

PROJECTING A NATION

Chinese National Cinema Before 1949

JUBIN HU



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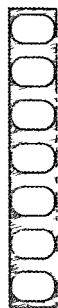
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Chinese National Cinema: An Introduction

Over the last two decades, Chinese cinema has become the focus of intense interest in academia in both China and the West. However, most scholars have focused on cinema after 1949, the year in which the Chinese Communist Party (the CCP) won power and established the People's Republic of China. For example, in English scholarship, Paul Clark's classic history, *Chinese Cinema: Culture and Politics Since 1949*, is the major early contribution to this field of scholarship.¹ There is, however, no recent equivalent history in English for the pre-1949 period. This book not only addresses the lack of English-language scholarship in this area, but focuses on mobilizations of "the national" in pre-1949 Chinese cinema; a crucial issue which has generally been ignored by most researchers.

The classic Chinese language text for the pre-1949 period is *The History of the Development of Chinese Cinema* (*Zhongguo dianying fazhan shi*) by Cheng Jihua et al., which was published in 1963.² Written from an orthodox Marxist-Leninist position, Cheng et al.'s work is comprehensive, but flawed in its approach — its typically Marxist teleological and linear view of history led the authors to privilege leftist films over competing trends and alternative approaches to filmmaking that were present before 1949. Thus, China's film history is in part erased or dismissed in the text; certainly, it is, at the very least, simplified. Many films are ignored because in Cheng et al.'s eyes they do not fit the CCP's version of national cinema after 1949, which holds that the Chinese national cinema should serve the needs of the CCP-led state. Cheng et al.'s book thus exposes a nationalist discourse representing the CCP's political stand during the period after 1949. In Cheng's letter to Jay Leyda of 17 July 1963, Cheng explains why he and co-writers ignored many films in their study, including films made in Shanghai and Manchukuo during the Japanese occupation:

On the views of your article about the films made by the Japanese puppets after 1941 in North China and Shanghai, I consider that such puppet films were only the products of Japanese imperialist aggression with a small group of traitors who had gone over to the enemy. Such films are absolutely contrary to the consistently patriotic spirit of our people. They were the opposite to the Chinese national film, an object to be condemned in a history of Chinese films, and can not occupy a place in that history. This is a matter of principle.³

It is particularly interesting that Cheng uses the phrase “Chinese national film” in his letter to Leyda. In this context this phrase obviously means that only Chinese films which serve the interests of the Chinese nation can be called “Chinese national film.”

Due to a lack of access to first-hand material, Cheng et al.’s book has become the major source of information for much research on Chinese cinema outside China, and this research has thus inherited many of its viewpoints. Jay Leyda’s *Dianying: An Account of Film and the Film Audience in China* is typical of this tendency. For example, Leyda, like Cheng et al., is generally silent on the subject of the large numbers of traditional costume and martial arts films made in the 1920s. While Leyda does not mention why he ignores these films, we may find the answer in *The History of the Development of Chinese Cinema*, since Cheng et al. believe that “these films advocated backward feudal ideologies and were detached from reality,”⁴ and “virtually obstructed the growth of the revolutionary class awareness.”⁵ In other words, these films are seen as contrary to the CCP’s revolutionary project. Leyda’s silence about traditional costume films and martial arts films can therefore leave readers with the impression that he shares the Cheng et al. view.

In the post-Mao period, the Marxist approach of Cheng et al. has been criticized and China’s film history is in the process of being re-written. Indeed, there is much valuable scholarship on the pre-1949 period in the West and China. However, most of the work produced to date does not cover the entire period from the first Chinese films in 1905 to the establishment of the People’s Republic in 1949. Moreover, only a very few researchers have dealt with the issue of “the national”⁶ in cinema, an issue that I believe is critical to the study of pre-1949 Chinese cinema. I therefore feel that this new scholarship has made only a partial intervention in the field. A large amount of primary work needs to be undertaken, especially

concerning the construction of the national in Chinese cinema prior to 1949.

Two recently published essays relating to “the national” in Chinese cinema during certain periods before 1949 indicate that researchers have started to realize the importance of the concept of the national as mobilized in pre-1949 Chinese cinema. The first, Zhiwei Xiao’s “Constructing a New National Culture: Film Censorship and the Issues of Cantonese Dialect, Superstition, and Sex in the Nanjing Decade,” uses a discussion of film censorship to examine the construction of the national in Chinese cinema between 1927 and 1937.⁷ The author points out that “as the censorship of Cantonese, superstitious, and ‘racy’ films shows, the need to build a strong and modern nation was the central motivating factor behind the state’s film policies.”⁸ It is obvious that Xiao, unlike Cheng Jihua et al., does not assume that the Chinese cinema is a national cinema. Instead, Xiao emphasizes the motives of the Chinese government in using film to serve the nation’s interests.

The second essay is Poshek Fu’s “Between Nationalism and Colonialism: Mainland Émigrés, Marginal Culture, and Hong Kong Cinema 1937-1941.”⁹ Fu examines the relationship between the nationalist discourses of Chinese mainlanders (Mainland émigrés in Hong Kong, the Nationalist Party [the Kuomintang, or KMT], intellectuals and filmmakers) and Hong Kong filmmaking in order to expose the marginalization of Hong Kong cinema between 1937 and 1941. The Mainlanders claimed that Hong Kong culture lacked “an articulated nationalism ... and ridiculed and condemned its cinema as the inferior Other.”¹⁰ Although Hong Kong cinema is the main focus of the essay, Fu devotes a lot of attention to the nationalist discourses of Mainlanders, primarily concerning anti-imperialism and China’s modernization. Fu thus shows that Hong Kong cinema was defined as non-national in contrast with the China-centered discourse of nationalism, therefore demonstrating the existence of strong nationalist expression relating to mainland Chinese cinema between 1937-1941.

The two essays discussed above, which concern specific aspects of the construction of “the national” in Chinese cinema during specific periods before 1949, are inspiring. However, no overall examination of “the national” of pre-1949 Chinese cinema has yet been made.

Based on new primary material about the cinema¹¹ and recent theoretical scholarship on the construction of modern nations and national

cinemas, I discuss pre-1949 Chinese cinema in this book from the perspective of national cinema. I argue that questions and debates about the status and meaning of the “national” in “Chinese national cinema” are central to any consideration of cinema during this period, and indeed the issue of nation is the determining principle shaping the Chinese cinema before 1949. In other words, the Chinese cinema not only reflected nationalist ideologies and movements in Chinese society, but also actively participated in debates surrounding issues relating to the “Chinese nation.” Pre-1949 Chinese cinema is thus inseparable from Chinese nationalism.

I will demonstrate that “Chinese national cinema” has remained a complicated and unclearly formulated concept despite the continued usage of the phrase. It is obvious that the researchers epitomized by Cheng Jihua generally have no intention of probing into the fundamentals of national cinema since they simply equate the term with Chinese cinema, and see national cinema as a self-evident category. As a consequence, the “puppet films” made in Shanghai and Manchukuo do not, in their eyes, belong to the category of Chinese films because they are held to be the opposite of Chinese national film. It is clear that though the phrase “national cinema” is used frequently, many people working in the field assume that it is unnecessary to clarify or discuss the meaning of the term.

In view of these circumstances, I address a methodological question in writing this book: that of how to approach the concept of national cinema. The key subject of this research is the construction of Chinese national cinema, and the following questions will be addressed: (1) How was “Chinese national cinema” constructed by different people (i.e. political parties, politicians, filmmakers, film studio owners, film researchers and even film audiences) for different purposes at different times? (2) Furthermore, how is the concept of Chinese national cinema multi-faceted, contested and historically specific? (3) Why is the Chinese national cinema mainly about film content rather than form? (4) What is the relationship between the construction of Chinese national cinema, and the way we conceptualize “national cinema” itself? By addressing these issues, I hope to answer a major question about the study of the cinema: How can we write the history of Chinese cinema before 1949 by tracing discourses involving the issue of national cinema?

This book therefore intends to address the gap in existing research not only by covering the entire pre-1949 period of Chinese cinema, but also by examining the construction of the national in the cinema, an issue which has generally been ignored by most researchers.

This introductory chapter consists of the following parts: First, I review the general understanding of the nation and national cinema in Europe. I will show how national cinema has been theorized in relation to Europe and how the European concept of national cinema is determined by specifically European national conditions. The concept of “national cinema” as generally used in Cinema Studies thus has a Eurocentric history, and this concept informs the work of this book.

Secondly, I review the Chinese concept of nation and national cinema. I will show how the Chinese concept of national cinema was determined by Chinese historical circumstances and is therefore quite different from the European concept of national cinema. Briefly, the European concept, as many researches have pointed out, emerged in the 1920s and 1930s and was based on European debates on the cinema, especially those concerning the threat posed by Hollywood and the discussions on various means of countering it. Therefore, the European concept of national cinema laid emphasis on national culture in film form, although in later stages it also related to politics and nation-building projects. In contrast, the Chinese concept of national cinema placed greater emphasis on the nation itself as a community and the foreign threats to the nation’s survival in political, military, economic and cultural terms. The issue of “the nation” is thus the determining principle in Chinese cinema before 1949, the thread that can be traced throughout and used to bind this history together.

Thirdly, the chapter breakdown at the end of this introduction presents a more detailed discussion of the ways in which debates on the idea of the nation characterize particular periods of Chinese cinema before 1949.

THE EUROPEAN CONCEPT OF NATIONAL CINEMA

The concept of national cinema is Eurocentric and originally arose from settled nation-state cinemas (such as France and Germany) in direct opposition to the cultural influences of Hollywood in the 1920s and 1930s. This concept informs my understanding of Chinese national cinema and is the basis for the discussion of the Chinese concept of national cinema.

Whatever their differences are, most contemporary scholars in the West agree on the fundamental point that the nation is a cultural construction. In this regard, there is more unity among them than among the scholars of national cinema. Perhaps the most influential has been Benedict Anderson, with his assertion that “nationality ... nation-ness, as

well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind.”¹² Thus, a nation “is an imagined political community — and [is] imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.”¹³

Many scholars of nationalism, though they do not use Anderson’s term “imagined,” express essentially the same point of view. For instance, Ernest Gellner states that “nationalism is not the awakening of nations of self-consciousness; it invents nations where they do not exist.”¹⁴ He goes on to argue that “nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men ... are a myth.”¹⁵ E. J. Hobsbawm also stresses “the element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations.”¹⁶

To understand the concept of nation, therefore, we must first understand the ways that a nation is imagined, or formed. In this regard, Hugh Seton-Watson’s distinction between old and new nations is enlightening. He argues that “the process of formation of national identity and national consciousness among the old nations was slow and obscure ... In the case of new nations the process is easier to grasp, for it took place over a much shorter period and is well documented.”¹⁷ Anthony D. Smith puts this point even more succinctly: “The West acquired nations almost by accident; in other parts of the globe nations were created by design.”¹⁸

Susan Hayward differs from Smith, emphasizing that even old nations were deliberately invented. She uses France, one of the “old nations,” as an example to argue that:

early theories of the nation-state emerged, in part, in response to how France was perceived from outside ... It will be useful to retain ... the essential notions of nation as myth and nation as difference and continuity as well as the notion of the enunciative role of ideology.¹⁹

That is to say, the nation is created; it is based on an assumption of difference to others; the concept of nation-ness is rooted in the continuity of the nation; and nationalist ideology is the discourse that invests a nation with meaning.²⁰

