wen, "Editor's preface" (《編者序》), Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art (《文藝自由論辯集》)(Shanghai: Xiandai bookstore, 25th March, 1933. p. I; Hu Qiuyuan, "About the 1932 debate on the freedom of literature and art", Essays on literature and art Vol. II, p. 932.

[80] "About the 1932 debate on the freedom of literature and art", ibid.

[81] Lloyd E. Eastman, The abortive revolution: China under Nationalist rule, 1927-1937 (Cambridge: Harvard Univeristy Press, 1974), p. 89.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Wenhua pinglun Association, "A call to truth", Wenhua pinglun No. 1 (25th Dec., 1931), collected in Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of Literature and art, p. 302.

[84] Wenyi xinwen Association, "Please take off the garb of the 'May Fourth'" (《請脫棄“五四”的衣衫》), Wenyi xinwen No. 45 (18th Jan., 1932), ibid., pp. 305-307.

[85] Hu Qiuyuan, "On the literature of the dogs", Wenhua pinglun No. 1, ibid., pp. 4-9.

[86] Ji Chushu (季楚書), "Commemorating the 'Left League', recalling the comrades-in-arms" (《紀念“左聯”，緬懷戰友》), Recollections on the Left League., p. 206. Hu Qiuyuan took it as an organ of the Social Scientists League. See Zhou Yushan (周玉山), "Polemics engaged by the 'Left League'" (cont.) (《“左聯”對外的論戰》), Dongya jikan (《東亞季刊》), East Asia Quarterly Vol. VII No. 1 (1st July, 1975), Note (44), p. 127.

[87] Zhongguo yu shijie No. 7 (22nd Jan., 1932). An excerpt of it can be found in Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate of the freedom of literature and art, pp. 14-16.

[88] "On the question of cultural movement - A reply to the correspondents of Wenyi xinwen on the question of 'May Fourth'" (《文化運動問題——關於“五四”答“文藝新聞”記者》), Wenhua pinglun No. 4 (20th April, 1932), ibid., p. 323.

[89] "Who is working for the tiger?" (《是誰爲虎作倀？》), ibid., pp. 20-21.

[90] Hu Qiuyuan, "Hands off art", Wenhua pinglun No. 4, ibid., pp. 10-11.

[91] Hu Qiuyuan, "A liquidation of the theories

of Qian Xingun and a criticism of the theories of nationalist literature" (《錢杏邨理論之清算與民族文學理論之批評》), Dushu zazhi Vol. II No. 1 (30th Jan., 1932) [wrong date, as Hu's article was written on 12th March; according to Su Wen, this issue of Dushu zazhi came out in May, 1932], ibid., p. 54.

[92] Ibid., p. 24.

[93] Ibid., p. 54.

[94] Luo Yang, "A letter to Wenyi xinwen" (《致“文藝新聞”的一封信》), Wenyi xinwen No. 58 (6th June, 1932), ibid., p. 57.

[95] Ibid., p. 58.

[96] Su Wen, "On the literary debate between 'Wenxin' and Hu Qiuyuan" (《關於“文新”與胡秋原的文藝論辯》), Xiandai Vol. I No. 3 (1st July, 1932), ibid., p. 66.

[97] Ibid., p. 75.

[98] Ibid., pp. 73-74.

[99] Ibid., p. 74.

[100] Ibid., p. 73.

[101] Su Wen, "Report of a persecuted" (《一個被迫害的紀錄》), quoted in Hu Qiuyuan, "Between Tangsanzang and Faust" (《在唐三藏與浮士德之間》), Ziyoutan (《自由談》, Free talk) Vol. VI No. 9 (1st Sept., 1955), p. 24.

[102] Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, pp. 79-99.

[103] Zhou Yang, "Actually who is rejecting the truth, rejecting literature", Xiandai Vol. I No. 6, ibid., pp. 100-111; Su Wen, "The outlet of the 'men of the third category'" (《“第三種人”的出路》), ibid., p. 133.

[104] Ibid., p. 111.

[105] Ibid., p. 133.

[106] Ibid., p. 121.

[107] For example, see, Editorial group of fourteen colleges and universities, A history of modern Chinese literature (Yunnan: Yunnan renmin chubanshe, June, 1981), pp. 234-235; Tang Tao, A history of modern Chinese literature Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

[108] Hu Qiuyuan, "Hands off art", in Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, p. 10; Hu Qiuyuan, "A wasteful debate", ibid., p. 108.

[109] "A wasteful debate", ibid., p. 209.

[110] Ibid., p. 196.

[111] Ibid., p. 235.

[112] Ibid., pp. 196-243.

[113] Su Wen, "On the interference of literature" (《論文學上的干涉主義》), Xiandai Vol. II No. 1 (1st Nov., 1932), ibid., p. 194.

[114] Shi Zhecun, "Random thoughts on Xiandai" (《“現代”雜憶》) (3), XWXS No. 3, 1981, pp. 222.

[115] Shi Zhecun, "Random thoughts on Xiandai" (1), XWXS No. 1, 1981, p. 216.

[116] Feng Xuefeng, "Not a wasteful debate" (《並非浪費的論爭》), in Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, p. 244.

[117] Chen Xuefan (陳雪帆, pseud. of Chen Wangdao), "Jottings on the duties of theoreticians" (《關於理論家的任務速寫》), Xiandai Vol. II No. 1 (1st Nov., 1932), ibid., pp. 256-260.

[118] Lu Xun, "On the 'men of the third category'", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 440.

[119] Ibid., pp. 439-440.

[120] Ibid., p. 441.

[121] Ibid., p. 439.

[122] Su Wen, Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, p. iv.

[123] In 1932, Hu Qiuyuan published Historical materialist conception of art: Plekhanov and his theories of art (《唯物史觀藝術論：樸列汗諾夫及其藝術理論》). Because of this piece of work, Hu was called by some Japanese as "the Plekhanov of China". Hu Qiuyuan, "Between Tangsanjang and Faust", p. 23. Hu also frequently quoted words of Plekhanov in his articles during the 1932 debate. See Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, pp. 4-6, 11-12, 29, 39-40 & 46.

[124] In 1930, Lu Xun finished translating and published Plekhanov's On art (《藝術論》), in Complete works of Lu Xun (《魯迅全集》) (Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, 1973) Vol. XVII, pp. 5-181. As early as 1925, he mentioned a work on Plekhanov in "Preface to Russian literary polemics", CWLX Vol. VII, p. 370.

[125] For Hu Qiuyuan's article, see CMRL, pp. 330-344. Hu Qiuyuan himself considered that his article was able to help Lu Xun in the revolutionary literary debate. Hu Qiuyuan, "Between Tangsanjang and Faust", p. 21.

[126] Reprinted in XWXS No. 2, 1982, pp. 180-183.

[127] Cheng Zhongyuan (程中原), "An important piece of historical material on the Party leadership of left-wing literary movement - On reading Ge Te's 'The closed-doorism on the literary front'" (《黨領導左翼文藝運動的重要史料——讀歌特“文藝戰線上的關門主義”》), ibid., p. 188. Ji Mingxue (吉明學), "Ge Te, Ke De and others" (《歌特、科德及其他》), XWXS No. 2, 1983, p. 239.

[128] "Ge Te, Ge De and others", pp. 238-239.

[129] Ge Te, "The closed-doorism on the literary front", p. 180.

[130] Ge Te's article was written on 31st October and published on 3rd December, 1932 while "On the inclination and theories of the 'third category' literature" was written on 26th November, 1932 and "Not a wasteful debate", 10th November.

[131] "On the inclination and theories of the 'third category' literature", in Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, pp. 272-280.

[132] Ibid., p. 271. But I cannot agree with Merle Goldman who, taking Feng Xuefeng's article, concludes that this was "a clear indication of the developing disenchantment of Lu Hsun's group with the Party's representatives [Qu Qiubai and Zhou Yang] in the League". Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 11. In the first place, Feng Xuefeng's initial attitude was as dogmatic as that of Zhou Yang. This was clearly revealed in his open letter to Wenyi xinwen. Secondly, Qu Qiubai was then a close friend of both Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun. Thirdly, when we compare Qu Qiubai's "Freedom of literature and the lack of freedom of writers" (《文藝的自由和文學家的不自由》) with the open letter of Feng Xuefeng, we can easily tell that the former was even more lenient and less mechanical, less dogmatic than the latter. In fact, Qu's attitude in this article won the praise of Hu Qiuyuan while that of Feng Xuefeng was severely condemned by Hu. Hu Qiuyuan, "A wasteful debate", Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, pp. 196-197 & 200.

[133] "On the inclination and theories of the 'third category' literature", ibid., p. 268.

[134] Ibid.

[135] Su Wen, "Record of a persecuted", p. 24.

[136] Hu Qiuyuan, "About the 1932 literary debate on the freedom of literature and art", p. 937.

[137] Su Wen, "A liquidation of the 1932

literary debate", Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, p. 298; Hu Qiuyuan, "About the 1932 debate on the freedom of literature and art", pp. 939-940.

[138] For a number of reasons, Feng Xuefeng was purged in 1954 and 1957. This article was mentioned frequently for criticism. Feng Xuefeng was accused of wronging Zhou Yang and Qu Qiubai while making too much concession to Hu Qiuyuan and Su Wen. Lin Mohan's (林默涵) speech in the forum on Zhou Yang's article "A great debate on the literary front" (《文藝戰綫上的一場大辯論》), "Clear the road for a great leap forward in literature and art - Forum on comrade Zhou Yang's 'A great debate on the literary front'" (《爲文學藝術大躍進掃清道理——座談周揚同志的文章“文藝戰綫上的一場大辯論”》), Wenyibao No. 6, 1958 (26th March, 1958), p. 13; Huo Songlin (霍松林), "Criticize Feng Xuefeng's anti-Marxist literary thinking" (《評馮雪峰的反馬克思主義文藝思想》), Renmin wenxue No. 12, 1957 (8th Dec., 1957), p. 90; Liu Shousong, "On the two literary polemics of the Left League period - A criticism on Feng Xuefeng's anti-Party activities and anti-Marxist literary thinking" (《關於左聯時期的兩次文藝論爭——批判馮雪峰的反黨活動和反馬克思主義文藝思想》), Wenxue yanjiu (《文學研究》, Study of literature) No. 1, 1958 (12th March, 1958), pp. 25-31.

[139] Shi Zhecun, "Random thoughts on Xiandai" (1), p. 215.

[140] CWLX Vol. XII, p. 176.

[141] Su Wen, "A liquidation of the 1932 literary debate", Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, p. 299.

[142] "The popularization of literature and art", CWLX Vol. VII, p. 349.

[143] Zhou Yongxiang (周永祥), A chronicle of Qu Qiubai (《瞿秋白年譜》)(Guangdong: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, April, 1983), pp. 92-93; Mark E. Shneider, Tvorcheokii Put' Tsiui Tsiu-bo, 1899-1935 (The creative path of Qu Qiubai, 1899-1935)(Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Nauka, 1964), p. 185; cited from Paul G. Pickowicz, Marxist literary thought in China: The influence of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, p. 148.

[144] Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 5, MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 88-94.

[145] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[146] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 86.

[147] Paul G. Pickowicz, Marxist literary thought in China: The influence of Ch'ü Ch'iu-pai, p. 148.

[148] Luo Yang, "An examination of the anti-

Japanese popular literature' of the ruling class" (《統治階級的“反日大衆文藝”之檢查》), Wenxue daobao Vol. I No. 6&7, MMCLH Vol. I, pp. 109-114.

[149] Ibid.; Shi Tie'er, "Mass literature and anti-imperialist struggle", ibid., pp. 87-88.

[150] Ding Yi, "The discussion of popular literature in 1932-32" (《1930 - 32 年關於大衆文藝的討論》), in Ding Yi (ed.), Collection of articles on popular literature (《大衆文藝論集》)(Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe, July, 1951), p. 8.

[151] "The practical question of proletarian mass literature", MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 18.

[152] "Questions of mass literature", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 75.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid., pp. 76-77.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Ibid., p. 77; "The practical question of proletarian mass literature", MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 27-28.

[157] Ibid., pp. 77 & 28.

[158] MMCLH Vol. I, p. 78.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Ibid.

[161] Mao Dun, "The mass literature and art in question", Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 2, MMCLH Vol. I, p. 312.

[162] Ibid., pp. 312-314.

[163] Ibid., pp. 315-317.

[164] Song Yang (宋陽, pseud. of Qu Qiubai), "In reply to Zhi Jing on the question of mass literature and art again" (《再論大衆文藝答止敬》) Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 3 (15th Oct., 1932), MMCLH Vol. II, p. 21.

[165] Ibid., pp. 24-27.

[166] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 155.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Qu Qiubai, "The practical question of proletarian mass literature", MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 16 & 31; "Questions of mass literature", MMCLH Vol. I, p. 74.

[169] "In reply to Zhi Jing on the question of mass literature and art again", MMCLH Vol. II, p. 27.

[170] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, p. 71.

[171] Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4, MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 465-479.

[172] Others included Tao Jingsun, Gu Fengcheng, Pan Zinian, Hua Di, Shen Yechen and Shen Qiyu. Ibid.

[173] Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4; MMCLH Vol. IV, pp. 439-441 and 448-461.

[174] Ibid., p. 424.

[175] Shen Duanxian, "A review of the month's creative writings", Beidou Vol. II No. 3&4, MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 520.

[176] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", pp. 223-231.

[177] Dushu zazhi Vol. III No. 1 (1st Jan., 1933).

[178] Quoted from Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, pp. 77-78.

[179] In the declaration against the arrest of Ding Ling and Pan Zinian, it was said that "a comrade narrowly escaped". "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers' declaration against the KMT white terror in the arrest of Ding and Pan" (《中國左翼作家聯盟爲丁潘被捕反對國民黨白色恐怖宣言》), China forum Vol. II No. 7 (19th June, 1933), reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 141. According to Bai Shu, Zhou Yang was then going to attend a meeting with Ding Ling, Pan Zinian and Ying Xiuren. For some reasons, he was late and thus escaped arrest. Bai Shu, "The unforgettable past", Recollections on the Left League, p. 286.

[180] For information on the Chinese League for the Defence of Civil Rights, see Chen Shuyu (陳漱瑜) & Tao Xin (陶沂) (ed.), The Chinese League for the protection of Civil Rights (《中國民權保障同盟》) (Beijing: Shehui kexue chubanshe, Dec., 1979); "Supplement to the materials on the Chinese League for the protection of Civil Rights" (《中國民權保障同盟資料補》), Jinian yu yanjiu No. 3 (Dec., 1980), pp. 82-109; Chen Youxiong (陳友雄), Ding Yanzhao (丁言昭), "The formation and activities of the Chinese League for the protection of Civil Rights" (《中國民權保障同盟的成立與活動》), Shehui kexue (《社會科學》, Social sciences) No. 1, 1980 (Feb., 1980), pp. 122-134.

[181] Collection of materials on the left-wing literature of the thirties, p. 81.

[182] Franklin W. Houn, A short history of Chinese Communism (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 44; Jerome Chen, Mao and the Chinese revolution, pp. 176-179.

[183] The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, "Letter of protest concerning the incident of comrade Kobayashi" (《小林同志事件抗議書》), China forum Vol.

II No. 4 (Feb., 1933), reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, p. 137.

[184] G.T. Shea, Left-wing literature in Japan: A brief history of the proletarian literary movement, p. 307.

[185] Ibid., p. 327.

[186] The following is the discussion made by G.T. Shea on the causes of the death of Kobayashi Takiji:

The cause of his death was given by the police as "paralysis of the heart", and all attempts made to get a post-mortem examination of the body failed. However, according to those who saw the body ( and photographs of it were also taken), it clearly bore signs of some of the most cruel torture..... An examination of the body revealed a hole in Kobayashi's temple "large enough to stick one's finger in", laceration marks around the neck and wrists (the right forefinger had been bent back and broken), a bruised black and blue area on the back and from the abdomen down to the knees, both thighs swollen and purple from internal bleeding and over twenty needle-like punctures on the same area. It seemed more plausible that Kobayashi had died from an internal haemorrhage.

G.T. Shea, Left-wing literature in Japan: A brief history of the proletarian literary movement, pp. 338-339. Eguchi Kiyoshi, a close friend of Kobayashi and who had seen his body, reported the same picture. Eguchi Kiyoshi, "The life and deeds of Kobayashi Takiji" ( 《小林多喜二の生平和業績》 ), Tr. by Wang Deming 王德明, Wenxue pinglun No. 4, 1961 (14th Aug., 1961), p. 23.

[187] Wenxue zazhi No. 2 (15th May, 1933), reprinted in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 137-138.

[188] "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers' declaration against the KMT white terror in the arrest of Ding and Pan", Jinian yu yanjiu No. 2, pp. 139-142.

[189] Ibid., p. 141.

[190] Ibid.

[191] For materials on the Far East session of the Committee of the World anti-imperialist wars, see Jinian yu yanjiu No. 3, pp. 1-72.

[192] Zheng Yuzhi, "Recalling some facts about the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, pp. 298-299.

[193] "The welcome address to comrade Barbusse and various countries' delegates to the Shanghai Anti-war Session" (《致上海反戰會議各國代表巴比塞同志等的歡迎詞》), Fanzhan xinwen (《反戰新聞》, Anti-war news) No. 1 (29th Aug., 1933), in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 3, pp. 8-10.

[194] "Notice from the Chinese writers to welcome the delegate team of Barbusse" (《中國著作家歡迎巴比塞代表團啓事》), Damei wanbao (《大美晚報》), 16th August, 1933, in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 3, pp. 7-8.

[195] "Declaration from Lu Xun, Mao Dun and Tian Han to welcome the international delegates of Anti-war Session" (《魯迅、茅盾、田漢歡迎反戰大會國際代表的宣言》), in Jinian yu yanjiu No. 3, pp. 10-12.

[196] "Zhao Mingyi on Zhou Yang's joining of the Left League and the formation and activities of the Dramatists League" (《趙銘彝談周揚加入左聯及劇聯成立、活動情況》), RMLX, p. 156; Zhou Yang, "Something about comrade Zhou Libo" (《關於周立波同志的一些情況》), in Li Huasheng (李華盛), Hu Guangfan (胡光凡)(ed.), Research materials on Zhou Libo (《周立波研究資料》) (Changsha: Hunan renmin chubanshe, Aug., 1983), p. 99.

[197] "Zhao Mingyi on Zhou Yang's joining of the Left League and the formation and activities of the Dramatists League", RMLX, p. 156. But Zhou Yang himself said that he joined the Dramatists League for the sake of joining the Left League. Zhou Yang, "Something about comrade Zhou Libo", Research materials on Zhou Libo, p. 99.

[198] Ibid.

[199] Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 2, in MMCLH Vol. I, p. 253.

[200] Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 2, ibid., pp. 359-371.

[201] Wenxue yuebao Vol. I No. 3, MMCLH Vol. II, p. 6.

[202] Neale Hunter, "The Chinese League of Left-wing Writers, Shanghai, 1930-1936", p. 232.

[203] Ding Ling, "Piecemeal thoughts on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 164.

[204] Shen Duanxian, "A review of the month's creative writings", MMCLH Vol. IV, p. 520.

[205] Yang Hansheng, "The process of the formation of the Chinese League of Left-wing Writers", p. 17.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Wu Xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him" (《我所認識的胡風》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 9, p. 237.

[208] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" (《回憶參加左聯前後》) Part I, XWXS No. 1, 1984 (22nd Feb., 1984), p. 30; Zhai Zhicheng (翟志誠), "The antecedents of Hu Feng and the important members of the Hu Feng clique" (《胡風與胡風集團重要成員歷略》), Articles on the study of Communist China's literary policy (《中共文藝政策研究論文集》)(Taipei: Shibao wenhua chubanshe, 10th June, 1983), p. 117.

[209] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League", pp. 32-34.

[210] Ibid., p. 35.

[211] Ibid.

[212] Wu Xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him", p. 236.

[213] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 177.

[214] Ibid.

[215] Wu xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him", p. 237.

[216] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League", p. 35.

[217] Ibid., p. 36.

**CHAPTER SIX****THE WANING YEARS - THE SECOND HALF OF THE LEFT LEAGUE,  
(1934-1935):**

Reading the documents left behind by the Left League, one can easily see the contrast between the years 1930-1933 and 1934-1935. During the early stage, the League remained an active body. There were a large number of articles, declarations, proclamations and resolutions commenting on political and cultural issues. Literary polemics were taken up and fought bravely, and in most cases, successfully. On the other hand, great efforts were paid to the popularization of literature and art. Facing the strict censorship measures of the nationalist authorities, the League was still able to put out many journals and other publications to propagate their ideas, no matter how short-lived these publications might be. It was able, too, to launch demonstrations and protests, ranging from large-scale to "flying" ones. Representatives were sent to organize and participate in the All-China Soviet Congress. The solidarity of the leftists was for a time realized.

But even Zhou Yang who was in charge of the League in that period, could boast of nothing for the years 1934-35.<sup>[1]</sup> We cannot find any pen-battle against opposing forces, and the only polemic fought during this period was the one in 1936, the Two Slogan Polemic, which divided the leftist camp bitterly. The number of journals published by the League at this stage was insignificant when compared with that of the first stage.<sup>[2]</sup> It is true that the nationalists were then more experienced and capable of clamping down on the Communist movement. But on the other hand, the left-wingers showed no improvement in dealing with suppression. There was no large-scale demonstration or protest campaign. Although there were people in charge of the

Secretariat and various committees, it seems that the activities of the League were limited to small group meetings.

Worse still, during the last few years of its existence, the League was troubled much with the internal strife between its members and in the end, it was dissolved in a most unhappy way. The subsequent Two Slogan Polemic further split the leftist camp. Around Lu Xun, there was a group of young writers, such as Hu Feng, Nie Gannu ( 聶紺弩 , 1913- ), Zhou Wen, Wu Xiru, plus Lu's old friends Mao Dun and Feng Xuefeng. The Zhou Yang group consisted mainly of CCP members, including the famous "four fellows" ( 四條漢子 , i.e., Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Yang Hansheng and Tian Han),<sup>[3]</sup> Wang Renshu ( 王任叔 , 1901-1972) and Xu Maoyong. The united front in the cultural field that had been built up with great care was damaged badly.

We have noted that, in previous chapters, the unity of the Left rested on an unstable and fragile base. League leaders were conscious of this shortcoming. Readers of League publications will certainly have been startled by the number of reminders and warnings for self-criticism sent by the League to its members. Almost each of its resolutions contained a review of mistakes made and an urge for improvement. This, on the one hand, may be evidence of the eagerness of its leadership to perfect the organization. On the other, it revealed that there were flaws within the League.

Lu Xun's position in the League was peculiar. There is little doubt that he was the key figure. Feng Xuefeng once remarked:

So long as Lu Xun lived, the League would not die. So long as he stood, the League would not collapse. [4]

Since the establishment of the organization, Lu was given

great respect and prominence. Xia Yan reported that there were suggestions to call Lu Xun the chairman of the League. It was Lu who delined such offer.<sup>[5]</sup> It was also said that Lu's approval of the programme of the Left League had to be sought first before it was submitted to the inaugural meeting. And as we have seen, the League organized a birthday party for Lu. It was the only one in the League's history. However, because of his age, health and status, he was exempted from most of the League activities. Ding Ling recalled that unless it was a must, they would not ask Lu to attend meetings.<sup>[6]</sup> Throughout the six years of the League's existence, Lu Xun turned up at only a couple of meetings.<sup>[7]</sup> He never joined any demonstration staged against the authorities. As these meetings and demonstrations constituted a large part of the League's activities, it was easy for Lu Xun to be isolated from the main body of the League. As a result, his leadership was, to a large extent, nominal. It is more appropriate to say that he acted only as an advisor rather than the one directing the whole scene. However, being a most famous writer and the "mentor of the youth", he was able to draw around him a large group of League members.

Yet there was another leadership within the League: the representatives from the CCP. In name, the leading body of the League was the Secretariat and such committees as the executive and standing committees. But the Party groups of the League and the Cultural Committee of the CCP were in actual fact taking charge of all important matters. Even members of the Secretariat and the committees were nominated or even appointed by them. As they represented the Party line and a large proportion of League members had joined the Party - even those non-Party members would willingly obey Party instructions - it was but natural for them to build up another leadership within the League. Furthermore, this Party group was mainly composed of young and energetic members who

always took an active part in League affairs.

It is almost impossible to avoid disputes when there are two centres of gravity within one organization. In the case of the Left League, harmony between the two depended largely on the membership and attitude of the Party group. For at least the first three years, there was little problem because the most influential character of the Party group was Feng Xuefeng, who always stood on the side of Lu Xun. Likewise, he never failed to win Lu's confidence and approval. Furthermore, from the beginning of 1929, he lived quite near to Lu.<sup>[8]</sup> There was little problem for him to report to and seek advice from the old man. Xu Guangping reported that Feng came to see Lu almost every evening.<sup>[9]</sup> Under these circumstances, there was no estrangement between the Party group and Lu Xun. With the joint effort of the two leaderships, the League reaped a good harvest.

Moreover, between the years 1932-33, Lu Xun enjoyed the friendship of Qu Qiubai who was then a respectable figure among the left, in particular, the Party members. In the early summer of 1932, Qu Qiubai paid a visit to Lu Xun and this was the first meeting between the two, although they had been co-operating in the translation of Soviet works for some time.<sup>[10]</sup> Within the brief period between this meeting and Qu Qiubai's departure from Shanghai, the two developed a close personal friendship. For at least two times, Qu took refuge in Lu Xun's home.<sup>[11]</sup> This was solid proof of their friendship and faith, as both sides would be in great danger should anything go wrong. In March 1933, Lu Xun wrote Qu a couplet:

It is good enough to have just one bosom  
friend in life;  
For my life, I'll take you as one after my  
heart.

In the beginning of 1933, Qu Qiubai compiled an

anthology of Lu Xun's essays, which was published in July. In the preface, Qu, using the language of dialectics, set a high value on Lu Xun.<sup>[12]</sup> By criticizing those who had attacked him and defending his deeds, Qu Qiubai was able to, as one critic suggested, "elevate the intellectual status of Lu Xun in revolutionary literary circle".<sup>[13]</sup> Xu Guangping reported that Lu Xun was very happy after reading the preface.<sup>[14]</sup>

The two also collaborated in writing essays in criticism of social problems. They discussed and exchanged ideas before they started writing.<sup>[15]</sup> Very often, Lu Xun had Xu Guangping copy the articles of Qu and published them under his pseudonyms. Lu Xun even included them in his collections.<sup>[16]</sup> Hence, as Xu Guangping put it, "they were as intimate as close relatives. There was no need for ceremony between them."<sup>[17]</sup> With Qu Qiubai leading the left-wing literary movement, a closer link could be built up between Lu Xun and the left.

However, Feng Xuefeng and Qu Qiubai left Shanghai for Ruijin in December, 1933 and January, 1934 respectively. Was this a sign that the two were cashiered? This is an interesting question. It is strange that these two men who were close to Lu Xun were transferred roughly at the same time. Anthony Kane, in his dissertation, suggested that this might be related to the splits in the CCP:

It is possible that the Internationalists were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with the line taken by their old rival, Qu Qiubai, who had been appointed to Mao's Soviet government in 1931. They may have been aware of problems between Qu and various radicals in the League and sought to exploit these problems to strengthen their problem. [18]

This piece of speculation is hard to square with the

facts. Feng Xuefeng has recounted the story behind Qu's transfer. According to Feng Xuefeng, near the end of 1933, when Feng Xuefeng had already been in Ruijin for some time and was then in charge of the educational administration of the Party school, he had a meeting with several leading members of the CCP. It was Zhang Wentian (張聞天, 1900-1976), then the headmaster of the Party school, who suggested to transfer Qu Qiubai from Shanghai to take charge of the educational matters in Ruijin. [19] From these words, we can be certain that there was no direct link between Feng's transfer and that of Qu's. Moreover, the fact that Qu took up important posts in the Party even before his arrival at Ruijin (on 3rd February, 1934, Qu was elected as one of the seventeen members of the Board of Chairmen of the Central Government, together with such Internationalists as Zhang Wentian and Bo Gu and Qu was also appointed as the head of the Educational Committee) [20] further proves that his transfer had nothing to do with the previous struggles between the Internationalists and Qu.

Some commentators suggest that the transfer of Qu Qiubai and Feng Xuefeng cleared the way for Zhou Yang to rise to the leadership rank of the League. [21] But even before their departure, Zhou Yang's position within the League had already been well-established. An indirect consequence of their transfers was that it dealt a fatal blow to the League as well as the relations between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang. To Lu Xun, he lost two of his best friends. For the League, the bridge between the two leaderships was shattered because, as T.A. Hsia suggested, "not a single Communist agent left in Shanghai was able to, or cared to, maintain good relations with Lu Xun. [22]"

It is a well known fact that Hu Feng soon

became the co-ordinator between the League and Lu Xun. But he was then not a CCP member and Hu insisted that there was no formal instruction from Zhou Yang. [23] The implication was: Hu believed that he acted of his own accord and was relatively independent of Zhou Yang.

Since 1936, especially after the purge of Hu Feng in 1955, and until very recently, it has long been a popular saying that Hu Feng was the one who drove a wedge between the two leaders of the League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang. Even Mao Dun, in his later years, could not help cursing Hu. [24] The most common charge against Hu Feng was his failure to act as an honest reporter and a good co-ordinator. On the contrary, in his reports to Lu Xun on League affairs, he frequently added his own opinions, which were often different from those of Zhou Yang. [25] In other words, they were saying that Hu Feng deliberately made mischief between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang, and was thus the sole villain.

Sure enough, there were ample opportunities for Hu Feng to do this as he was then closest to Lu. However, before we can put all the blame on him, two questions must be answered first. One, when did Lu Xun first feel discontented with the League? Two, what were Lu Xun's discontents?

In the first place, it must be admitted that the base of the Left League was not solid from the start. The formation of such a united front was imposed upon its members, save for Lu Xun and a few exceptions, by the CCP. As pointed out earlier, the abrupt end of the 1928 polemic on revolutionary literature solved no theoretical problem and convinced nobody. In other words, there had always been a split within the organization. All along Lu Xun was conscious

of the weaknesses of the Left League and in his writings, he showed that he did not have a high opinion of those who did not have a clear understanding of the nature of the League when they joined it. In a letter written in December, 1934, Lu said,

In fact, the base of the Left League, from its beginning, was not good. It was because at that time, there was not any repression like today. Some thought that they could be labelled as "progressive" once they had joined the League, and the danger was small. But then repression came. They fled. This was not the worst of it. Some even sold themselves as informers. [26]

These words imply that Lu Xun recognized from the beginning that in any coalition, there was bound to be factiousness and individuals who fell by the wayside. In other words, he did not have too strong a confidence in the League members.

Even after the formation of the united front in the literary circle, Lu Xun could not forget the assaults made on him by the Creationists. In July, 1931, Lu Xun attacked the latter in his famous speech "A glimpse at the literary circle of Shanghai". He described the Creation Society as a group of "wits + vagabonds". In Lu's opinions, the revolutionary literary movement led by members of the society was not well-planned. Many of the revolutionary writers were ultra-leftist and in fact, opportunistic, stepping at the same time on the two boats of revolution and literature. [27]

One can imagine, these words would easily offend the Creationists within the Left League, although they might not be able to, and to be sure, they did not, voice their discontent openly at that time. But Guo Moruo, who was then far away in Japan, could not help writing a vigorous reply. The tone in the preface to his Ten years of the Creation Society

was indignant. He did not hesitate to quote Lu Xun's lines for rebuttal.<sup>[28]</sup> Thus Hu Feng's recollection that in 1932 Lu Xun was opposed to the group of Creationists within the League was not without basis.<sup>[29]</sup> In fact, it is logical to surmise that Hu heard of something unpleasant about Lu Xun from the radicals as he was then close to them.

Hu Feng also alleged that in 1932, Zhou Yang and Feng Xuefeng had already had trouble over the question of the "third category men".<sup>[30]</sup> In the last chapter, we noted that during the course of the debate, Feng Xuefeng changed his attitude and the viewpoints shown in "The inclination and theories of the literature of the third category" were in accord with those of Lu Xun. On the other hand, Zhou Yang was named for criticism for his dogmatic manner.<sup>[31]</sup> Obviously, the two could not agree upon the attitude to be taken in the debate. Lu Xun sided with Feng. This is probably one of the factors, though not a vital one, in causing the dissension between Zhou and Lu.

In fact, we now know that there was an open quarrel between Zhou Yang and Feng Xuefeng, which was brought up to Lu Xun. It was related to a long poem "Testimony of a traitor" (《漢奸的供狀》) by a certain Yun Sheng (芸生) published in Wenxue yuebao.<sup>[32]</sup> This poem was supposed to be a satire on Hu Qiuyuan who was then disputing with the left on the question of "free men". Feng Xuefeng believed that the dogmatic and ultra-leftist attitude shown in the poem was against the policy of eliminating closed-doorism of the Communist Party and so, because he was then secretary of the Cultural Committee, he went to see Zhou Yang, the editor of Wenxue yuebao. He demanded the latter to make redress in the following issue.

Zhou refused and there was a quarrel between the two. [33] But Feng was able to secure the support of both Qu Qiubai and Lu Xun, the moderates of the League. Lu Xun agreed to write an article to denounce the poem. On 10th December, 1932, Lu finished an open letter, entitled "Abuse and threats are not fighting" (《辱罵和恐嚇決不是戰鬥》), to Zhou Yang. [34]

At the very beginning of the letter, Lu expressed his disappointment over the magazine, Wenxue yuebao: in terms of the content, the fourth issue, edited by Zhou Yang, was not as rich as the previous ones, i.e., those edited by Yao Pengzi. But what really disappointed Lu bitterly and caused him write the letter was the poem "Testimony of a traitor". Lu Xun pointed out that there were hurling insults, abuses, threats and senseless attacks. Lu considered this feudalistic, crude and rash, fighting in the style of Ah Q. This tactics was commonly employed by men of letters in the past, Lu said. But he added, "this heritage had better pass to the lap dog writers. If our writers do not do their best to cast it off, they will become no better than those writers." [35]

Yun Shen is now identified as Qiu Jiuru ( 邱九如 ), a Party member. [36] There is no sign of any personal connections between Qiu and Zhou Yang. But the appearance of his poem in Zhou's magazine and the latter's refusal to denounce it revealed that Zhou was in support of Yun Sheng. Thus we can say, Lu's letter was directed against Zhou as much as against Qiu. Its last paragraph reads:

The above ideas came to my mind just now. I write them out and send to you for consideration in editing. In a word, I really hope that from now on, Wenxue yuebao would not publish that kind of work any more. [40].

These words might be a blow to the newly risen Zhou Yang and it might not be easy for him to swallow his pride. But Zhou Yang published the letter almost instantly and in the note he added at the end of the letter, he expressed his agreement with Lu Xun's ideas. He even said that Lu's letter was "a noble piece of advice which should be taken into consideration deeply".<sup>[38]</sup> This attitude was different from what was reported by Feng Xuefeng. We cannot be certain whether Zhou subsequently changed his viewpoints. But from this we can tell that Lu Xun's position within the League was still high. Nevertheless, the fact that the matter could not be settled internally was significant. We can tell that there was a sharp division of opinions within the League.

Unfortunately, this was not the end of the story. Three months after the appearance of Lu Xun's open letter, an article was published in Xiandai wenhua (《現代文化》, Modern culture) called "Some words on Mr Lu Xun's 'Threats and abuse are not fighting'" (《對魯迅先生的“恐嚇辱罵決不是戰鬥”有言》).<sup>[42]</sup> The article was signed by four names, Shou Jia (首甲), Fang Meng (方萌), Guo Bingruo (郭冰若) and Qiu Dongping (丘東平, 1910-1941). But we are not certain whether there were really four writers or not because, apart from Qiu Dongping which was a real name, we can only identify one more: Shou Jia was the pseudonym of Zhu Xiuxia (祝秀俠). Once a member of the Sun Society, Zhu was the editor of Xiandai wenhua.<sup>[40]</sup> He was also very active in League affairs.<sup>[41]</sup> In this article, Lu Xun's open letter was condemned. The four writers argued that since Yun Sheng's poem was directed against people of other classes, there was nothing wrong to employ hurling insults. To them, threats and insults were also means of struggle. They accused, in return, Lu Xun of wearing a strong colour of right opportunism, "pacifism in cultural movements

and revolutionary theory in white gloves". [42]

This charge was a serious one and it represented a challenge to Lu's position. What is more, his goodwill piece of advice was not only neglected, but rebuked. His feeling was easy to tell. Two years later, in a letter to Xiao Jun, Lu wrote,

It is most difficult to write for that magazine [wenxue yuebao], I once followed instruction and made some contributions. But people of the same camp published an open letter in real and fictitious names to condemn me. They even made up a name of Guo Bingruo, leading people to suspect that it was a misprint of the name of Guo Moruo. I called to account. But there was no clear answer. I was frightened, as if I were seeing a ghost! [43]

These words, apart from telling Lu Xun's feeling, revealed yet another fact, although he did not make any open reply, he tried to sort it out privately. The fact that he could not get any definite answer was significant. It was probable that the four authors received some sort of protection within the League, although we have no proof to support the prevailing saying during the Cultural Revolution that Zhou Yang was behind the scene. [44]

Fortunately, Lu Xun was conciliated, at least to a certain extent, by Qu Qiubai who wrote two articles to criticize Shou Jia and others. In the first, "Mother of the philanthropist" (《慈善家的媽媽》), Qu used an analogy of a hero who went to slaughter a hypocritical philanthropist to illustrate that there was no point to use empty words, no matter how vulgar they might be, as a means to struggle. It was important to lay out facts in order to unmask the hypocrisy of the world. [45]

In his second article, "Defence of the grimace" (《鬼臉的辯護》), Qu Qiubai made direct reference to

Shou Jia and his group. Qu's argument was convincing: in the fight against enemies, apart from gaining victory in the bloody revolution, we had to convince others of our superiority in theory. The use of threats would only reveal weaknesses in the ideological front.<sup>[46]</sup> Qu Qiubai also warned that the deeds of Yun Sheng and Shou Jia would help the enemies in portraying the proletarians as devils. This was in effect aiding the ruling class in their exploitation of the masses. Qu's verdict was, "there was no stain of right opportunism in Lu Xun while the viewpoints of Shou Jia and others who wore the devils' masks were 'left' opportunistic".<sup>[47]</sup> Qu also said that Lu Xun's open letter to Zhou Yang was noteworthy because it was able to promote the revolutionary struggle in the cultural field.

As noted earlier, Qu Qiubai enjoyed a high position among the Communists. The support lent to Lu Xun silenced the opponents. Zhou Yang and his group did not say anything on the issue again. As for Lu Xun, we are certain that he was happy to receive Qu's support: he kept the manuscripts of the above two articles.<sup>[48]</sup> That is the reason why we say Qu Qiubai was able to maintain the solidarity of the leftist camp. However, Lu was never totally pacified. In April, 1933, he brought up the issue again and told Zhu Xiuxia in another open letter that "it was of a new 'eight-legged' nature" to use only threats and insults.<sup>[49]</sup>

During the Cultural Revolution, when it was Zhou Yang's turn to be purged, a number of materials relating to Zhou's relationship with Lu Xun were made public in order to denounce the former's literary sinister line. It was often said, mainly in the annotations on Lu Xun's works, that Zhou Yang and his group launched a series of attacks on Lu Xun while in

many places, Lu voiced his anger to his friends. For instance, there were sayings that in June, 1934, Zhou Yang used the pseudonym Zhi Yin ( 芷茵 ) to publish articles attacking Lu Xun and Lu complained this in a letter to Zheng Zhunduo.<sup>[50]</sup> But just like many of the other charges, its authenticity is questionable as no proof was provided and even Lu Xun himself did not make any direct reference to the matter. However, in a letter to Xiao Jun, Lu Xun did complain that there were two more incidents similar to the Wenxue yuebao quarrel.<sup>[51]</sup>

On 3rd July, 1934, an article called "On 'fringed literature'" ( 《論“花邊文學”》 ) appeared in the supplement of Dawanbao ( 《大晚報》 , Evening Post ), Huoju ( 《火炬》 , Torch ).<sup>[52]</sup> Its author was Lin Mo ( 林默 ), who has been identified as Liao Mosha ( 廖沫沙 , 1907- ), a close follower of Zhou Yang. In the article, he criticized harshly an article called "Carrying upside down" ( 《倒提》 ), which was published in Ziyoutan ( 《自由談》 , Free talk ), supplement of Shenbao ( 《申報》 ). "Carrying upside down" was aimed at a regulation of the international concession areas of Shanghai which forbade people to carry ducks and chickens upside down.<sup>[53]</sup> The regulation was considered by some as an insult to the Chinese race which did not receive such good treatment from westerners. But the author of the article, Gong Han ( 公汗 ), argued that those holding such ideas had wronged the westerners. He pointed out the difference between poultry and human beings: that the latter possessed the power to resist against oppression and liberate themselves. The central theme of the essay was that we should not hope for graces from others and give up struggles.<sup>[54]</sup>

Lin Mo, in his "On 'fringed literature'", interpreted Gong Han's article in a different way.

To him, the words of Gong Han would lead to the idea that Chinese had already had favoured treatment from westerners and so there was no need for struggle. On the other hand, westerners, since ill-treatment represented respect, should go on ill-treating the Chinese. Lin Mo's judgement was: "Carrying upside down" was the work of a comprador who, in the first place, always boasted that he had a deep understanding of westerners, in the second place, advocated that westerners could rule over and ill-treat the Chinese, and thirdly, opposed that Chinese should have hatred for westerners. [55]

Unfortunately, Gong Han happened to be the pen-name of Lu Xun, whose anger over being called a comprador was imaginable. He soon found out that "On 'fringe literature'" was written by a "friend". [56] Once again, he made some people look into the matter and finally got a reply: Lin Mo was said to have already written to Lu giving an explanation. [57] But in a letter written more than half a year later, Lu Xun still said that he had not yet received such an explanation. [58]

Lu Xun was indignant. In the preface of the collection of his essays written from January to November, 1934, which was called Fringe literature (《花邊文學》) - obviously a deliberate retaliation, he said,

The title came from a young comrade-in-arms of my own camp, who changed his name and shot an arrow at me from behind. [59]

This was what Lu Xun considered as most unbearable. He believed this much worse than the assaults of enemies. In private correspondence, he made this point very clear. On 6th December, 1934, Lu wrote to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong:

The enemy is not to be feared. The real

threat is the vermin in our own camp. They have often brought defeat to us. [60]

Twelve days later, in a letter to Yang Jiyun, the compiler of Lu Xun's Uncollected works (《集外集》), Lu said,

the lapdogs are to not be feared. The real threat is from the so-called "comrades-in-arms" who say one thing and mean another. It is very hard to guard against them..... To protect the rear side, I have to stand slantwise and thus cannot stand facing the enemy. It takes much more energy to watch simultaneously forward and backward..... Sometimes I feel very angry; the energy spent on them could be better used for better results. [61]

In Lu Xun's eyes, Lin Mo was one of these vermin. During the Cultural Revolution, Lin's attack on Lu Xun constituted one of his crimes, apart from his "anti-Party, anti-people" ideas expounded in the Notes of the Sanjiacun (《三家村札記》).

After the fall of the "Gang of Four", Liao Mosha, in 1982, published an article in Xinwenxue shiliao called "The two pieces of zawen I wrote in the thirties" (《我在三十年代寫的兩篇雜文》). One of these two zawen discussed was "On 'fringe literature'". [62] Though he expressed his regrets for hurting Lu Xun, he defended that he had no knowledge of the identity of Gong Han at the time when he wrote the article. According to Liao, the reason for his writing the article was that he was angry over the change of editorship of Ziyoutan, which under Li Liewen (黎烈文, 1904-1972) had been progressive and published lots of works by the left. His chance to find fault with the supplement came with "Carrying upside down". He admitted that he could not get the deeper meaning between the lines and hence "On 'fringe literature'" was published in Dawanbao, after it had been rejected by Ziyoutan. He put the blame on the white terror of that time which made communication between comrades

in the same camp difficult. [63]

Liao Mosha also denied that he had been approached by a third person and that he had promised to write to Lu Xun to explain the matter. His subsequent silence was because he was assigned a secret mission shortly after and was not allowed to contact anybody. Then in the winter of that year, he was arrested. It was not until 1937-1938 after he was released that he was able to learn from Complete works of Lu Xun that "Carrying upside down" was actually written by Lu Xun. [64]

Liao Mosha's explanation is not unconvincing. In the first place, Gong Han was a new pen-name of Lu Xun - Lu first employed this name on 25th May, 1934, that was, one month before he wrote "Carrying upside down". [65] Secondly, it was true that there was the rumour that Li Liewen was replaced because of KMT pressure. Thirdly, it might not have been easy to read between the lines because Lu Xun deliberately wrote obscurely. However, it seems that Liao had a particular dislike of Gong Han. In "On 'fringe literature'", he twice brought up the term "random thoughts" ( 偶感 ), in quotations. "Random thoughts" happened to be the first article written by Lu Xun in the name of Gong Han. [66] Moreover, Liao Mosha was aware that Gong Han might have been someone of importance. In the postscript of "On 'fringe literature'", he revealed that his article had been rejected several times. [67] In fact, in his recollection, he told us that he was informed by the editor of Ziyoutan that "Carrying upside down" was written by someone senior and thus it was not good to criticize. [68] Perhaps it was for this reason that he added in the postscript that the ideas expressed in the article were his own and he begged for pardon if the article offended his elders or friends. [69]

Even if this "fringe literature" incident was a most unfortunate affair, as suggested by Liao Mosha, it had one great impact: it further alienated Lu Xun. As no explanation was given by Liao to Lu Xun at that time, Lu had no way to judge the nature of the incident and could only come to the conclusion that it was a deliberate attack. He was offended. He voiced this to several of his confidants.<sup>[70]</sup> Moreover just two weeks after Liao's article appeared in Huoju, Lu, again in the name of Gong Han, while denouncing the ignorance of the people in general, in passing made a satire on Liao's "On 'fringe literature'".<sup>[71]</sup>

Added to this was Tian Han's "stab in the back", which in any case could not be viewed as a misfortune but a direct assault on Lu Xun.

The whole story started with a private letter from Lu Xun to Cao Juren, which discussed the issue of mass literature. But this letter was published in full in a special issue on mass literature in Shehui yuebao (《社會月報》, Social monthly).<sup>[72]</sup> At the end of that issue, there was an article by Yang Cunren called "Return from the Red areas" (《赤區歸來記》). We have noted that Yang was a runaway from the leftist camp and a self-styled "man of the third category". Lu Xun's contempt for him would not have been less, even if the latter had not defected. As early as 1930, Yang had attacked Lu Xun's holding of a banquet for his son's first birthday with the money from the KMT Daxueyuan.<sup>[73]</sup> In June, 1933, after his defection, Yang again attacked Lu Xun in an article called "The new unofficial history of the literati" (《新儒林外史》). On the other hand, Lu Xun showed his detestation of Yang clearly in his "An open letter in reply to Mr Yang Cunren's open letter" (《答楊邨人先生公開信的公開信》), saying that Yang might be one of

the targets of "pshaw". [74]

However, Tian Han viewed the phenomenon in Shehui yuebao as an act of reconciliation between the two. Under the pseudonym of Shao Bo ( 紹伯 ), he published an article called "Reconciliation" (《調和》) in, again, Huoju. Although it appeared that he was criticizing the reconciliatory nature of the Chinese, he quoted the case of Lu Xun and Yang Cunren as example and this, as one critic pointed out, was the real sting of the article. [75] He suggested, as Lu's article was at the first pages while Yang's was at the back, the former was in fact opening the way for the latter. He even hinted that Lu had given up his principles. [76]

It seems that Lu Xun could no longer put up with these challenges and accusations. Instead of sorting out the matter privately, this time he protested openly in a letter to the editors of Xi (《戲》, Drama) weekly:

I have to make it clear that I cannot have the power to forbid people from publishing my private letters, nor can I know beforehand in whose company my letters will appear. When two contributions are published together in one magazine, there is no question of reconciliation or irreconciliation with any writer at all. [77]

From a private correspondence of Lu Xun, we know that Tian Han at first denied that he had written the article. But later he admitted it. His explanation was: he purposely wronged Lu Xun so as to make him angry and attack Yang Cunren. He even said that he was surprised to learn that Lu would criticize him instead. [78] Such excuses could by no means satisfy Lu. In the open letter to the editors of Xi, he expressed his feelings over the incident:

My hatred and contempt for someone of my own camp, who, in disguise, stabs me in the back, are much greater than for an overt enemy. [79]

A year later, when he edited a new collection of his *zawen*, he added in the entire article of "Reconciliation" in the appendix. He also explained why his protest was made in *Xi* weekly: Tian Han was one of the editors. [80] From his writings, we know that he always tried to hide his wounds. For instance, on 23rd April, 1935, in a letter to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong, Lu said,

Whenever I was wounded, I would hide myself in the depth of the forest, licked the blood dry, and dress it with my own hands. No one is ever to know it. I think such a situation is terrible. [81]

In a letter to Hu Feng, he spoke of similar things:

I dare not speak to the outsiders about ourselves. With the foreigners, I simply avoid the subject. If I cannot, I lie. You see what a predicament I am in. [82]

We have seen, in previous chapters, that Lu Xun's joining of and lending support to the Left League was to him a means of realizing his ideals. Thus he was always most active in his fight against such opponents of the Left League as the Crescentists, Nationalists and the authorities. In these cases, "his personal enemy was also the enemy of the revolution". [83] Successes in those battles represented not only a personal triumph, but also contributions to the political cause. However, it would be a painful task to strike back against those comrades-in-arms who were supposedly fighting for the same ideal. Any conflict or dispute would harm the solidarity of the organization, as well as the entire political and cultural movement. This would appear as a sign of weakness in the leftist camp. Moreover, it would not be easy for Lu Xun to justify himself for criticizing his comrades before the public who knew no great details of these incidents. This was why Lu Xun had to keep all the discontents to himself, and at most, to a few confidants, until he could tolerate them no more. It seems that Tian Han's behaviour was the last

straw. It must have been after long consideration that Lu Xun finally decided to make public the whole affair. There is no doubt too that it must have been a painful decision.

What happened after these two incidents? Presumably Tian Han and his group were not much disturbed. In one place, Lu Xun reported that Tian Han claimed that he was surprised to see Lu Xun criticize him so angrily.<sup>[84]</sup> In another, he said that he had heard that another "comrade-in-arms", Shen (Duanxian, i.e., Xia Yan), roared with laughter upon reading Lu's rebuttal in the "Letter to the editors of Xi weekly".<sup>[85]</sup> As for Lu Xun, the impact was great. According to Ren Baige, in the autumn of 1934, Lu told Tian Han that he would decline any work of the Left League.<sup>[86]</sup> Although we cannot be sure if there was any direct link with Tian Han's attack, it is logical to assume so, as Tian's article was published in August, 1934. In this case, we cannot say that Hu Feng should be responsible for the split of the League. In fact, nowhere in Lu Xun's writings could we find Hu Feng's name being associated with this matter. Moreover, in both "fringe literature" and "Shao Bo" incidents, it was Zhou Yang's men who took the offensive. In other words, no matter whether Hu Feng was at the scene or not, there would still be such conflicts.

Then what was done by Hu Feng in "driving a wedge" between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang? No concrete proof has been supplied by Hu's enemies, even during his purge in 1957. But we are sure that there were many opportunities for Hu to do so as he was first the "official" middleman between Lu and the League, and later, a close acquaintance of Lu. From the six letters written by Lu to Hu Feng that are available today, we can tell that Hu did, at least sometimes,

make complaints before Lu Xun. For instance, in a letter written on 17th May, 1935, Lu mentioned that Xiao San, representative of the League in Moscow, had asked for letters. Lu added,

Obviously, the "correct" letters have not yet been sent. [87]

According to the annotation made by Hu, what Xiao San wanted was the League's progress reports for the International Union of Revolutionary Writers. [88] Hu Feng claimed that he had sent in such reports while he was acting as the secretary of the Left League. But they were dismissed by Zhou Yang as "incorrect". [89] Lu's comment in his letter to Hu showed that he had a complete knowledge of the story. Doubtless, it was Hu who provided such information. It was natural that he would have added his discontent.

A similar example can be found in another letter dated 28th June, 1935. In the letter, Lu Xun criticized Han Shiheng, once a League member, for his "breaking others' rice bowls" (making people lose their jobs). [90] Once again, this was concerned with Hu Feng, as Hu was the one who had broken the rice bowl because Han disclosed his association with the left before his seniors in the Sun Yat-sen Cultural and Educational Academy, a KMT organization headed by the son of Dr Sun Yat-sen, Sun Ke (孫科, 1891-1973). [91] Although this had nothing to do with Zhou Yang and his group, it can be taken as proof that Hu often complained to Lu Xun.

Moreover, in his recollections, Hu Feng often praised highly his own achievements. He claimed that because of his efforts, three associations - the associations for the study of theories, poetry and fiction - were set up and activities were carried out. [92] A publication for internal circulation,

Wenxue shenghuo (《文學生活》, Literary life) was edited and published by him, and since it reported on the activities of the Left League, it was able, Hu said, to maintain the organizational relationships among League members.<sup>[93]</sup> What is more, Hu often made comparisons between the achievements of the League during and after his secretaryship. The sending of progress reports to Moscow noted above is an example. He, too, stressed once and again that Lu Xun used to contribute \$20 a month while he was with the League and Lu stopped such contribution once he resigned.<sup>[94]</sup> He also asserted that after he had left the League, no further contact existed between Lu Xun and the organization.<sup>[95]</sup> It is logical to suspect that he would have made similar comparisons before Lu and thus worsened Lu's impression on the League and Zhou Yang's group. However, although this might be a mistake on the part of Hu, it cannot be taken as evidence to support the accusation that Hu should be held mainly responsible for the split within the League. Here, we have to look into the relationships between Hu Feng and other people before and during that period.

As early as January, 1926, Hu Feng, after reading Lu Xun's article "My impression on the Beijing University" (《我觀北大》), sent a letter to Lu.<sup>[96]</sup> This represented the admiration of the young man towards the master. However, it seemed that Lu did not make any reply. During his brief stay in Shanghai at the end of 1932, Hu came to know many prominent left-wingers. But he was unable to meet Lu Xun. He was impressed by both Feng Xuefeng and Zhou Yang, although they complained against each other over the question of the third category before him.<sup>[97]</sup> Hu recalled that in terms of political principles, he supported Feng, but he held similar views towards

literature as Zhou Yang.<sup>[98]</sup> His article "Whitewash, distortion and ironclad fact" (《粉飾、歪曲、鐵一般的事實》) was written in support of Zhou Yang's criticism of the "third category".<sup>[99]</sup> However, he was still invited by Feng Xuefeng to hold important posts in the League.<sup>[100]</sup> It appeared that both men were eager to enlist his support.

After he was deported from Japan for his radical activities, Hu was again approached by Zhou Yang. Before long, Zhou made him in charge of the propaganda section of the League and two to three months later, because of Mao Dun's resignation, Hu was appointed the secretary of the League, again, by Zhou Yang.<sup>[101]</sup> Beyond doubt, Zhou and Hu were on good terms at that time. People like Wu Xiru confirmed this fact.<sup>[102]</sup> Moreover, it was Zhou who brought Lu Xun to Hu's residence a few days after Hu's return from Japan.<sup>[103]</sup>

It looks impossible that Hu Feng would or could have done anything to sow discord between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang at that time. The fact is, he was then closer to Zhou Yang than to Lu. But we soon have Yun Sheng's poem, Lu Xun's open letter as well as Shou Jia's rebukes. As noted earlier, this represented the first open clash between Zhou Yang and Lu Xun, and obviously it had nothing to do with Hu Feng. We must point out too that Hu Feng was introduced to Qiu Dongping, one of the four authors of the letter criticizing Lu Xun, during his first visit to Shanghai and the latter was able to win Hu's respect with a piece of creative writing. The two soon became intimate friends.<sup>[104]</sup>

But in 1934, Lu Xun and Hu Feng were drawn together. In February, a meeting between the two was

recorded in Lu Xun's diary.<sup>[105]</sup> But this was a formal meeting of the Left League which was also attended by Mao Dun and Cao Jinghua.<sup>[106]</sup> According to Lu's diary, most of the contacts between the two were by letters. But Hu Feng said that he met Lu Xun at least once a month to give Lu the League journal Wenxue shenghuo and collect the \$20 contribution from Lu.<sup>[107]</sup> Then on 25th October, Lu wrote in his diary that a looking glass was given as a gift to Hu's wife.<sup>[108]</sup> In December, Lu went in person to make reservation for a banquet to celebrate the first moon of Hu Feng's son.<sup>[109]</sup> These two entries have often been taken as proofs that the two became close friends in late 1934. This dating further confirms our argument above that neither the "fringe literature" incident nor the assaults from Tian Han should be blamed on Hu Feng.

As for the relationship between Zhou Yang and Hu Feng, we are not certain when the clash first began. We have seen that Zhou immediately took Hu Feng under his wing upon the latter's return from Japan. But Ren Baige recalled that since the beginning of 1934, in the meetings of the Secretariat of the League, Hu frequently expressed views and ideas different from those of Zhou Yang. Ren also accused Hu for adding his own ideas in his reports to Lu Xun.<sup>[110]</sup> These words, of course, should be taken with great care as Ren has all along been a close follower of Zhou Yang. It was natural for him to put the blame on Zhou's opponents. Moreover, we just wonder how he could know what were reported by Hu Feng to Lu Xun. What we can gather from Ren's recollection is that the relationship between Zhou Yang and Hu Feng started to deteriorate after the beginning of 1934. Therefore, the suggestion that the cause of the feud between the two was due to their debate on the question of typical

characters in literature is not correct,<sup>[111]</sup> because the first essay written by Hu Feng on the topic was "What is 'typical' and 'stereotyped'" (《什麼是“典型”和“類型”》), which was finished on 26th March 1935, while Zhou Yang's rebuke appeared in January, 1936 in his "A preliminary discussion on realism" (《現實主義試論》), and subsequent exchanges took place in the first half of 1936.<sup>[112]</sup> Rather, it was Hu Feng's character that made him so unpopular among the leftists. Guo Moruo said that he was "rather intransigently ambitious"<sup>[113]</sup> while Lu Xun admitted that Hu had his shortcomings: "hypersensitivity, petty-mindedness, a pedantic approach to theory and a refusal to write in a popular style".<sup>[114]</sup> We may also add that Hu Feng was basically an idealist.<sup>[115]</sup> This accounted for his independence of thought. Ren Baige's accusation that Hu often expressed different ideas as well as Hu's debate with Zhou Yang are proofs of this independence. It was also for this reason that Hu Feng submitted his famous "Hu Feng's opinions on literature and art" (《胡風對文藝問題的意見》).

Before long, Hu Feng's unpopularity made him a political outcast. In July, 1934, Mu Mutian was arrested. He defected and was released on 21st September, 1934. It was after his release that he reported to the League's Party group that Hu Feng was a KMT agent from Nanjing. There seemed to be no problem for Zhou Yang and others to accept these words. According to Hu Feng's recollection, after he had heard of the charge and reported it to Zhou Yang in person, the latter made no comment and decision, but informed him that Zhou would change his address.<sup>[116]</sup> This was an act of stopping any further contact. Hu's resignation of the secretaryship of the League was also accepted immediately.<sup>[117]</sup> All these showed most clearly that Zhou Yang had taken in the words of

Mu Mutian.

Hu Feng interpreted Mu's action as a result of personal conflicts. Around the end of 1933, Nie Gannu, because he was then editing the supplement of Zhonghua ribao (《中華日報》, China daily), Dongxiang (《動向》, Trend), held a banquet for the left-wing writers. But Mu Mutian was left out. Mu believed that it was Hu who instigated Nie and so the two had a quarrel in a meeting. Hu claimed that this was the reason for Mu's making the false charge.<sup>[118]</sup> But it seems that Hu's explanation is not convincing. Personal disputes were common among left-wing writers in the thirties and if this was the sole cause, there was no reason why others, for instance, Nie Gannu in this case, should not have been so accused.

In 1979, Xia Yan wrote a controversial article called "Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten"《一些早該忘却而未能忘却的往事》.<sup>[119]</sup> He listed the "evidences" to support the accusation. As early as 1934, he was warned by the head of Propaganda section of the Jiangsu Provincial Party Committee, Li Shaoshi (李少石) of Hu's possible treachery. Secondly, he was told by Zheng Zhenduo, Xia claimed, that Shao Lizi (邵力子), a KMT member, informed Zheng and Chen Wangdao that Hu Feng was then working for the KMT.<sup>[120]</sup> This piece of information was confirmed by Mao Dun.<sup>[121]</sup>

There is no way to prove these words. We have to point out that both Xia's and Mao's articles were written in response to an article by Feng Xuefeng on the behaviours of Zhou Yang and the Two Slogan Polemic.<sup>[122]</sup> But no doubt that the rumour was spreading in Shanghai after 1934.

Lu Xun was informed of this. The occasion was

the meeting recorded in the well-known "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression". According to this article, in 1935, Zhou Yang invited him for a talk and when he turned up, there were "four fellows", Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Yang Hansheng and Tian Han. They said that they had come specially to inform him of Hu Feng's identity. Lu Xun asked for evidence and was told that the news came from the defector Mu Mutian. Lu said furiously:

The words of a defector were considered as gospel truth in the Left League. I was staggered. [123]

Lu made clear to them on the spot that he did not believe it and so they parted in dudgeon. [124]

Nevertheless, in his article "Some past events", Xia Yan reported a different story. In the first instance, he queried the date provided by Lu. The reason he gave was: in the autumn of 1935, both Yang Hansheng and Xia Yan had already been arrested and kept in Nanjing, and so it was impossible for them to be present in the meeting. The meeting, Xia insisted, was held in the autumn of 1934. In the second place, according to Xia Yan, the meeting was not held to inform Lu Xun of the identity of Hu Feng. Zhou Yang, feeling that they had not made any report on League affairs to Lu Xun for some time, made Xia Yan arrange the meeting. Thirdly, Tian Han turned up unexpectedly and it was Tian who cautioned Lu Xun of Hu's identity. Lastly, Xia Yan claimed that the meeting did not end unhappily as suggested by Lu Xun. He admitted that when Tian Han raised the issue, Lu Xun was angered. But Yang Hansheng was able to relax the tension and before they parted, Lu Xun even told a joke and contributed \$100. [125]

Beyond doubt, Xia's story was self-serving as it was meant, as Xia himself made it very clear, for

clarifying the false picture created by the "Gang of Four" that Lu Xun had a deep hatred towards the "four fellows".<sup>[126]</sup> But Xia's words are not convincing. Firstly, there is no reason why Lu Xun should make false statements in his open letter to Xu Maoyong. Secondly, it is unlikely that Lu Xun would have forgotten the details of the meeting when he wrote the letter while Xia Yan could be accurate in his recollection which was made some forty-five years later. We shall point out, too, in the next chapter, the many mistakes made by Xia in his recollection. Thirdly, if it was a meeting for reporting League affairs, it is strange that Hu Feng, being the co-ordinator between the League and Lu Xun, did not play any part in it. Hu did not even make arrangements for the meeting. Fourthly, Xia Yan tried very hard to create the impression that Lu Xun was friendly to them. But even in his article, Xia reported that Lu Xun said angrily the following line:

You believe in the words of a defector. I don't. <sup>[127]</sup>

Lu drew a line between "you" and "I". As for the contribution, we have to point out that there is no record of it in Lu Xun's diary. Moreover, if Lu was so ready to contribute money to the League, and if the money was given directly to Zhou Yang, there was no reason why he was accused of being miserly by Zhou.<sup>[128]</sup>

What interests us most is the date of the meeting. For more than forty years, no one ever queried Lu Xun's dating and Xia Yan was the first one to do so. If it was a deliberate distortion on the part of Xia Yan, his motive was clear enough: he meant to discredit the trustworthiness of Lu Xun's account. On the other hand, Anthony Kane approved of Xia Yang's dating and from this, he concluded that "it was after this incident that Lu Xun began to draw close to Hu

Feng" and "it was only after this incident that Lu Xun began to grow dissatisfied with the Party leadership of the League as represented by Zhou Yang and his associates".<sup>[129]</sup> In other words, the "Four fellows" incident was "the cause of Lu Xun's closeness to Hu Feng, rather than an example of it".<sup>[130]</sup>

To support his argument, Kane quoted a paragraph of the open letter, and the following is his translation:

One day last year, before I knew Hu Feng well, a famous person made a date to talk to me. <sup>[131]</sup>

On the one hand, he stressed that Lu Xun made it clear that he did not know Hu Feng well at the time of the meeting.<sup>[132]</sup> On the other, he pointed out that the earliest date we have for the beginning of friendship between Hu Feng and Lu Xun was 25th October 1934. Thus the meeting should be held some time before 25th October, 1934, and most probably, he said, after 31st August, the date of Tian Han's article on Lu Xun.<sup>[133]</sup>

However, if we compare Kane's translation with that of the Yangs, we shall see that Kane's calculation is questionable:

I had only a nodding acquaintance with Hu Feng to start with. One day last year, a celebrity invited me over for a talk. <sup>[134]</sup>

The original sentence is:

胡風我先前並不熟悉，去年的有一天，一位名人約我談話了。 <sup>[135]</sup>

The Yangs' translation is obviously a more accurate one and Lu Xun did not mean to say that he did not know Hu Feng well at the time of the meeting.

As for Xia Yan's argument, that Yang Hansheng and Tian Han were kept at Nanjing in the autumn of 1935, it was not solid enough either. We must point

out that Lu Xun never said that the meeting was held in the autumn of 1935. His open letter to Xu Maoyong was written on 3rd to 6th August, 1936. When he said "one day last year", he could well mean any time in 1935. Tian Han and Yang Hansheng were arrested on 19th February, 1935. It is not totally impossible that the meeting was held between 1st January and 18th February, 1935.