Therefore, contemporary scholars in the West generally share a common point of view that the nation is not a natural phenomenon. In addition, scholars have emphasized the critical role culture plays in the formation of nations and spread of national consciousness. In the words of Arjun Appadurai:

Modern nationalisms involve communities of citizens in the territorially defined nation-state who share the collective experience, not of face-to-face contact or common subordination to a royal person, but of reading books, pamphlets, newspapers, maps, and other modern texts together (Habermas 1989; Calhoun 1992). In and through these collective experiences of what Benedict Anderson (1991) calls “print capitalism” and what others increasingly see as “electronic capitalism”, such as television and cinema (Warner 1992; Lee 1993), citizens *imagine* themselves to belong to a national society. The modern nation-state in this view grows less out of natural facts — such as language, blood, soil, and race — and more out of a quintessential cultural product, a product of the collective imagination.²¹

Appadurai highlights the role of culture in the production of nationhood, and it is here that cinema occupies an important position. In fact, there has been much debate about the concept of national cinema in the West. As Andrew Higson claims “there is no single universally accepted discourse of national cinema.”²² Since there are a variety of understandings of national cinema, researchers have used several different methods in their analyses, and Higson has listed the four most frequent used critical approaches to national cinema. The first defines national cinema in economic terms. This is an industry-based approach, and is concerned with such questions as: where are these films made, and by whom? Who owns and controls the industrial infrastructures, the production companies, the distributors and the exhibition circuits? The second approach to national cinema is text-based, the key questions being: What are these films about? Do they share a common style or world view? What sort of projections of the national character do they offer? To what extent are films engaged in constructing a notion of nationhood? The third approach to national cinema is exhibition-led, or consumption-based. The major concern here has always been the question of which films audiences are watching — a concern that is generally formulated in terms of an anxiety about cultural imperialism. The fourth and final approach is criticism-led and tends to reduce national cinema to the terms of a quality art cinema.²³

To sum up the above approaches, the main concepts that define national cinema can be explained as follows: a national cinema means a national film industry; a national cinema refers to film content and style,

and the reflection and construction of national character in the film; a national cinema counters the foreign domination of the domestic film market; and a national cinema is an art cinema. In light of this summary, it is evident that these definitions of national cinema relate primarily to issues of culture and industry.

In her book *French National Cinema*, Susan Hayward states that: “by the 1920s, calls were being made for a truly national cinema as a defense against the American hegemony, all of which (in the implicit concern for the well-being of cinema) points to a historicism and narcissism of sorts.”²⁴ Thomas J. Saunders in *Hollywood in Berlin: American Cinema and Weimar Germany* describes a similar picture:

The interwar period witnessed Europe’s first serious reckoning with American economic and cultural influence ... Europe experienced an unprecedented onslaught of what Germans dubbed *Amerikanismus* (Americanism) and *Amerikanisierung* (Americanization). This onslaught was effected by a variety of means and media ... But for the broad mass of Europeans the main agent of Americanization was the motion picture.²⁵

Therefore, Saunders claims that:

the national cinema had limited historical significance without reference to American film ... Historical concern for national identity testifies to the tenacity of perceptions rooted in the 1920s — recognition of America’s thematic and stylistic primacy but rebellion against its hegemonic pretensions.²⁶

This situation of national cinema in fact has a close connection with the historical conditions of Western European nations. Although not all nations in Western Europe belonged to the so-called “old nations,” they were generally at the same level of economic, scientific and technological development as the United States in the 1920s and 1930s. Therefore, the European concept of nation, instead of centering on the advocacy of national liberation or national survival defined itself by contrasting European images and values with those of America. Consequently, national cinemas in Western Europe basically aimed at showing “differences of taste and culture” between Hollywood and Europe.²⁷

Therefore, this concept of “national cinema” clearly has a Eurocentric history. However, it is important to note that this is not the only possible way to think about national cinema. Even within Western Europe, other

research has demonstrated that national cinemas appear in a range of complicated and sophisticated ways, and thus the concept of national cinema is fluid. Martine Danan's "From a 'Prenational' to a 'Postnational' French Cinema," which analyzes how the concept of national cinema has changed in France since the 1920s, is a good example of this kind of work.²⁸ In order to compete against Hollywood, French film companies adopted a strategy of producing films with international appeal in the 1920s and the 1980s (as opposed to films with a nationalistic focus), with the hope of winning over European and even American audiences. These filmmakers "relied on a 'fantasy of internationalism' which negated the past and specificity of national cultures."²⁹ Danan's analysis thus shows that this internationalism was self-consciously created as an alternative to national cinema in French cinema's competition with Hollywood. In this sense, the motivating force of both international and national cinema is in fact the same — they are both national projects. Indeed, French intellectuals and politicians have felt it necessary to establish a national cinema since the 1930s, and this has been expressed through government involvement in the film industry. In 1946, the *Center National de la Cinematographie* was established, formalizing this state intervention in the film profession:

For over 50 years, this mixed economy system, in which economic and cultural objectives, private and public interests are intertwined, has allowed French cinema to combat internal crises, withstand strong external competition, and contribute to the cultural unity needed to strengthen the capitalist nation-state.³⁰

In the final analysis, French national cinema therefore served the French nation-state. Danan thus provides another version of the construction of national cinema and gives us some idea of how the notion of national cinema has developed over the last sixty years.

Susan Hayward points out that concern about national cinema "shifts according to which particular nation is being referred to because the concept of a nation's cinema will change according to a nation's ideology."³¹ It is this shift that I am going to discuss in the next section on Chinese national cinema. By examining the formation and development of Chinese national cinema, this book uses the European model of national cinema as a starting point from which to formulate a complementary concept of Chinese national cinema. In my view, the most useful thing about the European

model is that it treats the establishment of national cinemas as strategies. As Andrew Higson notes, “the concept of a national cinema has almost invariably been mobilized as a strategy of cultural (and economic) resistance; a means of asserting national autonomy in the face of (usually) Hollywood’s international domination.”³² Their study of national cinema as a strategy shows that European researchers have emphasized critical analysis rather than advocacy of national cinema. By comparison, most Chinese researchers, as I will show in the next section, in their dealings with the subject are active advocates of Chinese national cinema. Consequently in their eyes the Chinese national cinema does not relate to any strategy and thus does not need to be carefully studied. This attitude toward national cinema has led to a quite different Chinese understanding of the concept, in which the establishment of national cinema is seen as natural and inevitable. This in turn has resulted in a major gap in the existing research on pre-1949 Chinese cinema.

In this book I will use the European concept of national cinema as strategy to focus on the strategies that motivated the establishment of the Chinese national cinema. Moreover, I will argue that although the Chinese national cinema was also about culture and economy, there was a dimension that was determined by specifically Chinese conditions. That is to say, Chinese national cinema’s major motivating forces were the Chinese film world’s concern for national survival, and Chinese political parties’ exploitation of national sentiment.

THE CHINESE CONCEPT OF NATIONAL CINEMA

In what ways is Chinese cinema also a national cinema? This section examines the relationship between the concepts of the Chinese nation and Chinese national cinema in the formative period before 1949. I argue that the concept of national cinema in China does not completely conform to the European concept of national cinema. There is indeed a specifically Chinese dimension to the national in Chinese cinema, which forms the basis of discussion in subsequent chapters.

This Chinese dimension relates to the fundamental notion of nationhood in China and thus the first half of this section will focus on the historical, ideological and cultural process of Chinese nation formation. Western scholars have demonstrated that the earliest modern nations emerged in the late eighteenth century. As one of the “new nations,” China

did not face the need to form itself into a nation until the mid-nineteenth century. Before that time, China had always considered itself “a vast country at the center of the world,” with a civilization superior to all others. In his book *On Chinese Nationalist Thought*, Lu Fuhui points out that in ancient times “though [China’s] territory changed somewhat, the idea ‘China is the center of the world’ never changed.”³³ The author summarizes the essentials of this idea as follows: First, China is geographically the center of the globe and it occupies a principal position on the land under heaven. Second, the traditional Chinese civilization far exceeds civilizations in other countries. Third, the relationship between China and other countries should be treated as the relationship between monarch and subjects.³⁴ Lu Fuhui further points out that “this idea was continuously held until the Qing Dynasty [1644-1911].”³⁵ Within this conceptual framework, the Chinese had never critically self-examined themselves or Chinese civilization.

The Opium War between China and Britain, which began in 1840, marks the start of modern Chinese history. The Chinese Empire, which had lagged behind the West technologically and economically, was then forced to face the challenge of the West. The military, economic, political and cultural expansion of Western imperialist powers put China in a position of great crisis. Chen Yuning holds that:

In modern Chinese history, the *Nanjing Treaty* between China and Britain was the first unequal treaty among many others which China concluded with the Western powers under the threat of gun muzzles. The Americans and French then came one after the other and forced the Chinese government to conclude *Wangsha Treaty* with America and *Huangpu Treaty* with France. During the Second Opium War, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 ... Britain, France, Japan and Russia once again forced the Chinese government to conclude a series of unequal treaties. With the conclusions of the treaties, the imperialist powers annexed a large part of China’s territory and carved out spheres of influence in China. With the economic and cultural invasions from the West, China gradually lost its power to make its own political and economic decisions and was reduced to the status of a semi-colony.³⁶

This was a great crisis for the Chinese Empire. However, the Opium War also marked an historical change in the Chinese understanding of China in relation to the outside world. In fact, the coming of “Western learning”

(a late Qing Dynasty term for Western natural and social sciences) provided a strong stimulus to the development of Chinese civilization. Meanwhile, Chinese politicians and intellectuals' understanding of China as a "nation," and the debates about the relationship between Chinese civilization and Western civilization underwent a complicated change. Aside from the conceptual debate, a series of reforms were adopted, from the "Westernization Movement" (introducing techniques of capitalist production initiated by comprador bureaucrats in the latter half of the nineteenth century in order to preserve the feudal rule of the Qing government) at the physical level, and "Constitutional Reform and Modernization" (1898) and "republicanism" (1911) at the political level, to the "May Fourth Movement" (1919) at the cultural level. In short, Chinese politicians and intellectuals were no longer willing to trust themselves completely to wholly Chinese institutions and culture.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Chinese politicians and intellectuals started to form a clear concept of nationhood, which, in turn, begot nationalism. Their view was this:

The so-called nation is the community which consists of those people who have continuously belonged to the same kind ... All people within a nation share the same feeling and perception, and are friendly to each other in order to survive together. The political life is the most important one among all kinds of lives within a nation. Therefore any politically powerful nation must have its doctrine which belongs to the nation-state. This doctrine is nationalism.³⁷

This passage clearly demonstrates the emergence of a nationalist discourse in China that declared that all people within a nation shared the same characteristics and interests. This nationalist rhetoric stresses what E. J. Hobsbawm calls "the element of artefact, invention and social engineering which enters into the making of nations."³⁸

The May Fourth Movement in 1919 was one of the most influential ideological and cultural movements in modern Chinese history. In the period leading up to this movement, radical Chinese intellectuals started to negate Chinese tradition, and attack what they saw as the problem of the Chinese character (*guomin xing*) in preceding years.³⁹ However, the May Fourth Movement took its name from an anti-imperialist demonstration with a focus on patriotic mobilization that occurred in 1919.⁴⁰ After the May

Fourth Movement, Chinese academic circles expanded on their earlier theorizing through a series of debates relating to the relationship between Eastern and Western civilizations. Phrases such as “overall Westernization,” “supremacy of the quintessence of Chinese culture,” “Chinese civilization as the main body and the Western civilization as reference,” “Western civilization as the main body and the Chinese civilization as reference,” and “the mixture of Chinese and the Western civilizations,” appeared over and over again in this debate.⁴¹ This long-lasting dialogue demonstrates the seriousness with which Chinese academic circles took their search for ways to make China a strong nation. Although most of these May Fourth Movement ideas did not appear directly in films, the construction of Chinese national cinema in general was obviously influenced by these May Fourth ideas whose primary concern was China’s modernization.⁴² The May Fourth Movement and its discourses on enlightenment, modernity and modernization, exerted a profound influence on the development of Chinese nationalism and national cinema.

The 1920s saw a rising sense of national crisis as China was riven by domestic strife among various warlords, and the vast majority of the population lived in dire poverty. China had also failed to regain control over foreign concessions in several coastal cities after the First World War. It was under these circumstances that the ruling party, the KMT, convened the First National Congress in January 1924. As Fuhui writes, “in the declaration of the Congress, nationalism was defined as national independence and self-determination. From then on, the concept of nationalism took root in China and the Chinese national liberation movement had its theoretical guidance.”⁴³

In 1925, the May 30th Movement (a nationalist, anti-imperialist movement taking its name from the date on which British soldiers shot and killed several striking Chinese workers) emerged in Shanghai. The cooperation between the KMT and CCP in the 1920s, and the Northern Expedition, which was waged by both parties and aimed at eliminating the northern warlords and unifying China, also proceeded under the banner of nationalism.

In 1931 the Japanese began to occupy Northeast China, and in 1937 a full-scale war broke out between the two countries. Never before had the common people in China felt so intensely that the nation’s existence was in peril. Both the KMT and CCP advocated “national unity” and “national survival” to mobilize the masses to fight against the Japanese.

The Japanese invasion and the response of China's politicians illustrates the way in which the concept of the Chinese nation was defined by and through China's relation to other nations. The Chinese nation cannot be seen as a pre-existing, natural entity.

It is clear that the concept of the nation and the advocacy of nationalism in China were more about the survival of the Chinese nation as a united community than anything else. Chinese nationalism was thus always closely related to both anti-imperialism and nation building, and the latter's corollary, modernization. Taking as his starting point the notion of race, Frank Dikötter points out that:

Nationalism was perceived as a key to racial survival by the Chinese students in Japan during the first decade of the twentieth century ... The discourse of race as nation gradually spread to infect most of the writings of the young radicals. Education, for instance, was seen unanimously as a means of uniting the race in its struggle for survival.⁴⁴

After the Revolution of 1911, Sun Yatsen, the first president of the Republic of China, held that all races in China should be assimilated to the Han race in order to unify the nation. In other words, the Chinese nation should be established on the basis of a unified "Han race."⁴⁵ It is significant that Sun Yatsen used the word *zu* to mean both "nation" and "race" here. As Chen Yuning points out, at that time "race" and "nation" were always used interchangeably in the Chinese language.⁴⁶ This indicates that the notion of a "single Chinese race" was used in the construction of the Chinese nation. Interestingly, "race" is also a notion constructed by Western evolutionary science. Dikötter writes:

"Race" was a symbol of fictive biological cohesion capable of over-arching regional allegiances and linking lineage loyalties in the face of foreign aggression. "Race" ... would create nationhood. On the basis of internal conflicts between lineages, the reformers constructed a representation of external conflicts between races. Members of the yellow lineage had to fight against members of the white lineage. The Yellow Emperor became the common ancestor of all Chinese. The ancestral territories ... needed to be defended against the white lineage.⁴⁷

Basing the Chinese nation on the Chinese race, Sun Yatsen explained his understanding of the relationship between racial survival and nationalism as follows:

Considering the law of survival of ancient and modern races, if we want to save China and to preserve the Chinese race, we must certainly promote Nationalism ... For the most part, the Chinese people are of Han or Chinese race with common blood, common language, common religion, and common customs — a single, pure race.⁴⁸

Under the banner of “national survival,” the advocates of nationalism emphasized the cohesion of the “Chinese nation (or race)” and its common nature and common interests. Meanwhile, internal differences and conflicts were deliberately ignored, reflecting the process of formation of new nations described by Hugh Seton-Watson.

The advocacy of nationalism was also a key strategy used by the two major political parties, the KMT and the CCP, in their struggle for state power from the early 1930s on. Both parties sought to win the masses to their side in the name of the nation.⁴⁹

What kind of role, then, did the Chinese cinema, as an important component of Chinese culture, play in the formation of the Chinese nation and the advocacy of Chinese nationalism? Arthur Waldron, in examining the role of the Great Wall, a major symbol of traditional Chinese culture in modern Chinese nationalism, argues that “China has an ancient and sophisticated culture, and one might expect that turning it to the service of nationalism would be relatively easy. But the case of the Great Wall makes clear the limits of such cultural nationalism.”⁵⁰ At first glance, it would seem even more difficult for film, an imported art form, to serve Chinese nationalism. As Paul Clark points out:

Film is the most foreign art form introduced into China in the Westernizing cultural upsurge known as the May Fourth movement at the beginning of the twentieth century. Film (along with modern-style spoken drama) was totally new, with no precursors in traditional Chinese literary and artistic activities.⁵¹

Zhou Jianyun, a Chinese film industrialist, articulated the uncertain nature of Chinese cinema in the 1920s as follows:

Chinese have bought [film] equipment and raw material from Europe and America ... to produce films aiming at expressing the Chinese style ... Now Chinese film does have a style of its own ... and thus can be called Chinese film or domestic film. But it absolutely can't be called domestic-made film.⁵²

Here, Zhou Jianyun denies the Chinese film's "Chineseness" because the technology did not originate in China. To claim Chinese cinema as a national cinema is problematic, both in cultural and technological terms.

However, the concept of "national cinema" was not foreign to China in the 1920s. For example, in the foreword of the first Chinese film yearbook, published in 1927, Cheng Shuren maintained that:

Shadow play [film] undertaking has become the greatest new industry in the Republic of China and is useful for social education and for advocating our ancient culture ... Shadow play [film] has been used to greatly enhance our people's patriotic zeal.⁵³

Here, Cheng clearly saw filmmaking as an important tool for the Chinese nation, and in 1930, KMT scholars initiated heated discussions about national cinema in China.⁵⁴ In fact, filmmaking was treated as a national cause even before 1930, though the meaning of the concept of "national cinema" varied. At times it even seemed that a so-called national cinema existed right from the birth of Chinese cinema. For example, in an article about the process of the establishment of the China Nantong Film Production Studio (*Nantong Zhongguo yingpian zhizao gongsi*), one of the earliest Chinese film companies, the author writes, "in foreign films, the Chinese customs and national characters are distorted and Chinese people are vilified."⁵⁵ The studio therefore aimed "to display the merits of the Chinese nation."⁵⁶ Apparently, the founders of the studio saw the establishment of a positive image of the Chinese nation as their national duty.

Some even viewed film as a kind of "good medicine" that could and should be used to save China. For example, one commentator warned that "if we cannot awake the Chinese masses to catch up with the foremost, China's future is truly in danger ... We should like to ask: Can we find any better tool than film to educate our people?"⁵⁷ Here "film" obviously means domestic Chinese film. He then goes on to argue that:

China was originally an advanced country ... and was too superior for any other country to bear comparison. Nowadays, Western influence has reached here. As a result, those young reformers are talking glibly about freedom and have quickly forgotten our Chinese cultural quintessence ... In order to develop the intelligence of our fellow countrymen, we must first

of all develop our domestic film production ... Once our domestic films become popular, our countrymen's knowledge will be enriched correspondingly. Once our countrymen's knowledge is enriched, we can transform China from a weak country into a strong one.⁵⁸

In discussions on how to use film to serve the Chinese nation, other writers declared that "scriptwriters should know well what is the intrinsic Chinese national spirit before they write,"⁵⁹ and that "for the interests of our nation and our country, the film world should take the responsibility of encouraging our national spirit to save the whole Chinese nation."⁶⁰

The concept of national cinema in China thus differs from the European concept of national cinema. As is clear from the expositions of Chinese national cinema already cited, the major concern of advocates of a Chinese national cinema was the Chinese nation, rather than Chinese cinema per se. The Chinese did not share the Europeans' concerns for "a massive invasion of American culture" or "the well-being of cinema,"⁶¹ and the emphasis of Chinese national cinema was therefore placed on the national ideology of this cinema, rather than on national culture as form. The following brief account of Chinese cinema before 1949 may help to clarify this point.

An Outline of the Concept of the National in Pre-1949 Chinese National Cinema

Film production began in China in the early twentieth century, and coincided with the emergence and rapid development of the Chinese nationalist movement. There is an old Chinese saying that "literature and art are carriers of doctrines" (*wen yi zai dao*), and thus it is no surprise that in China, film, as a form of literature and art, was naturally used as a tool to convey ideology. In the initial stages of Chinese cinema, Chinese filmmakers tried to find characteristics shared by film and Chinese traditional art forms, with the idea of converting film into an indigenous national art form. For example, early Chinese film audiences called film "shadow play," and the first Chinese films were based on the Beijing opera.⁶²

Andrew Higson argues that in the 1910s "governments began to recognize the potential ideological power of cinema, and cinema itself could seem to be something like a national cultural form, an institution

with a nationalizing function,"⁶³ however, the Chinese chronology is slightly different. Since the Chinese film industry was established later than those in many Western countries, the Chinese government was relatively late to realize the ideological possibilities of the medium. Nevertheless, it is clear that Chinese filmmakers, independent of state intervention, had intended to construct cinema as a national cultural form in order to serve the Chinese nation. From the 1920s, the Chinese film world treated cinema as a component of the Chinese national industry, and Chinese cinema indirectly but profoundly reflected Chinese nationalist ideologies after the May 30th Nationalist Movement. From the early 1930s, both the KMT and the CCP exerted a direct political influence on filmmaking. Consequently, the Left Wing Film Movement and the Nationalist Film Movement, initiated respectively by the CCP and the KMT, came into being. As invasion by Japan became more and more likely, both parties accused the other of endangering the Chinese nation, and, significantly, both flaunted the banner of nationalism in film activities. Nationalism thus had different definitions in cinema and became a weapon in the struggle for power between the political parties. During the eight-year anti-Japanese war (1937-1945), the CCP and the KMT united in the film world for the first time in order to produce films with themes of national unity and liberation, and these films themselves became symbols of national unity. Films produced in Japanese-occupied Shanghai and Manchuria during the same period became controversial in terms of their Chinese identity. The most prominent feature of Chinese cinema between 1946 and 1949 was that filmmakers continued to show their strong concern for the future of the Chinese nation, even when it was no longer facing foreign aggression. They asked a new question: could China take the road towards modernization?

The issue of the national thus played an important role in shaping Chinese cinema before 1949. Furthermore, the Chinese concept of national cinema changed constantly in relation to changes in the political situation, and the political parties' involvement in, and advocacy of, Chinese national cinema further complicated the situation. To a certain extent, this political advocacy of Chinese national cinema arose not from a concern with the nation's interests, but from the self-interest of the political parties. As a result, what the Chinese cinema performed most efficiently as a national cinema was in fact a *political* function. It is in this sense that the Chinese national cinema differentiated itself even further from European national cinemas, which mainly functioned to embody European *cultural* values.