To be fair, we cannot, on the other hand, rule out the possibility that the meeting was held in 1934 - anytime after Mu Mutain's defection: Mu was arrested in July, 1934 and released on 21st September, 1934. But even if we accept this, there is no reason to conclude, as Kane did, that the meeting was the cause of Lu's closeness to Hu Feng and alienation from the Party leadership of the League. We have already seen the unhappy event over Yun Sheng's poem in 1933. We have also proved that Lu was extremely angered by the "fringe literature" incident as well as Tian Han's essay, both undoubtedly took place before the meeting. Therefore, Kane's assertion that trying to convince Lu Xun that Hu Feng was an agent of the KMT was the first mistake made by Zhou Yang is not correct. [136]

Lu Xun's rejection of the four fellows' words in the meeting was reasonable and understandable. He has always had a strong dislike of defectors and in a letter to Zheng Zhenduo on 8th January, 1935, he showed his disgust over Mu Mutian. [137] We just wonder why the four fellows did not provide stronger evidence to support their accusation against Hu Feng on the spot as Xia Yan claimed that they had learnt of the information from such respectable people as Li Shaoshi, Zheng Zhenduo and Chen Wangdao. Consequently, the four fellows' words appeared to Lu Xun as a strengthening of relationships between Zhou Yang and the defectors. [138]

On the other hand, we have seen that in the last quarter of 1934, Hu Feng and Lu Xun were close friends and in the following two years, their friendship was well known in the literary circle.<sup>[139]</sup> There were reasons for Hu to be able to win Lu's good graces. In the first place, Hu Feng was diligent. Apart from finishing a book called On literature and art (《文藝筆談》), he co-operated with Lu Xun in editing Haiyan (《海燕》, Sea swallow) and Muxie wencong (《木屑文叢》). He actively initiated activities for the League and organized several study associations. Hu was also the editor of the League's internal publications, Wenxue shenghuo. This undoubtedly impressed Lu Xun who had the belief that the leading cadres of the League were not working hard enough.<sup>[140]</sup> Furthermore, the performance of Hu Feng on a number of important occasions further enhanced Lu Xun's confidence. According to Wu Xiru who was then working in the special branch of the Communist Party Central Committee, Hu was appointed as the liason man between Lu and the Party.<sup>[141]</sup> Hu did his job well. When the military committee of the Party was in need of money, Hu Feng, at the instruction of Wu, was able to secure a handsome contribution from Lu. Then in the spring of 1935, Lu Xun received a blank sheet of paper. He gave it to Hu Feng and Hu asked for assistance from Wu. It turned out to be a letter for help written in invisible ink from Fang Zhimin (方志敏, 1900-1935), who was imprisoned at Nanchang. Because of this, the contacts between Fang and the Party were built up. Then a year later, in 1936, an office of the Comintern in Shanghai was raided. Being responsible for investigating the case, Wu asked Lu Xun for help. Lu, through his Japanese friends, soon got the necessary information and once again, it was passed on to the Party through Hu Feng. All these were highly important and confidential matters, involving the lives of many

most prominent CCP members. The fact that nothing went wrong was proof, at least to Lu Xun, of Hu Feng's trustworthiness. This was what Lu Xun meant when he said that his friendship with Hu Feng was a result of not only considering the person, but also the facts.<sup>[142]</sup>

With the rumour spreading within the League, Hu Feng could no longer hold the post of secretaryship. While Ren Baige reported that Lin Boxiu and Tian Han made the decision to expel Hu,<sup>[143]</sup> Hu insisted more than once that it was he himself who handed in his resignation to Zhou Yang in Sha Ting's house in the early winter of 1934.<sup>[144]</sup> Roughly at the same time, the head of the propaganda section, Zhou Wen, also resigned. An acceptable explanation for this is that Zhou Wen was a close associate of Hu Feng and an ardent follower of Lu Xun. His resignation was directly related to that of Hu Feng.<sup>[145]</sup>

After the resignation of Hu Feng and Zhou Wen, Lu Xun and his group were completely alienated from the central core of the organization. During the year 1935, Lu Xun and the Party leadership of the Left League drifted hopelessly apart. From the end of 1934, Lu Xun began to complain of the threats from "friends", "comrades-in-arms" and "vermin within our camp" in private correspondences. He considered them more fearful than the real enemies.<sup>[146]</sup> He was angered over the wasting of energy and time on those petty quarrels and internecine fighting. In these letters, Lu did not mention the names of his antagonists, except that of Tian Han. But there is no problem in identifying them. In more than one place, Zhou Yang was referred to as the "field marshal".<sup>[147]</sup> Lu Xun was not satisfied with the "field marshal" for keeping himself indoors and doing nothing while giving orders to others. He related this in a letter

to a story of Tolstoy, which said that a footsoldier was reminded of his own safety when he saw the general's bullet-proof ironplate.<sup>[148]</sup> Xu Maoyong also reported that Lu had expressed this dissatisfaction before him.<sup>[149]</sup> Lu felt that he had been working very hard. But he was fighting all by himself. What made the matter worse, he heard of others' attacking him for being lazy.<sup>[150]</sup> He described this vividly to Hu Feng:

Take myself as an example. I always feel that I am bound in an iron chain and a foreman is whipping me on the back. No matter how hard I work, I am still whipped. When I turn my head and ask what my faults are, he will cup his hands and say modestly that I am doing extremely well; and that I am surely the best of friends; and what a fine day; ha-ha-ha. <sup>[151]</sup>

There is little doubt that the foreman was again Zhou Yang.

In 1935, Lu had already come to the belief that it was better not to join the Left League. The implication of this is serious: Lu Xun's faith and hope in the League vanished completely. But Xu Maoyong interpreted it in another way: Lu Xun did not advise new writers to join the organization because he was afraid that these new writers would be arrested.<sup>[152]</sup> This is not a convincing argument as there had always been oppression. Moreover, if we go to a letter written by Lu to Hu Feng, we can see that Lu Xun was not happy with the politics within the organization, and he believed that too much energy was consumed in petty squabbles. It was for this reason that he advised Xiao Jun, a new writer then and who was regarded highly by Lu, not to join the League:

About San Lang [三郎, pseud. of Xiao Jun], I can state my opinion almost without hesitation: better not join [the Left League] at present. What happened in the beginning would make a long story. I am not going to talk about it. In view of the

happenings in recent years, I feel it is the few new writers among those who do not belong who show something fresh. Once a man has joined, he will be forever involved in petty squabbles and cannot make his voice heard. [153]

Xiao Jun, together with his common law wife, Xiao Hong, started to write to Lu Xun in 1934, after they had escaped from Harbin and stayed at Qingdao. [154]

They continued to keep in touch after the Xiaos had arrived in Shanghai. It seems that from the start Lu Xun had a good impression of the couple. Almost all letters were answered instantly and he agreed to lend them twenty dollars even before they met. [155] Lu also encouraged them to write and spent much effort in helping them to publish their works. After the first meeting on 30th November, 1934, they soon became one of the closest associates of Lu Xun. The above piece of advice given to Xiao Jun reveals that Lu Xun was not happy to see his followers in the League.

Critics from both the left and right in general agree that Zhou Yang and his group should also hold responsibility for the split of the Left League. Even Zhou Yang himself and his followers are now ready to accept such accusations. [156] Obviously, there are political reasons behind this. For the left, Lu Xun has been defined by Mao Zedong as the sage of modern China and therefore it must have been Zhou Yang who did not have a good comprehension of the importance of the sage and thus committed a number of blunders. [157] On the other hand, to the right, the conflict was a result of Lu Xun's "act of assertion" against Zhou Yang who represented the Party's cultural directives and who tried to impose instructions on the old man. It was therefore a fight against Party domination of independent writers. [158]

However, in the first instance, we must point

out that there is no concrete proof available today to support the charge that Zhou Yang had himself written or published anything against Lu Xun. But those around Zhou did launch assaults against him. We have seen how Lu was enraged by the articles of Liao Masha and Tian Han. Zhou Yang might not have a hand in these incidents. Yet being the one assigned by the Communist Party to take charge of literary works, he should have at least done something to keep things under control or pacify Lu. The facts that he made no attempt to stop the attacks and that he himself was involved in a number of incidents which had caused Lu Xun's discontent (for example, his publication of Yun Sheng's poem and his refusal to make redress, plus the four fellows' meeting with Lu) easily led Lu Xun relate all the "evil" deeds within the League with Zhou Yang. In other words, Zhou Yang's fault lay not in having done something to enrage Lu Xun, but rather in having not done anything in conciliating Lu. Lu Xun's alienation should not be viewed as a result of Zhou Yang's eagerness and efforts in grasping the leadership of the Left League.<sup>[159]</sup> He had already had it after the departure of Qu Qiubai and Feng Xuefeng. In fact, it must have been a hard time for Zhou Yang, an inexperienced young man of twenty and who had just returned from Japan, to lead such a complicated organization as the Left League. Added to this were the repressions from the government and economic hardship. Zhou Yang might have been ambitious. But there was little point for him to alienate Lu Xun in order to consolidate his position. Since the formation of the Left League, Lu Xun had not been within the centre core of the organization and most decisions were made by the Party group. All along, Lu Xun had honoured such leadership and the system worked smoothly in the first few years. What Zhou Yang failed to do, and where Qu Qiubai and Feng

Xuefeng succeeded, was to bridge the gap between the Party group and Lu Xun.

Nevertheless, although the efforts might not have been strong enough, many League members recalled that Zhou Yang did try to conciliate Lu. Xu Maoyong was appointed by Zhou as the secretary of the Left League in the spring of 1935 for the fact that Xu was almost the only one in Zhou's group who was able to maintain good relations with Lu. Xu also claimed that he, at the instruction of Zhou Yang, tried several times to contact Hu Feng to win the latter over. [160]

But there is no way for people like Tian Han, Liao Mosha, Zhu Xiuxia and Qiu Dongping to wash away the stains of attacking Lu Xun. In all cases, it was they who took the offensive and there appeared no good cause for them to do so. This was probably due to the irascibility of League members, which was made acute by the strain of prolonged struggle. However, the relationships between these people and Zhou Yang should not be over-emphasized, just like what Lu Xun did, which would in the end make Zhou Yang the worst of the villains.

In a number of incidents, such as Yun Sheng's poems and the discussion on mass literature, Zhou Yang and his group did show a more radical attitude. But this was not always the case. Merle Goldman correctly points out that during the "typical characters" debate in 1935-36, Zhou Yang "have taken the less doctrinaire position". [161] And as we shall see, Lu Xun's stance on the question of the League's dissolution as well as in the Two Slogan Polemic was more left-deviated than that adopted by Zhou Yang. What is more, from the very beginning, there were radicals within the Left League and this did not constitute any major obstacle to the progress of the

League and this co-operation with Lu Xun. We have shown too that the formation of the united front in 1930 was preceded by a hot debate between the radicals and the milds. Therefore, it is inappropriate to say that the dissension within the Left League was one between the ultra-leftists and the milds.

In fact, there was no issue of substance dividing the League at that period, or dividing Lu Xun from the Party caucus. We cannot see any viewpoints taken by Lu Xun that were contrary to Party policy, or vice versa. The fact was, in the second half of the Left League, no great movement was launched by the League and there was no obvious shift of Party policy. Thus, it was mainly because at the closing years, no one in the League made strong efforts for the solidarity of the bloc. Zhou Yang should bear greater blame in this aspect as he was in charge of the Party group then. On the other hand, Lu Xun was not totally blameless. We cannot see any serious attempt made by him to narrow the gap with his opponents. On the contrary, he often stood to his gums. If he considered a fault of Zhou Yang to criticize him at the back, we have to say that he committed the same mistakes. It is a well-known fact that he often criticized Zhou Yang before his confidants. His declination from any work of the Left League and refusal to meet the League's leadership solved no problem but only made the hope of reconciliation more remote. In the end, trivial matters which might have been settled peacefully and internally became causes of open disputes. There is little wonder that when it came to such important issues as the building up of a united front with the KMT, there could be no compromise.

NOTES:

[1] Zhou Yang, "Inherit and carry forward the revolutionary tradition of the left-wing cultural movement" (《繼承和發揚左翼文化運動的革命傳統》), Renmin ribao, 2nd April, 1980.

[2] According to A bibliography of modern Chinese literary periodicals (《中國現代文學期刊目錄》)(Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe, 1961), pp. 29-30, the Left League put out only one periodical in its last two years, the Wenyi qunzhong (《文藝群衆》, Literary masses) with only two issues (September and November, 1935). Of course, we may add the one for internal circulation, Wenxue shenghuo, which was edited by Hu Feng.

[3] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 534.

[4] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 44.

[5] Xia Yan, "Around the formation of the Left League", p. 5.

[6] Ding Ling, "'Meetings' to Lu Xun" (《“開會”之於魯迅》), collected in Recalling Lu Xun (《憶魯迅》)(Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, Oct., 1956), p. 90.

[7] There is only one entry in Lu Xun's diary that he attended a Left League meeting: 29th May, 1930, CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 824. It was the second general meeting of the Left League. But from the recollections of other League members, we know that Lu has attended other meetings. In the first instance, we are certain that he attended the inaugural meeting. Secondly, according to Feng Xuefeng, Lu Xun turned up in a joint meeting of the Left League and the Dramatists League in April, 1930. "Letters from Feng Xuefeng to Bao Ziyang", p. 148. Thirdly, Jin Ding recalled that Lu Xun attended a meeting of the executive committee at the end of 1932 or the beginning of 1933. Jin Ding, "Some recollections on the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 187. Fourthly, Sha Ting said that Lu Xun was present in a meeting of the standing committee around 1932-1933. Sha Ting, "Recollection from a member of the Left League", ibid., p. 217. Wu Xiru also said that Lu Xun attended a meeting of the creative writing committee. "Records of Wu Xiru's interview - On the Two Slogan Polemic, the relationship between Lu Xun and the Party, and the popularization of literature and art", RMLX, p. 79.

[8] Liu Qing (劉清), "Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun" (《馮雪峰與魯迅》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 5, pp. 1 & 3; Xu Guangping, "Lu Xun and the young people", Reminiscences of Lu Xun by Xu Guangping, p. 247.

[9] Xu Guangping, "Lu Xun and the young people" (《魯迅和青年們》), Reminiscences of Lu Xun by Xu Guangping, pp. 247-248.

[10] In 1932, Lu Xun asked Qu Qiubai, through Feng Xuefeng, to translate from Russian G. Nerarov's introduction to Alexander Serafimovich's Iron stream for Cao Jinghua's translation. Lu Xun also asked Qu to translate Anatoly Lunacharsky's Liberation of Don Quixote. Lu himself had already finished translating the first act, from a Japanese text. Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 114. For a discussion of the friendship between the two, see Paul G. Pickowicz, "Lu Xun through the eyes of Qu Qiubai: New perspective on Chinese Marxist literary polemics of the 1930s", Modern China Vol. II No. 3 (July, 1976), pp. 327-367.

[11] The first time was mid- November, 1932, when Lu Xun was away in Beijing. Qu stayed in Lu's house until mid-December. Xu Guangping, Reminiscences of Lu Xun, p. 122. In early February, 1933, Qu had to flee to Lu Xun's house again. Ding Jingtang, "The friendship of Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai as seen from Lu Xun's diary" (《從“魯迅日記”看魯迅和瞿秋白的友誼》), Notes from reading the works of Lu Xun and Qu Qiubai (《學習魯迅及瞿秋白作品札記》)(Shanghai: Xinwenyi chubanshe, June, 1958), p. 17; Zhou Yongxiang, A chronicle of Qu Qiubai, pp. 104-106.

[12] Qu Qiubai, "Preface to The selected essays of Lu Xun", pp. 1-25.

[13] Paul G. Pickowicz, "Lu Xun through the eyes of Qu Qiubai: New perspectives on Chinese Marxist literary polemics of the 1930s", p. 344.

[14] Xu Guangping, "When comrade Qiubai and Lu Xun were together" (《秋白同志和魯迅相處的時候》), Yuwen xuexi (《語文學習》, Language learning) No. 6, 1959 (19th June, 1959), p. 2.

[15] Xu Guangping, Reminiscences of Lu Xun, p. 128.

[16] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 117. Shneider said that at least thirteen of Qu Qiubai's articles were published in Lu Xun's pseudonyms. Mark E. Shneider, Tvorcheokii Put' Tsiui Tsui-bo, 1849-1935 p. 75, cited from Paul G. Pickowicz, "Lu Xun through the eyes of Qu Qiubai: New perspectives on Chinese Marxist literary polemics of the 1930s", p. 339. Xu Guangping listed the titles of eleven articles which were written by Qu Qiubai and published in Lu's name. Xu Guangping, Reminiscences of Lu Xun, pp. 126-128.

[17] Ibid., p. 118.

[18] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 195.

[19] Chen Qiongzi ( 陳琼芝 ), "Between two great men in history who have never met - A talk given by Feng Xuefeng on the relationship between Lu Xun and Mao Zedong" (《在兩位未謀一面的歷史偉人之間——記馮雪峰關於魯迅及毛澤東關係的一次談話》), Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan No. 3, 1980 (Oct., 1980), p. 207.

[20] Zhou Yongxiang, A chronicle of Qu Qiubai, p. 110.

[21] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 196.

[22] T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftists Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 104.

[23] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 178.

[24] Mao Dun, "Some facts that need to be clarified" (《需要澄清一些事實》), XWXS No. 2, pp. 244-245.

[25] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 372.

[26] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong, 10th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 593.

[27] Lu Xun, "A glimpse at the literary scene of Shanghai", CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 295-298.

[28] Guo Moruo, Works of Guo Moruo Vol. VII, pp. 14-29.

[29] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League", p. 36.

[30] Ibid., p. 35.

[31] Feng Xuefeng, "The inclination and theories of the third category literature", Su Wen (ed.), Collection of articles on the debate on the freedom of literature and art, pp. 267-288.

[32] Wenxue yuebao No. 4 (15th Nov., 1932), pp. 85-89, in MMCLH Vol. II, pp. 225-229.

[33] Feng Xiaxiang, "Feng Xuefeng on the Left League", p. 10.

[34] Wenxue yuebao No. 5&6 (15th Dec., 1932), MMCLH Vol. II, pp. 517-518, also in CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 451-453.

[35] CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 452-453.

[36] Note (3), CWLX Vol. IV, p. 453. In the past, Qian Xingcun mistakenly took Qu Qiubai as Yun Sheng. Qian Xingcun, "About Qu Qiubai's posthumous literary works", in A Ying, Collected works of A Ying, pp. 409-410.

[37] CWLX Vol. IV, p. 453.

[38] Wenxue yuebao No. 5&6, MMCLH Vol. II, p. 519.

[39] For the article, see A history of the struggle in modern Chinese literary thinkings (《中國現代文藝思想鬥爭史》) Part I, Vol. I (Feb., 1976), pp. 261-264.

[40] Note (3), CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 120. Li Helin once alleged that Fang Meng was the pseudonym of A Ying. But A Ying wrote a letter to Li on 8th Oct., 1975 correcting Li. Li later withdrew his words. Wu Taichang, "A Ying on the Left League", p. 24.

[41] He was a frequent contributor to such League publications as Tuohuangzhe, Shalun and Yishu yuekan. He also participated in the discussion on the popularization of literature.

[42] Shou Jia (et. al.), "Some words on Mr Lu Xun's 'Threats and abuse are not fighting'", pp. 262-264.

[43] CWLX Vol. XIII, pp. 119-120.

[44] For example, The Chinese departments of Fudan University and Shanghai Normal University (ed.), Selected zawen of Lu Xun (《魯迅雜文選》) Part I (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, May, 1973), p. 244.

[45] Works of Qu Qiubai Vol. I, pp. 406-407.

[46] Ibid., p. 409.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] "Thorough down to the bottom" (《透底》), CWLX Vol. V, pp. 103-106.

[50] The Chinese departments of Fudan University and Shanghai Normal University (ed.), Selected letters of Lu Xun (《魯迅書信選》) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Sept., 1973), Note (15), p. 140. The letter was written on 21st June, 1934. CWLX Vol. XII, pp. 465-466.

[51] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, 28th April, 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 120.

[52] The article was included by Lu Xun into his Fringe literature as an appendix to "Carrying upside down", CWLX Vol. V, pp. 491-494.

[53] Ibid., p. 490.

[54] Ibid., pp. 490-491.

[55] Ibid., pp. 492-493.

[56] Lu Xun, letter to Cao Jinghua, 7th Feb., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 47.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] "Preface", CWLX Vol. V, p. 417.

[60] CWLX Vol. XII, p. 584.

[61] Ibid., p. 606.

[62] XWXS No. 2, 1984 (22nd May, 1984), pp. 40-43.

[63] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[64] Ibid., p. 41.

[65] The pen name Gong Han was first employed in the article "Random thoughts", which was written on 20th May, 1934 and published in Ziyoutan on 25th May, 1934. CWLX Vol. V, pp. 479-480.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., p. 494.

[68] Liao Mosha, "The two pieces of zawen I wrote in the thirties", p. 40.

[69] CWLX Vol. V, p. 494.

[70] Lu Xun, letter to Cao Jinghua, 7th Feb., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 47; letter to Xiao Jun, 28th April, 1935, ibid., p. 120.

[71] Lu Xun, "The properties of water" (《水性》), CWLX Vol. V, p. 2.

[72] Lu Xun, "In reply to Mr Cao Juren's letter" (《答曹聚仁先生信》), CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 76-78.

[73] Lu Xun, "An open letter in reply to Mr Yang Cunren's open letter", CWLX Vol. IV, p. 628.

[74] Ibid., pp. 626-631.

[75] T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 114.

[76] Tian Han's "Reconciliation" was included by Lu Xun into the postscript of Essays of Qiejieting (《且介亭雜文》), CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 208-211.

[77] Lu Xun, "In reply to the editor of Xi" (《答“戲”周刊編者信》), CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 147-148.

[78] Lu Xun, letter to Cao Jinghua, 7th Feb., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 47.

[79] CWLX Vol. VI, p. 148.

[80] Ibid., p. 212.

[81] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, 23rd April, 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 116.

[82] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 12th Sept., 1935, ibid., p. 211.

[83] T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, p. 115.

[84] Lu Xun, Letter to Cao Jinghua, 7th Feb., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 47.

[85] "Postscript of Essays of Qiejieting I", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 212.

[86] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 375.

[87] CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 129.

[88] Hu Feng, "Annotations on Lu Xun's letters" (《魯迅書信註釋》), XWXS No. 3, 1981 (22nd Aug., 1981), p. 74.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 28th June, 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 160.

[91] Hu Feng, "Annotations on Lu Xun's letters", p. 75. Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", pp. 180-181.

[92] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", pp. 178-179. Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part II, XWXS No. 3, 1984 (22nd Aug., 1984), p. 43.

[93] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League", Part II, p. 48.

[94] Hu Feng, "Annotations on Lu Xun's letters", p. 76.

[95] Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 179; Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part II, p. 48.

[96] CWLX Vol. XIV, p. 585.

[97] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part I, p. 35.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Wenxue yuebao No. 5&6, in MMCLH Vol. II, pp. 373-383.

[100] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part I, p. 36.

[101] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part II, pp. 42 & 47. Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 177.

[102] Wu Xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him", p. 237.

[103] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part II, p. 41. Although this meeting was not recorded in Lu Xun's diary, it was confirmed by others' recollections. Mei Yi's (梅益, Hu Feng's wife) letter to Duan Guochao (段國超), in Duan Guochao, "Lu Xun and Hu Feng" (《魯迅與胡風》), Note (1), Luxun yanjiu dongtai (《魯迅研究動態》) No. 12 (20th Nov., 1981), p. 8.

[104] Hu Feng, "Recalling Dongping" (《憶東平》) Essays of Hu Feng (《胡風文集》) (Shanghai: Chunming shudian 春明書店, Jan., 1948), pp. 74-75.

[105] The meeting took place on 13th Feb., 1934. CWLX Vol. XV, p. 134.

[106] Bao Chang (鮑昌), Qiu Wenzhi (邱文治), A chronicle of Lu Xun, 1881-1936 (《魯迅年譜 1881-1936》) (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe, Sept., 1980), Vol. II, pp. 327-328. Zhou Zhengzhan (周正章), "Hu Feng in Lu Xun's diary" (《“魯迅日記”中的胡風》) Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 12 (May, 1983), p. 337.

[107] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part II, p. 45.

[108] CWLX Vol. XV, p. 176.

[109] According to Lu Xun's diary, Lu went to reserve a table for a banquet on 18th December, 1934. But Hu Feng failed to turn up on 19th. CWLX Vol. XV, p. 186. Xiao Jun reported that Lu Xun's reason for holding the banquet was to celebrate the first moon of Hu Feng's son. Xiao Jun, Annotations on Lu Xun's letters to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong (《魯迅給蕭軍蕭紅書簡注釋錄》) (Harbin: Heilongjiang renmin chubanshe, June, 1981), p. 109.

[110] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 372.

[111] Many commentators do hold this view. For example, T.A. Hsia, The gate of darkness, pp. 111-112. Zhai Zhicheng, "Lu Xun and Hu Feng's struggle against domination", Articles on the study of Communist China's literary policy, p. 20. Wu Xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him", p. 242.

[112] Zhou Yang's article was published in Wenxue Vol. VI No. 1 (1st Jan., 1936), pp. 83-89. Hu Feng's "What is 'typical' and 'stereotyped'" was collected in Hu Feng, Critical essays of Hu Feng (《胡風評論集》) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, March, 1984), pp. 96-99. His other articles on the topic can be found in Hu Feng, Studies in a cloudy period (《密雲期風習小紀》), ibid., pp. 341-367.

[113] Guo Moruo, "An inspection of the military exercise" (《蒐苗的檢閱》), Wenxuejie (《文學界》, Literary arena) Vol. VI No. 1 (10th Sept., 1936), collected in Collection of materials on the "Two

Slogan" Polemic ( 《 "兩個口號" 論爭資料選編》 , hereinafter abbreviated as CMTS)(Beijing: Renmin wenzue chubanshe, March, 1982), p. 712.

[114] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 535.

[115] Hu Feng himself admitted that he was an idealist at his youth. Hu Feng, "Recollecting the time as an idealist" ( 《理想主義者時代底回憶》 ), Critical essays of Hu Feng Vol. I, pp. 248-256. Also Shi Hang, ( 施行 ), "The idealist Hu Feng - Hu Feng at his youth" ( 《理想主義者的剪影——青年胡風》 ), Dou-sou ( 《抖擻》 ) No. 19 (Jan., 1977), pp. 22-50; Hu Shouyu (胡守愚), "Hu Feng - An idealist" ( 《胡風——理想主義者》 ), Zhongguoren ( 《中國人》 ), The Chinese Vol. I No. 9 (1st Oct., 1979), pp. 62-67.

[116] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League", p. 48.

[117] Ibid.

[118] Ibid., pp. 47-48.

[119] Wenzue pinglun No. 1, 1981 (15th Jan., 1981), pp. 92-101.

[120] Ibid., pp. 96-97.

[121] Mao Dun, "Some facts that need to be clarified", p. 245.

[122] Feng Xuefeng's article was "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan "mass literature of the national revolutionary war" ( 《有關一九三六年周揚等人的行動以及魯迅提出“民族革命戰爭的大眾文學”口號的經過》 ), XWXS No. 2, pp. 247-258.

[123] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 534-535.

[124] Ibid., p. 535.

[125] Xia Yan, "Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten", p. 95.

[126] Ibid., p. 96.

[127] Ibid., p. 95.

[128] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 24th Aug., 1935, CWLC Vol. XIII, p. 194.

[129] Anthony Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 221.

[130] Ibid., p. 224.

[131] Ibid., p. 219.

[132] Ibid., p. 220.

[133] Ibid., p. 225.

[134] Yang Xianyi (楊憲益), Gladys Yang (Tr.), Lu Xun: Selected works (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1961) Vol. IV, p. 294.

[135] CWLX Vol. VI, p. 534.

[136] Anthony Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 226.

[137] CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 12.

[138] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 12th Sept., 1935, ibid., p. 211.

[139] Hu Feng, "When the dead resurrects" (《死人復活的時候》), Essays of Hu Feng, p. 41.

[140] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, 6th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 586; letter to Hu Feng, 28th June, 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 160; letter to Wang Yeqiu (王冶秋), 15th Sept., 1936, ibid., p. 426. Xu Maoyong, "The complete story of my relationship with the Left League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang", RMLX, p. 50.

[141] Wu Xiru, "The relationship between the Party and Lu Xun" (《魯迅與黨的關係》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4 (Jan., 1980), p. 191.

[142] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 534.

[143] Ren Baige, "When I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 375.

[144] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around the joining of the Left League" Part two, p. 48. Hu Feng, "Recalling my relationship with the 'Left League' and Lu Xun", p. 178.

[145] Wang Yaoshan, "Recalling the time when I worked in the 'Left League'", Recollections on the Left League, p. 309.

[146] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, 6th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 586. Lu Xun, letter to Yang Jiyun, 18th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 606.

[147] Lu Xun, letters to Hu Feng, 28th June, 1935 and 12th Sept., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, pp. 160 & 211.

[148] Letter to Hu Feng, 28th June, 1935, ibid., p. 160.

[149] Xu Maoyong, "The complete story of my relationship with the Left League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang", RMLX, p. 50.

[150] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, 6th Dec., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 586.

[151] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 12th Sept., 1935, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 211.

[152] Xu Maoyong, "The complete story of my relationship with the Left League, Lu Xun and Zhou Yang", RMLX, p. 50. Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 80.

[153] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 12th Sept., 1935, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 211.

[154] Lu Xun received the first letter from Xiao Jun on 19th October, 1934. Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XV, p. 174. For further information about the correspondences between Lu Xun and the Xiaos, see Xiao Jun, Annotations on Lu Xun's letters to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong.

[155] Lu Xun, letter to Xiao Jun, Xiao Hong, 17th Nov., 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 567. Xiao Jun, Annotations on Lu Xun's letters to Xiao Jun and Xiao Hong, p. 57.

[156] Zhou Yang, "Inherit and carry forward the revolutionary tradition of the left-wing cultural movement", Renmin ribao, 2nd April, 1980.

[157] Mao Zedong, "On Lu Xun" (《論魯迅》), New essays on Lu Xun (《魯迅新論》) (n.p.: Xinwen chubanshe, 1938), pp. 11-12. Mao Zedong, "On new democracy" (《論新民主主義》), Selected works of Mao Zedong Vol. III, p. 144.

[158] For example, see T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftist Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 107. Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 13. Zhai Zhicheng, "Lu Xun and Hu Feng's struggle against control" (《魯迅與胡風的反控制鬥爭》), Articles on the study of Communist China's literary policy, pp. 3-99.

[159] Anthony Kane, "The League of Left-wing Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 226.

[160] Wei Mengke, "Recalling the Left League", Recollections on the Left League, p. 390; Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, pp. 79-80.

[161] Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 11.

**CHAPTER SEVEN****DISSOLUTION AND POLEMIC, (1935-1936):**

With the organization divided so bitterly, the dissolution of the Left League was but a matter of time. However, it was the Party leadership of the League that initiated dissolution while the alienated, Lu Xun, wished to retain the organization. This constituted another point of dispute between the two groups. Thus, as we shall see, although the original intention of dissolving the League was to secure a broader united front in the literary circle, the result turned out to be the opposite. Lu Xun was most unhappy with the dissolution and in particular, with the way in which the League was dissolved. The dissension between the two groups within the Left League came to the surface in the subsequent Two Slogan Polemic.

The reason for Zhou Yang to dissolve the League was nothing but political. Zhou acted in accordance to an instruction from Moscow - a letter from Xiao San who was then the League's representative there. The content and significance of the letter will presently be dealt with. Before we do that, we shall first look into the change in Comintern policy which in turn brought Xiao's letter.

During the six years between 1929 and 1934, that was, the years commonly known as its "third period", the Comintern called for a "class against class" policy.<sup>[1]</sup> This was the outcome of defeats in Germany (October, 1923), Estonia (1924), Bulgaria (1925) and China (1927), after which the Comintern could no longer support a bourgeois nationalist revolution. International revolution remained the main objective.<sup>[2]</sup>

However, in the thirties, the chief threat to Soviet Russia was no longer the capitalist states such as the United States or Britain, but the later partners of the Axis. In January, 1930, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) ordered the invasion of Ethiopia and fully exposed the aggressive designs of the Italian fascists. On 16th March, 1935, Adolf Hitler (1899-1945) made the final rejection of the Versailles Treaty of 1919 by reinstating compulsory military service. In the Far East, Japanese occupation of Manchuria and the establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo on the Russia border were viewed with alarm by the Russians. All these countries were strongly anti-Communist. Obviously, fighting a two front war would be disastrous to the young Soviet.

It was under these circumstances that Russia made tentative changes in her foreign policy. In December, 1932, official relations were re-established with the Chinese Republic. A year later, the Russians were able to gain recognition from the United States while in 1934, non-aggression pacts were signed or extended with other European countries. Most decisive of all, apart from joining the League of Nations in September, 1934, the Russians entered into a pact with France, another European country which was most vulnerable from German attack, in May, 1935, undertaking "to come to each other's aid in the event of either being subjected to aggression in contravention of the convention of the League of Nations".<sup>[3]</sup> Thus it was not surprising to see that roughly two months later, the Comintern made clear that the task of its Seventh Congress was to "determine .... the creation of a powerful popular united front against Fascism and war in all the capitalist countries".<sup>[4]</sup>

We have no space to go into details of this Congress. But several points are worth-noting here.

First, it called for the application of the united front tactics in a new manner, "by seeking to reach agreements with the organizations of the toilers of various political trends for joint action on a factory, local, district, national and international scale".<sup>[5]</sup> Second, it urged the Communists in colonial and semi-colonial countries to establish an anti-imperialist people's front by drawing the "widest masses" into the national liberation movement and to take an active part in the "mass anti-imperialist movements headed by national reformists".<sup>[6]</sup> Third, an appeal was made for a co-operation with the Second International which had long been attacked by the Comintern.<sup>[7]</sup> In short, it was beyond doubt that a new united front policy - united front from above - would be implemented.