The different meanings of national cinema must therefore arise from different versions of nationalism. In his *Nationalism and the State*, John Breuilly identifies three different ways in which people treat nationalism — as a state of mind, as the expression of national consciousness, and as a political doctrine elaborated by intellectuals. According to the first view, nationalism arises ultimately from some sort of intrinsic national identity. The second view regards nationalism as the expression of something “deeper” such as class interest or an economic or social structure or a cultural formation. Finally, nationalism is understood to be about politics, and politics to be about power.⁶⁴ Breuilly favors the third of these approaches, since he holds that only by studying nationalism as a form of politics can we consider the contributions of culture, ideology, class and so on. He concludes: “The term ‘nationalism’ is used to refer to political movements seeking or exercising state power and justifying such action with nationalist arguments.”⁶⁵

This book concurs with Breuilly’s position on nationalism, and as the following chapters will demonstrate, Chinese conditions illustrate this theory particularly well. In China, one of the “new nations,” nationalism mainly took the form of politics. Consequently what the Chinese cinema, as a national cinema, participated in and reflected, was a nationalism about politics.

Therefore the concept of “Chinese national cinema” refers not only to the way in which the nation was filmed and the national culture embodied, but more importantly, it also relates to a type of nationalism which reflects Chinese political struggles. In considering the unique connotations of Chinese national cinema, I will therefore cover two major aspects of the construction of the national in Chinese cinema in this book. First, I will treat the cinema as both the reflection of Chinese nationalism and a medium for the reinforcement and reproduction of that nationalism. Second, I will look at cinema as a site where different versions of nationalism were expressed and contested.

I also realize that the advocacy of Chinese national cinema was to a certain degree actuated by film producers, and sometimes filmmakers, concerns for the interests of the Chinese film industry. In dealing with this issue we face another related issue: Chinese cinematic characteristics in regard to both film content and style. In these respects (industrial and stylistic), Chinese cinema seems to share features with European cinemas concerning the advocacy of the national. However in China, as I will

demonstrate, the industrial and stylistic aspects were in fact less important than the major factor in the advocacy of national cinema: Chinese nationalism.

Chinese film producers' concerns about the fate of the domestic film industry arose from the disadvantaged competitive position which the Chinese film industry had always faced with regard to foreign films. According to the material provided in *Shanghai Historical Film Materials* (*Shanghai dianying shiliao*) (vol. 5), for example:

The film market in Shanghai in the 1930s and 1940s was monopolized by American and British films, especially American films. The Americans and British had their distribution companies in all big cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin and Guangzhou. Therefore, they dominated the Chinese film market with their overwhelming superiority. According to historical data, China produced 89 feature films in 1933, while the figure of imported films in that year reached 421. Among those imported films, 309 were American films.⁶⁶

On a number of occasions Western businessmen planned to monopolize film exhibition, and even film production, in China, because of the huge profits to be made in the Chinese market. For example, in the 1920s the British and American Tobacco Company intended to buy all Chinese film companies and movie theaters, and to establish a film trust in China.⁶⁷ Under such circumstances, Chinese film producers found that they could not win in a head-on clash with foreign film companies. The only way out for them was to develop Chinese cinema as a national cinema. Hence their advocacy of a national cinema was motivated, at least in part, by the desire to maximize profits.

The film producers' strategy to promote Chinese national cinema had two main thrusts — the arguments that the Chinese audience should watch only films made by Chinese people in consideration of the nation's interests, and that Chinese national cinema should have a uniquely Chinese content and style.

The notion that it was important for the preservation of the Chinese nation for audiences to watch only Chinese films was elaborated by studio representatives in comments such as this one:

Foreign films cannot be used to educate our countrymen since they do not conform to our national conditions. Therefore we

can only rely on domestic films ... I hope our countrymen, motivated by a desire to love our country and to strengthen our nation, can be specially tolerant towards our domestic film production, and advocate it and help it.⁶⁸

A rival studio had a similar viewpoint:

We must clearly understand that the development of our film undertaking has a close connection with the life of our countrymen, the spread of our culture and the honour of our nation ... We should treat our domestic film like our own child.⁶⁹

One of the managers of Mingxing Studio, Zhou Jianyun, emphasized the importance of developing domestic film production from an economic perspective:

If anybody can accurately calculate how much money has flowed out of the pockets of our countrymen overseas along with the continuous importation of European and American films, I am sure our countrymen will be astonished, even though they always look at film undertakings as just a kind of game.⁷⁰

While the film producers' were motivated by financial self-interest, their strategy concentrated on politics, and they clearly felt that stressing the national sentiment issue was an effective way of winning over their potential audience.

Luo Mingyou, the general manager of Lianhua Film Studio, elaborated on the idea that the content and style of Chinese films ought to reflect China's unique culture:

Since the Chinese territory is vast and Chinese culture has a history of five thousand years, we have a large amount of cultural relics and beautiful landscapes. If all these things are filmed, I believe there will be a lot of excellent works. Compared with those foreign film productions which are only good at wasting material resources and showing us kisses and embraces, our domestic films will be far superior. They will be not only efficacious at reforming the ways and manners of our people and therefore performing their function of social education, but could also be used to display our national merits when Chinese films become popular worldwide.⁷¹

As to film style, one of the major characteristics of Chinese cinema in Chongqing (Chungking) during the period of the anti-Japanese war was to advocate the so-called “Chinese manner” and “Chinese style.” The ultimate purpose of this was not the development of cinema per se, but the effective mobilization of the Chinese masses in the struggle for national liberation.⁷²

The Chinese cinema undoubtedly had Chinese characteristics in its subject matter, narrative model, world-view, style and formal system, and I will occasionally refer to these in the following chapters. But in light of the motives of the political parties (power) and the film producers (money) for the advocacy of national cinema, we have to admit that the “Chinese characteristics” were not exclusively natural or pre-existing. Moreover, as we examine the important relationship between Chinese cinema and the Chinese nationalist movement — the decisive factor in determining the “national” in Chinese cinema — we will find that these so-called Chinese characteristics in fact play a subordinate role.

For example, the costume films and martial arts films that prevailed in the 1920s were rapidly replaced by left- and right-wing films in the first half of the 1930s, as the domestic and international political situations grew increasingly chaotic and worrisome. Changes in content and style specific to certain film genres during the same period were due to external forces, not the evolution of filmmaking or the advocacy of film producers and filmmakers. Chief among these external forces were nationalist ideologies, which were an obvious determining factor.

As will be demonstrated in the following chapters, the Chinese national cinema, like European national cinemas, developed in constant dialogue with Hollywood. The competing tendencies of Westernization and Sinicization in Chinese film production co-existed from the beginning, and discussions about these issues were constant. By using foreign (Western and, sometimes, Russian) films as a reference, Chinese filmmakers’ conception of cinema was constantly changing and Chinese national cinema by no means developed in a state of isolation from the outside world. If we argue that the substance of Chinese film was relatively more “Chinese” because it was determined by Chinese reality, then we also have to concede that the formal structure of Chinese film was greatly influenced by foreign films. However, as the following chapters will demonstrate, the strategies adopted by Chinese film producers and filmmakers in their advocacy of the national film industry and national style were either identical with or

subordinate to the strategies used in the advocacy of Chinese national cinema in terms of Chinese nationalism.

There remains another issue important to any discussion of Chinese national cinema: that of present-day Chinese scholars' attitude toward national cinema, since "Chinese national cinema" in China is not only a historical product, but also the outcome of the present-day's elaboration of the issue. People in China today frequently use the phrase "national cinema" and generally look at it as a natural thing. For example, in the *Dictionary of Film Art* (*Dianying yishu cidian*) published by China Film Press in 1986, there is this entry on "nationalization of film" (*dianying minzubua*):

Nationalization of film means "national style of film" (*dianying minzu fengge*). It usually equals to national style of film, national characteristics of film (*dianying minzu tezhen*) or national identity of film (*dianying minzu xing*). This is a controversial theoretical issue in China. The first attitude towards the issue is that the national is that which is true to life. People who hold this view believe that if only we truthfully reflect our nation's life, the Chinese film is assured of its national identity. The central issue of the nationalization of film is to make films understandable for peasants. The second attitude toward nationalization is that film should have attained national characteristics from its content and form. The crux of nationalization here is to inherit and develop traditional Chinese aesthetics. The third attitude is against the advocating of national film. People of this view claim that the wording of nationalization of film is confusing. They believe that it is unnecessary to discuss the nationalization of film since film is an imported art form and its techniques of expression are universal ... Like historical style and class style, national style belongs in the field of artistic style. It includes national spirit, national qualities, national culture, national customs and habits, and national landscapes.⁷³

Notably, contemporary Chinese researchers do not relate national cinema to nationalism or the reflection of nationalism in cinema. Instead, they treat the issue as relating solely to style. Whether national cinema is seen as an inevitable thing (the first attitude), or something which must be created (the second attitude), or something which does not exist (the third attitude), national cinema is approached simply as a national form.

Therefore, Chinese researchers indicate that there is no hidden motive behind the advocacy of Chinese national cinema, demonstrating that researchers of Chinese national cinema refuse to seriously consider what and how “the national” really signifies. This leads to a situation in which the term “Chinese national cinema” is always presumed to be about style, while the real meaning of the term may be quite different. In this book, I adopt a quite different research perspective, by considering how the construction of the national in pre-1949 Chinese national cinema was strategically defined in relation to Chinese nationalism.

I have not included the Hong Kong and Taiwan cinemas in this study because they generally did not participate in the nation-building project of Chinese national cinema. The previously mentioned Poshek Fu article, “Between Nationalism and Colonialism: Mainland Émigrés, Marginal Culture, and Hong Kong Cinema 1937-1941,” clearly revealed the nature of “the other” of wartime Hong Kong cinema in relation to national cinema in mainland China. Since Taiwan was a Japanese colony until the end of World War Two, its cinema also did not participate in the construction of Chinese national cinema.

PRE-1949 CHINESE NATIONAL CINEMA: A PERIODIZATION

I have demonstrated that at various times before 1949, different stresses were laid on the national element of Chinese cinema. This book goes on to explore these differences according to established historical periods: pre-1920s, the 1920s, 1931-1936, 1937-1945 and 1946-1949. This standard periodization seems outdated, and is clearly related to political parties’ (especially the CCP’s) connection with filmmaking. However, I have adopted this periodization precisely because I aim to show that advocacy of national cinema in China was closely linked to political parties’ participation in film creation, and that in this sense Chinese national cinema was politically rather than culturally oriented.

It is also important to reiterate that Chinese nationalism always related to both anti-imperialism and nation building, although advocacy of Chinese national cinema had different focuses during different periods.

Cultural Awareness (Pre-1920s)

I analyze the initial attitude of Chinese audiences and filmmakers toward film as a kind of cultural awareness. When film was introduced in China

at the end of nineteenth century, Chinese audiences immediately named it “shadow play” (*yingxi*), the name of the traditional Chinese leather-silhouette show, indicating that film, to a certain degree, had a connection with a traditional Chinese art form. When Chinese filmmakers began producing the first Chinese films, they gained inspiration from Beijing opera rather than modeling their work on foreign films. As a result, the earliest Chinese films were Beijing opera films. This initial attitude of Chinese audiences and filmmakers, which associated film with traditional Chinese art forms, was governed by the general understanding in China of the relationship between Western and Chinese civilizations. China was in the midst of a cultural crisis when Western culture (including film) was introduced into China, and as a result, filmmakers tried to use film, a foreign art form, to carry forward traditional Chinese culture. In other words, they sought to transform film into an indigenous art form in the hope of finding a sense of cultural security. I therefore look at cultural awareness as a prelude to Chinese cultural nationalism, since Chinese filmmakers were not highly conscious of using film to serve the construction of the Chinese nation, though they *were* keen to advocate Chinese culture through film.