In the Seventh Congress (25th July - 2nd August, 1935), considerable attention was given to China. Georgi Dimitrov (1882-1949), Chief Secretary of the Comintern, said in his report made on 2nd August:

We approve the initiative taken by our courageous brother Party of China in the creation of a most extensive anti-imperialist united front against Japanese imperialism and its Chinese agents, jointly with all those organized forces existing on the territory of China which are ready to wage a real struggle for the salvation of their country and their people. <sup>[8]</sup>

Queries have been raised in the past about the "initiative" taken by the CCP.<sup>[9]</sup> But we are now certain that Dimitrov was referring to the declaration made in the name of the Central Committee of the CCP and the Chinese Soviet Central Government by Wang Ming, representative of the CCP in the Comintern, on 1st August, 1935, "Letter to the whole nation for resistance against Japan and national salvation" (《爲抗日救國告全體同胞書》), commonly known as the "August

First Declaration" ( 《八一宣言》 ). The declaration marked the beginning of a new united front policy in the Chinese Communist movement.

Throughout the thirties, the CCP had never given up the "united front from below" policy. As early as April, 1932, the Provisional Central Government had already issued a declaration of war against Japan. In the declaration, the masses in the white areas were called upon to overthrow the KMT and join in resisting Japanese aggression.<sup>[10]</sup> A year later, Mao Zedong and Zhu De ( 朱德 , 1886-1976) jointly sent a similar appeal. It stated that the Red Army would cease fire provided that any military units were ready to fight for the national revolutionary war.<sup>[11]</sup> Then in April, 1934, the slogan of "united front" appeared in a declaration against Japanese occupation of northern China. But still, it was a united front from below because it insisted that only the toiling masses could be the opposing force against Japanese aggression.<sup>[12]</sup> But the August First Declaration was different. It called for a co-operation between all Chinese, including all soldiers and army officers, members of various organizations and political parties:

Provided all KMT troops can stop the action against the Soviet areas, provided any regiments are prepared to fight against the Japanese, then, regardless of any enmity between them and the Red Army at present or in the past, or any divergence of views concerning internal problems, the Red Army will stop immediately any action against them, and are willing to join together in friendship to save the nation. <sup>[13]</sup>

An appeal was also made for the setting up of an All-China anti-Japanese "national defence government".

These ideas were repeated in the speech made by Wang Ming on 7th August in the Seventh Congress on the Communist movements and anti-imperialist struggles in colonial areas. The speech was rewritten as "On

the question of united front against imperialism" ( 《論抗日統一戰線問題》 ) in October.<sup>[14]</sup> These confirmed Wang Ming's determination to implement the new Comintern policy.

After the Congress, Wang Ming rose to be a member of the ECCI's Presidium. He sent Li Yuying ( 林育英 ), brother of Lin Yunan who was killed by the KMT in Shanghai together with the "Five martyrs of the Left League", back to inform the Communists in the Chinese Soviets. The August First Declaration appeared in Inprecorr (International Press Correspondence) on 30th November. It was also published in Jiuguo shibao ( 《救國時報》 , National salvation news), one printed in Chinese by the CCP in Paris.<sup>[16]</sup> Before the end of 1935, the declaration was widely known in all the big cities of China.<sup>[17]</sup>

In the cultural field, there was the letter from Xiao San to the League of Left-wing Writers. In his final years, Xiao San claimed that after the Seventh congress, Wang Ming bullied him twice, in September and November, 1935, into writing the letter and finally, he was convinced, he admitted, by Kang Sheng ( 康生 ), another CCP representative in the Comintern.<sup>[18]</sup> We are not certain how unwilling he was. But the letter did not show any sign of reluctance and it was written almost immediately after the second meeting between Wang and Xiao, on 8th November.<sup>[19]</sup>

The letter was addressed to all the members of the Left League. But it was sent to Lu Xun. In a letter to Xu Maoyong dated 12th December, Lu said that he had received the letter which had "long since" been passed on.<sup>[20]</sup> One source suggested that the letter was received on 5th December.<sup>[21]</sup> But Mao Dun claimed that he was able to read it in November

at Lu Xun's house.<sup>[22]</sup> No matter which dating is correct, one thing is certain: Lu Xun was the first one among all League members in China to read the letter. In other words, he was in a good position to understand the change in Comintern policy. The letter was passed on to Zhou Yang and others through Hu Feng and Mao Dun.<sup>[23]</sup>

Xiao San began with praise for the accomplishment of the League at the time of serious white terror. But he soon shifted to criticize the "closed-door" sectarianism of the League, which made it impossible to unite all the discontented in a broad united front against imperialism and feudalism.<sup>[24]</sup> The origin of this sectarianism, Xiao maintained, was the advocacy of proletarian literature, which shut off all "non-proletarian" writers. He also criticized League members for turning the organization into a political party, just equivalent to the CCP, giving the authorities excuses to kill its members and making others reluctant to be associated with it.<sup>[25]</sup> Thus he urged for a major change in their work:

Liquidate the Left League. Issue a proclamation announcing its dissolution. Promote and organize a broadly based literary group. Try to fight for a legal position and attract large number of writers to join in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudalistic united front under such slogans as "protect the country", "save the Chinese race", "continue the 'May Fourth' spirit" or "complete the 'May Fourth' mission".  
[26]

Xiao San made it clear that this was the central point of his letter. To justify his suggestion, he quoted the examples of the International Union of Revolutionary Writers and the dissolution of the RAPP.<sup>[27]</sup>

We are not certain whether it was this letter or the August First Declaration which arrived China

first. Zhou Yang once claimed that before they received the letter, they had already formulated the idea of dissolving the League.<sup>[28]</sup> This implied that he had at least heard something about the Seventh Congress of the Comintern. This may not be false as Ren Baige recalled that the news of dissolving the League reached Tokyo at the end of 1935.<sup>[29]</sup> Now with the letter's backing, Zhou Yang proceeded to dissolve the League and plan the formation of a new organization.

Even though Lu Xun had already excused himself from any League affairs, Zhou Yang could not ignore him in such an important matter. But Zhou Yang was not on good terms with Lu and Xia Yan reported that Lu had refused to see any of them.<sup>[30]</sup> Xu Maoyong was instructed by Zhou to talk things over with Lu, while Xia Yan arranged a meeting with Mao Dun, asking him to convey the message.<sup>[31]</sup>

Mao Dun reported that Lu Xun, being the first one to read Xiao San's letter, seemed to have thought over the question thoroughly.<sup>[32]</sup> Thus both Mao and Xu got the same answer: Lu would not be against organizing a new united front in the literary circle, but he did not think that it was desirable to dissolve the League of Left-wing Writers. In Lu Xun's opinion, the League could be the core within the organization to lead the united front. Without the League, its members might be lost to other camps.<sup>[33]</sup>

A meeting of the League's standing committee was convened to discuss Lu's proposal. Hu Qiaomu (胡喬木), representing the General Cultural League, chaired the meeting and gave a "convincing" speech: to have one organization within another would inevitably produce sectarianism.<sup>[34]</sup> The meeting insisted on dissolution.

When informed of this decision, Lu Xun consented. But he added one condition: a proclamation should be issued to make clear to the public that the dissolution of the Left League was for matching new political situation and the formation of a broader anti-Japanese united front in the literary arena. If the League was to be dissolved quietly, Lu argued, people would think that the League could not stand KMT repression and had to be disbanded. [35]

The General Cultural League discussed Lu Xun's suggestion, which was again rejected. It was because other left-wing organizations would be dissolved soon and it would cause too great a sensation for each of them to issue a separate proclamation. Instead, the General Cultural League promised Lu Xun that a general proclamation would be made by and in the name of the Cultural League. [36]

Lu Xun was happy with this decision. But before long, the promise was broken. Xu Maoyong was instructed by Zhou Yang to inform Lu Xun that no proclamation would be issued because they were then organizing a new association for national salvation, and they did not want to give the authorities the impression that the association was a continuation of the Cultural League. It is not difficult to imagine that Xu Maoyong had a most difficult mission. Lu made no comment but pulled a long face. Feeling embarrassed, Xu left and the two never met again. [37]

In the incident, Lu Xun faced a dilemma. On the one hand, he was discontented and suspicious of Zhou Yang and his group who were taking charge of League affairs. On the other, he did not want to see the League dissolved. But why was this? Of course, we cannot totally reject the idea that Lu Xun had a deep personal feeling towards the organization. He was

reported as saying repeatedly the following words:

Dissolved in this way. They do not set store by this front. [38]

But if he could realize that the organization was but a tool for their cause, he would and should not have opposed dispensing with it when it could no longer serve the purpose. Lu Xun's own explanation, that he was afraid that people of his camp would be lost to the enemies, is not convincing because whether one would give up one's principles has nothing to do with the organization. We have seen examples of defections in the Left League even when it was at its prime. Furthermore, not long before, Lu Xun had just advised Xiao Jun not to join the League, saying that it would be more constructive working outside. [39] Then what was the point of keeping it? Lu believed that there were too many petty squabbles within the League. But could there be any improvement if the League was to be kept within the new united front which would undoubtedly be composed of people of more complicated backgrounds? Nor can we say that Lu Xun's objection was due to his suspicion of the proposals of local Party leaders, [40] as the instruction for dissolution came from Moscow and Lu Xun had a complete knowledge of it. Moreover, if the League was to be retained, its leadership would still be in the hand of his opponents. If Lu Xun distrusted and disliked them so much, why did he think that the League could act as the core of the new organization? Being the first one to read Xiao San's letter from Moscow, Lu should have been able to see the changes in Comintern policy. Although the letter made no reference to the August First Declaration and mentioned nothing about the Comintern, it would not be difficult to get Xiao's message when he read "our literary movement should at least follow and match with the political slogan and tactics". [41]

The "proclamation" issue was critical. It caused the final break up of the two camps. It is true that Xiao San's letter did say that a proclamation should be issued. But Lu Xun's insisting on issuing a proclamation should not be said to be in compliance with Xiao's instruction,<sup>[42]</sup> because Lu and Xiao had different intentions. Xiao's purpose of issuing a proclamation was to announce the end of a left-wing organization in order to wash away people's suspicion and win them over. But Lu Xun wanted to make sure that people would not be misled into thinking that the League was defeated. Their major difference was: the former paid attention to the united front while the latter, the League. We have to say that Lu Xun's demand put the General Cultural League in a difficult position. If a new organization was to be formed immediately after the announcement of the dissolution of the Left League, people would look at it with alarm. It was not unlikely that the KMT authorities would once again take sanctions against it.

Thus we have reasons to suspect that, at least at this stage, Lu Xun did not wholeheartedly support, if he was not against, the new united front policy. Feng Xuefeng, who arrived on the scene at least five months later and who was able to have long talks with Lu Xun, reported that Lu Xun did not understand and was even suspicious of the policy.<sup>[43]</sup> His comment on Feng Xuefeng's explanation on the new policy was, in Feng's own word, "sarcastic": "I must be lagging behind."<sup>[44]</sup>

Lu Xun had always had a deep hatred towards defectors. In his writings, we can find easily words of contempt towards people like Yang Cunren and Mu Mutian.<sup>[45]</sup> In fact, in Lu's eyes, one of the greatest mistakes committed by Zhou Yang and his group was

their trust on defectors.<sup>[46]</sup> Organizing a broad united front in the literary circle would mean making friends with these enemies. He was reported to have said, "those who have turned to the enemy most welcome this united front policy".<sup>[47]</sup> This may be one of the reasons for his dislike of the policy.

Feng Xuefeng also stressed strongly that Lu's distrust of the united front policy was due to his hatred towards the KMT.<sup>[48]</sup> According to Feng Xuefeng, Lu did not believe that Jiang Jieshi would genuinely support a war against Japan. Lu said repeatedly, "I am afraid that the Communist Party will be taken in again".<sup>[49]</sup> We can say that there were political reasons for Feng Xuefeng to over-emphasize this. But we have also shown, in previous chapters, how Lu Xun was disillusioned and shocked by the KMT coup d'etat in April, 1927. Though one may not accept Feng's assertion that Lu supported the CCP without reserve,<sup>[50]</sup> we can be sure, from Lu's behaviour and deeds in the years between 1930 and 1935, that he was anti-KMT. His unwavering personal hatred towards the KMT made it difficult for him to compromise with the politicians of the Communist Party who would change their policy according to actual needs.

With or without Lu Xun's consent, the League was dissolved, quietly. As there was no formal proclamation, we cannot be certain of the date of dissolution. Tang Tao once said that the League was dissolved at the end of 1935, and at the beginning of 1936, most members were informed.<sup>[51]</sup> This seems unlikely as the letter from Xiao San reached Shanghai only in December, or at most November, 1935. Some time in the first half of March, 1936 was more likely. We know that Xu Maoyong's last meeting with Lu Xun was held on 28th February, 1936, and it was after

this date that the League was dissolved.<sup>[52]</sup> On the other hand, an article, by Qiu Yunduo, which reported that the Left League had already been dissolved, was published on 20th March, 1936.<sup>[53]</sup>

But in the same month, Lu Xun still wrote in a letter to He Jiahuai saying that he did not know whether the League was still in existence or not.<sup>[54]</sup>

In another letter, he explained this to Xu Maoyong:

I had heard that the group was going to be disbanded. But then there was no more news and no notification. It seems that secrecy has been observed. That is necessary. But was it an internal decision, or did others offer their opinions? If it was the former, then that is dissolution; if the latter, it would be debacle. This is no small matter, and I have heard nothing of it.<sup>[55]</sup>

From this, we can tell that Lu Xun was not informed of the dissolution after his last meeting with Xu Maoyong. This constituted another reason for discontent on Lu's part.

It took more than four months before the League was dissolved, while Zhou Yang's united front in the literary circle was not built up until June, 1936, in the formation of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists ( 中國文藝家協會 , Zhongguo wenyijia xiehui). People like Zhou Yang and Xia Yan recalled that such delay was caused by Lu Xun. They could not form a united front broad enough without Lu Xun's support and participation.<sup>[56]</sup> Lu in 1936 complained that he was accused of sabotaging the united front.<sup>[57]</sup> Judging from this aspect, we have to say that the charge was not too far away from the truth. In fact, before any concrete progress could be made in building up the united front, another battle erupted, in the bitter polemic over the two slogans: the slogan of "National Defence Literature" ( 國防文學 , guofang wenxue) promulgated by Zhou Yang and his

group versus the slogan of "mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War" (民族革命戰爭的大眾文學, Minzu geming zhanzhengde dazhong wenxue) proposed by Hu Feng, Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun.

We have seen, in previous chapters, that a similar slogan to "Mass Literature of the National Revolutionary War", the slogan of "Literature of a National Revolutionary War" was proposed shortly after the Shanghai Battle in 1932 by the Left League. But only a couple of articles were written on it and the slogan was not much publicized. In the polemic of 1936, the first one to get widely known was the "National Defence Literature" slogan.

The National Defence Literature slogan was not first introduced in China in 1935. In October, 1934, in Dawanbao, Zhou Yang, in the pen-name of "Qi" (企), published an article called "'National defence literature'" (《"國防文學"》).<sup>[58]</sup> But Zhou had no intention to make it a popular slogan or initiate a movement at that time. There was no united front policy then and the article made no reference to it.

But the article of Zhou Yang's close associate, Zhou Libo (周立波, 1908-1979), "On 'national defence literature'" (《關於"國防文學"》), was definitely an echo to the new policy as it was published on 21st December, 1935. At that time, both Xiao San's letter and the August First Declaration had already reached Shanghai, and Zhou Yang was considering the dissolution of the Left League and was ready to build a united front in the literary circle. The following lines of Zhou Libo's article show clearly that the slogan was going to embrace the largest portion of Chinese nationals:

Under the banner of national defence literature, all narrow sectarian thinkings

and feelings must be eliminated. On the passes for the friends within the camp of national defence literature, there are only two simple lines: "I am a Chinese", "I am against traitors and foreign enemies". [59]

The first signal was fired. Zhou Yang's followers, such as He Jiahuai, Tian Han, Zhou Gangming (周鋼鳴) and Xu Maoyong, began to pour out large numbers of articles. Special issues on the slogan were published by Shenghuo zhishi (《生活知識》, Knowledge of life). [60] As expected, early articles stressed the crisis of China in the face of the Japanese invasion and the necessity for building a broad united front for the sake of national salvation. This was concordant with the demands of the politicians in Moscow. In fact, advocates of the slogan were eager to identify themselves with the political united front policy. For instance,

Cultural movement is a reflection of political movement. Here, we believe that just like the united front in the political field, there is an urgent need among all sober cultural workers and all sober intellectuals for a united front. [61]

This would, on the one hand, justify their actions, and on the other, strengthen their influence.

Early articles also discussed the contents and forms of the literature. Most of them claimed that there could be great varieties. Not only anti-imperialist ones, anti-traitor and anti-feudalistic works were counted as the literature of national defence. [62] He Jiahuai went further to suggest that the deeds of historical national heroes, such as Yue Fei (岳飛, 1103-1142), Wen Tianxiang (文天祥, 1236-1283), Xue Rengui (薛仁貴, 614-683) and Hua Mulan (花木蘭) should be promoted. [63]

Despite the eagerness and enthusiasm of the advocates, the slogan was not free from opposition.

One article reported that criticism came from different directions.<sup>[65]</sup> Xu Xing (徐行) was the one who wrote a number of articles to attack the slogan.<sup>[65]</sup> His first article, "Commenting on the 'national defence literature'" (《評“國防文學”》), was published in February, 1936, less than two months after the slogan was first promulgated; and it was directed against an article by Zhang Shangbin (張尙斌), "'National defence literature' and national character"(《“國防文學”和民族性》).

Zhang Shangbin was the pen-name of Zhou Libo, the writer of the first article in the movement. In this article, he wanted to clear away the worries that advocating national defence literature would narrow the scope of literature. By quoting the example of capitalists' support in the Shanghai Battle, he maintained that there were anti-imperialist elements within every class. Hence, in the struggle for national and social liberation, national defence literature could be the literature for the entire nation.<sup>[66]</sup> He explicitly included people of classes other than the proletariat into the national defence literature movement. This was taken as target by Xu Xing in an attempt to expound his anti-united front ideas.

Xu Xing started his argument by stating that imperialists' invasion was aimed at making China a colony, thus enabling them to dominate China's market, take over her raw materials and exploit cheap labour. In order to make sure that money could be extracted, they would like to keep the colony peaceful. Hence, they would make use of the ruling class and the capitalists, who were also eager to co-operate with the imperialists so as to protect their own positions in the face of opposition at home.<sup>[67]</sup> He admitted that in the Shanghai Battle, capitalists did make

some contribution. But they were also the first ones to urge for a ceasefire. Xu's conclusion was:

We cannot imagine that "at the present stage, the interests of the [proletarian] class are congruent with those of the entire Chinese populace". We also know that the real anti-imperialist class is comprised of the masses who sell their labour. They are the only vanguards. The only kind of literature that can save China is the one taking this viewpoint. [68]

It seemed that this oppositional force was not too small because there were some articles echoing Xu's viewpoints. Zhou Lengqie (周楞伽), while in another occasion stated that he supported in principle national defence literature, [69] also queried the possibility of uniting with the capitalists. [70] Another critic opposing the slogan was a League member, Fang Zhizhong (方之中), editor of Yeying (《夜鶯》, Nightingale), the magazine which, as we shall see, was soon taken up as the base for publicizing Hu Feng's slogan in the polemic. [71] Xu Xing himself at least wrote two more articles. He said that the advocates of national defence literature had leaped into the "cesspool of patriotism", making the literary arena filled with turbid patriotic atmosphere. He also cautioned the people not to forget the bloody lesson of 1927 and that there was no way to return to 1925. [72]

The national defence literature group did not seem to have any great problem in crushing this opposition. A counter-attack campaign was launched. Such heavyweights as Zhou Yang and Guo Moruo also published articles to rebut Xu Xing's ideas. They in general accused Xu for being fundamentally against the concept of united front. [73] The origin of this, according to Zhou Yang, was Xu's ignorance of the theories of united front and the situation in China. He tried to silence this opposition by stating that anti-imperialist united front policy was the chief

tactics of national revolutions in colonial and semi-colonial areas.<sup>[74]</sup> Both Zhou Yang and Guo Moruo denied that national defence literature was simply literature of patriotism in its narrow sense. Yet Zhou admitted that national feelings in literary works could make a greater impact on the readers.<sup>[75]</sup> Guo also defended that there was nothing wrong with upholding patriotism in a victimized nation, as it was definitely anti-imperialist. Consequently, a patriot could at the same time be an internationalist, and national defence literature could be regarded as "a literature of patriotism in its broad sense".<sup>[76]</sup> They all agreed that Xu Xing's theory was sectarian and left-deviated. "Revolution cannot be accomplished with white gloves on your hands", Guo said.<sup>[77]</sup>

This was by no means the essence of the Two Slogan Polmic, as the second slogan had not been proposed yet. After June, 1936, Xu Xing did not write any more on the issue, while people's attention shifted to Hu Feng's new slogan. However, what we have to point out here is: Xu Xing's radical attitude towards the united front policy was not too different from that of Lu Xun, at least at this early stage. Both had a deep hatred and uncompromising distrust towards the capitalists and the ruling class. Both were suspicious of the united front policy. But they acted differently. Xu voiced his opposition, and he was then under heavy fire. Lu Xun remained silent and refused to take part in or even comment on (except in private correspondence) the work done by Zhou Yang towards the building up of a united front. But his support lent to the second slogan proves that he did not accept, at least not without reservations, the slogan of national defence literature.

Nevertheless, Lu's silence was not acceptable to the advocates of the national defence literature

slogan. He Jiahuai, in a seminar on the topic, accused that "some writers - especially those senior writers - were indifferent".<sup>[78]</sup> Zhou Yang even alleged that those keeping aloof and silent were leftist sectarians who constituted obstacles to the building up of the united front.<sup>[79]</sup> This could be viewed as an indirect attack on Lu Xun and an attempt to force him to show his stand. Zhou Yang was also unhappy with Lu Xun's refusal to join the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists, a new organization which was going to represent the united front in the literary circle. In fact, Zhou Yang had been planning for the Writers Association (the predecessor of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists) since the beginning of 1936 and they were eager to enlist Lu Xun's support. In January, Xia Yan had a meeting with Mao Dun at Zheng Zhenduo's house. Xia expressed that they would like to ask Lu Xun to act as a promoter of the organization. Lu refused and predicted that their attempt would be abortive.<sup>[80]</sup>

But then there was Feng Xuefeng's return, after the Long March, to Shanghai. We have seen that prior to his departure, Feng was close to Lu Xun and he had already had difficulties with Zhou Yang. In the years 1934-1935, largely because he was away from the scene, Lu Xun was alienated and the leading position in the left-wing literary circle was taken up by Zhou Yang. Beyond doubt, his return was going to make the situation more tense and complicated.

In a recollection, Feng Xuefeng claimed that it was the Party's Central Committee, now settled at Wayaobao after the Long March, sent him back, with four missions:

- (1) to set up a radio transmitting station in Shanghai;
- (2) to establish relations with leaders in

national salvation movements and inform them of the united front policy of Chairman Mao and the Provisional Party Central Committee of the CCP;

(3) to contact the Shanghai Party underground and prepare for the re-establishment of Party organization in Shanghai;

(4) to take care of the works in the literary circle and pass on the united front policy of Chairman Mao and the Party Central. [81]

Feng started his journey on 20th April and arrived in Shanghai on 25th. [82] He met Lu Xun the following day and immediately moved to live with him for about two weeks, after which he, under Lu's arrangement, lived with Lu's younger brother, Zhou Jianren (周建人, 1888-1985). [83]

Among the four missions assigned to Feng, the one which attracts our attention most is the last one. But what was done by Feng Xuefeng in fulfilling the mission? Materials available are piecemeal and controversial. Feng Xuefeng said that the first Party member he met was Zhou Wen, a close follower of Lu Xun and Hu Feng. [84] He also said that he went to see Mao Dun on the third or fourth day while active leaders in national salvation movements, such as Shen Junru (沈鈞儒, 1875-1963) and Song Qingling were met within a week. [85] However, what about meeting Zhou Yang and his group?

According to Mao Dun, when he first met Feng Xuefeng, Feng made it very clear that he did not intend to meet Zhou Yang "within a short period". [86] In his own recollection, Feng said that Zhang Wentian had told him a number of times to get in touch with Lu Xun and Mao Dun first in order to have a better understanding of the situation, before meeting Party

members.<sup>[87]</sup> This is not unacceptable because defection was so common then and for quite a long time, there had not been any contact between the Party Central Committee ( which was undergoing the Long March) and the Party organization in Shanghai ( which had been raided). But how long was that "short period"? Feng himself claimed that it was about twenty days after his arrival that he tried to arrange a meeting with Zhou Yang. Zhou refused to see him because Zhou was not happy that he met others first, and he was only able to meet Xia Yan roughly at that time.<sup>[88]</sup> But why did it take twenty days before he asked for a meeting with Zhou? If he was to take care of the literary arena and pass on the new united front policy , there was no reason why he should not have met Zhou Yang hastily, who was the leading figure as well as the chief architect in the building up of the united front in the literary circle. He should have a good knowledge of this immediately upon his arrival. Although he might have heard a lot of unpleasant words about Zhou Yang from Lu Xun, Mao Dun might be able to provide a different picture, as Feng alleged that Mao had not said anything against Zhou.<sup>[89]</sup> Thus we have to view this as a fault, or at least a negligence on the part of Feng. Feng's explanation that he was then busy with other matters is not acceptable as he had been meeting other people.<sup>[90]</sup> Moreover, Xia Yan provided a different story. He accused that Feng Xuefeng refused to meet them until he wrote a vigorous letter to Feng demanding a meeting that they were able to meet in June. Xia also reported that Zhou Yang once told him that he had not refused meeting Feng.<sup>[91]</sup> We do not know who was telling the truth. Yet what we are certain is: Feng Xuefeng's return solved no problem but created new ones.

A critical development was his meeting with Hu Feng on the third day of his arrival. We now know

that the second slogan was decided in this meeting. From his own account, we know that Feng, on hearing from Hu that many other people were opposed to the national defence literature slogan, suggested to promulgate another slogan.<sup>[92]</sup> But we just wonder if Feng, being a newcomer, could have any justification to do that. Obviously, he did not have enough time to go over those articles on the slogan of national defence literature, and his knowledge on the question came only from Hu Feng and Lu Xun, both of them were Zhou Yang's opponents. He had not even met Mao Dun at that time.<sup>[93]</sup>

And a new slogan was then formulated: "mass literature of the national revolutionary war". Feng and Hu got the approval of Lu Xun. In Feng's opinion,

The one who made the final decision on the slogan was Lu Xun. That is to say, the slogan was formulated by Lu Xun.<sup>[94]</sup>

Lu himself acknowledged this publicly.<sup>[95]</sup> Nevertheless, the new slogan was brought to the public in an article called "What do the masses demand from literature?" ( 《人民大眾向文學要求什麼？》 ) by Hu Feng, finished at 5 a.m. on 9th May, 1936 and published on 1st June. However, even Feng Xuefeng had to admit that before the article appeared, Hu had already spread the slogan around.<sup>[96]</sup> In fact, a short while before, according to Mao Dun, Hu's group had already said that they would form a separate literary organization against Zhou's own.<sup>[97]</sup> Thus it would have appeared to Zhou Yang and his followers that immediately upon Feng Xuefeng's return, Lu Xun and Hu Feng gave up the passive attitude and intended to launch a counter-campaign. We can imagine that tension between the two groups, even before the new slogan was formally brought out, mounted to a high level. It was at this moment that Zhou Yang himself wrote the first article on the slogan of national defence literature

since the 1934 one.<sup>[98]</sup> It was also then that they decided to call immediately the inaugural meeting of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists. Obviously, Zhou Yang wanted to build up for himself an orthodoxy in leading the united front of the literary arena.

But before Zhou Yang's organization could come into existence, Hu Feng's article on the new slogan appeared. In the past, it has been said that Hu Feng had not shown the article to Lu Xun and Feng Xuefeng before it was published, although he had secured their approval for writing it.<sup>[99]</sup> This has generally been regarded as a serious mistake committed by Hu.<sup>[100]</sup> But Hu Feng, in his memoirs written several decades later, stated that the article had been shown to Feng Xuefeng and Lu Xun, and that both had given their approval to the article before it was published.<sup>[101]</sup> In other words, he denied that he had acted independently. Yet in the article, Hu did not reveal that the slogan was formulated after a discussion with Lu Xun, Feng Xuefeng and Hu himself. He did not even mention their names. Nor did he say anything on Zhou Yang's slogan.

Lu Xun and Feng Xuefeng seemed to be not happy with the outcome. Neither came to Hu's aid, until the final stage of the polemic. Hu was instructed by the two not to write anything on the topic again.<sup>[102]</sup> But except that he did not mention the slogan of national defence literature as well as its relations with the new slogan, Hu's article was able to bring out the important difference between Zhou Yang's and Lu Xun's approaches towards the united front. From the writings of Feng Xuefeng and Mao Dun, we know that they and Lu Xun could not agree with the slogan of national defence literature in that it neglected the question of class nature in the united front. But

Hu Feng's article was able to stress the interests of the masses. He argued that since the May Fourth movement, the anti-imperialist demands of the toiling masses had been the main themes of literature. With the Manchurian Incident, a new historical stage developed: anti-imperial movement became a national revolutionary war, one which represented the demands and hopes of the masses. Hence, the kind of literature demanded by the masses was "mass literature of the national revolutionary war". He alleged that many works created after the September Eighteenth Incident were able to portray this change and thus could be the base for writing in the new slogan. In other words, he was stating that the slogan for creation in the new stage should be a continuation of anti-imperialist movement centred on the interests of the masses. Hence, the role of the masses in the united front was emphasized:

"The mass literature of the national revolutionary war" should state clearly that the interests of the labouring masses and those of the nation are congruent, it should show clearly who are the organizers in the national revolutionary war; who is the main force in overcoming the enemies, who are the conscious or unconscious traitors of the nation. [103]

As expected, response came fast. Just ten days after the appearance of Hu Feng's article, Xu Maoyong wrote the first counter-attack under the same title as that of Hu's article. [104] Xu accused that Hu proposed a new slogan without discussing the one which had already been widely accepted. He considered this a divisive action. More important still, he pointed out that although the present war was undoubtedly a "national revolutionary war", it was different from previous ones (from the Taiping Rebellion to the December Eighth Incident which could also be regarded as national revolutionary wars) in that there was the

building up of a national united front. Hu Feng did not even mention the slogan of united front in his article.<sup>[105]</sup> As a result, Hu Feng was unable to show the present situation and the difference between the present and previous struggles. Moreover, technically speaking, the new slogan did not suit to be a slogan for mass movements as it was too long, altogether eleven Chinese characters. Consequently, in reply to the question of what did the masses demand from literature, Xu insisted that it was "national defence literature".<sup>[106]</sup> Xu's rebuttal here was clever. He was able to grasp the weaknesses in Hu's article: that he made no references to the existing slogan and the united front policy. On the other hand, he deliberately avoided the issue of the role played by the masses in the united front.

Thus the battle of two slogans within the same leftist camp formally erupted. Nevertheless, before it was red-hot, Zhou Yang's Association of Chinese Writers and Artists was inaugurated as planned. Its manifesto was drafted by Mao Dun. This was a good choice as Mao was then the middleman between the two camps. Although he had heard of the new slogan as well as Lu's intention of founding a separate organization, he was able to convince both sides not to put the slogans into their manifestoes.<sup>[107]</sup> He also took the lead, after discussing with Feng Xuefeng, to sign both manifestoes.<sup>[108]</sup> This, on the one hand, drew a line between the slogans and the organizations, and on the other, gave the impression that the two groups were not that divided.

However, this effort of diminishing the differences between the two groups was not fruitful. If we go into the details of the two manifestoes, we can see that they were but manifestations of the two

slogans. It is true that both pledged their support to anti-imperialist war. But the proposal made in the manifesto of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists was:

Under the great aim of national salvation by the whole nation, writers who have different opinions on literature and art can be comrades-in-arms of the same front. Differences in opinions on literature and art will not affect our solidarity for the sake of national interests. [109]

But the declaration made by the Chinese Workers on Literature and Art (《中國文藝工作者宣言》), which was drafted jointly by Huang Yuan (黃源, 1950-) and Li Liwen, [110] insisted:

We shall stick to our usual stand, keep in line with our original consistent beliefs, continue our past line, step up our work of fighting for national freedom, one which has begun since we first tried our hands in literature and art. [111]

These lines echoed the ideas of Hu Feng, and soon became the central point of controversy in the debate.