Industrial Nationalism (the 1920s)

The 1920s saw the rapid development of the Chinese film industry, and it is clear that the Chinese film community regarded the establishment of a strong film industry as a contribution to Chinese national industry. I therefore define the Chinese national cinema during the 1920s as “industrial nationalism.” Two tendencies emerged in the filmmaking of this era: Westernization and Sinicization. These two seemingly contradictory tendencies were in fact both used to strengthen the Chinese film industry and to establish a national cinema. Westernization, which was reflected in family melodrama films, was a strategy adopted by the Chinese film industry in order to increase its competitiveness against imported films by adopting some of their techniques. Meanwhile, Sinicization, which was reflected in costume films and martial arts films, revealed filmmakers and audiences’ nationalist sentiment after the May 30th Movement. Family melodrama films, costume films and martial arts films all evolved into commercial film movements and thus greatly accelerated the development of the Chinese film industry. In the 1920s, national cinema referred mainly to China’s national film industry.

Class Nationalism Versus Traditionalist Nationalism (1931–1936)

Political parties became involved in filmmaking in the 1930s. The Left Wing Film Movement and the Nationalist Film Movement, initiated respectively by the CCP and the KMT, presented two competing discourses of nationalism. Initially, the CCP was presumed to represent the interests of the proletariat while the KMT represented the interests of the propertied class. However, both parties claimed that they represented the interests of the entire nation through filmmaking and accused the other party of endangering the nation, as invasion by Japan became a pressing concern. The CCP's nationalism was clearly class-based, since the CCP believed that the party and the classes it represented truly served the interests of the Chinese nation. In its association of class struggle with its advocacy of nationalism through films, the CCP revealed its ultimate purpose, the overthrow of the KMT government. By comparison, the KMT advocated the idea of national survival by endorsing Confucian values as "Chinese tradition" and avoided the issue of class altogether. The KMT thus defined the Chinese nation in moral and cultural terms, rather than in relation to class, and film's social significance was viewed conservatively and aimed at maintaining KMT rule. I therefore interpret the CCP and the KMT rhetoric about nationalism and national cinema as self-justifications for their struggle for state power. From this point onward the Chinese national cinema was a contested concept in terms of politics.

Colonial and Anti-colonial Nationalisms (1937–1945)

The Japanese invasion inevitably caused a strong sense of national crisis in China, and Chinese filmmakers and audiences were no exception. I have discussed the way in which the Chinese national cinema was constructed around Chinese nationalism, while Chinese nationalism's main concern was the survival of the nation. China's wartime national cinema unsurprisingly reflected this major characteristic of Chinese national cinema. Seeing the Japanese invasion as an immense threat to the nation's survival, Chinese filmmakers addressed themes such as patriotism, and national cohesion and survival. Meanwhile the Japanese, relying on their military power, established their own film production base in Northeast China and exerted influences on the Shanghai film industry. In films produced in these areas the Japanese advocated the idea of racial conflict between Asians and Europeans, with the aim of furthering their

colonization of China. The terms colonial and anti-colonial nationalisms therefore refer to the different film activities conducted by the Chinese and Japanese concerning nationalism.

Nationalism and Modernization (1946–1949)

With the defeat of the Japanese, post-war Chinese cinema reflected the decline of nationalism as an issue of paramount importance in Chinese society, and in the absence of a foreign threat China's modernization became a priority. The focus of nationalism therefore became the building of a strong and modernized Chinese nation. In the midst of such circumstances, Chinese filmmakers expressed their loathing for political corruption in China and their longing for a democratic polity. Moreover, they began to rethink the relationship between tradition and modernity in terms of ethics and culture. For the first time, filmmakers viewed modernity as an important component of their national project. Furthermore, they attached equal importance to Chinese tradition and Western experiences in terms of the techniques of film expression. This was consistent with the change in film content, since Chinese filmmakers adopted an attitude of incorporating techniques and themes from the West, as well as from Chinese tradition, to develop Chinese national cinema in terms of both content and form.

The aspects of Chinese national cinema outlined above show that the concept of national cinema in China was fluid, contested and multi-faceted. In the following chapters I will address this concept through two main strategies. Firstly, the discussion of Chinese national cinema will be closely linked to a discussion of Chinese nationalism. That is, the creation and development of Chinese national cinema will be examined against the background of the development of Chinese nationalist movements. This research on Chinese national cinema will therefore be, to a certain degree, research on Chinese nationalism, and major nationalist movements, trends in art and literature relating to nationalism and political parties' discourses on nationalism will be brought into focus in addition to different discourses on national cinema. Within this framework, Chinese national cinema is examined as a microcosm of Chinese nationalism, which both reflected and participated in the construction of the Chinese nation. The purpose of this research is thus the production of a new interpretation of Chinese national cinema and, in a broader context, an interpretation of Chinese

nationalism. Chinese nationalism and national cinema are competing concepts because various groups at various times created different discourses around nationalism and national cinema. By closely linking Chinese national cinema with Chinese nationalism, I hope to make the complexity of the concept of Chinese national cinema clear.

Secondly, I will examine the concept of Chinese national cinema in terms of the concrete development of pre-1949 Chinese cinema. In other words, pre-1949 Chinese cinema had a unique developmental path, and any discussion of the national element of Chinese national cinema should be closely linked to this history. For example, I describe the major characteristic of Chinese cinema in the 1920s as industrial nationalism, since the film world viewed the establishment of a strong film industry as a contribution to the national industry. This conclusion is drawn from the development of the cinema itself as well as from Chinese nationalism in general. The 1920s was a critical period for the development of the Chinese film industry, and the establishment of a strong domestic film industry was rhetorically addressed in the film community in terms of the establishment of a national film industry. This discourse on national cinema was largely generated by the film world out of consideration of the cinema itself, and the Chinese national cinema was thus clearly not exclusively a reproduction of nationalism in Chinese society. Therefore, the complexity of Chinese national cinema can only be understood if the complexity of Chinese film history itself is fully realized. By linking the national to specific film history, I therefore intend to not only bring out the full meaning of the concept of Chinese national cinema, but also attempt a history of Chinese film before 1949. Research in film history in mainland China is largely treated as a political issue, and answers to questions such as what is included, what is excluded and specific interpretations, are largely determined by political factors. Meanwhile, researchers outside China are limited due to a lack of material relating to the Chinese cinema. Based on a considerable amount of primary material about the cinema, and from a perspective of national cinema I intend to address the gap in research about pre-1949 Chinese cinema, while also hoping to extend our understanding of national cinema in general, and contributing to scholarship on the historical production of the modern Chinese nation.



Notes

CHAPTER 1

- 1 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- 2 Beijing: China Film Press.
- 3 See Jay Leyda, *Dianying: An Account of Film and Film Audience in China*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 1972, pp. 139–40.
- 4 Cheng Jihua et al., (vol. 1), p. 89.
- 5 Ibid., p. 136.
- 6 The term “the national” in this book relates to not only the ethnic sense of “nation” (*minzu*) but also the political sense of “country” (*guojia*). It also covers a multitude of different political, cultural and economic projects in which the development of something known as the “nation” is privileged, although the “national” is differently understood and defined in different projects.
- 7 Yingjin Zhang, ed. *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999, pp. 183–99.
- 8 *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, p. 199.
- 9 In Poshek Fu and David Desser, eds. *The Cinema of Hong Kong: History, Arts, Identity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 199–226.
- 10 Poshek Fu, “Between Nationalism and Colonialism,” p. 208.
- 11 Historical sources cited in this book are mainly from film-related publications before 1949 such as *Mingxing Special Issue* (*Mingxing tekan*) and *Lianhua Pictorial* (*Lianhua huabao*)
- 12 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso, 1983, p. 4.
- 13 Ibid., p. 5.
- 14 Ernest Gellner, *Thought and Change*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1964, p. 168.
- 15 Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983, pp. 48–9.

- 16 E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality* (2nd edition), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, p. 10.
- 17 Hugh Seton-Watson, *Nations and States: An Enquiry into the Origins of Nations and the Politics of Nationalism*, Boulder: Westview Press, 1977, p. 9.
- 18 Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity*, London: Penguin Books, 1991, p. 100.
- 19 Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema*, London: Routledge, 1993, p. 5.
- 20 Ibid., pp. 2–4.
- 21 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996, p. 161.
- 22 Andrew Higson, “The Concept of National Cinema”, *Screen* 30, 4 (1989): 36–46.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Susan Hayward, p. 5.
- 25 Thomas J. Saunders, *Hollywood in Berlin: American Cinema and Weimar Germany*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994, p. 1.
- 26 Thomas J. Saunders, p. 10.
- 27 Thomas J. Saunders, p. 243.
- 28 In *Film History* 8, 1 (1996): 72–84.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Susan Hayward, p. 6.
- 32 Andrew Higson, “The Concept of National Cinema.”
- 33 Lu Fuhui, *On Chinese Nationalist Thought (Zhongguo minzuzhuyi sixiang lungao)*, Wuhan: Central China Teachers University Press (*Huazhong shifan daxue chubanshe*), 1996, p. 119.
- 34 See Lu Fuhui, pp. 119–20.
- 35 Lu Fuhui, p. 121.
- 36 Chen Yuning, *The Historical Studies About the Cohesion of the Chinese Nation (Zhonghua minzu ningjuh de lishi tansuo)*, Kunming: Yunnan People’s Publishing House, 1994, p. 377.
- 37 Cited by Lu Fuhui, pp. 293–4. It was originally written by Jing Wei, “The People of a Nation” (*Minzu de guomin*), *Minbao* 1, 1903(?).
- 38 E. J. Hobsbawm, p. 10.
- 39 See Vera Schwarcz’s *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986, pp. 117–38.
- 40 See Bonnie S. McDougall and Kam Louie’s *The Literature of China in the Twentieth Century*, London: Hurst & Company, 1997, pp. 13–20.
- 41 See Guo Xuyin, ed. *New Chinese Modern History (Xin bian Zhongguo xiandai shi)*, Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 1996, pp. 39–44.

- 42 For the relationship between the May Fourth Movement and Chinese cinema, please see Paul G. Pickowicz's "Melodrama and the 'May Fourth' Tradition of Chinese Cinema," in Ellen Widmer and David Der-wei Wang, eds. *From May Fourth to June Fourth: Fiction and Film in Twentieth-Century China*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993, pp. 295–326.
- 43 Lu Fuhui, p. 346.
- 44 Frank Dikötter, *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, London: Hurst & Company, 1992, p. 111.
- 45 See Chen Yuning, p. 383.
- 46 Chen Yuning, p. 382.
- 47 Frank Dikötter, p. 71.
- 48 Cited from Frank Dikötter, p. 124. Sun Wen (Sun Yatsen), *The Three Principles (Sanminzhuyi)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Yinshuguan, 1927, pp. 4–5.
- 49 There is a detailed description of this struggle in chapter 4.
- 50 Arthur Waldron, "Representing China: The Great Wall and Cultural Nationalism in Twentieth Century," in Harumi Befu, ed. *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia: Representation and Identity*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, pp. 36–60. The limits of the Great Wall here mean that the meanings of the Great Wall can also be interpreted negatively, such as the symbol of chains on Chinese people's minds.
- 51 Paul Clark, "The Sinification of Cinema: The Foreignness of Film in China," in Wimal Dissanayake, ed. *Cinema and Cultural Identity: Reflection on Film from Japan, India, and China*, Lanham: University Press of America, 1988, pp. 175–84.
- 52 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospect of Chinese Cinema" (*Zhongguo dianying de qiantu*) (part 2), *Film Monthly (Dianying yuebao)* 2 (1928).
- 53 Cheng Shuren, ed. *China Film Industry Yearbook (Zhonghua ying ye nianjian)*, Shanghai: China Film Industry Yearbook Editorial Department, 1927, foreword.
- 54 Details about the discussion in 1930 will be addressed later in this chapter.
- 55 See *Shenbao*, "The First Signs of an Improvement in Chinese Film Undertaking" (*Gailiang Zhongguo yingpian shiye zhi xiansheng*), 22 August 1922.
- 56 Ibid.
- 57 Wei Yaoqing, "The Strategy of Promoting Domestic Film to Save the Country" (*Tichang guochan wei jinri jiuguo zhi liangji*), *Xinxin Studio Special Issue 1* (1925).
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Pei Juan, "Film and National Spirit" (*Dianying yu minzu jingshen*), *Dagongbao*, 6 August 1929.
- 60 Shi Huan, "The Responsibility of Chinese Film World" (*Zhongguo dianying jie ying fu qi de shiming*), *Silver Star (Yin xing)* 9 (1927).

- 61 Thomas J. Saunders, p. 3; Susan Hayward, p. 5.
- 62 There is a detailed discussion in chapter 2.
- 63 Andrew Higson, p. 43.
- 64 John Breuilly, introduction to *Nationalism and the State* (2nd edition), Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995.
- 65 John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State*.
- 66 Shanghai Film Bureau, ed. *Shanghai Historical Film Materials*, Shanghai: n.p., 1994, p. 6.
- 67 See Gu Jianchen's "The History of Development of Chinese Cinema" (Zhongguo dianying fada shi), in China Educational Film Association, ed. *China Film Yearbook*, Nanjing: China Education and Film Association, 1934. In chapter 3 there is a detailed discussion of the film activities of the British and American Tobacco Company in China.
- 68 Wei Yaoqing, "The Strategy of Promoting Domestic Film to Save the Country" (*Tichang guochan wei jinri jiuguo zhi liang ji*), Xinxin Studio Special Issue 1 (1925). Since the article was published in a special issue of Xinxin Film Studio, it is a reasonable conclusion that the article was written by a publicity agent of Xinxin Studio.
- 69 Feng Er, "The Responsibility of Our Film Audience Should Shoulder in Regards to the Chinese Film Revival Movement" (*Wo guo dianying guanzhong duiyu guopian fuxing yundong ying fu de zeren*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 9 (1930): 32–3. Feng Er is obviously a pen name. Since *Shadow Play Journal* was run by Lianhua Film Studio, this article in fact represented the stand of Lianhua Studio.
- 70 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospect of Chinese Cinema," *Film Monthly* 2 (1928).
- 71 Luo Mingyou, "A Letter to People in the Film Trade for Reviving the Chinese Film" (*Wei guopian fuxing wenti jinggao tongye shu*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 9 (1930).
- 72 See chapter 5 for a detailed description.
- 73 *Dictionary of Film Art*, p. 13.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Cited from Arthur Waldron's "Representing China," in Harumi Befu, ed. *Cultural Nationalism in East Asia*, pp. 37–8.
- 2 See Vera Schwarcz's *The Chinese Enlightenment*, pp. 117–38.
- 3 The reactions of the Chinese audiences to film, as I will relate, varied according to time and place. Here, the reference to the audiences' attitude toward film refers to a general tendency only.
- 4 On August 11, 1896, Another Village, a teahouse in the Xu Garden of Shanghai showed "shadow plays from the West" which was the first film

- screening in China. See the advertisement by Xuyuan Garden in *Shenbao* on 10 August 1896. Cited from Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, p. 8.
- 5 See “Notes of Viewing American Shadow Play (*Guan Meiguo yingxi ji*),” *Recreation (Youxi bao)* 74 (1897), cited from Cheng Jihua et al., (vol. 1): 8.
 - 6 “The Teaching Material of Changming Corresponding Film School” (*Changming dianying hanshou xuexiao jiangyi*), *Screen Review (Yinmu pinglun)* 1, 1 (1926).
 - 7 Jing Yi, “Chinese Shadow Play Five Hundred Years Ago” (*Wu bai nian qian de Zhongguo yingxi*), *Popular Film News (Dazhong ying xun)* 2, 16 (1941): 542.
 - 8 See Wang Yue, “The Cradle of Chinese Cinema” (*Zhongguo dianying de yaolan*), *Film and Television Culture (Ying shi wenhua)* 1 (1988): 295–301.
 - 9 *Recreation*, “Notes of Viewing American Shadow Play.”
 - 10 Luo Yijun, “Cultural Tradition and Chinese Film Theory” (*Wenhua chuantong he Zhongguo dianying lilun*), *Film Art (Dianying yishu)* 4 (1992): 20–30.
 - 11 See Xu Chihen’s “Tracing the Origin of Chinese Shadow Play” (*Zhongguo yingxi zhi suyuan*), in Xu Chihen, ed. *An Outline of Chinese Shadow Play (Zhongguo yingxi daguan)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Hezuo Publishing House, 1927.
 - 12 For example, Tianhua Teahouse advertised its film screening in *Shenbao* on 27 July 1897 as follows: “This kind of play (*xi*) is completely operated by machine. It is lifelike and there are various theatrical programs (*ximu*)” (cited from Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, p. 8). This indicates that film and traditional Chinese opera belonged to the same category, as *xi* and *ximu* were specifically related to opera, and the only difference was that film was operated by a machine.
 - 13 Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragment: Colonial Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993, p. 5.
 - 14 Shanghai: Shijie Shuju, 1938, p. 299–300.
 - 15 Xu Muyun, p.300.
 - 16 Xu Muyun, foreword, p. 1.
 - 17 Tom Gunning, “The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-garde,” *Wide Angle* 8, nos. 3–4 (Fall, 1986): 63–70.
 - 18 See the advertisement for Western films in *Shenbao*, 27 July 1897.
 - 19 Weng Minghua, *Chinese Opera (Zhongguo xiju)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Book Publishing House, 1996, p. 105.
 - 20 Miriam Hansen, “Early Cinema, Late Cinema: Permutations of the Public Sphere,” *Screen* 34, 3 (1993): 197–210.
 - 21 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, pp. 8–9.
 - 22 Cited from Cheng et al., vol. 1, p. 8.

- 23 See Xiao's "The Development of Film Enterprise in Beijing" (*Beijing dianying shiye zhi fada*), *Film Weekly* (*Dianying zhoukan*) 1 (1921); and Yu Muyun's *Anecdotes of Hong Kong Cinema* (*Xianggang dianying zhanggu*), Hong Kong: Guangjiaojing Publishing House, 1985, p. 5.
- 24 See Weng Minghua's *Chinese Opera*, p. 18. About teahouses as sites of film exhibition, please also see Zhen Zhang's "Teahouse, Shadowplay, Bricolage: 'Laborer's Love' and the Question of Early Chinese Cinema," in Yingjin Zhang, ed. *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922–1943*, pp. 27–50.
- 25 See Li Suyuan and Hu Jubin's *Chinese Silent Film History* (*Zhongguo wusheng dianying shi*), Beijing: China Film Press, 1996, pp. 17–8.
- 26 Weng Minhua, p. 98.
- 27 Shen Ziyi, "Film in Beijing" (*Dianying zai Beijing*), *Film Monthly* 6 (1928).
- 28 See Xiao's "The Development of Film Enterprise in Beijing."
- 29 Ku Sheng, "The Conditions of Recent Film Exhibition in Tianjin" (*Zuijin Tianjin dianying shiye zhi zhuangkuang*), *Film Journal* (*Dianying zazhi*) 3 (1924).
- 30 Xiao, "The Development of Film Enterprise in Beijing."
- 31 Ku Sheng, "The Conditions of Recent Film Exhibition in Tianjin."
- 32 See Xiao, "The Development of Film Enterprise in Beijing."
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Wu Tiesheng, "The Advantages of Film" (*Dianying de haochu*), *Film Weekly* 1 (1921).
- 35 Guan Ji'an, "Changes of Shadow Play Since it Has Been Introduced into China" (*Yingxi shuru Zhongguo hou de bianqian*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1 (1922).
- 36 Ibid.
- 37 See Zhao's "Film in Qingdao" (*Dianying zai Qingdao*), *Film Monthly* 7 (1928); and Chen Shaowei's "The Recent Conditions of Film Exhibition in Chongqing" (*Chongqing ying ye jinkuang*), *Shadow Play Life* (*Yingxi shenghuo*) 1, 44 (1931).
- 38 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospect of Chinese Cinema (2)," *Film Monthly* 2 (1928).
- 39 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1389.
- 40 Xu Muyun, p. 297.
- 41 Wang Yue, "The Cradle of Chinese Cinema."
- 42 Ibid.
- 43 Ibid.
- 44 Ibid.
- 45 Yuri Tsivian, *Early Cinema in Russia and Its Cultural Reception*, London: Routledge, 1994, p. 1.
- 46 Ibid.

- 47 Tom Gunning, "'Primitive' Cinema—A Frame-up? Or the Trick's on Us," in Thomas Elsaesser and Adam Barker, eds. *Early Cinema: Space, Frame, Narrative*, London: BFI, 1990, pp. 95–103.
- 48 See Wang Yue's "The Cradle of Chinese Cinema."
- 49 For a discussion of the concept in China, see Frank Dikötter's *The Discourse of Race in Modern China*, p. 128.
- 50 Ge Yihong et al., *General History of Chinese Modern History (Zhongguo hujin tongshi)*, Beijing: China Culture and Art Publishing House (*wenhua yishu chubanshe*), 1997, pp. 2–3.
- 51 For a detailed discussion about the introduction of the Western play and the appearance of spoken drama, see Ge Yihong et al., pp. 6–23.
- 52 See Ge Yihong et al., pp. 6–10.
- 53 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema" (*Zhongguo xiandai dianying shi lue*), in China Film Archive, ed. *Chinese Silent Film (Zhongguo wusheng dianying)*, Beijing: China Film Press, 1996, pp. 1385–432. It was originally published in *The History of Development of Modern Chinese Arts (Jindai Zhongguo yishu fazhan shi)*, Shanghai: Shanghai Liangyou Publishing and Printing Studio, 1936.
- 54 For the establishment of these film companies, see Li Suyuan and Hu Jubin's *Chinese Silent Film History*, pp. 16–28.
- 55 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1390.
- 56 Zhang Shichuan, "Since I Have Been a Director" (*Zi wo daoyan yilai*), *Mingxing Semi-monthly (Mingxing banyuekan)* 1, 3 (1935).
- 57 Ibid.
- 58 See Cheng Bugao's *Memories About the Film Circles (Yingtian yi jiu)*, Beijing: China Film Press, 1983, pp. 101, 103.
- 59 See He Junxiu's "Zhang Shichuan and Mingxing Company" (*Zhang shicuan he Mingxing gongsi*), in *Selections of Historical Accounts of Past Events* (vol. 67), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1980, p. 385.
- 60 The definition of "god-spirit" dramas will be discussed in chapter 3.
- 61 Ge Yihong et al., p. 28.
- 62 In China Film Archive, ed. *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1360.
- 63 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1390.
- 64 In China Film Archive, ed. *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1389.
- 65 Guan Da, "Talking About Chinese Shadow Play" (*Zhongguo yingxi tan*), *Shadow Play Journal (Yingxi zazhi)* 1, 1 (1921).
- 66 Fei Mu, "Random Talk" (*Za xie*), *Lianhua Pictorial (Lianhua huabao)* 5, 1 (1935): 16.
- 67 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospect of Chinese Cinema."