No activities were carried out by either group. The Association for Chinese Writers and Artists seemed to be more well-organized - we have an inaugural meeting, a manifesto, a list of regulations as well as a membership list. [112] Judging from its list of promoters, we can see that an attempt was made for a broad united front. Shao Xunmei, who had long been under attack in the past decade, was among it while Zhou Yang's and Xia Yan's names were missing. But obviously, the left was still in command of the organization. Mao Dun, Xu Maoyong and Shen Qiyu were elected as central committee members, while others in the committee like Fu Donghua (傅東華, 1893-1971), Zheng Zhenduo and Ye Shengtao were, at least, pro-left. On the other hand, those who signed the Manifesto of Chinese Workers in Literature and Art were largely Lu Xun's followers. The number of people signing both

documents was insignificantly small: ten out of one hundred and eleven in the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists and of the sixty-five who had signed in the Manifesto of the Chinese Workers in Literature and Art. [113]

Lu Xun did not join the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists, but his name conspicuously took the first place in the Manifesto of the Chinese Workers in Literature and Art. His stand was obvious enough. His refusal to join Zhou Yang's united front, Lu explained in private correspondences, was because of his past experience in the Left League. He did not believe that Zhou Yang's group could achieve anything, and so he would like to wait and see. [114]

Hu Feng's article and slogan were not without support. On the same day as Xu's rebuttal appeared, the first echo came, in an article called "The various problems in the literature of China at the present stage" ( 《中國現階段文藝之諸問題》 ), in a newly founded journal. The author, Shi Fu ( 石夫 ), also ignored the slogan of national defence literature, but said that the mass literature of the national revolutionary war was able to shoulder the great responsibility of national salvation. [115] Besides, special issues on Hu Feng's slogan were put out by two journals, Yeying and Xianshi wenxue ( 《現實文學》, Realist literature). Some articles in these special issues no longer ignored the previous slogan. Nie Gannu even acknowledged the existence and influence of the "national defence literature" slogan in one place, and in another, defended it against Xu Xing's criticism that national defence literature slogan was simply patriotic. [116] But it seemed that they all wanted to replace the national defence literature

slogan with the new slogan in leading the literary movement. None of them allowed the advocates of national defence literature to evade the question of the masses. One went further to say that the premise of the new slogan was the interests of the masses: the victory of the national revolutionary war would be a victory of the general masses. [117] They did not object to the united front. But they wanted to emphasize the "leading force" in the front. [118] Moreover, they all stressed that while the new slogan was formulated to cope with the new crisis of Japanese invasion, it was also a continuation of the struggles against the imperialists. The following quotations show this attitude unmistakably:

"The mass literature of the national revolutionary war" was definitely not a total negation of the literature before today. It is a paramount development of the new literary movement since the "May Fourth". [119]

But we have to be careful. The starting point of this new kind of literature [the mass literature of the national revolutionary war] does not exist by overthrowing past results. [120]

It seems that these were the basic differences between the two slogans. During the Cultural Revolution when Zhou Yang and his men were purged, their attitudes adopted in the Two Slogan Polemic were attacked as rightist and capitulationistic, for the reason that they had ignored the leadership of the proletariat and advocated a co-operation between classes. It was also said that the slogan of national defence literature was a product of the Wang Ming line in opposition to the correct Maoist line, which was upheld in the literary arena by Lu Xun and his slogan of the mass literature of the national revolutionary war. Consequently, the Two Slogan Polemic was in effect a struggle between two fundamentally opposing lines. [121]

Did this interpretation of the polemic during the Cultural Revolution represent a genuine picture? Although both Zhou Yang and the national defence literature slogan have been rehabilitated, there could not be a generally agreed conclusion.<sup>[122]</sup> In order to have a deeper understanding of the polemic, it is worthwhile to go into the question in greater detail.

In the first place, Zhou Yang and his group have openly admitted that their decision in dissolving the Left League and advocating the national defence literature was prompted by the August First Declaration and Xiao San's letter. We know that both came from the same source: Wang Ming in Moscow. In the August First Declaration, there was the advocacy of the establishment of the "national defence government" (國防政府).<sup>[123]</sup> Advocates of the national defence literature slogan had no hesitation in relating this to their own slogan. The foreword to Xinwenhua (《新文化》, New culture) began by praising the speech made in Moscow by Wang Ming, "the distinguished politician of the Chinese working class". The outlines suggested by Wang Ming for the national defence government were listed. It also made clear that "political movements should be reflected in literary movement".<sup>[124]</sup> Beyond doubt, the influence of Wang Ming could not be denied.

We have pointed out earlier that Wang Ming responded eagerly to the Comintern call for a shift of united front policy in the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, although, according to one source, he was at first reluctant.<sup>[125]</sup> In the next few years, he was the chief supporter and architect of the second united front of the CCP with the KMT. It was for this reason that he was later accused by Maoist historians of sacrificing the interests of the

proletariat in favour of a co-operation with the capitalists. He was, therefore, being "right opportunistic". It is not our responsibility here to determine the correctness of this judgement. In August, 1935, Wang Ming issued two most important articles, the August First Declaration and his speech in the Seventh Comintern Congress on 7th August. In both documents, he showed an obvious change in attitude towards the KMT and Jiang Jieshi. While in the past, he freely employed such terms as shameless dogs, and people human in form but with the hearts of beasts, in the declaration, we can only find one reference to Jiang Jieshi as "bandit". On the other hand, although he did manage to mention the harm done by the KMT "traitors" to the nation, the main attack concentrated on the past mistakes committed by the CCP in implementing a united front policy.<sup>[126]</sup> As one critic said, his speech "lacked the concept of a due enemy, and seemed implicitly to allow for the inclusion of the KMT as a party".<sup>[127]</sup> Moreover, when he revised his speech in October, he cancelled the entire section on the question of proletarian leadership in the united front. He even politely addressed the Generalissimo as "Mr Jiang Jieshi."<sup>[128]</sup> Near the end of 1935, Wang Ming was more and more willing to criticize the "left sectarianism" of the CCP. He was in particular against the land revolutionary movement. According to Zhang Guotao, at the very beginning of 1936, they received the instruction from Lin Yuying, the agent sent back to China by Wang Ming, that such slogans as "Down with Jiang Jieshi" and "land revolution" were to be dropped. They were to be replaced by the slogan "unite with Jiang to fight against the Japanese" ( 聯蔣抗日 ).<sup>[129]</sup>

On the other hand, Mao Zedong took a different approach towards the united front policy. We understand that Mao was able to consolidate his position within

the Party Central after the Wayaobao Politburo Conference. The resolution "On the present situation and the role of the Party" ( 《關於目前政治形勢和黨的任務》 ), which was passed by the Conference on 25th December, 1935, as well as Mao's report "On tactics against Japanese imperialists" ( 《論反對日本帝國主義的策略》 ), clashed headon with Wang Ming's instruction in a number of important issues. Although the resolution admitted, just as the Comintern leaders envisaged, that new political situation caused fundamental changes and "marked off a new era in the history of the Chinese revolution", it could not agree that their enemy was primarily Japanese imperialism. It stated clearly that "the main enemy of the moment is the Japanese imperialism and the ringleader of the traitors, Jiang Jieshi".<sup>[130]</sup> There was not any sign in the resolution that the local CCP leaders were ready for a rapprochement with the KMT. They accepted the building of a united front, for the facts that such front would still enable the growth of revolution, and that the front was made up of all those who were opposed to both Japan and Jiang Jieshi. They were not going to call an end to land revolution. Revolution and land revolution would be fused together, and "the basic principle of the Party of the revolutionary struggle is the unification of China's civil war and her national war".<sup>[131]</sup> It was not until the end of April, 1936, that for the first time, the Party Central, now under the domination of Mao Zedong, openly declared an inclusion of the KMT in their united front, and on 5th May, they called for a unity against Japan and claimed that they had made an attempt to "hasten the final awakening of Jiang Jieshi and the patriotic officers and men in his army" by withdrawing their troops from Shanxi.<sup>[132]</sup> The transformation was completed only in August, when such slogans as "invite Jiang to fight against Japan" ( 請蔣抗日 ) and "force Jiang to fight against Japan"

( 迫蔣抗日 ) appeared in communist documents. [133]

Feng Xuefeng was with the Red Army and the provisional Party Central government when the Wayaobao Politburo Conference was called. Being close to Mao Zedong, he would hold a different concept on the united front from that of Wang Ming. Feng specified that the last mission assigned to him for his return to Shanghai was to pass on the united front policy of Chairman Mao. We do not know if he was asked to counteract Wang Ming's influence in the literary arena. But can his bold action of formulating a new slogan on the third day of his arrival be related to this? We cannot be certain. But beyond doubt, Lu Xun's change into accepting the united front policy was largely because of Feng Xuefeng who preached to him a more acceptable approach to the new situation, that was, Mao Zedong's united front policy. Consequently, advocates of the "mass literature of the national revolutionary war" put great emphasis on the question of proletarian leadership.

To be fair, we have to point out that not everyone in the national defence literature group was opposed to grasping the leadership in the united front. Some articles, especially those that appeared in the early stage, did stress this point. The foreword to Xinwenhua, which we have seen praising highly Wang Ming's speech in the Seventh Comintern Congress, closed with the following lines:

Before classes vanish, each class still has its own target.... The working class has to warn its own team not to be soiled by corruptive liberalism and parochial nationalism, not to cherish the illusion of peaceful reforms.... Within the united front, the working class must not give up for a second criticizing other classes. Our China - is the Soviet China; our culture - the socialist proletarian culture. We must insist and convince others: it is the only

genuine anti-Japanese, anti-Jiang, the new culture of China. [134]

One of Zhou Libo's (pseud. Zhang Shangbin) earliest articles expressed this more explicitly:

There are anti-imperialist elements among the masses of various classes in China. But the toiling mass is their mainstay.... "National defence literature" is, first of all, the literature of the Chinese toiling mass. [135]

Unfortunately, this was not the dominant theory in the national defence literature camp. On the contrary, after the appearance of the second slogan, they, perhaps for the sake of justifying themselves, insisted that the question of proletarian leadership should not be emphasized. The most often quoted lines were from Xu Maoyong's letter to Lu Xun:

The mainstay of the present united front - in China as well as in the rest of the world - is undoubtedly the proletariat. But this is not because of its name, its special position and history, but its correct grasp of reality and its tremendous ability to struggle. Thus, objectively speaking, the proletariat should not openly pin on a badge and demand leadership not on account of its work but because of special qualifications, so that comrades-in-arms of other classes are frightened away. Therefore, to raise a left-wing slogan in the united front is wrong and endangers the united front. [136]

Qu Yi ( 屈軼 , pseud. of Wang Renshu) expressed a similar idea:

Here, of course, we cannot forget the leading role played by the toiling mass. There is, in fact, no reason to forget. Nevertheless, in order not to cause a rift within the united front all of a sudden, thus weakening the "anti-imperialist, anti-X [Japanese] force, it seems that it is not appropriate to stress in form the leading role of the mass. In reality, only the mass is the most active, most basic "anti-imperialist" group.... There is no need to show up explicitly the standpoints of the masses. [137]

However, we have to point out that from Dimitrov to

Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai ( 周恩來 , 1898-1976) and Liu Shaoqi ( 劉少奇 , 1898-1969) all stressed, though at different times, the importance of the role played by the proletariat as well as the question of leadership in the united front. [138] If we accept that they represented the correct line, the advocates of national defence literature must have been right-deviated and capitulationistic. In other words, the Cultural Revolution interpretation of the slogan was therefore not totally unjustified, although there might have been deliberate exaggerations.

But it is unfair for Zhou Yang and his men in Shanghai to shoulder the entire responsibility. As noted earlier, Zhou Yang's decision to build a united front had its origin in the August First Declaration, Wang Ming's speech in the Seventh Comintern Congress and Xiao San's letter. None of them mentioned the slogan of national defence literature. But there was the term "national defence government" in both the Declaration and the speech. If this was to be reflected in the literary circle, national defence literature was a natural outcome. We cannot blame Zhou Yang for following Wang Ming too closely. His defence made in an interview in 1978 is acceptable:

At that time, all we knew of Chairman Mao was that he was a revolutionary leader. Not only did we not understand the thought of Chairman Mao, we could not see it at all in Shanghai. After the Shanghai apparatus was destroyed, it became more difficult to find things from Chairman Mao and the base areas. So all we could do was look to the Soviet Union and the Comintern. At that time, we could get hold of the materials on the Soviet Union and the Comintern in Shanghai. [139]

Zhou Yang was careful with his wordings here. The fact was, in the first half of the thirties, Mao Zedong's influence in Shanghai was relatively small. After the failure of the Autumn Harvest Unprisings in

1927, Mao based himself at the Jingang Mountains, in Hunan. Though he had been a member of the Politburo, his rise to power was at the Zunyi Conference in January, 1935. But at that time, the provisional central government was undergoing the Long March. It was impossible to establish communications between Shanghai and the Red Army. More important still, Mao's more important writings had not been published at that time. Feng Xuefeng admitted that it was not until 1936 that Mao's thought began to be recognized by Party members.<sup>[140]</sup> On the other hand, Wang Ming was the chief secretary of the Party in 1931, before becoming the chairman of the Chinese delegation to the Comintern that winter. We know that Zhou Yang returned to Shanghai from Japan in 1930, and he rose to power in 1933. This was the time when Wang Ming's position was consolidated. Was it just natural, and in fact correct, for him to follow Wang Ming's instruction closely?

Nevertheless, it was Feng Xuefeng who had a complete knowledge of Mao Zedong's interpretation of the united front policy. He had done a good job in passing on the ideas of Mao to Lu Xun, thus convincing the latter into accepting the new policy. But nowhere can we find any sign that he had conveyed the same message to Zhou Yang. It might be possible that Zhou Yang refused to see him. But the second slogan was decided before Feng made the first attempt to meet Zhou. In other words, Feng ignited the polemic before any chance was given to Zhou Yang to acquire the "correct" united front policy. Thus, Zhou Yang and his followers' committing a rightist "error" is excusable.

However, if we accept the interpretation made during the Cultural Revolution that Zhou Yang and his slogan were rightist, and that the Two Slogan Polemic

was a struggle between two opposing lines, then there was no way, and in fact it would be wrong, for the two groups to come to terms. Ironically enough, it was the unbending and "infallible" Lu Xun who made the first attempt to compromise. Moreover, at the later stage of the debate, Mao Dun and Lu Xun began to criticize the leftist sectarian attitude of Zhou Yang and his group.

Just several days after the publication of Hu Feng's "What do the masses demand from literature?", Feng Xuefeng wrote two articles, one in the form of an open letter and the other, an interview record of a meeting with Lu Xun. In more than one place, Feng emphasized that the ideas expressed in these two articles were Lu's, and that the articles had Lu's approval before they were published.<sup>[141]</sup> Thus, we may take them as representing Lu's own writings.

The first article was an open letter to a Trotskyist, Chen Zhongshan (陳仲山), who had sent Lu Xun a letter and some magazines. Lu Xun did not make any comment on the two slogans in this letter. But he made clear that he was in support of Mao Zedong's advocacy of "uniting all groups to fight against Japanese aggression".<sup>[142]</sup> The facts that he specified the name of Mao Zedong and that he expressed his support of the latter's policy were significant. His rebuke on Chen Zhongshan's anti-united front theory also revealed that Lu was now ready to accept the new policy. This might be the reason why he hastened to make some efforts in resolving the battle with Zhou Yang. We may also add one point. In the letter, Lu Xun pointed out the intention of Chen's writing to him: make use of the conflicts and sow discords between Lu and his "comrades-in-arms".<sup>[143]</sup> Lu,

though discontented with Zhou Yang, could not allow himself to be used by the Trotskyists.

The second article, entitled "On our present literary movement - Reply for an interviewer from my sickbed" 《論現在我們的文學運動——病中答訪問者》 is of utmost importance as it, for the first time, openly revealed Lu Xun's opinions on the two slogans. The basic concepts on the mass literature of the national revolutionary war were not greatly different from those argued by Hu Feng. It was a development from the proletarian revolutionary literature which had been started by the League of Left-wing Writers. Thus the promulgation of the new slogan should not be viewed as a sign to halt the existing revolutionary literary movement. Instead, it would deepen and expand all anti-fascist, anti-reactionary struggles, making them more realistic, more specific and driving them into the general struggle against Japanese aggression. [144] Just like Hu Feng, Lu affirmed that they would not give up the leadership responsibility. Rather, the responsibility would be greater, and had to be expanded and strengthened so that the entire nation would face outward against aggression. In passing, he criticized some of his comrades-in-arms who failed to understand this. [145]

But Lu Xun immediately followed with a compromising tone by saying that the two slogans could co-exist:

The mass literature of the national revolutionary war, just like the slogan of proletarian revolutionary literature, is perhaps a general slogan. I believe that there is no harm to propose some more specific slogans, such as "national defence literature", "national salvation literature" and "anti-Japanese literature", under the general slogan to suit the changes. This is not only harmless, but even useful and necessary. [146]

This declaration of the acceptance of national defence literature marked a difference from the attitudes of Hu Feng and his supporters, and in fact, according to both Mao Dun and Feng Xuefeng, Lu's article was aimed at correcting the mistakes made by Hu.<sup>[147]</sup> This might provide the base for reconciliation and that was why it was designed that the two articles were to appear in publications of both sides.<sup>[148]</sup>

Before Lu's articles were published, Mao Dun, feeling that Lu's criticism on Hu Feng was too mild, added a letter to the editor of Wenxuejie (《文學界》, literary arena), in which the two articles were to be published. As expected, Mao Dun echoed Lu Xun in insisting that the two slogans were not opposed but complementary. In this case, Hu Feng's ignoring the more specific slogan, national defence literature, and his attempt to substitute it with his own, was a serious mistake. Mao Dun also criticized those who supported Hu Feng, while defending that national defence literature was not just nationalistic.<sup>[149]</sup> This can be viewed as Mao's attempt to please Zhou's group.

On 1st July, 1936, Lu's two articles appeared in Xianshi wenxue, one edited by Yin Geng, one of the signatories of the Manifesto of Chinese Workers in Literature and Art. Ten days later, Wenxuejia edited by Xu Maoyong, published "On our present literary movement" and Mao Dun's letter. But "Letter in reply to the Trotskyists" (《答托洛斯基派的信》) was missing. The reason given by the editor was "because of the situation".<sup>[150]</sup> This excuse was of course unacceptable, as the article had appeared in Xianshi wenxue and Wenxue congbao (《文學叢報》). There was no reason why Wenxuejia could not publish it.

What made the situation worse was the editor's

note following Lu Xun's article and Mao Dun's letter. The editor first expressed his gratitude for Lu Xun's advice. But he soon shifted on to criticizing Hu Feng's proposal of the new slogan. He could not agree to Lu Xun and Mao Dun's saying that the mass literature of the national revolutionary war could be a suitable slogan for the present situation, as the "masses" - usually referred as the toiling masses only - could not represent the entire nation.<sup>[151]</sup> Clearly enough, the editor of Wenxuejia, though accepting the articles for publication, could not take their ideas.

Meanwhile, Guo Moruo's "National defence, cesspool, purgatory" (《國防、污池、煉獄》) appeared. As noted earlier, it was aimed at criticizing Xu Xing's anti-united front theories. But its ideas inspired Mao Dun. After a long discussion with Feng Xuefeng who was angry at the attitudes of the editor of Wenxuejia, Mao Dun wrote the article "On the controversial two slogans" (《關於引起糾紛的兩個口號》).<sup>[152]</sup>

In the article, Mao Dun mentioned nothing about such ideas as proletarian leadership. Instead, he concentrated his criticism on the left sectarianism in the literary arena. Hu Feng was condemned for turning the slogan of mass literature of the national revolutionary war into an opposing one to the first slogan. It was also wrong for Hu's followers, such as Nie Gannu, to try to make it the sole slogan for the united front. He reiterated Lu Xun's assertion that the two slogans should co-exist.<sup>[153]</sup> On the other hand, Zhou Yang was not spared. His words in "On 'national defence literature'" that "the theme of national defence literature should be the most central theme of writings for all those writers other than traitors" were quoted for criticism.<sup>[154]</sup> Mao said

that this was closed-doorism and sectarianism, because it implied that anyone not writing in the theme of national defence, for instance, those who wrote on daily lives and love, would be regarded as traitors. [155] He thus supported Guo Moruo's definitions of national defence literature:

National defence literature and art should be defined as non-traitorous literature and art, or anti-imperialist literature and art.

National defence literature and art should be the mark of relationship among writers, but not the mark of principles in creative writings. [156]

It seemed that Guo Moruo's definitions could be a base for resolving the battle as Zhou Yang's rebuttal, which was immediately following Mao's article in the same issue of Wenxuejia (its editor, Xu Maoyong, gave Mao's article to Zhou Yang before it was published), also agreed with Guo. But he insisted that national defence literature could act as a slogan for creation. He replied to Mao Dun's accusation:

The theme of 'national defence' contains the dominant direction of real life as well as its various aspects. Writers are allowed to have various thoughts and stances. They may use various ways for creation and expression. Its scope is not that narrow as to be restrictive. Moreover, it is not that apart from the theme of 'national defence', any other themes must be discarded. I said that "the theme of national defence should be the most central theme of writings for all those writers other than traitors". The so-called "the most central" one is naturally not the "only" one. [157]

He could not agree that they would shut off those who did not write in the theme of national defence in the national defence movement. He stated categorically:

I never proposed that writers must write in the theme of "national defence" before they are allowed to join the national defence movement. Nor have I said that those who join the national defence movement must write in the theme of "national defence". [158]

He maintained that for writers in general, the slogan of national defence literature was just a hope, but not an imposition. Yet it was reasonable to ask for some more meaningful works from those who had joined the united front.<sup>[159]</sup>

Angered by Zhou Yang's unyielding attitude and the behaviour of the editor of Wenxuejia, Mao Dun wrote a furious riposte. This time, he did not say much on the two slogans, but pinpointed the issue of sectarianism.<sup>[160]</sup> It was said that this was Feng Xuefeng's idea.<sup>[161]</sup> According to Mao Dun, Zhou Yang later sent someone to make an explanation to him and so he did not further pursue the issue.<sup>[162]</sup> In fact, Mao's article did not attract much attention then because before it was published, Lu Xun's famous open reply to Xu Maoyong appeared.

Xu Maoyong started correspondence with Lu Xun in November, 1933.<sup>[163]</sup> From then on till the end of 1935, Xu, as T.A. Hsia correctly pointed out, "had Lu Hsün's [Lu Xun] high regard and friendship no less than Hu Feng or Huang Yuan".<sup>[168]</sup> Over forty letters were written by Lu to Xu and Lu also wrote a preface for the latter's collection of essays.<sup>[165]</sup> However, a close look into the development of their friendship will reveal T.A.Hsia's mistake in stating that it was "on the strength of this friendship that Hsü [Xu] took the liberty of writing the letter of admonition".<sup>[166]</sup>

The first sign of disagreement between the two appeared as early as May, 1934 when Xu Maoyong took up the editorship of Xinyulin (《新語林》) against Lu Xun's wishes. Lu believed that the behaviour of the Guanghua Bookstore (光華書店), the publisher of Xinyulin, was roguish, and thus strongly advised Xu

not to fall into the trap.<sup>[167]</sup> But this did not constitute any problem between them as Lu continued to lend his support to his disciple. He even comforted Xu when the latter had to quit the work.<sup>[168]</sup> Lu's affection for Xu was also revealed in his buying some candies for Xu's children and recommending to him a drug for his dyspepsia.<sup>[169]</sup> We have also seen that Lu wrote the preface for Xu's collection of essays in March, 1935. Yet from this incident, we can tell the attitude of Xu Maoyong towards Lu Xun: he put a greater weight on the words of the leaders of the Left League than those of Lu Xun. This was because the taking up of the editorship of Xinyulin was, according to Xu himself, a League decision.<sup>[170]</sup> This accounted not only for his support for the dissolution of the Left League and the national defence literature slogan, but also his letter to Lu on 1st August, 1936.

The real threat to their friendship first came in the summer of 1935, when Xu was responsible for the publication of a League journal, Wenyi qunzhong (《文藝群衆》, Literary masses). Lu turned down twice Xu's request for a donation for the journal and consequently there was not enough money to pay the publisher.<sup>[171]</sup> Lu wrote a letter to Hu Feng on 24th August, accounting for the incident: he wanted everyone to contribute something so that every body was sharing the responsibility.<sup>[172]</sup> Then in the same letter, he mentioned to Hu that he had been accused of being miserly by "our field marshal".<sup>[173]</sup> Xu Maoyong said in his recollection that he had not heard of this at that time.<sup>[174]</sup> But would it be just natural for Lu Xun to think that Xu was the one who spread such words when Lu had just turned down Xu's demand for money twice?

Then came the issue of the dissolution of the Left League and the national defence literature slogan several months later. We have already seen that Xu Maoyong was assigned the difficult job of persuading Lu Xun to accept the dissolution without a proclamation. We have also seen that in the last meeting between the two, Lu Xun did not even say a word to Xu. Then in a letter on 2nd May, 1956, Lu Xun closed with the following abrupt line:

I hope this is my last letter, and from now on, all my old official duties come to an end. [175] [175]

The message was most obvious: Lu Xun wanted to break off any relations with Xu Maoyong. One may suppose that Lu was too harsh on Xu as the latter was merely carrying out instructions from his seniors. But why did Lu Xun write this letter? From Xu's recollection, we know that it was Xu who, upon reading Lu's letter to He Jiahuai saying that he did not know whether the Left League was still in existence, first wrote an accusing letter to Lu Xun on 30th April. [176] The tone was mild, yet it unmistakably pointed out that Lu Xun had wronged him. He stated that before and after the dissolution of the League, Lu Xun was well-informed and there was no reason why Lu Xun should say that he had no knowledge of the dissolution of the League. More important still, he reproached Lu Xun for not appreciating their efforts, while blaming on the entire group when minor mistakes were committed by individuals. [177] These words, while on the one hand accusing Lu Xun, on the other, revealed that Xu stood on the side of Zhou Yang. Lu Xun's anger was therefore expected. We may also add that Xu, at that time, had already published articles in support of the national defence literature slogan. Hence, the rumour that Xu was among those Lu hated most vehemently, as reported in Xu's letter, might not be untrue. [178]

Thus, the "friendship" between Lu Xun and Xu Maoyong virtually came to an end in April/May, 1936. Xu's letters on 5th May and 3rd June were not answered. [179] What followed was the furious open letter on 4th - 5th August, 1936.

In a private letter to Yang Jiyun about three weeks after he had finished his open reply to Xu Maoyong, Lu Xun wrote that "though he knows well enough that only a little time ago I was seriously ill and almost died, Xu was the first one to strike my door majestically". [180] These words seemed to be too harsh and unjustified, as Xu began his letter with an inquiry into Lu's health. T.A. Hsia was right in saying that Xu displayed no ill-feeling against Lu personally. [181] But obviously, Xu's admonition was too blunt to be acceptable to someone like Lu Xun. After a short paragraph explaining to Lu that he had to leave Shanghai for a while because of bad health and financial difficulties, he hastened to stress that Lu's "words and deeds in the past half year had inadvertently encouraged a bad trend". To Xu, Lu Xun's two closest associates, Hu Feng was tricky, and Huang Yuan sycophantic. But Lu failed to realize this, and fell into their possession. Consequently, Lu was used as an idol to delude and impress the masses. Xu accused that this was the reason why the separatist action of Hu Feng could not be checked:

It would be very easy to belabour them for what they have said or done, but because they have you as their shield and we all have such a high regard for you, we find ourselves in a most difficult position in dealing with them effectively or engaging them in debate. [182]

As for the two slogan polemic, Xu Maoyong charged that Hu Feng's proposing a new slogan was motivated by self-interest and extreme sectarianism. His theories were self-contradictory and riddled with

errors. "Not even you [Lu Xun] can give them full justification". Lu's support of Hu Feng's slogan was because he had failed to understand the basic policy:

Thus, to introduce a left-wing slogan into the united front under the present circumstances is wrong and harmful to the united front. And so you were mistaken, in your recently published "Reply to an interviewer from my sickbed" you claimed that the slogan "mass literature of the national revolutionary war" was the most recent development of proletarian literature and that it should be the chief slogan of the united front. [183]

He went on to accuse Lu Xun for not co-operating with the majority in joining the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists but keeping in company with the anarchist Ba Jin ( 巴金 , 1904- ). By quoting the anarchist movements of Spain and France which sabotaged the united front, Xu was in effect saying that Lu Xun was anti-united front. Before closing his letter, he tried to dig out the origin of Lu Xun's "fault":

..I fancy the root of your mistakes in the past half year is that you considered only people, not facts. And you often misjudge people too. [184]

He also protested that he was put beyond the pale for such a little thing as slapdash writing. He considered this "laughable" and "unjustified".

From the above description, we have no doubt that the old man would be angered, although Xu had made it clear that he did not intend to attack Lu. Lu showed the letter to Feng Xuefeng and insisted on writing a reply himself. [185] Three days after he got Xu's letter, on 5th August, Lu Xun wrote in his diary, "finished the reply to Xu Maoyong in the evening". [186] The long reply appeared on 15th August, in Zuojia, together with the full version of Xu's letter.

In the reply, Lu Xun first spent some paragraphs

in stating his support for the united front policy:

But the policy of united front against Japanese aggression proposed to the whole people by the present Chinese revolutionary party is one I have seen, one that I support, and I join this front unconditionally, for the reason that I am not only a writer, but also a Chinese. That is why, to me, this policy is absolutely correct. [187]

That was in reply to Xu's challenge that Lu had no knowledge of the current policy. As for the united front movement in the literary arena, he clearly stated that he was "of the view that all writers, no matter what groups they belonged to, should unite in response to the call to resist Japanese aggression". But he said that the formation of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists did not imply the establishment of a united front. "Far from it", Lu commented, because it still "smacks strongly of sectarianism and gangsterism". [188]

Lu Xun then turned to the issue of the national defence literature slogan. He believed that a distinction should be drawn between supporting national defence and supporting national defence literature:

In my view, no conditions should be laid down for the unification of writers. As long as he is not a traitor, is willing to assist or approve resistance, then whether he belongs to the "brother-and-sister" school, the school of pedantic gibberish, or the "mandarin-duck and butterfly" school, it does not matter.... To my mind, we should unite writers under the banner of "resisting Japan" or "national defence", but we cannot ask all writers to unite under the slogan of "national defence literature" because some of them do not write in the "themes of national defence", yet they can still join the united front against Japanese aggression in various ways. [189]

He quoted himself and his work, "The true story of Ah Q", as well as that of Mao Dun, "Midnight", and the

classical novel, "The dream of the red chamber" (《紅樓夢》) to prove that apart from the literature of national defence and literature of traitors, there could be the third type.

Having stated his views towards the united front policy and the slogan of national defence literature, Lu Xun proceeded to his slogan of "mass literature of the national revolutionary war". As for its relationship with the first slogan, Lu repeated his ideas in the previous article: while Zhou Yang's slogan could be a specific slogan, his own should be a general one and hence the two could co-exist. Lu also corrected the mistakes made by Nie Gannu and others in interpreting the slogan. For the first time, he made public that the slogan was formulated by him and not Hu Feng, and that Hu Feng wrote the article to publicize the slogan at his request. Lu deliberately added that Mao Dun was one of those consulted before the slogan was decided. But Lu Xun continued:

However, the question is not who put forward the slogan, but whether or not it is wrong. If it is to urge left-wing writers who have hitherto restricted themselves to proletarian revolutionary literature to hasten to the front line of the national revolutionary war against Japanese aggression, if it is to remedy the ambiguity of the slogan of "national defence literature" in terms of literary theory, and to correct some of the incorrect ideas instilled into this formulation, then the raising of this slogan for these reasons is appropriate and correct. [190]

He then went on to personal matters. He denied that he had strengthened any vicious tendencies, for in the past half years, he had only written very little and translated a few works, and he had been ill for three months. As for people like Hu Feng, Ba Jin and Huang Yuan, Lu admitted that he had known them only for a short time and only through literary work. But they

were his friends. He had to defend them, as friends, when they were slandered as "traitors" and "being despicable" without any genuine evidence. Lu asserted that he considered both people and facts. He cited several facts to illustrate how people like Xu Maoyong and the "four fellows" slandered him and Hu Feng, and how these slanders had caused the arrest of some good comrades. There was even a newspaper report saying that Lu Xun was going to sell out to the authorities with Hu Feng's connivance. Lu Xun said angrily,

Even if Hu Feng is not to be trusted, I can at least trust myself. I never negotiated with Nanjing via Hu Feng. [191]

To Lu, although he had his shortcomings, Hu Feng was a promising young man. And "he has never taken part in any movement opposing the anti-Japanese movement or the united front. Such a fact men like Xu Maoyong cannot refute, with all their cunning and schemes". As for Huang Yuan and Ba Jin, Lu admired Huang as a conscientious and hardworking translator, while the latter was a passionate writer with progressive ideas. If they wanted to join the united front, they should be welcome. And the fact was: both had signed the manifesto of the Chinese Workers in Literature and Art. It was really a bad trend trying to split the literary ranks with slanders, and this approximated to "treachery". Before he ended his letter, Lu continued his lashings on Xu. Xu was muddle-headed, a writer of the bickering type and connected with the gutter press. Unless he could repent and correct his mistakes, he would become a slavedriver who would be "incurable, not only of no use to China, but downright harmful too". [192]

This long reply, which amounted to over six thousand words, not only refuted down to the last point the accusations put forward by Xu, but also revealed Lu's long suppressed anger towards his

comrades-in-arms. He made no attempt to hold back their names and so we see all the heavyweights of the League under fire. As one critic commented, "his tone was anger undisguised, unrestrained, almost shrill anger".<sup>[193]</sup> It is difficult to understand why comrades in the same camp for the same cause should have received such heavy verbal lashings, unless this is viewed in connection with the events which happened in the League and to Lu Xun within the past several years. To Lu, Xu's letter represented a group, and was a part and a continuation of the general assault plan made against him by Zhou Yang's clique.<sup>[194]</sup> He had had enough from them during the last years of the League. Now there was no longer the League which in name bound them together, and the publications of the two different manifestoes, together with the polemic over the two slogans, had already disclosed to the public that two opposing camps were already in existence. Hence, it was not necessary for Lu Xun to cover up his indignation. We may also add that during those few months, Lu's health was failing. More than once, he told others that Xu's letter was an attempt to hasten him to death.<sup>[195]</sup> This was another reason why Lu reacted so vigorously.