- 68 Yang Xiaozhong, “Memories About the Film Department of the Commercial Press” (*Yi Shangwu yinshuguan dianying bu*), in Wang Hanlun et al., *Memories about Old Days (Gankai hua dangnian)*, Beijing: China Film Press, 1962, pp. 7–18.
- 69 See Zhuang Yu’s “Thirty-five Years of the Commercial Press” (*San shi wu nian lai zhi Shangwu yinshuguan*), in the Commercial Press, ed. *Ninety Five Years of the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan jiu shi wu nian)*, Beijing: The Commercial Press, 1992, pp. 721–63.
- 70 Jiang Weiqiao, “The Commercial Press and Zhonghua Book Company in Their Early Stage” (*Chuangban chuqi zhi Shangwu yingshuguan yu Zhonghua shuju*), in Zhang Qinglu, ed. *Historical Materials About Modern Chinese Publishing Industry (Zhongguo xiandai chuban shiliao)*, Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company, 1959, p. 397.
- 71 Zhuang Yu, “Thirty-five Years of the Commercial Press.”
- 72 The Commercial Press, “Petition for Tax Exemption for Domestic Motion Pictures” (*Wei zi zhi huodong yinbian qingzhun mianshui chengwen*), *The Commercial Press Address Book (Shangwu yinshuguan tongxunlu)* 5 (1919).
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- 74 Bai Yin, “A Commentary and Opinion on Films Produced by the Commercial Press” (*Duiyu Shangwu yinshuguan shezhi yingpian de pinglun he yijian*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 2 (1922).

CHAPTER 3

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- 2 See Guo Xuyin, ed. *New Modern Chinese History*, pp. 53–4.
- 3 Zhou Jianyun, “The Prospects for Chinese Cinema.”
- 4 Zheng Zhengqiu, “A Center of Film Cooperation” (*Hezuo de dabenyi*), *Film Monthly* 6 (1928).
- 5 Cheng Shuren, “History of the Chinese Film Industry,” in Cheng Shuren, ed. *Chinese Film Industry Yearbook*.
- 6 Cheng Shuren, ed. *Chinese Film Industry Yearbook*.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 See Feng Xizui, “Film Companies and Stock Exchanges” (*Yingpian gongsi yu jiaoyisuo*), *Film Journal (Dianying zazhi)* 2 (1924).
- 9 See He Junxiu (Zhang Shichuan’s wife), “Zhang Shichuan and the Mingxing Studio” (*Zhang Shichuan he Mingxing gongsi*), in *Selections of Historical Accounts of Past Events (Wenshi ziliao xuanji)* (vol. 67), Beijing: Zhonghua Book Company (*Zhonghua shuju*), 1980, pp. 382–435; and Zheng Junli, “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema,” in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1395.

- 10 *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 3 (1922).
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Cited from Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, p. 83. Originally published in the Tianyi Special Issue *Instant Buddha* (*Lidi chengfo*) (1925).
- 13 See Xu Chihen's "A History of the Founding of Shanghai Film Companies and Their Activities" (*Hu shang ge zhipian gongsi chuangli shi ji jingguo qingxing*), in Xu Chihen, ed. *An Outline of Chinese Shadow Play* (*Zhongguo yingxi daguan*), Shanghai: Shanghai Hezuo Publishing House, 1927.
- 14 *Shadow Play Journal*, "The New Expansion Plan of the Great Wall Studio" (*Changcheng gongsi kuochong zhi xin jihua*), 1, 1 (1929): 59–60.
- 15 Lianhua Studio, "Years of the Lianhua Studio" (*Lianhua yingpian gongsi si nian jingli shi*), in *China Film Yearbook*, 1934.
- 16 Huang Yicuo, "The New Domestic Film Industry" (*Guonei de xin ying ye*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 10 (1930): 29–30.
- 17 Lianhua Studio, "Four Years of the Lianhua Studio."
- 18 See Luo Mingyou's "A Report to People in the Film Trade on the Organization of Lianhua (Second Report)" (*Wei Lianhua zuzhi baogao tongren shu*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 10 (1930): 45–7.
- 19 Cited from Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, 122.
- 20 *Shadow Play Annals* (*Yingxi chunqiu*), "Sincere Advice to the Film Department of the British-American Tobacco Company and Linfa Company" (*Zhonggao "Yingmei" yu Linfa*), 11 (1925).
- 21 See Wei Qing's "Notes About Two New Films From the British-American Tobacco Company" (*Ji Yingmei yan gongsi xin chu zhi liang yingpian*), *Silver Light* (*Yin Deng*) 1 (1926).
- 22 See Ren Jinping's "My Impression About the Films of the British-American Tobacco Company" (*Guan Yingmei yan gongsi yingpian gan yan*), *Film Journal* 13 (1925).
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- 24 See Yi Lang's "How to Surmount the Current Crisis Following the Incursion of American Capital Into the Chinese Film World" (*Mei ziben jingong Zhongguo diarying jie hou zenyang tupo muqian de weiji*), *Film Art* (*Diarying yishu*) 3 (1932); and Zhou Jianyun's "The Chinese Film World After the May 30th Massacre" (*Wusa can'an hou zhi Zhongguo yingxi jie*), *Mingxing Special Issue* 3, *A Shanghai Woman* (*Shanghai yi furen*) (1925).
- 25 Liangxin (Conscience), "The Issue of Foreign Investment in Chinese Film Production" (*Waizi zai Hua zhipian wenti*), *Film Fan Weekly* (*Yingmi zhoubao*) 1, 12 (1934): 198–9.

- 26 For the impact of the May 30th Movement on foreign-produced films, see the discussion on the Movement in the following section.
- 27 See note 1 in this chapter.
- 28 See China Film Archive, ed. *The General Catalogue of Chinese Film* (*Zhongguo dianying zong mulu*) (vol. 1), Beijing: n. p., 1960, pp. 25, 28.
- 29 See He Junxiu's "Zhang Shichuan and the Mingxing Studio."
- 30 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1398.
- 31 Bing Xin, "A Critical Review of the Film *The Death of Linlang*" (*Yuli hun zhi pinglun Guan*), *Film Journal* 2 (1924).
- 32 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1398.
- 33 Wang Yuanlong, "My Reason for Producing *Visiting the In-Laws*" (*Wo suoyi she Tan qinjia*), Dazhonghua Baihe Special Issue, *Visiting the In-Laws* (*Tan qinjia*), 1926.
- 34 E. Perry Link, *Mandarin Ducks and Butterflies: Popular Fiction in Early Twentieth-century Chinese Cities*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, p. 13.
- 35 E. Perry Link, p. 7.
- 36 Chen Yuan, "The Film *Lonely Orchid*" (*Kong gu lan dianying*) in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1134. Originally from *Xiying Xianhua*, Xinyue Book Shop, 1928.
- 37 See Ke Ling's "An Outline of the Relationship Between the May Fourth Movement and Film" (*Shi wei wusi yu dianying hua yi lunkuo*), in Chen Bo, ed. *Chinese Left Wing Film Movement* (*Zhongguo zuoyi dianying yundong*), Beijing: China Film Press, 1993, pp. 902–13. Originally published in China Film Society of Hong Kong, ed. *China Film Research* (*Zhongguo dianying yanjiu*), vol. 1. Hong Kong: China Film Society of Hong Kong, 1983.
- 38 See Zhang Shichuan's "Since I Have Been a Director" and Bao Tianxiao's "Film and I" (*Wo yu dianying*), in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1513. Originally published in Bao Tianxiao's *My Autobiography* [*Chuanyinglou huiyilu*], Hong Kong: Dahua Press, 1973.
- 39 Ibsen's influence on Chinese literary modernism and the May Fourth social movement was immense. For example, at the end of his play *The Doll's House*, the housewife Nora ("Nala" to Chinese audiences) leaves her home, and this became a fashionable topic among literary writers. See Ke Ling's "An Outline of the Relationship Between the May Fourth Movement and Film."
- 40 Hou Yao, "Life of Sorrow and Joy" (*Bei huan li he de shenghuo*), Minxin Special Issue 2 (1926).
- 41 For the film story of *Hypocrite*, see *The General Catalogue of Chinese Film*

- (pp. 81–2) and He Xingleng, “My Impressions of the Great Wall School Films” (*Changcheng pai yingpian suo gei wo de yinxiang*), The Great Wall Studio Special Issue for *Hypocrite*, 1926.
- 42 It is worth noting that Cheng Jihua et al., condemned the film. They held that Hou Yao “did his utmost to exaggerate how a Doctor of Law, who had studied abroad, won the love and esteem of the masses. The Doctor was described as a popular political hero,” in Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 1, p. 95. This reveals their anti-Western nationalism.
 - 43 Huang Zhuantao, “My Opinion About Costume Film Production” (*Shezhi guzhuangpian zhi wo jian*), *Film Monthly* 2 (1928).
 - 44 *Silver Light* 1, 2 (1926).
 - 45 Luo Mingyou, “Foreword to *The Peach Girl*” (*Taohua qixue ji bianyan*), *Shadow Play Journal* 2, 2 (1931): 40.
 - 46 Huang Yicuo, “On Reviving Domestic Film” (*Guochan yingpian de fuxing wenti*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 9 (1930): 24–5.
 - 47 Zheng Junli, “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema,” in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1406.
 - 48 Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1980, preface, p. 1.
 - 49 See Xu Bibo’s “All About Making the Documentary *May 30th Movement in Shanghai*” (*Jilupian Wu sa Hu chao paishe jing guo*), in Wang Hanlun et al., *Memories About Old Days*, pp. 29–31.
 - 50 Chunchou, “Prospects for the Chinese Cinema” (*Zhongguo dianying zhi qiantu*), *Silver Light* (Yin guang) 1 (1926).
 - 51 See Zheng Junli, “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema,” in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1400.
 - 52 Zhou Jianyun, “Chinese Shadow Play Circles After May 30th Massacre” (*Wu sa can’an hou zhi Zhongguo yingxi jie*), *Mingxing Studio Special Issue* 3 (1925).
 - 53 Ibid.
 - 54 See Xu Bibo, “All About Making the Documentary *The May 30th Movement in Shanghai*.”
 - 55 Hong Shen, “About Canceling Film Censorship in the Foreign Concessions” (*Guanyu chexiao zujie jiancha zhidu*), *Yihua Pictorial* (*Yihua huabao*) 7 (1937): 3–4.
 - 56 See Gu Jianchen, “Home-made Films and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia” (*Guo zhi yingpian yu Nanyang huaqiao*), *Mingxing Special Issue* 16 (1926).
 - 57 Zhou Jianyun, “On Film Censorship” (*Dianying shencha wenti*), *Film Monthly* 5 (1928).
 - 58 Chun Chou, “Prospects for Chinese Film” (*Zhongguo dianying shiye zhi qiantu*), *Silver Light* 1 (1926).