The impact of Lu's letter was tremendous. It threw the Zhou Yang group into confusion. It was reported by Guo Moruo that many were indignant and pessimistic.<sup>[196]</sup> A meeting was called by Zhou Yang and the members of the now dissolved standing committee of the Left League to criticize Xu Maoyong.<sup>[197]</sup> The latter was severely condemned for damaging their solidarity with Lu Xun. Xu did not accept this change, for he insisted that the ideas expressed in his letter were imparted to him by Zhou Yang and his group. Thus he broke with them. He also wrote another open letter, "In reply to Mr Lu Xun" (《還答魯

迅先生》), which was published in September. [198] This time, all the patience was gone. Those vicious words that had been used by Lu Xun to comment on Xu, such as "despotic", "muddled-headed", "abominable" and "slanderous" were quoted and used against Lu. He was in particular offended by Lu Xun's publishing personal correspondences, thus many things that should not be brought into the open, for instance, his comments on Ba Jin and Huang Yuan as well as the internal problems of the Left League, were made public. [199]

Lu Xun made no reply to this letter. It was obvious that he had won the battle. As if a giant water bomb had been dropped, the fire of the two slogan polemic was extinguished almost instantly. The national defence literature group dared not write any more on the issue, except Guo Moruo who sent in "An inspection of a military exercise" from Japan. Although his arguments in a previous article were echoed and praised by both Lu Xun and Mao Dun, Guo did not spare his criticisms on the second slogan. The eleven Chinese characters in the slogan caused greater problems and ambiguity in its interpretation, Guo asserted. What was more, as advocates of the second slogan were not against the national defence literature slogan, there was no need to formulate a new one when the first one had already secured general support. Thus the slogan of mass literature of the national revolutionary war should be withdrawn. He called the challenge raised by Hu Feng and Lu Xun a simulated war and the polemic, a wargame manipulated by Lu for the inspection of the military strength of the left-wing writers. [200]

Guo's article was not answered by Lu Xun, while Mao Dun made a feeble response later. [201] Yet

Guo was by no means able to turn the tables. In August, Feng Xuefeng, now in the capacity of the deputy head of the newly established Shanghai office of the CCP, wrote the first article on the topic, "Opinions on the several questions in literary movement" (《關於文學運動幾個問題的意見》). This was a even longer and more direct attack on Zhou Yang and his slogan than Lu Xun's open letter to Xu Maoyong. [202] Feng also took actions to dissolve the Cultural Committee which was formerly in Zhou Yang's hands. Seventeen days after the publication of his article, on 1st October, there was the "Manifesto of members of the literary arena for united against aggression and freedom of speech" (《文藝界同人爲團結禦侮與言論自由宣言》) which was signed by twenty-one names. This can be viewed as the sign of compromise and unity between the two groups, as Guo Moruo's name appeared among those of Lu Xun and Mao Dun, and most of the signatories had also signed the manifestoes of either the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists or the Chinese Workers in Literature and Art. [203] There were also the names of the most important members of the "mandarin-duck and butterfly school", Zhou Shoujuan (周瘦鵬) and Bao Tianxiao (包天笑, 1876-1973). It seemed that for a time solidarity in the literary circle had materialized. But with the exception of Guo Moruo, the strongest supporters of the national defence literature slogan, such as Zhou Yang, Xia Yan, Zhou Libo and Xu Maoyong, were missing. This can be viewed as their admitting defeat, as they had to give up the leadership. Forty years later, Zhou Yang recalled that after he was criticized by Lu Xun, he could not work smoothly as a leader in the Shanghai literary arena. [204] Finally, the top leader of the CCP in the white area, Liu Shaoqi, published an article to conclude the polemic. He unreservedly supported Lu Xun and criticized both Zhou Yang and

Guo Moruo, making Lu stand out as the champion of the debate.<sup>[205]</sup> Nevertheless, before long, Lu collapsed before another challenge, his illness. During the last few months, he was much troubled by pleurisy, which he had been suffering from for more than thirty years.<sup>[206]</sup> He made plans to take rest in other parts of the country or even in Japan. But before anything could be done, he passed away at 5:25 a.m., on 19th October, 1936. On the other hand, after the Xian Incident (December, 1936) which led to the formation of the second united front between the KMT and the CCP, and the Luoguoqiao Incident (July, 1937) which marked the beginning of the eight year Sino-Japanese War, the literary movement in China entered a new stage: Literature of the resistance war ( 抗戰文學 , kanzhan wenxue).

Hence, we can say, the two slogan polemic was relatively short-lived, though bitter. It lasted for only about four to five months. But why was there the polemic? Was there such a great difference between the two slogans that a polemic was inevitable?

We have seen that the major difference lay in the issue of proletarian leadership. Obviously, Lu Xun was not against national defence. Nor was he in particular against the slogan of national defence literature. He made this point very clear in his open letter to Xu Maoyong. The reason for him to propose a new slogan was that it would correct the wrong ideas embodied in the first one. In the recollections of people like Hu Feng, Feng Xuefeng and Mao Dun, Lu Xun objected that the national defence literature slogan lacked a clear class stand, and it appeared to him that the dissolution of the Left League without issuing a proclamation, as well as the ignoring of proletarian leadership in some of the interpretations

of the national defence literature slogan, were signs of defeat for the left-wingers. In contrast, the new slogan, bearing such words as "mass literature" and "national revolutionary war", was able to highlight the role played by the masses and show that the new movement was but a continuation of past revolutionary activities.

But was the gap unbridgeable? We have seen that even Wang Ming and Mao Zedong had difficulties over the actions to be taken in the new political situation. Wang, in 1935 and early 1936, had already been in favour of uniting with the KMT and Jiang Jieshi's regime. Mao Zedong, however, did not give up his attack on Jiang until late 1936. But the facts that the two finally came to terms and that the second united front was eventually built up showed that the differences between the two could be settled. The case of the two slogan polemic was similar. We have noted that Zhou Yang followed Wang Ming closely while Lu Xun was convinced by Mao Zedong's united front policy. Yet, if the two politicians could compromise, there was no reason why the two slogan polemic should have been so bitter. We must stress again that Lu Xun, during the course of the debate, mentioned more than once that the two slogans could co-exist. This could not have been possible, if the difference was beyond remedy. Thus, the outbreak of the polemic could not be solely attributed to the issue of proletarian leadership.

The personal factor was of utmost importance. We have seen that in the second half of the Left League, Lu Xun had been alienated from the leadership of the organization. Even before the dissolution of the Left League and the outbreak of the polemic, the relationship between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang's group was so bad that Lu frequently attacked Zhou in private

correspondence. The dissolution and the national defence literature slogan seemed to be the last straw. It is obvious that in early 1936, Lu Xun was not going to join any organization or movement led by Zhou Yang. Lu stated this clearly in the letters to his confidants as well as in the open letter to Xu Maoyong.

We have no concrete proof to justify the charge that Feng Xuefeng and Hu Feng made use of the difficulties between Lu Xun and Zhou Yang in an attempt to challenge Zhou Yang's leadership in the literary circle of Shanghai. But we have proven that Feng Xuefeng was not eager to meet Zhou Yang upon his arrival in Shanghai and the new slogan was formulated before Feng made any discussion with the other group. Undoubtedly, there were personal reasons behind such acts.

On the other hand, Zhou Yang's group was not free of personal bias. The vigorous reaction towards Hu Feng's article proves this unmistakably. They could not even accept the mediation of Mao Dun. This was the leftist sectarian attitude criticized by Mao Dun and Lu Xun in the latter stage of the polemic. It has often been said that the national defence literature group attacked the new slogan because Hu Feng did not specify that the new slogan was formulated in co-operation with Lu Xun. Zhou Yang himself admitted that they launched a campaign against the slogan because they thought that it was suggested by Hu Feng.<sup>[207]</sup> But if there was not sectarian feeling, if they had been able to "consider not only people, but also facts", this should not have happened.

Thus, we must say that the polemic between the left-wingers in 1936 was in fact a direct consequence

of the split within the Left League in the years 1934-35. It is true that there were differences in opinions towards the new united front policy advocated by the Comintern and the Party. But if the people could exchange views calmly, there would not have been an open bitter polemic. As the relationship between the two groups was so bad, any chance of settling the matter peacefully and internally was eliminated.

NOTES:

[1] J. Degras, "Preface", The Communist International, 1919-1943 Documents (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) Vol. II, p. v.

[2] E.H. Carr, The twilight of Comintern, 1930-1935 (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982), p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 150.

[4] Ibid., p. 154.

[5] "Resolution of the Seventh Congress on Fascism, working-class unity, and the tasks of the Comintern", in J. Degras, The Communist International, 1919-1943 Documents Vol. II, p. 362.

[6] Ibid., p. 367.

[7] Ibid., p. 369.

[8] Documents of the Communist International concerning the Chinese Revolution: Vol. II, 1929-1936 (《共產國際有關中國革命的文獻資料》)(Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan, June, 1982), p. 392.

[9] James C. Thomson, "Communist policy and the united front in China, 1935-36", Papers on China (Harvard University) No. 11 (Dec., 1957), p. 108.

[10] For the declaration, see Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 24-25.

[11] "Declaration of the Chinese Soviet Provisional Government and the Revolution and Military Committee of the Workers and Peasants Red Army" (《中華蘇維埃臨時政府、工農紅軍革命軍事委員會宣言》), in Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 31-32.

[12] "A call from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party for an anti-Japanese united front" (《中共中央號召反日統一戰線》), ibid., pp. 33-34.

[13] "Letter to the whole nation for resistance against Japan and national salvation", reprinted in Collection of historical materials of literary movement Vol. III, p. 239.

[14] Wang Ming, Collection of articles on national salvation (《救國言論集》)(Hankou: Zhongguo chubanshe, July, 1938), pp. 1-61.

[15] Chang Kuo-t'ao, The rise of the CCP, 1928-1938: Vol. II of the autobiography of Chang Kuo-t'ao, p. 445.

[16] Xia Yan, "Some past events that should

have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten", p. 97; "Records of Zhou Libo's interview - On the Two Slogan Polemic" (《訪問周立波談話記錄——談兩個口號論爭》), RMLX, p. 64.

[17] Yao Yinhu (姚寅虎), Yang Shengqing (楊聖清), "A brief comment on the 'August First Declaration'" (《簡評“八一宣言”》), Dangshi yanjiu (《黨史研究》, Studies on Party history) No. 3, 1983 (28th June, 1983), p. 50.

[18] Xiao San, "What have I done for the 'Left League' abroad?", Recollections on the Left League, pp. 180-181; "Record of an interview with comrade Xiao San" (《訪問蕭三同志記錄》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, pp. 194-195.

[19] Xiao San's letter as reprinted in Collection of historical materials of literary movements was dated 11th August, 1935. Xiao San, "Letter to the Left League" (《給左聯的信》), Collection of historical materials on literary movements, p. 333. This seems unlikely because, in the first instance, Xiao recalled that he wrote the letter after a second meeting with Wang Ming, which was held in November, 1935; and secondly, the letter reached Shanghai some time in November or December. Xiao San later corrected that the letter was written on 8th November, 1935. "Record of an interview with Xiao San - On the letter concerning the dissolution of the 'Left League'" (《訪問蕭三談話紀錄——關於寫信要“左聯”解散事》), RMLX, p. 58.

[20] CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 268.

[21] Tang Tao, "Recalling Lu Xun and the struggle between two lines in the literary arena of the thirties" (《回憶魯迅及三十年代文藝界兩條路線鬥爭》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 1, p. 63.

[22] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 309.

[23] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 86.

[24] Xiao San, "Letter to the Left League", Collection of historical materials of literary movements Vol. II, p. 329.

[25] Ibid., pp. 329-330.

[26] Ibid., p. 331.

[27] Ibid

[28] "Record of Zhou Yang's interview - On the question of the Two Slogan Polemic" (《訪問周揚談話記錄——談兩個口號論爭的問題》), RMLX, p. 67.

[29] "Interview with comrade Ren Baige", XWXS No. 1, p. 76.

[30] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 308.

[31] Ibid.; Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong,

p. 86.

[32] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 310.

[33] Ibid.; Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong,  
p. 86.

[34] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, pp.  
86-87.

[35] Ibid., p. 87.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Ibid., pp. 87-88.

[38] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, pp.  
131-132.

[39] Lu Xun, letter to Hu Feng, 12th Sept.,  
1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 211.

[40] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing  
Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 249.

[41] Xiao San, "Letter to the Left League", p.  
333.

[42] Anthony J. Kane, "The League of Left-wing  
Writers and Chinese literary policy", p. 251.

[43] Remembering Lu Xun, p. 130.

[44] Ibid., p. 122.

[45] For example, see CWLX Vol. IV, pp. 623-  
630; Vol. VI, p. 534; Vol. XIII, p. 12.

[46] CWLX Vol. VI, p. 534; Letter to Hu Feng,  
12th Sept., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 211.

[47] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 130.

[48] Ibid., pp. 130-132.

[49] Ibid., p. 131.

[50] Ibid., pp. 135-137.

[51] My interview with Tang Tao, 5th July,  
1982, London.

[52] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 88.

[53] "The united front of national defence in  
the literary circle" ( 《文藝界的統一國防戰線》 ),  
Shenghuo zhishi Vol. I No. 11 (20th March, 1936), in  
CMTS, p. 87.

[54] Lu Xun, letter to He Jiahuai, 24th April,  
1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 363.

[55] Lu Xun, letter to Xu Maoyong, 2nd May,  
1936, ibid., p. 365.

[56] "Record of Xia Yan's interview - On the  
dissolution of the 'Left League' and others" ( 《訪問  
夏衍談話紀錄——“左聯”解散及其他》 ), RMLX, p. 57.

[57] For example, see his letter to Wang Yeqiu, 4th May, 1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 370; letter to Cao Jinghua, 14th May, 1936, ibid., p. 379; "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 529.

[58] CMTS, pp. 1-2.

[59] Li Bo, "On 'national defence literature'", Shishi xinbao, 21st Dec., 1935, in CMTS, p. 4.

[60] Shenghuo zhishi Vol. I Nos. 10 & 11 (20th Feb. & 20th March, 1936); cf., CMTS, pp. 1126-1127.

[61] Members of the Xinwenhuashe, "The new culture needs a united front" (《新文化需要統一戰線》), Xinwenhua (《新文化》, New culture) No. 1 (1st Feb., 1936), in CMTS, p. 23.

[62] For example, see Zhou Libo, "On 'national defence literature'", CMTS, p. 5; Hu Luo (胡洛), "The building up of national defence literature" (《國防文學的建立》), Keguan (《客觀》, Objectiveness) Vol. I No. 12 (5th Feb., 1936), ibid., p. 29; M.I., "'National defence literature' and others" (《“國防文學”等等》), Wenxue qingnian (《文學青年》, Literary youth) Vol. I No. 2 (5th May, 1936), ibid., p. 179.

[63] He Jiahuai, "The roles of writers in the national salvation movement" (《作家在救亡運動中的任務》), Shishi xinbao, 11th Jan., 1936, CMTS, p. 13.

[64] Zhang Zhongda (張仲達), "'National defence literature' and 'Literary national defence'" (《“國防文學”和“文學國防”》), Shishi xinbao, 24th March, 1936, CMTL, p. 111.

[65] In the past, Xu Xing, because of his articles attacking the national defence literature and the united front policy, has been identified as a Trotskyist. But Wu Xiru said that Xu Xing was not a Trotskyist. His real name was Xu Hefu (徐褐夫). He was a student of Sun Yat-sen University in Moscow, together with Wang Ming. At that time, he has been punctured by Wang and since then, he was opposed to the latter. It was for this reason that he attacked the national defence literature slogan. Wu Xiru, letter to Duan Guochao, in Duan Guochao, "Lu Xun and Hu Feng", Note 4, p. 8. In Lu Xun's diary, there is an entry recording his receiving of a translation script from Xu Xing on 4th October, 1934, CWLX Vol. VX, p. 173. The annotation of this entry reads, "Xu Xing (1903-1977), the real name being Hefu, from the province of Xiushiu, Jiangxi, a translator". Ibid., p. 520. The articles written by Xu Xing on the issue included "Commenting on the 'national defence literature'", Libailiu (《禮拜六》, Saturday) No. 628 (22nd Feb., 1936), CMTS pp. 51-53; "What kind of literature do we need now" (《我們現在需要什麼文學》)

Xindongfang (《新東方》, New orient) No. 2 (29th April, 1936), ibid., pp. 191-196; "On the national defence literature again" (《再評“國防文學”》), Libailiu No. 638.

[66] "'National defence literature' and national character", Dawanbao, 9th Feb., 1936, CMTS, p. 32.

[67] Xu Xing, "Commenting on the 'national defence literature'", CMTS, pp. 51-52.

[68] Ibid., p. 53.

[69] Zhou Lengqie, "The question of united front in literature" (《文學上的統一戰線問題》), Wenxue qingnian Vol. I No. 2, CMTS, p. 169.

[70] Zhou Lengqie, "A query" (《一個疑問》), Wenxue qingnian Vol. I No. 1 (5th April, 1936), ibid., p. 124.

[71] Lü Gang (旅岡), "'Ridiculous' 'rebuttals'" (《“荒謬”的“駁斥”》), Dawanbao, 7th May, 1936, CMTS, p. 185.

[72] Xu Xing, "What kind of literature do we need now", pp. 193-195.

[73] Yong Xiu (永修), "Social basis of national defence literature" (《國防文學的社會基礎》), Dawanbao, 19th April, 1936; CMTS, pp. 149-150; Zhou Yang, "On national defence literature" (《關於國防文學》), Wenxuejie No. 1 (5th June, 1936), CMTS, p. 231.

[74] Ibid., p. 231.

[75] Ibid., p. 234.

[76] Guo Moruo, "National defence, cesspools, purgatory" (《國防、污池、煉獄》), Wenxuejie Vol. I No. 2 (10th July, 1936), CMTS, pp. 425-426.

[77] Ibid., p. 426.

[78] "The question of national defence literature" (《國防文學問題》), Wenxue qingnian No. 1, CMTS, p. 118.

[79] "On national defence literature", CMTS, p. 231.

[80] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 308-311.

[81] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 247.

[82] Ibid. The datings were rejected by Xia Yan who claimed that Feng Xuefeng arrived Shanghai in late May, 1936. Xia Yan, "Some past events that

should have long been forgotten but could not be forgotten", p. 93. But obviously, Xia Yan was wrong. For the verification of these dates, see Bao Ziyan, "A past event that had long been confirmed and yet was again denied - On the time of comrade Feng Xuefeng's arrival at Shanghai in 1936" (《一件早已被肯定而又被否定的往事—關於馮雪峰同志一九三六年到達上海的時間問題》) Wenxue pinglun No.4, 1980 (15th July, 1980), pp. 99-102.

[83] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 247.

[84] Ibid

[85] Ibid.

[86] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 320.

[87] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 247.

[88] Ibid., pp. 257-258; Feng Xuefeng, "On the role of my work in Shanghai in 1936 as well as my relationship with the Cultural Committee and the 'Temporary Committee'" (《關於一九三六年我在上海工作的任務以及我同“文委”和“臨委”的關係》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, p. 185.

[89] Ibid., p. 252.

[90] Ibid., p. 257.

[91] Xia Yan, "Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten", pp. 94-95.

[92] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 251.

[93] Ibid., pp. 251-252.

[94] Ibid., p. 251.

[95] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 532.

[96] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 532.

[97] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 320.

[98] "On national defence literature", CMTS, pp. 231-236.

[99] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 320.

[99] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 320.

[100] For example, see Tang Tao, A history of modern Chinese literature Vol. II, p. 75.

[101] Hu Feng, "Recalling the time around joining the Left League" Part Four, XWXS No. 1, 1985 (22nd Feb., 1985), p. 46.

[102] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 253; Wu Xiru, "Hu Feng as I know him", p. 243.

[103] Hu Feng, "What do the masses demand from literature?", Wenxue congbao (《文學叢報》) No. 3 (1st June, 1936), in CMTS, p. 216.

[104] Xu Maoyong, "'What do the masses demand from literature?'" , Guangming (《光明》, Brightness) No. 1 (10th June, 1936), CMTS, pp. 276-279.

[105] Ibid., pp. 277-278.

[106] Ibid., p. 279.

[107] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 322-323.

[108] Ibid., p. 322.

[109] CMTS, p. 274.

[110] Ba Jin, "On the 'Manifesto of the Chinese workers on literature and art' and others" (《關於“中國文藝工作者宣言”及其他》), Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 8 (May, 1981), p. 101.

[111] Wenji yuekan (《文季月刊》) Vol. I No. 2 (1st July, 1936), CMTS, p. 413.

[112] CMTS, pp. 270-275.

[113] Those who had signed both documents were Ma Zongrong (馬宗融), Fang Guangdao (方光燾), Zhao Jiabi (趙家璧, 1908-), Li Ni (麗尼), Huang Mei (荒煤, 1905-), Lu Fen (蘆焚), Xin Ren (辛人) and Ma Zihua (馬子華). For the list of membership of the Association of Chinese Writers and Artists, and that of those who signed the Manifesto of Chinese workers in literature and art, see CMTS, pp. 275 & 413-414.

[114] For instance, Lu Xun's letter to Wang Yeqiu, 4th May, 1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 370; Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 529.

[115] Liuhuo wenyi (《榴火文藝》) No. 1 (10th June, 1936), CMTS, p. 298.

[116] Gannu, "The slogan for creation and the question of unity" (《創作口號和聯合問題》), Yeying

Vol. I No. 4 (15th June, 1936), CMTS, p. 322; Er Ye (耳耶, pseud. of Nie Gannu), "The road sign for creative activities" (《創作活動底路標》), Xianshi wenxue No. 1 (1st July, 1936), CMTS, pp. 392-393.

[117] Long Gonggong (龍貢公), "The literary front against aggression" (《抗日文學陣線》), Yeying Vol. I No. 4, CMTS, pp. 316-317.

[118] Xiru, "The new demands of literature", (《文學的新要求》), ibid., p. 329.

[119] Gannu, "The slogan for creation and the question of unity", ibid., p. 323.

[120] Xiru, "The new demands of literature", ibid., p. 328.

[121] For instance, see "A great polemic in the thirties - The two slogans of two fundamentally opposing literary lines" (《三十年代的一場大論戰——兩條根本對立的文藝路線的兩個口號》), Guangming ribao, 12th Dec., 1970; "'National defence literature' is a traitorous literature" (《“國防文學”就是賣國文學》), Hongqi No. 10, 1970 (19th Sept., 1970). For a collection of articles liquidating the national defence literature slogan, see Thoroughly criticize "National defence literature" (《徹底批判“國防文學”》) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, Sept., 1971).

[122] Zhou Yang's first public appearance since his fall in the Cultural Revolution was at a gathering in celebration of National Day, on 30th Sept., 1977. As for the slogan, three Beijing Universities and colleges held a forum to reassess it in March, 1978. Wenxue pinglun No. 3, 1978 (25th June, 1978), p. 10. A similar forum was also held at Lanzhou, with representatives from sixteen universities and colleges. Gansu shida xuebao No. 2, 1978 (18th May, 1978), p. 43.

[123] Collection of historical materials of literary movements Vol. III, pp. 240-241.

[124] "The new culture needs a united front", CMTS, pp. 22-26.

[125] Yao Yinhu, Yang Shengqing, "A brief comment on the 'August First Declaration'", p. 48.

[126] Wang Ming, Collection of articles on national salvation, pp. 11-13.

[127] James C. Thomson, "Communist policy and the united front in China, 1935-36", p. 111.

[128] Wang Ming, Collection of articles on national salvation, p. 12.

[129] Zhang Kuo-t'ao, The rise of the Chinese Communist Party, 1928-1938: Vol. II of the auto-

biography of Chang Kuo-t'ao, pp. 446-447.

[130] Quoted from Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, p. 49.

[131] Ibid., p. 53.

[132] "Telegram to call for a ceasefire, peace and unity against Japanese aggression" (《停戰議和一致抗日通電》), reprinted in Wang Jianmin, A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 56-57.

[133] "Letter from the Chinese Communist Party to the Chinese Nationalist Party" (《中國共產黨致中國國民黨書》), 25th Aug., 1936; reprinted in A draft history of the Chinese Communist Party Vol. III, pp. 58-62.

[134] "The new culture needs a united front", CMTS, p. 26.

[135] "'National defence literature' and national character", CMTS, p. 32.

[136] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 527.

[137] Qu Yi, "Start from the question of smuggling" (《從走私問題說起》), Guangming Vol. I No. 3 (10th July, 1936), CMTS, p. 421.

[138] Dimitrov, "The resolution of the Seventh Congress on Fascism, working class unity and the tasks of the Comintern", collected in J. Degras, The Communist International, 1919-1943 Documents, pp. 368-369. Mao Zedong, "On tactics against Japanese imperialists" (27th Dec., 1935), Selected works of Mao Tse-tung Vol. I, pp. 153-165; Mao Zedong, "The question of independence and initiative within the united front" (5th Nov., 1938), Selected works of Mao Tse-tung Vol. II, pp. 213-216; Liu Shaoqi, "The question of leadership is the central issue of the national united front" (《領導權問題是民族統一戰線的中心問題》), Selected works of Liu Shaoqi (《劉少奇選集》) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, Dec., 1981), pp. 46-54; Zhou Enlai, "On the united front" (《論統一戰線》), Selected works of Zhou Enlai (《周恩來選集》) (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, Dec., 1980), pp. 190-220.

[139] Zhao Haosheng (趙浩生), "Zhou Yang takes a laughing look at history" (《周揚笑談歷史功過》), XWXS No. 2, p. 232.

[140] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, p. 149.

[141] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 253.

[142] "Letter in reply to the Trotskyists", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 588. For the identity of Chen Zhongshan, see Shi Ming (史明), "The man and deeds of Chan Qichang" (《陳其昌其人其事》), XWXS No. 3, 1985 (22nd Aug., 1985), p. 217.

[143] Ibid., pp. 588-589.

[144] "On our present literary movement - Reply for an interviewer from my sickbed", CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 590-591.

[145] Ibid., p. 590.

[146] Ibid., pp. 590-591.

[147] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 253.

[148] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 329-330.

[149] Mao Dun, "About 'On our present literary movement' - A letter to this magazine" (《關於“論現在我們的文學運動”——給本刊的信》), Wenxuejie Vol. I No.2 (10th July, 1936), CMTS, pp. 436-437.

[150] Wenxuejie Vol. I No. 2, CMTS, p. 439.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 331-332.

[153] Mao Dun, "On the controversial two slogans", Wenxuejie Vol. I No. 3 (10th Aug., 1936), CMTS, pp. 566-567.

[154] Ibid., p. 566.

[155] Ibid., pp. 566-567.

[156] Ibid., p. 567. Guo Moruo, "National defence, cesspools, purgatory", CMTS, p. 425.

[157] Zhou Yang, "Discussing the national defence literature slogan with Mr Mao Dun" (《與茅盾先生論國防文學的口號》), Wenxuejie Vol. I No. 3, CMTS, p. 572.

[158] Ibid., p. 571.

[159] Ibid., p. 573.

[160] Mao Dun, "A few more words" (《再說幾句》), Shenghuo xingqikan (《生活星期刊》, Life weekly) No. 12 (23rd Aug., 1936), collected in Battle over national defence literature (《國防文學論戰》) (Shanghai: Xinchao chubanshe, Oct., 1936), pp. 440-452.

[161] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 335.

- [162] Ibid., p. 338.
- [163] Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XV, p. 109.
- [164] T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftist Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 134.
- [165] CWLX Vol. VI, pp. 290-293.
- [166] T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftist Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 134.
- [167] Lu Xun, letter to Xu Maoyong, 26th May, 1934, CWLX Vol. XII, p. 433.
- [168] Lu Xun, letter to Xu Maoyong, 20th Sept., 1934, ibid., pp. 517-518.
- [169] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 77.
- [170] Ibid., pp. 75-76.
- [171] Ibid., p. 82.
- [172] Letter to Hu Feng, 24th Aug., 1935, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 194.
- [173] Ibid.
- [174] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 84.
- [175] CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 365.
- [176] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, p. 89.
- [177] Xu Maoyong, letter to Lu Xun, 30th April, 1936, reprinted in Luxun yanjiu ziliao No. 4, pp. 163-165.
- [178] Ibid., p. 163.
- [179] Diary of Lu Xun, CWLX Vol. XV, pp. 296 & 300.
- [180] Letter to Yang Jiyun, 28th Aug., 1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 416.
- [181] T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftist Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 135.
- [182] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX Vol. VI, p. 526.
- [183] Ibid., p. 527.
- [184] Ibid., pp. 527-528.
- [185] Feng Xuefeng, "On the activities of Zhou Yang and others in 1936 and Lu Xun's raising of the

slogan 'mass literature of the national revolutionary war'", p. 255.

[186] CWLX Vol. XV, p. 306.

[187] Lu Xun, "Reply to Xu Maoyong and on the question of the united front against Japanese aggression", CWLX vol. VI, p. 529.

[188] Ibid., p. 530.

[189] Ibid.

[190] Ibid., p. 532.

[191] Ibid., p. 535.

[192] Ibid., p. 538.

[193] T.A. Hsia, "Lu Hsun and the dissolution of the League of Leftist Writers", The gate of darkness, p. 136.

[194] Lu Xun, letter to Yang Jiyun, 28th Aug., 1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, p. 416; letter to Tai Jingnong, 15th Oct., 1936, ibid., p. 447.

[195] Guo Moruo, "An inspection of a military exercise", Wenxuejie Vol. I No. 4 (10th Sept., 1936), CMTS, p. 713.

[196] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, pp. 90-91.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Xu Maoyong, "In reply to Mr Lu Xun", Jindai wenyi (《今代文藝》, Contemporary literature and art) Vol. I No.3 (20th Sept., 1936), reprinted in Battle over national defence literature, pp. 523-534.

[199] Ibid.

[200] CMTS, pp. 709-716.

[201] Mao Dun, "On the phenomena of the literary arena in these recent days" (《談最近的文壇現象》), Dagongbao, 10th Oct., 1936. Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, pp. 340-342.

[202] Lü Keyu (呂克玉), "Opinions on the several questions in literary movement", Zuojia Vol. I No.6 (11th Sept., 1936), CMTS, pp. 773-786.

[203] Wenxue Vol. VII No. 4 (1st Oct., 1936), CMTS, pp. 824-825.

[204] Zhao Haosheng, "Zhou Yang takes a laughing look at history", p. 236.

[205] Mo Wenhua (莫文華, pseud. of Liu Shaoqi), "My opinions on the significance of this literary polemic" (《我觀這次文藝論戰的意義》), Zuojia Vol. II No. 1 (15th Oct., 1936), CMTS, pp. 899-902.

[206] Lu Xun, letter to his mother, 3rd Sept.,

1936, CWLX Vol. XIII, pp. 418-419.

[207] Zhao Haosheng, "Zhou Yang takes a laughing look at history", p. 234.

**CONCLUSION:**

The period covered in this study saw the first attempt of the Chinese Communist Party to grasp control of the literary arena. But they had a very bad start. The young party was heavily damaged by Jiang Jieshi's coup d'etat, and so was the solidarity of the left-wingers in the literary circle, by the revolutionary literary polemic. Nevertheless, both incidents brought the same advantageous result: a large number of writers and young people were driven, because of their disillusionment towards the KMT, or attracted, because of the publicity given to left-wing literary theories, to the left. They constituted a strong fighting force which was responsible for the growth of the left-wing literary movements in the thirties.

In almost all literary histories published in the mainland after the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, with the few exceptions of those published during the Cultural Revolution, the "Left League Decade" always occupies a considerable number of pages and the Left League has always been regarded an unqualified success. This success, inevitably, was attributed to the brilliant leadership of the Communist Party. In the west and on the right, although different conclusions may be arrived at regarding the achievements of the left in this period, scholars in the main also agree that CCP direction was the most important factor in the operation of the League.

Nevertheless, the present research has shown that these suggestions must be taken with great caution. In some cases, the factor of CCP direction should not be under-estimated, such as the order to end the revolutionary literary polemic and form the Left

League in 1929, as well as the instruction to dissolve the organization in 1935. However, the fact that the Left League decade started with a polemic and ended in a polemic is significant. If the CCP was able to exert strong control over the left-wing literary circle, this would not have happened because any such conflicts could have been settled internally. We have to say, in the daily running of League affairs, direct influence from the Communist Party was minimal.

In the first half of the Left League, the most important figure was Qu Qiubai. Despite the fact that he was never formally a member of the League, his influence was much greater than those of the early secretaries of the League's Party group and the Cultural Committee, such as Feng Naichao, Yang Hansheng and Zhu Jingwo. It was he who initiated a number of important campaigns, such as the struggle against nationalist literature in 1930-31, the discussion on the popularization of literature as well as the debate with the "free men" and the "men of the third category" in 1932. Feng Xuefeng could be said to be the representative from the Party as he had been the secretary of both the League's Party group and the Cultural Committee.<sup>[1]</sup> But in more than one place, Feng admitted that he was directed by Qu and that Qu's leadership and influence was crucial to the Left League and revolutionary literary movement.<sup>[2]</sup> Another prominent member of the League, Mao Dun, also acknowledged Qu's leadership.<sup>[3]</sup> However, as we have seen, Qu's taking up of the Left League was not decided by the Party, and at that time, he held no official post in the Party's Central Committee. He acted independently and received no instruction or order from the Party.

In the second half of the League, Zhou Yang, at one time or another, held all the important posts

of the League. From 1934 onwards, he was undoubtedly in charge of the left-wing literary movement. It has often been said that Zhou was a close follower of the Party line. This is true, if we make the judgement in accordance with his behaviour and activities after 1937, when he had arrived at Yan'an and was close to Mao Zedong. But during the period between 1934-35, it is doubtful if he could have had any instruction or even guidance to follow. The highest body of the CCP in the white area then, the Jiangsu Provincial Committee, had been raided. The provisional Central Committee was undergoing the Long March. Communication with Moscow was most difficult. Consequently, he had to make decisions and act on his own. Young and inexperienced then, he inevitably made mistakes. The alienation of Lu Xun and the dissension within the Left League were largely the results of his leadership. Yet should he have had more concrete directions from a higher level of the Party, some of the blunders he committed might have been avoided.

Hence, the contrast between the first half of the Left League, in which it reaped good harvest, and its second half, when the League was in decline, was largely due to personal factors. Qu Qiubai was undoubtedly a better leader. A Party member since 1921 and once the chief secretary and a Politburo member of the CCP, he was more experienced in handling the relationship and power struggles between members. He had been the introducer as well as the sufferer of leftist Party lines, thus having a clear understanding of the better course to take. A man of letters himself, he was aware of the importance of uniting writers and he had a high regard for such old writers as Lu Xun. He could also accept his mistakes gracefully, for instance, in the debate against the men of the third category when he was once criticized by Feng Xuefeng

and in the discussion on the popularization of literature when Mao Dun raised queries against his opinions. It seems that these strong points were lacking in Zhou Yang. What we saw was his refusal to make redress on his mistakes and his failure to keep his men under control in the attack on Lu Xun.

But we do not mean to say that there was no influence from the Party at all. Although in most cases there were no direct orders, leaders in the Left League inevitably tried to find out how the wind blew and follow suit. Though a literary organization itself, the League was still greatly affected by developments in politics. In the face of great changes when there was no obvious course to follow, the left was thrown into chaos. Hence, in 1927, when the first united front with the KMT was shattered, and 1936, when suggestions were made to unite with the nationalists again, there were different ideas within the same camp, which resulted in bitter polemics. On the other hand, in 1930-35, when the political situation was comparatively stable, the solidarity of the left-wingers in the literary circle was achieved.

It has often been suggested that the left-deviationist Party lines caused great harm to the Left League. The failure of the organization to get an open and legal status, which resulted in the arrest and even execution of its members, as well as the banning of its publications, was attributed to this factor. However, it seems to be over-optimistic to assume that the League could have been acceptable to the nationalist regime if a moderate course was adopted. We have seen that even before the formation of the Left League, almost all left-wing organizations were banned. What is more, even if an organization could get an open status, it did not mean that there

was a better chance. We have shown that the Chinese League for the Defence of Civil Rights , which was headed by Song Qingling, widow of Dr Sun Yat-sen and able to acquire an open status, was also in great difficulty. Its vice-chairman, Yang Xingfo, was assassinated in June, 1933. In other words, unless the Left League was to give up its stand altogether and made no criticism or attack on the authorities, the chance to survive happily was flimsy.

Yet it is undeniable that the effects of different emphasis in Party policy were felt in the League. Qu Qiubai's reign covered the pre-League period, and we have shown that the ultra-leftists in the revolutionary literary polemic were very much affected by his policy. As for Li Lisan, his leftist element was shown in his eagerness to "win victory in one or more province first". This resulted in an urge for writers to drop their pens and stage insurrections on the streets. As shown in previous chapters, this aroused discontent among the moderates. Many of them took an indifferent attitude, while those small scale demonstrations brought nothing constructive. Comparatively speaking, Wang Ming's leftist Party line had much smaller impact on the League, especially in the latter period, as there was no way to receive orders from the Party. But this does not imply that the League was free of leftist trend in its final stages. Its leading members developed their own leftist line: closed-doorism and sectarianism became a most serious problem. Not only did they close their doors to the outsiders (little effort was made to recruit new members in the years between 1934-35, and many of those who joined the League during this period were just transferred from other leagues), but also within the organization itself opposing groups were formed. The development of the League was

arrested and its solidarity badly hurt, as much of the energy was wasted in internal squabbles and sometimes, these quarrels were brought to the public.

Another political factor often neglected in the discussion of the Left League was the effect of the Japanese aggression. Although the Japanese imperialists were steadfast in their anti-communist stands, their invasion of China in the thirties indirectly aided the Communists and left-wing literary movement. With the Japanese at the front door, Jiang Jieshi could not concentrate on the elimination of the Communists. The third encirclement campaign in 1931 was cut short because of the Mukden Incident and the fourth campaign was delayed until December, 1932 as in the beginning of the year, there was the Shanghai Battle. More important still, Jiang's "pacification first, then resistance" theory was unacceptable to the majority of the people, as no one would like to see a civil war when foreign invasion was imminent. On the other hand, throughout the thirties, the Communists had advocated the united front from below policy against Japanese invasion. Their declaration of war against Japan won the support of the masses. This was advantageous to the left-wing writers in Shanghai. In many cases, for instance in the struggle against the nationalist literary movement, they purposely stressed the differences between their attitudes towards the Japanese imperialists and that of their opponents.

It is difficult to give an objective appraisal of the League and the left-wing literary movement in Shanghai in the thirties, as different commentators would have different value judgements. In the author's opinion, the mere survival of the League, in the face of severe repression, was itself an achievement.

Although it has been a common practice for men of letters and writers to form literary groups in China, there was not one single organization, in terms of the organization, membership and activities, comparable to the Left League. At least for three to four years, the League was united and progressing. The great membership was unprecedented. Its members, despite being subjected to arrest and even execution, were determined and devoted. They were ready to make sacrifices, not only in the material aspects, but also of their lives. Readers of the recollections and memoirs of League members can hardly help be moved by their enthusiasm and devotion to the cause, as well as their love between comrades. Though many critics view their attacks on individual and nationalist writers dogmatic and ruthless, such wars were in fact necessary in clearing the path for proletarian revolution. Some on the right even admitted that their losing the country to the Communists was largely due to the failure to grasp the leadership in the literary and cultural fields. And we have shown, in previous chapters, how the left-wing writers, under the Left League, exerted great influence in the literary arena of the thirties.

But with the exception of Mao Dun's "Midnight", it is difficult to name any other great literary pieces. This was one of the main criticisms made against the League. The League was condemned for putting too much emphasis on politics and thus neglecting the literary aspects. To answer such charges, we may point out one fact. With a few exceptions, such as Lu Xun, Mao Dun and Guo Moruo, members of the Left League were then very young. Most of them were in their early twenties, or even in the teens. Is it a bit too harsh to demand from them such great works as "Midnight" or "The true story of Ah

Q"? Moreover, many League members, who started writing at the League period, produced good pieces afterwards. Not to mention Zhang Tianyi, Ai Wu and Sha Ting who attracted great attention upon the appearance of their first works, others like Lou Shiyi, Nie Gannu, Ouyang Shan and Wang Xiyan (王西彦, 1914- ) were to become famous writers. We know that there were several seminars and meetings within the League to discuss the works created by its members. This could be a contributing factor in encouraging its members to write and improve their standards. The large number of journals published by the League also provided good opportunities for new writers to get their works printed.

As stated earlier, critics in mainland China always consider that the Left League was a great success. Yet the fact that except for Lu Xun (who was dead), all its leading lights were purged at different times after the Communists established its rule in China seems inconsistent with this general judgement. We need to look, finally, at the causes of these subsequent reversals to discover whether they confirm or contradict the history of the League as we have interpreted it.

We have seen that Lu Xun, after the publication of the open letter to Xu Maoyong and the intervention of people like Liu Shaoqi, stood out as the victor of the two slogan polemic. Zhou Yang lost the domination of the literary circle when the Cultural Committee, which was under his control, was dissolved by Feng Xuefeng. In the following year, he left Shanghai for Yan'an. He told an interviewer in 1978 that he went to Yan'an upon receiving a telegram calling for cultural workers. But he had to admit that it was difficult for him to carry on with his work after he

had been criticized by Lu Xun.<sup>[4]</sup> But Zhou was able to occupy high positions there: he was the director of education, the dean of Lu Xun Academy of Arts, and the president of Yan'an University. Obviously, his failure in Shanghai was forgiven. Merle Goldman said that "in addition to his political orthodoxy, the fact that he was one of the first intellectuals to arrive in Yan'an and was a native of Mao's own province aided his swift rise in the hierarchy".<sup>[5]</sup> But it seems that the main reason should be: at that time, Mao Zedong was not in particular against the national defence literature slogan and the deeds of Zhou Yang in Shanghai. Although we have noted that Mao and Wang Ming differed in their attitudes towards the united front policy in 1935-36, and that Zhou Yang's slogan was close to Wang's theory, these did not constitute any great problem to Zhou as the second united front between the CCP and the KMT had already been established in 1937. If Xu Maoyong's memoirs reported a genuine story, we can see that Mao Zedong was ready to accept the national defence literature slogan in 1937-38. The followings were reported to be Mao's words:

- (1) .....
- (2) In my opinion, the first thing can be certain of is that the debate is one within the revolutionary camp, but not a polemic between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries. Your group was not counter-revolutionary. Nor was Lu Xun's group counter-revolutionary.
- (3) The debate broke out at a time when there were changes in Party line and policies. It is a drastic change from having a civil war to having an anti-Japanese national united front. In the process of transformation, it is inevitable to have quarrels, as there may be diversified attitudes towards the changes within the revolutionary camp. In fact, it was not only you people who quarreled. We, in Yan'an, also had a heated quarrel. [6]

Zhou Yang also recalled that not much was said about the two slogans in Yan'an, and "not even Chairman Mao criticized me".<sup>[7]</sup>

The first group of the Left League censured in Yan'an were close to Lu Xun in Shanghai. In the early forties, Ding Ling and Xiao Jun were criticized in the "Zhengfeng Movement" (整風運動, Rectification Movement). In the movement, Ding Ling lost the post of editorship of Jiefang ribao (《解放日報》, Liberation daily), and both had to go to Party schools, villages and factories for education. However, although they had been Lu Xun's followers and were then still in close relations with Hu Feng (they frequently contributed to Hu Feng's journal Qiyue [《七月》, July] in Wuhan), these were not the causes of their being censured. The Zhengfeng Movement was an attempt "to develop a corps of devoted, disciplined cadres and intellectuals convinced of the rightness of the party's cause. It sought to change basic patterns of behaviour and implant strict party line."<sup>[8]</sup> The heaviest attack fell on Wang Shiwei (王實味), who published series of articles, the most famous one being "Wild lily" (《野百合花》), to criticize the negative side of Yan'an. Ding and Xiao did similar things as Wang did. Ding Ling's "In the hospital" (《在醫院中》) was an attack on the governmental system and party organs in Yan'an. It had a strong streak of individualism. "Thoughts on March Eighth" (《三八節有感》), one of her most famous pieces of zawen, voiced the problems faced by the supposedly emancipated women in Yan'an. In the article, Ding did not hesitate to criticize those cadres who enjoyed privileges over the common people and the top Party leaders who did nothing practical but only made empty promises.<sup>[9]</sup> Xiao Jun was even more outspoken. He supported Ding Ling's views expressed in "Thoughts on March Eighth" in an article called "On marriage"

( 《論終身大事》 ). His "On love and patience among comrades" ( 《論同志的愛和耐》 ) exposed the troubles between cadres and their fellow comrades.<sup>[10]</sup> It was for these reasons that the two were under criticism. Although Zhou Yang and his associates were active in the campaign, the purge should not be viewed as retaliation, as it was Ding and Xiao who took the initiative to attack the top level. What is more, the punishment imposed on the two was comparatively lenient.

Among Zhou Yang's antagonists in Shanghai, Feng Xuefeng was the first one to receive heavy attack after 1949. The attack arose from Yu Pingbo's ( 俞平伯 , 1900- ) study on the "Dream of the red chamber". Feng, then the editor of Wenyibao, praised highly Yu's scholarship and refused to publish in his magazine the article of Li Xifan ( 李希凡 ) and Lan Ling ( 藍翎 ) in criticism of Yu. This was condemned by Yuan Shuipai ( 袁水拍 , 1919- ), a close follower of Zhou Yang, as bourgeois, showing a lack of appreciation for the value of scholarship based on Marxism-Leninism.<sup>[11]</sup> Zhou Yang himself also made a criticism on the editors of Wenyibao:

Individual authority, friendship, and the power of their journal were more important to them than the interests of the people and country. [12]

Zhou's campaign against Feng Xuefeng is generally regarded as a power struggle within the literary hierarchy: Wenyibao was the only base where Zhou's authority could not be asserted.<sup>[13]</sup> But it is also possible that clashes between Feng Xuefeng and Zhou Yang in the thirties could be the underlying cause for the latter's action.

The purge on Hu Feng in 1955 could definitely be related to the events of the thirties. Since the

forties and even after the establishment of the People's Republic, Hu had never accepted the leadership of Zhou Yang. In many articles, he showed his distaste for the literary officials. For some time, his associates and disciples had been subjected to criticism. In July, 1954, Hu, after a mild attack was levied on him, submitted to the Central Committee of the Party the famous "Ten thousand word letter".<sup>[14]</sup> Several months later, large scale assault began. Hu was charged of being against the Party and its policies. Before long, in the supporting evidence of their private correspondence, Hu and his associates were accused of "intriguing and acting as part of an over-all plot to overthrow the people's state and restore imperialism and KMT rule in China".<sup>[15]</sup> He was expelled from the Chinese Writers' Union. From then on, no more news was heard of him, until 1979.

It is true that much in Hu's report to the Central committee was unacceptable to the Communist Party and it was just a matter of time for the Party to take action against him. But why was it necessary to turn Hu into a counter-revolutionary, with only flimsy evidences? This reminds us unmistakably Hu's charge made by Zhou Yang in 1935 that Hu was a spy from Nanjing. The eagerness and efforts of Zhou Yang and his group would only arouse people's suspicion that they were eliminating a personal enemy. Even during the campaign, people raised doubts of this. Zhuang Yong ( 莊湧 ), one of Hu Feng's disciples, claimed:

This case is not a problem of literary theory, but of the personal relationship between Hu Feng and Zhou Yang. <sup>[16]</sup>

Another said that "if Lu Xun were alive today, the same would have happened to him".<sup>[17]</sup>

After the elimination of Hu Feng, it was the

turn of another long-time enemy, Feng Xuefeng. In the anti-rightist drive in 1957-58, Ding Ling was firstly picked up for criticism. Yet we should not rashly relate this to the disputes of the thirties, for throughout the first ten years of the People's Republic, she had always tried to challenge and compete with Zhou Yang for the leadership of the literary world. But on the other hand, Feng Xuefeng, after the "Dream of the red chamber" incident, spoke only occasionally. But he was made the chief target of attack in the anti-rightist campaign. We have no doubts that this time Feng's purge was closely related to his deeds in the thirties, as many articles labelled these for criticisms.<sup>[18]</sup> Zhou Yang and his colleagues tried to save their personal honour by attributing all the blunders made during the Left League period to Feng Xuefeng. A most famous attack was made by Xia Yan in the enlarged session of the Chinese Writers Union Party group on 17th August, 1957.<sup>[19]</sup> Any conflicts between Zhou Yang and Lu Xun were the results of the "provocation" and "alienation" of Feng Xuefeng who, co-operating with Hu Feng, hoodwinked Lu Xun. In accounting for the two slogan polemic, they argued that the national defence literature slogan represented the correct Party line and hence, Hu Feng and Feng Xuefeng's proposing another slogan was inappropriate as it caused much unnecessary confusion. Since they could not say anything against Lu Xun, they had to make out a story that all the writings of Lu Xun denouncing Zhou Yang and his slogan, including the open letter to Xu Maoyong, were written by Feng Xuefeng, or at least based on the wrong information provided by Feng, while Lu Xun, in his sick bed, could not see Feng's divisionist activities.<sup>[20]</sup> To silence objections, Zhou Yang excluded any of the bitter letters and articles in the collection of Lu Xun's works published

in the fifties. The attack on Feng included his behaviour during the polemic with the "men of the third category". Feng's criticism on A Ying, Qu Qiubai and Zhou Yang were taken as anti-Party actions in co-operation with the Trotskyist Hu Qiuyuan. [21]

In this Anti-rightist campaign, another associate of Lu Xun, Huang Yuan was also hit. [22] Ironically enough, Xu Maoyong, who attacked Huang Yuan in his letter to Lu Xun, was labelled a rightist and received harsh criticism in the campaign too. As another means to shake off the blame, Zhou Yang accused him of writing the letter to Lu Xun in 1936. [23]

After the anti-rightist campaign, Zhou Yang's re-evaluating the Left League period in his favour was complete. It is unconvincing to say that all the campaigns were ideological ones and that Zhou Yang only acted in accordance to Mao Zedong's instructions. Merle Goldman's analysis on these campaigns is enlightening:

The particular vehemence of the attacks on Hu Feng and Feng Xuefeng and the effort to erase Lu Xun's connections with these two writers and his involvement in the 1936 controversy had more to do with Zhou's group's personal rivalries. Mao set the general direction of the campaign, but Zhou and his cohorts gave the campaigns their particular emphasis. The campaigns had as much to do with factional issues as with ideological ones. It gave these cultural officials the opportunity to get rid of rivals and enhance their own positions as well as impose the latest Party line. [24]

But then in the summer of 1966, Zhou Yang found himself became the target of attack in the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". On 2nd February, Jiang Qing (江青), under the direction of Lin Biao (林彪, 1907-1971), called the "Forum on

literature and art in the armed forces" (部隊文藝工作座談會), and brought forward the theory of the "literary black line" (文藝黑線). It was said that since the establishment of the People's Republic, the literary arena was ruled by "an anti-Party, anti-socialist black line which stood against the thoughts of Chairman Mao, and the black line was the combination of the bourgeois literary thinkings, modern revisionist literary thinkings and the so-called literature of the thirties".<sup>[25]</sup> Clearly enough, Zhou Yang was to be purged this time as he had been in charge of the literary hierarchy in this period. In July, Zhou was formally denounced:

For twenty-four years, Zhou Yang and company have consistently refused to carry out comrade Mao Zedong's line on literature and art, and stubbornly adhered to the bourgeois revisionist black line on literature and art. <sup>[26]</sup>

The reasons for Zhou Yang's being purged will not be discussed here.<sup>[27]</sup> Yet, with his downfall, the literature of the thirties was to be re-evaluated once again. In an attempt to portray Zhou Yang as a defier of Mao Zedong's correct Party line, Jiang Qing put great emphasis on the clashes between Zhou and Lu Xun, a "foot-soldier" in support of Mao's policies who had "boundless esteem and love for Chairman Mao".<sup>[28]</sup> A great number of unpublished works of Lu Xun, mostly private letters which revealed Lu Xun's contempt over Zhou's company, were reprinted. People like Feng Xuefeng, Zhou Yang's antagonists in the thirties, were made to write on the anti-Lu Xun, anti-Party deeds and conspiracy of Zhou Yang.

As expected, the two slogan polemic was re-interpreted. This time, Zhou Yang's slogan of national defence literature was described as a product of Wang Ming's right-deviationist Party line, and so it was

capitulationistic. Zhou Yang was charged with being a close follower of Wang Ming, the adversary of Mao Zedong, and sacrificing the proletarian cause for a conciliation with the KMT. On the other hand, Lu Xun's slogan of mass literature of the national revolutionary war was, because of its stress on proletarian leadership, honoured as upholding the socialist principles and Maoist stands in the debate. [29]

With the fall of the "Gang of Four" in 1976, such interpretation was bound to be rejected. In less than a month of their arrest, articles appeared to allege that one member of the Gang of Four, Zhang Chunqiao (張春橋) was the "Di Ke" (狄克) condemned by Lu Xun in 1936 for his attack on Xiao Jun.<sup>[30]</sup> At this stage, Zhou Yang was still under purge as Di Ke was described as an ally of Zhou. It was not until the autumn of 1977 that there was sign of his rehabilitation: on 30th September, he was present at the gathering in celebration of the National Day. A month later, he attended the forums held by Renmin ribao on the criticism of the "literary black line" theory. Before long, it was concluded that there had never been the literary black line, which was but a fabrication of the Gang of Four to deny the past achievements. Hence, Zhou Yang was rehabilitated on the ground that he was one of the victims of the Cultural Revolution. So were his colleagues and the national defence literature slogan. In a number of forums held by universities and colleges in different parts of the country, there was the same conclusion that the slogan was not born out of the right deviationist Wang Ming line. There was no trace that it was anti-Party and anti-socialist.<sup>[31]</sup> Unlike past campaigns, these discussions seemed to allow the presence of diversified opinions. We can still find

the criticisms on Zhou Yang's group for alienating Lu Xun and committing other errors, though they were regarded as minor ones. In general, it has been agreed that Lu Xun's co-existence theory is most correct.<sup>[32]</sup> Furthermore, there was also the rehabilitation of Zhou's opponents. A memorial ceremony was held for Feng Xuefeng in November, 1979 and his cinerary casket was placed in the revolutionary cemetery, covered with a Party flag.<sup>[33]</sup> Hu Feng was released in January 1979 and made the Political Consultative member of Sichuan. Before his death in 1985, he was able to get part of his memoirs published.

The history of the Left League has been rewritten once again in mainland China. We do not expect the new evaluation can be free of personal and ideological biases. But it is obvious that critics there are now more ready to "seek truth in facts". To the outside, the availability of more and more materials facilitates a better understanding of the real picture. It was for this reason that the present research is undertaken. It is the author's wish that comparatively objective presentation and conclusion have been made.

NOTES:

- [1] "Comrade Feng Xuefeng on Lu Xun and the 'Left League'", p. 168.
- [2] Feng Xuefeng, Remembering Lu Xun, pp. 108-109.
- [3] Mao Dun, The road I trod Vol. II, p. 71.
- [4] Zhao Haosheng, "Zhou Yang takes a laughing look at history", p. 236.
- [5] Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 48.
- [6] Xu Maoyong, Memoirs of Xu Maoyong, pp. 103-104.
- [7] Zhao Haosheng, "Zhou Yang takes a laughing look at history", p. 236.
- [8] Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 18.
- [9] Jiefang ribao, 9th March, 1942, p. 4.
- [10] Jiefang ribao, 8th April, 1943, p. 4.
- [11] Yuan Shuipai, "An inquiry of the editors of Wenyibao" ( 《質問“文藝報”編者》 ), Renmin ribao, 28th Oct., 1954, reprinted in Wenyibao No. 20, 1954 (30th Oct., 1954), pp. 3-4.
- [12] Zhou Yang, "We must fight" ( 《我們必須戰鬥》 ), Wenyibao No. 23&24, 1954 (30th Dec., 1954), pp. 13-15.
- [13] Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 126.
- [14] "Hu Feng's opinions on literature and art" ( 《胡風對文藝問題的意見》 ), Supplement to Wenyibao (Jan., 1955), pp. 1-165.
- [15] Survey of the China mainland Press, No. 1090:45, Xinhuashe (Beijing: 16th July, 1955). Quoted from Merle Goldman, Literary dissent in Communist China, p. 155.
- [16] Ibid., p. 152.
- [17] Ibid.
- [18] For example, see Huo Songlin, "Criticize Feng Xuefeng's anti-Marxist literary thinking", Renmin wenxue No. 12, 1957, p. 90; Liu Shousong, "On the two literary polemics of the Left League period - A criticism on Feng Xuefeng's anti-Party activities and anti-Marxist literary thinking", Wenxue yanjiu No. 1, 1958, pp. 25-31.
- [19] This speech has never been published

openly. But Lou Shiyi revealed that Xia Yan's article in Wenxue pinglun "Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten" repeated largely the ideas of the speech. Lou Shiyi, "To forget, for solidarity - On reading comrade Xia Yan's 'Some past events that should have long been forgotten but cannot be forgotten", p. 91.

[20] Ruan Ming (阮銘), Ruan Ruoying (阮若瑛), "A hidden arrow from Zhou Yang to reverse history - Comment on a note made in Vol. VI of Complete works of Lu Xun" (《周揚顛倒歷史的一支暗箭——評“魯迅全集”第六集的一條註釋》), Hongqi No. 9, 1966 (1st July, 1966), pp. 35-44. Xu Guangping, "Zhou Yang should not be allowed to attack and slander Lu Xun" (《不許周揚攻擊和誣蔑魯迅》), Hongqi No. 12, 1966 (17th Sept., 1966), pp. 28-37.

[21] Liu Shousong, "On the two literary polemics of the Left League period - A criticism on Feng Xuefeng's anti-Party activities and anti-Marxist literary thinking", pp. 25-31.

[22] "Completely reveal the anti-Party background of Huang Yuan" (《黃源反黨面目被徹底揭穿》), Wenyibao No. 34, 1957 (1st Dec., 1957), p. 7.

[23] Chen Cong (陳聰), "Such a 'revolutionary philosopher' and 'revolutionary writer' - Report on the criticism meeting against the rightist Xu Maoyong" (《如此“革命哲學家”和“革命文學家”——批判右派份子徐懋庸大會報導》), Wenyibao No. 35, 1957 (8th Dec., 1957), p. 2.

[24] Merle Goldman, "The political use of Lu Xun", China quarterly No. 91 (Sept., 1982), p. 449.

[25] Jiefangjunbao (《解放軍報》, Liberation army newspaper), 18th April, 1966.

[26] Hongqi No. 7, 1966 (29th April, 1966).

[27] For a discussion of the topic, see Merle Goldman, "The fall of Zhou Yang", China Quarterly No. 27 (July-Sept., 1966), pp. 132-148.

[28] "In commemoration of our pioneer in cultural revolution, Lu Xun" (《紀念我們的文化革命先驅魯迅》), Hongqi No. 14, 1966 (1st Nov., 1966), pp. 23-25.

[29] See the articles collected in Thoroughly criticize National defence literature.

[30] Ren Ping (任平), "An out and out old capitulationist" (《一個地地道道的老投降派》), Renmin ribao, 21st Oct., 1977, p. 1.

[31] Cf., Wenxue pinglun No. 3, 1978 (25th June, 1978), pp. 3-33; Wenxue pinglun No. 5, 1978 (25th Oct., 1978), p. 7-36; Gansu shida xuebao No. 2, 1978, pp. 2-35.

[32] For example, see Huang Xiuji (黃修己), "Lu Xun's 'co-existence' theory is most correct" (《魯迅的“並存”論最正確》) Wenxue pinglun No. 5, 1978, pp. 27-36; Wan Song (萬巒), "Lu Xun and the 'Two slogan polemic'" (《魯迅與“兩個口號”的論爭》), Gansu shida xuebao No. 2, 1978, pp. 36-42.

[33] "The memorial meeting of comrade Feng Xuefeng was held in Beijing" (《馮雪峰同志追悼會在京舉行》), Renmin ribao, 18th Nov., 1979.

GLOSSARY(I) NAMES:

- A Ying 阿英  
 Ai Qing 艾青  
 Ai Wu 艾蕪  
 Akita Ujaku 秋田雨雀  
 Aono Suekichi 青野季吉  
 Ba Jin 巴金  
 Bai Mang 白莽  
 Bai Shu 白曙  
 Bao Tianxiao 包天笑  
 Bing Shen 丙申  
 Bing Xin 冰心  
 Cai Yongshang 蔡咏裳  
 Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培  
 Cao Jinghua 曹靖華  
 Cao Ming 草明  
 Chen Baoyi 陳抱一  
 Chen Beiou 陳北鷗  
 Chen Boer 陳波兒  
 Chen Dage 陳大戈  
 Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀  
 Chen Hengzhe 陳衡哲  
 Chen Jingsheng 陳勁生  
 Chen Lifu 陳立夫  
 Chen Mengjia 陳夢家  
 Chen Mingshu 陳銘樞  
 Chen Shaoyu 陳紹禹  
 Chen Xianghe 陳翔鶴  
 Chen Yannian 陳延年  
 Chen Yi 陳沂  
 Chen Yuan 陳源  
 Chen Zhengdao 陳正道  
 Chen Zhongshan 陳仲山  
 Cheng Fangwu 成仿吾  
 Cheng Shaohuai 程少懷  
 Dai Pingwan 戴平萬

Dai Wangshu 戴望舒  
 Dan Yan 丹仁  
 Dang Lang 瑤瑯  
 Deng Zhongxia 鄧中夏  
 Di Ke 狄克  
 Ding Ling 丁玲  
 Dong Qiushi 董秋斯  
 Dong Shaoming 董紹明  
 Du Heng 杜衡  
 Du Quan 杜荃  
 Duan Keqing 段可情  
 Eguchi Kiyoshi 江口渙  
 Fan Zhengbo 范爭波  
 Fan Zhongyun 樊仲雲  
 Fang Bi 方璧  
 Fang Guangming 方光明  
 Fang Meng 方萌  
 Fang Zhimin 方志敏  
 Fang Zhizhong 方之中  
 Fei Jianzhao 費鑑照  
 Feng Keng 馮鏗  
 Feng Naichao 馮乃超  
 Feng Renzhang 馮潤璋  
 Feng Xianzhang 馮憲章  
 Feng Xuefeng 馮雪峰  
 Feng Yuxiang 馮玉祥  
 Fu Donghua 傅東華  
 Fu Kexing 傅克興  
 Fukumoto Kazuo 福本和夫  
 Fu Yanchang 傅彥長  
 Gan Ren 甘人  
 Gao Yuhan 高語罕  
 Ge Baoquan 戈寶權  
 Ge Qin 葛琴  
 Ge Te 歌特  
 Gong Binglu 龔冰廬  
 Gu Fengcheng 顧鳳城

Gu Shunzhang 顧順章  
Gu Zhongyi 顧仲彝  
Guan Lu 關露  
Guo Bingruo 郭冰若  
Guo Moruo 郭沫若  
Han Qi 韓起  
Han Tuofu 韓托夫  
He Gutian 何谷天  
He Jiahuai 何家槐  
He Long 賀龍  
He Mengxiong 何孟雄  
Hou Lushi 侯魯史  
Hong Lingfei 洪靈菲  
Hong Shen 洪深  
Hong Weifa 洪爲法  
Hu Feng 胡風  
Hu Jianzhong 胡健中  
Hu Mei 胡楫  
Hu Qiaomu 胡喬木  
Hu Qiuyuan 胡秋原  
Hu Shouhua 胡也頻  
Hua Di 華蒂  
Hua Gang 華岡  
Hua Han 華漢  
Hua Lei 華磊  
Hua Shi 畫室  
Hua Xili 華希里  
Hua Xing 華興  
Huang Su 黃素  
Huang Yuan 黃源  
Huang Zhengxia 黃震遐  
Ikeda Hisao 池田壽夫  
Jiang Guangci 蔣光慈  
Jiang Heng 蔣衡  
Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石  
Jiang Qing 江青  
Jin Kuiguang 金奎光

Kang Sheng 康生  
Kawakami Hajime 河上肇  
Ke De 科德  
Ke Pengzhou 柯蓬州  
Kobayashi Takiji 小林多喜二  
Lan Ling 藍翎  
Lei Jianbo 雷濺波  
Li Ang 李昂  
Li Baiying 李白英  
Li Baiyu 李白裕  
Li Chuli 李初梨  
Li Fuchun 李富春  
Li Huiying 李輝英  
Li Jichen 李濟琛  
Li Liewen 黎烈文  
Li Lisan 李立三  
Li Shaoshi 李少石  
Li Shengyun 李聲韻  
Li Weisen 李偉森  
Li Xifan 李希凡  
Li Xiushi 李岫石  
Li Yimeng 李一氓  
Li Zanhua 李贊華  
Li Zongren 李宗仁  
Liang Shiqiu 梁實秋  
Liang Wenruo 梁文若  
Liao Zhongkai 廖仲凱  
Lin Biao 林彪  
Lin Boxiu 林伯修  
Lin Danqiu 林淡秋  
Lin Di 林蒂  
Lin Huanping 林煥平  
Lin Lin 林林  
Lin Yu'nan 林育南  
Lin Yuying 林育英  
Ling Sheng 靈聲  
Ling Shuhua 凌叔華

Ling Tie 凌鐵  
Liu Guan 劉甲  
Liu Hezhen 劉和珍  
Liu Qian 柳倩  
Liu Shaoqi 劉少奇  
Liu Xiwu 劉錫伍  
Lou Shiyi 樓適夷  
Lu Xun 魯迅  
Luo Feng 羅峰  
Luo Qiyuan 羅綺園  
Luo Yang 洛揚  
Luo Zhanglong 羅章龍  
Ma Ning 馬寧  
Mai Keang 麥克昂  
Mao Dun 茅盾  
Mao Zedong 毛澤東  
Mei Sun 梅孫  
Mei Yi 梅益  
Meng Chao 孟超  
Miao Chongqun 繆崇群  
Mo Wenhua 莫文華  
Nie Gannu 聶紺弩  
Ouyang Shan 歐陽山  
Ozaki Hotsumi 尾崎秀實  
Pan Gongzhan 潘公展  
Pan Hannian 潘漢年  
Pan Kaojian 潘考鑿  
Pan Mohua 潘漠華  
Pan Zinian 潘梓年  
Pang Daen 龐大恩  
Peng Boshan 彭柏山  
Peng Hui 彭慧  
Peng Kang 彭康  
Pu Feng 蒲風  
Qi 企  
Qi Su 齊速  
Qian Xingcun 錢杏邨

Qiu Dongping 丘東平  
 Qiu Jiuru 邱九如  
 Qiu Yunduo 邱韻鐸  
 Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白  
 Qu Yi 屈軼  
 Ren Baige 任白戈  
 Ren Jun 任鈞  
 Rou Shi 柔石  
 San Lang 三郎  
 Sha Ting 沙汀  
 Shao Bo 紹伯  
 Shao Lizi 邵力子  
 Shao Xunmei 邵洵美  
 Shen Congwen 沈從文  
 Shen Duanxian 沈端先  
 Shen Junru 沈鈞儒  
 Shen Qiyu 沈起予  
 Shen Zemin 沈澤民  
 Shi Fu 石夫  
 Shi Ling 石靈  
 Shi Linghe 石凌鶴  
 Shi Tie'er 史鐵兒  
 Shi Wenbin 史文彬  
 Shi Zhecun 施蛰存  
 Shou Jia 首甲  
 Sima Wensen 司馬文森  
 Song Hanyi 宋寒衣  
 Song Qingling 宋慶齡  
 Song Yi 宋易  
 Su Lingyang 蘇靈揚  
 Su Xuelin 蘇雪林  
 Sun Chuangfang 孫傳芳  
 Sun Fuyuan 孫伏園  
 Sun Ke 孫科  
 Sun Lianggong 孫儉公  
 Sun Xizhen 孫席珍  
 Sun Yat-sen 孫逸仙

Tai Jingnong 台靜農  
 Tan Lintong 譚林通  
 Tan Shihai 譚四海  
 Tang Yu 唐虞  
 Tao Jingsun 陶晶孫  
 Tian Han 田漢  
 Tian Jian 田間  
 Tong Changrong 童長榮  
 Uchiyama Kanzo 內山完造  
 Wan Er 莞爾  
 Wan Guoan 萬國安  
 Wang Chenwu 王塵無  
 Wang Duqing 王獨清  
 Wang Fanxi 王凡西  
 Wang Hanwen 汪漢雯  
 Wang Jinding 汪金丁  
 Wang Kequan 王克全  
 Wang Leijia 王蕾嘉  
 Wang Limin 王黎民  
 Wang Lixi 王禮錫  
 Wang Ming 王明  
 Wang Pingling 王平陵  
 Wang Renshu 王任叔  
 Wang Ruowang 王若望  
 Wang Shiwei 王實味  
 Wang Shuming 王淑明  
 Wang Tiran 汪儷然  
 Wang Tongzhao 王統照  
 Wang Xiyan 王西彥  
 Wang Xuewen 王學文  
 Wang Yaoshan 王堯山  
 Wang Yeming 王亞明  
 Wang Zhengting 王正廷  
 Wang Zhizhi 王志之  
 Wei Bo 魏伯  
 Wei Congwu 韋叢蕪  
 Wei Mengke 魏猛克

Wei Suyuan 韋素園  
Wen Tianxiang 文天祥  
Wen Yiduo 聞一多  
Wen Ying 文英  
Wu Guangzhong 吳貫中  
Wu Qiang 吳強  
Xia Laidi 吳奚如  
Xia Yan 夏衍  
Xia Zhengnong 夏征農  
Xiang Zhongfa 向忠發  
Xiao Chunu 蕭楚女  
Xiao Hong 蕭紅  
Xiao Jun 蕭軍  
Xiao San 蕭三  
Xie Bingying 謝冰瑩  
Xu Biru 徐彬如  
Xu Dege 徐大戈  
Xu Dishan 許地山  
Xu E 許峨  
Xu Guangping 許廣平  
Xu Maoyong 徐懋庸  
Xu Pingyu 徐平羽  
Xu Shoushang 許壽裳  
Xu Xing 徐行  
Xu Xingzhi 許幸之  
Xu Xunlei 徐迅雷  
Xu Ying 徐盈  
Xue Rengui 薛仁貴  
Yamakawa Hitoshi 山川均  
Yan Ao 晏敖  
Yan Xishan 閻錫山  
Yang Chao 楊潮  
Yang Cunren 楊邨人  
Yang Hansheng 陽翰笙  
Ye Lin 耶林  
Yang Minwei 楊民威  
Yang Paoan 楊匏庵

Yang Qianru 楊織如  
 Yang Sao 楊騷  
 Yang Shangkun 楊尙昆  
 Yang Xianjiang 楊賢江  
 Yang Xingfo 楊幸佛  
 Yang Zhihua 楊之華  
 Yao Pengzi 姚蓬子  
 Ye Chucang 葉楚傖  
 Ye Lingfeng 葉靈鳳  
 Ye Qiuyuan 葉秋原  
 Ye Shengtao 葉聖陶  
 Ye Yiqun 葉以群  
 Ye Zi 葉紫  
 Yi Ding 一丁  
 Yin Fu 殷夫  
 Yin Geng 尹庚  
 Ying Xiuren 應修人  
 Yu Dafu 郁達夫  
 Yuan Shan 原山  
 Yuan Shuipai 袁水拍  
 Yue Fei 岳飛  
 Yun Daiying 惲代英  
 Yun Shen 芸生  
 Zhang Chunqiao 張春橋  
 Zhang Guodao 張國燾  
 Zhang Juling 張菊齡  
 Zhang Shangbin 張尙斌  
 Zhang Songnian 張崧年  
 Zhang Tiao 張眺  
 Zhang Tingqian 章廷謙  
 Zhang Wentian 張聞天  
 Zhang Xichen 章錫琛  
 Zhang Ziping 張資平  
 Zhao Mingyi 趙銘彝  
 Zhao Zhuo 趙卓  
 Zheng Boqi 鄭伯奇  
 Zheng Xubai 曾虛白

Zheng Zhenduo 鄭振鐸  
 Zhi Jing 止敬  
 Zhi Yin 芷茵  
 Zhong Tianxin 鍾天心  
 Zhou Boxun 周伯勛  
 Zhou Enlai 周恩來  
 Zhou Gangming 周綱鳴  
 Zhou Haiying 周海嬰  
 Zhou Jianren 周建人  
 Zhou Lengqie 周楞伽  
 Zhou Libo 周立波  
 Zhou Quanping 周全平  
 Zhou Shoujuan 周瘦鵑  
 Zhou Wen 周文  
 Zhou Yang 周揚  
 Zhou Yutong 周予同  
 Zhou Yuying 周毓英  
 Zhu De 朱德  
 Zhu Jingwo 朱鏡我  
 Zhu Xiang 朱湘  
 Zhu Xiuxia 祝秀俠  
 Zhu Yingpeng 朱應鵬  
 Zhu Ziqing 朱自清  
 Zhuang Qidong 庄啓東  
 Zhuang Yong 莊湧  
 Zong, Hui 宗暉

(II) PUBLICATIONS:

A great impression 《一個偉大的印象》  
A journey to the land of hunger 《餓鄉歷程》  
Ba'erdisan 《巴爾底山》  
Beidou 《北斗》  
Benliu 《奔流》  
Chenbao fukan 《晨報副刊》  
Chuangzao jikan 《創造季刊》  
Chuangzao yuekan 《創造月刊》

- Chuangzao zhoubao 《創造週報》  
Dazhong wenyi 《大眾文藝》  
Des Sans-culottes 《短褲黨》  
Dongfang zazhi 《東方雜誌》  
Dongnan ribao 《東南日報》  
Dongxiang 《動向》  
Douzheng 《鬥爭》  
Dushu zazhi 《讀書雜誌》  
Family 《家》  
Fanzhan xinwen 《反戰新聞》  
Fenghuo 《烽火》  
Glare 《紅光》  
Guangming 《光明》  
Haifeng zhoukan 《海風周刊》  
History of the heart at the red captial 《赤都心史》  
Hongqi 《紅旗》  
Hongshui 《洪水》  
Huangqiu xunkan 《環球旬刊》  
Huangzhong yuekan 《黃鐘月刊》  
Huoju 《火炬》  
Jiefang ribao 《解放日報》  
Jindai wenyi 《今代文藝》  
Jiuguo ribao 《救國日報》  
Juewu 《覺悟》  
Kangliu 《抗流》  
Kani Kōsen 《蟹工船》  
Kaizhan yuekan 《開展月刊》  
Keguan 《客觀》  
Libailiu 《禮拜六》  
Liening qingnian 《列寧青年》  
Lihuo wenyi 《榴火文藝》  
May Day Special 《五一特刊》  
Manifesto of Chinese workers on literature and art  
 《中國文藝工作者宣言》  
Mengya 《萌芽》  
Midnight 《子夜》  
Minguo ribao 《民國日報》

- Mishuchu xiaoxi 《秘書處消息》  
Muxia wencong 《木屑文叢》  
Nanguo yuekan 《南國月刊》  
New dreams 《新夢》  
On the river Yalu 《鴨綠江上》  
Qianfeng yuekan 《前烽月刊》  
Qianfeng zhoukan 《前鋒周刊》  
Qianshao 《前哨》  
Shalun 《沙侖》  
Shanghai chenbao 《上海晨報》  
Shehui kexue jiangzuo 《社會科學講座》  
Shehui yuebao 《社會月報》  
Shenghuo zhishi 《生活知識》  
Shijie wenhua 《世界文化》  
Shishi xinbao 《時事新報》  
Shizi jietou 《十字街頭》  
The battle at the gateway of the nation 《國門之戰》  
The battle of Gansu 《隴海線上》  
The destruction of great Shanghai 《大上海的毀滅》  
The dream of the red chamber 《紅樓夢》  
The moon that forces its way through the clouds  
 《衝出雲圍的月亮》  
The sorrows of Lisa 《麗莎的哀怨》  
The young tramp 《少年漂泊者》  
Trilogy of love 《愛情三部曲》  
Tuohuangzhe 《拓荒者》  
Wenhua douzheng 《文化鬥爭》  
Wenhua pinglun 《文化評論》  
Wenhua pipan 《文化批判》  
Wenxue 《文學》  
Wenxue banyuekan 《文學半月刊》  
Wenxue congbao 《文學叢報》  
Wenxue daobao 《文學導報》  
Wenxuejia 《文學家》  
Wenxuejie 《文學界》  
Wenxue shenghuo 《文學生活》

- Wenxue yuebao 《文學月報》  
Wenxue zazhi 《文學雜誌》  
Wenyi jiangzuo 《文藝講座》  
Wenyi qunzhong 《文藝群眾》  
Wenyi xindi 《文藝新地》  
Wenyi xinwen 《文藝新聞》  
Wenyi yuekan 《文藝月刊》  
Wild lily 《野百合花》  
Wugei lieche 《無軌列車》  
Wuhan ribao 《武漢日報》  
Xiandai 《現代》  
Xiandai xiaoshuo 《現代小說》  
Xianshi wenxue 《現實文學》  
Xiaoshuo yuebao 《小說月報》  
Xindi 《新地》  
Xinfunü zazhi 《新婦女雜誌》  
Xingqingnian 《新青年》  
Xinshehui 《新社會》  
Xinwenhua 《新文化》  
Xinwenyi 《新文藝》  
Xinyue yuekan 《新月月刊》  
Xinyulin 《新語林》  
Xixiang yuekan 《思想月刊》  
Yishu yuekan 《藝術月刊》  
Zhaohua xunkan 《朝花旬刊》  
Zhaohua yuekan 《朝花月刊》  
Zhongguo qingnian 《中國青年》  
Zhongguo ribao 《中國日報》  
Zhongguo yu shijie 《中國與世界》  
Zhongxuesheng 《中學生》  
Zhongyang ribao 《中央日報》  
Zhuanhuan 《轉換》  
Ziyoutan 《自由談》  
Ziyou yundong 《自由運動》

(III) ORGANIZATIONS:

- Anti-imperialist Youth League 青年反帝大同盟
- Art Drama Association 藝術劇社
- Association of Chinese Writers and Artists  
中國文藝家協會
- Association for the rear support of the Red Army  
紅軍後援會
- Association for the Study of Cartoons 漫畫研究會
- Association for the Study of Creation 創作研究會
- Association for the Study of Fiction 小說研究會
- Association for the Study of International Cultures  
中國文化研究會
- Association for the Study of Marxist Literary Theories  
馬克思文藝理論研究會
- Association for the Study of Marxist Theories  
馬克思理論研究會
- Association for the Study of Poetry 詩歌研究會
- Association for the Study of Popularization of  
Literature and Art 文藝大眾化研究會
- Association for the Study of Theories 理論研究會
- Blue-shirt Society 藍衣社
- Chinese Association of Poetry 中國詩歌會
- Chinese Authors Association 中國著作者協會
- Chinese Communist Party [CCP] 中國共產黨
- Chinese League for the Protection of Civil Rights  
中國民權保障同盟
- Chinese League of Left-wing writers 中國左翼作家聯盟
- Chinese League of Social Scientists 中國社會科學家聯盟
- Committee for the Communication Movement among  
Workers, Peasants and Soldiers 工農兵通訊運動委員會
- Committee for Creation and Criticism 創作批評委員會
- Committee of the Cultures of Workers, Peasants and  
Soldiers 工農兵文化委員會
- Committee for Popularization 大眾化委員會
- Committee for the Study of Fiction 小說研究委員會
- Committee for the Study of Poetry 詩歌研究委員會
- Committee for the Work of Popularization  
大眾化工作委員會

Committee for Worker and Peasant Education

工農教育委員會

Communist Youth Corps 共產主義青年團

Creation Committee 創作委員會

Creation Society 創造社

Crescent School 新月派

Dadao Drama Association 大道劇社

Dawn Association 晨光社

Engine Society 引擎社

Fiction and Prose Group 小說散文組

Freedom Movement League of China 中國自由運動大同盟

General League of Left-wing Culture 左翼文化總同盟

Green Waves Association 綠波社

International Liason Committee 國際聯絡委員會

Kuomintang [KMT] 國民黨

Lakeside Poetry Association 湖畔詩社

League of Left-wing Dramatists 左翼戲劇家聯盟

Left League 左聯

Literary Research Association 文學研究會

Modern Critic group 現代評論派

Poetry Division 詩歌組

Revolutionary Mutual-aid Association 革命互濟會

Shenzhou guoguangshe 神州國光社

South Nation Society 南國社

South Society 南社

Sun Society 太陽社

Sunlight Association 曦社

The Federation of Drama Movement 戲劇運動聯合會

The Third Party 第三黨

Theory Committee 理論委員會

Theory Study Group 理論研究小組

Theory Study Section 理論研究部

Thread-of-talk Group 語絲派

Us Society 我們社

Western Hill Group 西山派

(IV) MISCELLANEOUS:

- Art of weapon 武器的藝術  
 Befuddled eyes 醉眼  
 Break away before unite 分離結合  
 Chinese Arts University 中華藝術大學  
 Cross-boundary road-building area 越界築路區  
 Cultural Branch 文化支部  
 Fa'nan 法南  
 Five martyrs of the Left League 左聯五烈士  
 Flying meeting 飛行集會  
 Four fellows 四條漢子  
 Free men 自由人  
 Fukumotoism 福本主義  
 Gongfei Coffeeshop 公啡咖啡店  
 Guoyu 國語  
 Hongkou 虹口  
 Hudong 滬東  
 Huxi 滬西  
 Literature of the resistance war 抗戰文學  
 Literary black line 文藝黑線  
 Manchukuo 滿州國  
 Mass literature 大眾文藝  
 Mass literature of the national revolutionary war  
 民族革命戰爭的大眾文學  
 National defence government 國防政府  
 National defence literature 國防文學  
 Niuzhuang Road 牛庄路  
 Old fellow 老生  
 Oriental Hotel 東方旅社  
 Pacification first, then resistance 先安內後攘外  
 Pingwen wenxue 平民文學  
 Putonghua 普通話  
 Theoretical struggle 理論鬥爭  
 Third category men 第三種人  
 Three People's Principles 三民主義  
 Weapon of art 藝術的武器

Yamakawaism 山川主義

Yanshupu 楊樹浦

Yanyi 演義

Yuhuatai 雨花臺

Zhabei 閘北

Ziwo 自我

## APPENDIX:

## MEMBERSHIP LIST OF THE CHINESE LEAGUE OF LEFT-WING WRITERS:

## (I) SHANGHAI:

- |                      |                       |                     |
|----------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| A Ying (阿英)          | Ai Wu (艾蕪)            | Ae E (安峨)           |
| Bai Lang (白朗)        | Bai Shu (白曙)          | Bai Wei (白薇)        |
| Bei Yuenan (貝岳南)     | Cao Ming (草明)         | Chen Cisang (陳此生)   |
| Chen Dage (陳大戈)      | Chen Junye (陳君冶)      | Chen Kehan (陳克寒)    |
| Chen Nongling (陳農令)  | Chen Qixia (陳企霞)      | Chen Sufeng (陳素風)   |
| Chen Yanqiao (陳煙橋)   | Chen Youwei (陳幽微)     | Chen Zhengdao (陳正道) |
| Cheng Shaohui (程少懷)  | Dai Pingwan (戴平萬)     | Dai Wangshu (戴望舒)   |
| Ding Ling (丁玲)       | Dong Qiusi (董秋斯)      | Du Heng (杜衡)        |
| Du Junhui (杜君慧)      | Du Tan (杜談)           | Fang Meng (方孟)      |
| Fang Turen (方土人)     | Fang Zhizhong (方之中)   | Feng Keng (馮鏗)      |
| Feng Naichao (馮乃超)   | Feng Runzhang (馮潤璋)   | Feng Sufu (馮夔夫)     |
| Feng Xianzhang (馮憲章) | Feng Xuefeng (馮雪峰)    | Feng Yizhi (馮毅之)    |
| Fu Kexing (傅克興)      | Gan Mai (甘邁)          | Ge Qin (葛琴)         |
| Gong Binglu (興冰廬)    | Gu Fengcheng (顧鳳城)    | Guan Lu (關露)        |
| Guo Moruo (郭沫若)      | Guo Weicheng (郭維城)    | Han Jingfeng (韓勁風)  |
| Han Qi (韓起)          | Han Shiheng (韓侍桁)     | Han Xiufeng (韓秀風)   |
| He Jiahuai (何家槐)     | Hong Lingfei (洪靈菲)    | Hong Qiu (洪遼)       |
| Hong Shen (洪深)       | Hou Lushi (侯魯史)       | Hu Feng (胡風)        |
| Hu Yepin (胡也頻)       | Hu Yifan (胡伊凡)        | Huang Mei (荒煤)      |
| Huang Su (黃素)        | Huang Xinbo (黃新波)     | Huang Yaomian (黃藥眠) |
| Jiang Bin (蔣弼)       | Jiang Guangci (蔣光慈)   | Jiang Jiawei (江家爲)  |
| Jiang Muliang (蔣牧良)  | Jiang Shangqing (江上青) | Jin Huiguang (金奎光)  |
| Ke Bonian (柯柏年)      | Kuang Jingzhi (鄺勁志)   | Lei Jianbo (雷滌波)    |
| Li Baoying (黎寶瑩)     | Li Chuli (李初梨)        | Li Huiying (李暉英)    |
| Li Liwen (李勵文)       | Li Ni (麗尼)            | Li Weisen (李偉森)     |
| Liang Wenruo (梁文若)   | Liao Mosha (廖沫沙)      | Lin Boxiu (林伯修)     |
| Lin Chujun (林楚君)     | Lin Danqiu (林淡秋)      | Lin Di (林蒂)         |
| Lin Huanping (林煥平)   | Lin Ye (林耶)           | Liu Fengsi (劉風斯)    |
| Liu Qian (柳倩)        | Liu Xiwu (劉錫伍)        | Liu Yici (劉毅慈)      |
| Liu Zhiming (劉芝明)    | Liu Zonghuang (劉宗璜)   | Lou Shiyi (樓適夷)     |
| Lu Si (魯思)           | Lu Xun (魯迅)           | Luo Feng (羅峰)       |
| Ma Ning (馬寧)         | Ma Zihua (馬子華)        | Mao Dun (茅盾)        |
| Mei Yi (梅益)          | Meng Chao (孟超)        | Mu Mutian (穆木天)     |
| Nie Gannu (聶紺弩)      | Ouyang Bin (歐陽弼)      | Ouyang Shan (歐陽山)   |
| Pan Bingxin (潘秉心)    | Pan Hannian (潘漢年)     | Pan Mohua (潘漠華)     |
| Pan Pifan (潘皮凡)      | Peng Boshan (彭柏山)     | Peng Hui (彭慧)       |
| Peng Jiahuang (彭家煌)  | Peng Kang (彭康)        | Pu Feng (蒲風)        |
| Qi Su (齊速)           | Qiu Yunduo (邱韻鐸)      | Ren Baige (任白戈)     |
| Ren Jun (任鈞)         | Rou Shi (柔石)          | Sha Ting (沙汀)       |
| Shao Quanlin (邵荃麟)   | Shen Qiyu (沈起予)       | Shen Yechen (沈葉沉)   |
| Shi Linghe (石陵鶴)     | Shi Tianshou (師田手)    | Shi Xiqing (史熙青)    |
| Shu Qun (舒群)         | Sima Wensen (司馬文森)    | Situ Huimin (司徒慧敏)  |
| Song Hanyi (宋寒衣)     | Su Hua (蘇華)           | Su Lingyang (蘇靈揚)   |
| Sun Shiling (孫石靈)    | Tan Lintong (譚林通)     | Tan Xiaoqing (覃曉晴)  |
| Tang Yu (唐瑜)         | Tao Jingsun (陶晶孫)     | Tian Han (田漢)       |
| Tian Jian (田間)       | Tong Zhangrong (童長榮)  | Tu Qihua (屠琪華)      |
| Tu Tingrong (屠廷容)    | Wang Chenwu (王塵無)     | Wang Hanwen (汪漢雯)   |

Wang Jieyu (王潔予)	Wang Jinding (汪金丁)	Wang Leijia (王薺嘉)
Wang Lun (汪崑)	Wang Renshu (王任叔)	Wang Ruowang (王若望)
Wang Shuming (王淑明)	Wang Xuwen (王學文)	Wang Yaoshan (王堯山)
Wang Yiliu (王一榴)	Wang Yuqing (王玉清)	Wei Mengke (魏猛克)
Wei Jin (魏晉)	Wei Jinzhi (魏金枝)	Wei Yumei (韋毓梅)
Wu Guangzhong (吳貫中)	Wu Hougang (吳厚剛)	Wu Jiang (吳強)
Wu Mengchang (伍夢昌)	Wu Tian (吳天)	Wu Wen (吳汶)
Wu Xiru (吳奚如)	Wu Zhenggang (吳振剛)	Xia Yan (夏衍)
Xia Zhengnong (夏征農)	Xiang Sigeng (向思廣)	Xiao Dai (蕭岱)
Xiao San (蕭三)	Xiao Yishan (蕭筵山)	Xin Lao (辛勞)
Xu E (許峨)	Xu Hanguang (徐漢光)	Xu Maoyong (徐懋庸)
Xu Mingzheng (徐名正)	Xu Pingyu (徐平羽)	Xu Wei (徐薇)
Xu Xingzhi (許幸之)	Xu Xunlei (徐迅雷)	Xu Zhijin (徐之津)
Yang Cao (楊湖)	Yang Cuhren (楊邨人)	Yang Gang (楊剛)
Yang Hansheng (陽翰笙)	Yang Qianru (楊緞如)	Yan Sao (楊蘇)
Yang Zao (羊棗)	Yao Muzi (姚木紫)	Yao Pengzi (姚蓬子)
Ye Lingfeng (葉靈鳳)	Ye Yiqun (葉以群)	Ye Zi (葉紫)
Yin Fu (殷夫)	Yin Geng (尹庚)	Yin Mengping (殷夢萍)
Yin Shisong (殷士松)	Ying Xiuren (應修人)	Yong Yu (勇余)
You Ping (游平)	Yu Dafu (郁達夫)	Yu Huai (俞懷)
Zhang Lingyun (張凌雲)	Zhang Shiman (張士曼)	Zhang Tianxu (張天虛)
Zhang Tianyi (張天翼)	Zhao Tiao (張眺)	Zhao Xian (趙先)
Zhao Yishan (趙一山)	Zhao Zuo (趙卓)	Zheng Boqi (鄭伯奇)
Zheng Hongshu (鄭宏述)	Zheng Yintao (鄭吟濤)	Zheng Yuzhi (鄭育之)
Zhou Erfu (周而復)	Zhou Guangming (周鋼鳴)	Zhou Jing (周靜)
Zhou Libo (周立波)	Zhou Quanping (周全平)	Zhou Tianbo (周天寶)
Zhou Wen (周文)	Zhou Yang (周揚)	Zhou Yiu (周耀)
Zhou Yuying (周毓英)	Zhu Fanrong (朱繁容)	Zhu Jingwo (朱鏡我)
Zhu Weiming (朱維明)	Zhu Xiuxia (祝秀俠)	Zhu Zhengming (朱正明)
Zhuang Qidong (庄啓東)		

Total: 229

(II) BEIPING:

Cao Jinghua (曹靖華)	Cao Xingjia (曹興家)	Chen Beiou (陳北鷗)
Chen Bijun (陳碧君)	Chen Biru (陳璧如)	Chen Luo (陳落)
Chen Peiqin (陳斐琴)	Chen Shujun (陳叔俊)	Chen Yi (陳沂)
Chen Zhao (陳昭)	Chen Zhujun (陳竹君)	Cheng Yingliu (程應鏐)
Dong Su (董速)	Du Guangzhao (杜光昭)	Du Zongxun (杜宗勛)
Duanmu Hongliang (端木蕻良)		Duan Xuesheng (段雪笙)
Fan Wenlan (范文瀾)	Fang Yin (方殷)	Feng Baolin (馮寶麟)
Feng Wenxia (馮文俠)	Feng Yizhi (馮毅之)	Gao Chengzhi (高承志)
Gao Minfu (高敏夫)	Gao Tao (高滔)	Gou Qingchuan (苟晴川)
Gu Mu (谷牧)	Gu Wanchuan (谷萬川)	Guan Tong (管同)
Guo Da (郭大)	Guo Hong (郭虹)	Guo Weicheng (郭維城)
Han Baoshan (韓保善)	Hao Guanying (郝冠英)	He Chun (何春)
He Kai (賀凱)	He Tai (和泰)	He Xiaoshi (何小石)
Hong Lingfei (洪靈菲)	Hong Junshi (洪君實)	Hu Man (胡蠻)
Huang Ji (黃旣)	Huang Kan (黃荊)	Jian Xian'ai (筵先艾)
Jiang Li (蔣筵)	Jiang Maoxing (蔣茂興)	Jiang Xia (江俠)
Jin Zhanran (金湛然)	Jin Zhaoye (金肇野)	Lie Zhenwu (雷振武)
Li Helin (李何林)	Li Huiying (李輝英)	Li Junmin (李俊民)
Li Manqing (栗曼擘)	Li Rui (李蕤)	Li Shufan (李樹藩)
Li Wenbao (李文保)	Li Wenfu (李文甫)	Li Zhaoling (李肇齡)
Li Zhaorui (李兆瑞)	Li Zheng (李正)	Li Zhilian (李之璉)

Liang Bing (梁冰)	Liang Mengchong (梁夢迴)	Lin Bowen (林博文)
Liu Baiyu (劉白羽)	Liu Feng (柳風)	Liu Jingming (劉景明)
Liu Lin (柳林)	Liu Rui (劉瑞)	Liu Wanmei (陸萬美)
Liu Zhengyi (劉正一)	Liu Zunqi (劉尊祺)	Lu Yi (路一)
Luo Zhufeng (羅竹風)	Ma Jia (馬加)	Ma Zhiqian (馬致千)
Mei Yi (梅益)	Ouyang Fanhai (歐陽凡滌)	
Pan Bingxin (潘秉心)	Pan Mohua (潘漠華)	Pan Yingren (潘應人)
Peng Dao (澎島)	Peng Zigang (彭子岡)	Qiao Shuimo (喬水洙)
Qu Chengzhang (屈成章)	Sang Xuanyang (桑煊陽)	Shao Sendi (邵森楛)
Shi Dai (時玳)	Shi Xiaozhong (石嘯冲)	Song Zhidi (宋之的)
Sun Tiefu (孫鐵夫)	Sun Xichen (孫席珍)	Tai Jingnong (台靜農)
Wang Dahua (王大化)	Wang Datong (王大彤)	Wang Hongqi (王洪琪)
Wang Jiping (王吉平)	Wang Jinding (汪金丁)	Wang Jingren (王景任)
Wang Shaotang (王紹堂)	Wang Shouzhen (王守珍)	Wang Tuo (王拓)
Wang Xiyan (王西彥)	Wang Xiuzhi (王修治)	Wang Xun (王遜)
Wang Yao (王瑤)	Wang Yaping (王亞平)	Wang Yuqi (王余杞)
Wang Zhaoming (王照明)	Wang Zhezhi (王哲之)	Wang Zhizhi (王志之)
Wang Zuoming (王作銘)	Wen Tao (溫濤)	Wei Bo (魏伯)
Wei Congwu (韋叢蕪)	Wei Dongming (魏東明)	Wei Suyuan (韋素園)
Wei Zhaofeng (魏照風)	Wei Zhen (魏震)	Wu Chengshi (吳承仕)
Wu Shifu (吳石夫)	Wu Xinyu (武新宇)	Xia Yingzhe (夏英喆)
Xie Bingying (謝冰瑩)	Xu Bailing (徐百靈)	Xu Lun (徐崑)
Xu Tuwei (徐突微)	Xu Ying (徐盈)	Xue Xun (薛迅)
Yang Cai (楊采)	Yang Gang (楊剛)	Yang Jingfen (楊靜芬)
Yang Qianru (楊緘如)	Yang Xiuyi (楊秀怡)	Yang Zijie (楊子戒)
Yu Daoyuan (于道原)	Yu Ling (于伶)	Yu Peichen (于佩璽)
Yu Xiu (余修)	Yu Zhuzhou (俞竹舟)	Yuan Zhongfu (元忠富)
Zang Yunyuan (臧雲遠)	Zhan Jianren (詹健倫)	Zhang Jinyuan (張晉媛)
Zhang Luwei (張露薇)	Zhang Panshi (張磐石)	Zhang Songru (張松如)
Zhang Suping (張甦平)	Zhang Tong (張桐)	Zhang Xiao (張曉)
Zhang Xiuyan (張秀岩)	Zhang Xiuzhong (張秀中)	Zhang Yutang (張郁棠)
Zhang Zhang (張璋)	Zhang Zhiqing (張志清)	Zhao Dezun (趙德尊)
Zhao Jiajun (趙家鈞)	Zhao Lisheng (趙儷生)	Zheng Qihong (鄭綺紅)
Zheng Tingxiang (鄭庭祥)	Zheng Wenbo (鄭文波)	Zhong Fangni (鍾仿尼)
Zhong Mingyu (鍾鳴宇)	Zhou Zhuang (周庄)	Zhu Gai (朱改)
Zhu Qi (朱琪)	Zou Enxun (鄒恩洵)	

Total: 169

## (III) TOKYO:

Cai Beihua (蔡北華)	Chen Beiou (陳北鷗)	Chen Xinren (陳辛人)
Chen Yexun (陳業勛)	Chen Yuanfu (陳沅夫)	Chen Zhenhuan (陳震寰)
Chen Zigu (陳子谷)	Chen Ziqiu (陳子秋)	Feng Sufu (馮甦夫)
Feng Yusheng (馮餘聲)	Guan Yimin (官一民)	Guo Moruo (郭沫若)
He Ganzhi (何幹之)	Hu Feng (胡風)	Huang Xinbo (黃新波)
Jiang Tianzuo (蔣天祐)	Liang Mengchong (梁夢迴)	Lin Di (林蒂)
Lin Heji (林和濟)	Lin Huanping (林煥平)	Lin Jilu (林基路)
Lin Lin (林林)	Luo Jianbing (駱劍冰)	Mei Yi (梅益)
Mei Jingdian (梅景鉞)	Meng Shijun (孟式鈞)	Nie Gannu (聶紺弩)
Ouyang Fanhai (歐陽凡滌)	Pu Feng (蒲風)	Qiu Dongping (丘東平)
Ren Baige (任白戈)	Ren Jun (任鈞)	Wei Mengke (魏猛克)
Wei Jin (魏晉)	Xiao Dai (蕭岱)	Xie Bingying (謝冰瑩)
Ye Yiqun (葉以群)	Yin Geng (尹庚)	Zang Yunyuan (臧雲遠)

Zhang Luotian (張羅天) Zhang Tianxu (張天虛) Zhang Xiangshan (張香山)

Total: 42

(IV) TIANJIN:

Ai Dayan (艾大炎) Cao Shiyong (曹世英) Fang Zhizhong (方之中)  
 Han Qi (韓起) Li Jiye (李齊野) Pan Mohua (潘漠華)  
 Wang Shijun (王士鈞) Wang Shizhong (王士鐘) Wang Yuqi (王余杞)  
 Zhang Xiangshan (張香山)

Total: 10

(V) GUANGZHOU:

Cao Ming (曹明) Deng Jia (鄧潔) Du Ai (杜埃)  
 He Ganzhi (何幹之) He Shaoqun (何紹群) Ouyang Shan (歐陽山)  
 Zhang Heng (張恆) Zhang Xiu (張修)

Total: 8

(VI) NANJING:

Ye Qi (葉琪) Zhang Tianyi (張天翼)

Total: 2

(VII) BAODING:

Xu Ying (徐盈) Yuan Qianli (遠千里)

Total: 2

(VIII) WUHAN:

Wu Xiru (吳奚如)

Total: 1

(IX) JI'NAN:

Li Junmin (李俊民)

Total: 1

Grand total: 464

BIBLIOGRAPHYLIST OF ABBREVIATIONS:

<u>CMRL</u>	<u>Collection of materials on the "Revolutionary literature" polemic</u>
<u>CMTS</u>	<u>Collection of materials on the "Two slogan" polemic</u>
<u>CWLX</u>	<u>Complete works of Lu Xun</u>
<u>MLLP</u>	<u>Materials on the Left League period</u>
<u>MMCLH</u>	<u>Materials on modern Chinese literary history</u>
<u>RMLX</u>	<u>Reference materials on the study of Lu Xun</u>
<u>XWXS</u>	<u>Xinwenxue shiliao</u>

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