- 59 Mao Chen, *Between Tradition and Change*, Lanham: University Press of America, Inc., 1997, p. xvii.
- 60 Gu Jianchen, "The History of the Development of Chinese Cinema", in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1370.
- 61 Zou Bingchan, "It's Not an Old-fashioned Idea to Make Historical Films" (*She gu ju bu shi jiu naojin*), Tianyi Special Issue 8 (1926).
- 62 Yu Tian, "An Unopened Field in the Chinese Film World" (*Zhongguo dianying jie wei kaipi de yuandi*), *Screen Light (Yin guang)* 5 (1927).
- 63 Chen Zhiqing, "A Few Important Problems in Chinese Film Screenwriting" (*Zhongguo yingju zhong jige zhongyao wenti*), *Silver Star* 3, 4 (1926).
- 64 Tian Xiao, "A Study of Historical Films" (*Lishi yingpian zhi taolun*), Mingxing Studio Special Issues 6, 7 and 9 (1926).
- 65 Zheng Junli, "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema."
- 66 See Li Songyun's "Major Problems in the Revival of Domestic Film" (*Guopian fuxing shenglang zhong de ji ge jichu wenti*), *Shadow Play Journal* 2, 3 (1931): 18–28.
- 67 Meng Na, "Selecting Scripts for the Chinese Film Revival Movement" (*Guopian fuxing yundong zhong de dianying juban xuanze wenti*), *Film Journal* 1, 7–8 (1930): 28–9.
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- 69 See Zheng Junli's "A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema," in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1409.
- 70 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospect for Chinese Cinema (4)", *Film Monthly* 9 (1929).
- 71 Gu Jianchen, "Home-made Films and Overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia."
- 72 Sun Shiyi, "Costume Film Fever in the Film World."
- 73 Zhou Jianyun, "The Prospects for Chinese Cinema (4)."
- 74 Zhu ? (朱 戡), "On Traditional Costume Film (*Lun guzhuang ju*)", *Dazhonghua Baihe Special Issue Sex Trap*, 1927.
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- 78 See Li Ying's "On the Structure of Martial Arts Films" (*Wuxia pian de jiegou*), *Shadow Play Life* 1, 28 (1931).
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- 81 Fu Daohui, *May 30th Movement (Wu sa yundong)*, Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 1985, p. 3.
- 82 See Guo Xuyin, pp. 46–7.
- 83 Lu Mengshu, “1928 and Domestic Film” (*Minguo shi qi nian yu guochan dianying*), *Silver Star* 16 (1928).
- 84 Li Ying, “On the Structure of Martial Arts Films.”
- 85 Zheng Junli, “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema,” in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1414.
- 86 See Chen Mo’s “About Martial Arts Films” (*Wuxia dianying mantan*), *Contemporary Cinema* 4 (1994): 68–75.
- 87 See Zhou Suyu’s “On Martial Arts Films” (*Lun wuxia ju*), Youlian Studio Special Issue 5 (1927).
- 88 See Hua Danni’s “Predicting Chinese Cinema on the Basis of *Four Swordsmen Named Wang*” (*Yi Wang shi si xia bu Zhongguo dianying zhi jianglail*), *Film Monthly* 1 (1928); and Zheng Junli’s “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema”, in *Chinese Silent Film*, pp. 1413–4.
- 89 For the film story, see *General Catalogue of Chinese Film*, Vol. 2, pp. 158–9.
- 90 See Zhou Jianfeng’s “Four Swordsmen Named Wang,” *China Film Magazine (Zhongguo dianying za zhi)* 12 (1928).
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- 93 Tian Xing, “The Minxin Studio and Its New Studio” (*Qian di wei liang hua Minxin*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 1 (1929).
- 94 Bai Jian, “Talking About God-Spirit Film” (*Tan shenguai yingpian*), *Lianhua Pictorial (Lianhua huabao)* 7, 1 (1936).
- 95 Zheng Junli, “A Brief History of Modern Chinese Cinema,” in *Chinese Silent Film*, p. 1413.
- 96 Jin Taipu, “Where Should Films Go After the Ban on God-Spirit Films” (*Shenguai pian chajin hou jinhou de dianyingjie xiang nali zou*), *Shadow Play Life* 1, 32 (1931).
- 97 Hui Tao, “Reasons for the Popularity of *Burning Honglian Temple*” (*Huoshao Hongliansi renren huanying de ji zhong yuanyin*), *New Silver Star* 11 (1929): 30–1, 39.
- 98 Chen Mo, “A New Understanding of Early Martial Arts Film” (*Zhongguo zaoqi wuxia dianying de zai renshi*), *Contemporary Cinema*: 1 (1997): 31–40.
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CHAPTER 4

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- 2 According to Xia Yan, the Left Wing Film Movement was initiated by the CCP Film Group. See Xia Yan's *Old Memories* (*Lan xun jiu meng lu*), Beijing: Sanlian Bookshop, 1985, pp. 224–37. It should be noted that no historical document has ever been produced to prove whether the movement was under the direct leadership of the CCP.
- 3 Cited from Ge Yihong's *General History of Chinese Modern Drama*, p. 123. Originally published in *Literature Guide* (*Wenxue daobao*), 1, 6–7 (1931).
- 4 See Wang Chenwu's "The Way Chinese Cinema Should Take" (*Zhongguo dianying zhi lu*) for a discussion about the issue, in *Mingxing Monthly* 1, 1–2 (1933).
- 5 Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War: 1901–1949*, London: Longman Group Limited, 1995, p. 172.
- 6 Cited in *Film and Radio Weekly*, "Chronicle of Events of the Resurgence of Film" (*Dianying zhongxing dashiji*), 3, 23 (1934): 455.
- 7 Cited in Li Shaobai's "A Brief Discussion on the Rising of the 'Film Cultural Movement' in the 1930s in China" (*Jian lun Zhongguo san shi niandai dianying wenhua yundong*), *Contemporary Cinema* 3 (1993): 77–84.
- 8 See Yang Hansheng's "Some Historical Experiences of the Left Wing Film Movement" (*Zuoyi dianying yundong de ruogan lishi jingyan*), in *Chinese Left Wing Film Movement*, p. 1–8.
- 9 See Xia Yan's *Old Memories*, pp. 224–37. The film group consisted of Xia Yan, Qian Xingcun, Wang Chenwu, Shi Linghe and Situ Huimin.
- 10 See Xia Yan's "A New Journey" (*Xin de bashe*), in Chen Bo, ed. *Chinese Left Wing Film Movement* (*Zhongguo zuoyi dianying yundong*), Beijing, China Film Press, 1993, pp. 9–14.
- 11 No left wing members of the film circles ever clearly defined "feudalism." However, Wang Chenwu mentions in his article "The Way Chinese Cinema Should Take" that anti-imperialist films should focus on fighting against religions, landlords, loan sharks, warlords, running dogs of imperialists, people who created "natural disasters," and exorbitant taxes and levies. Feudalism was thus equated with the propertied class and the KMT.
- 12 See Yang Hansheng's "Some Historical Experiences of the Left Wing Film Movement."
- 13 See "Film Culture Society Comes into Operation" (*Dianying wenhua xiehui jiji jinxing*), *Chenbao*, 26 March 1933.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.

- 16 See Yang Hansheng's "Some Historical Experiences of the Left Wing Film Movement."
- 17 Li Shaobai, "A Brief Discussion on the Rising of the 'Film Culture Movement' in the 1930s in China."
- 18 Feng Wu (Qian Xingcun), "A Discussion on the China Film Culture Movement" (*Lun Zhongguo dianying wenhua yundong*), *Mingxing Monthly* 1, 1 (1933).
- 19 The "Current Program of Action" was the guide to action for the Left Wing Film Movement. It contains the tasks and objectives of the movement.
- 20 See Xia Yan's "Commemorating Mr Zheng Zhengqiu" (*Jinian Zheng Zhengqiu xiansheng*), *China Left Wing Film Movement*, pp. 1008–10.
- 21 See Zheng Zhengqiu's "How to Take a Progressive Road" (*Ruhe zuo shang qianjin zhi lu*), *Mingxing Monthly* 1, 1 (1933).
- 22 See Li Shi's "Another Bomb in the Film World" (*Guo pian jie de you yi ke zhadan*), *Film and Radio Weekly* 3, 4 (1934).
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- 24 See Lu Si's *Reminiscences in Film Comments* (*Ying ping yi jiu*), Beijing: China Film Press, 1962, pp. 59, 62.
- 25 See Riku's "Who Are Critics?" (*Shui shi piping jia*), *Cultural Events* (*Shishi xin bao*) 3 September 1932.
- 26 See Wang Chenwu's "The Road of Chinese Cinema" (*Zhongguo dianying zhi lu*), *Mingxing Monthly* 1, 1–2 (1933).
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- 29 Cited in Xia Yan's *Old Memories*, p. 298.
- 30 Cited in Amitendranath Tagore's *Literary Debates in China: 1918–1937*, Tokyo: Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1967, p. 170. Originally written by Zhou Yang, "Literature of the Present Stage" (*Xian jieduan de wenxue*), *The Enlightenment* (*Guangming*) 2 (1936): 165.
- 31 For a discussion on the national defense cinema, see Li Shaobai's "A Brief Examination of the Discussion on 'National Defense Cinema'" (*Dui guofang dianying jieduan de saomiao shi kaocha*), *Film Art* 4 (1995): 34–40.
- 32 See Guo Xuyin, *New Modern Chinese History*, p. 206.
- 33 Wang Zhefu, pp. 85–6, and Amitendranath Tagore, pp. 125–6.
- 34 Guo Xuyin, p. 206.
- 35 Ibid.

- 36 Cited in Li Shaobai's "The Contradictions Between the Two Ideologies" (*Liang zhong yishixingtai de duili*), *Contemporary Cinema* 4 (1994): 35–40. Original source: Wang Pingling, Huang Zhenxia, Zhu Yingpeng and Fu Changyan, "Declaration on Nationalistic Literature and Art Movement" (*Minzu zhuyi wenyi yundong xuanyan*), *Vanguard Weekly* (*Qianfeng zhoubao*) 2, 3 (1930).
- 37 Changfeng Publishing House, "The Mission of This Journal" (*Ben kan de shi ming*), *Changfeng* 1, 1 (1930).
- 38 Pan Gongzhan, "Viewing the Nationalistic Literature and Art Movement From the Stand of the Three Principles" (*Cong sanminzhuyi de lichang guancha minzu zhuyi de wenyi yundong*), in *Notes of Nationalistic Literature and Art* (*Minzu zhuyi wenyi ji*), Shanghai: Shanghai Guangming Press, 1930.
- 39 See *Film and Radio Weekly*, "Chronicle of Events of the Resurgence of Film."
- 40 Cited from Du Yunzhi, vol. 1, p. 191.
- 41 Li Shaobai, "The Contradiction of Two Ideologies."
- 42 See *Lianhua Pictorial*, "Opening Up a Path for the Domestic Cinema" (*Fu she guopian de guidao*), 1, 9 (1933).
- 43 Cited from *Lianhua Pictorial*, "Opening Up a Path for the Domestic Cinema." Originally published in Chen Lifu's *The New Line of the Chinese Film Cause*, n.p., p. 29.
- 44 Guo Xuyin, p. 206.
- 45 See *Lianhua Pictorial*, "Major Event in May" (*Wu yue dashiji*), 5, 12 (1935): 20.
- 46 Ye Qiuyuan, "Nationalism on Film" (*Dianying shang de minzu zhuyi*), *Shadow Play Journal* 1, 4 (1930). Other articles in this respect are Lu Mengshu's "A Proper Understanding We Must Have of Cinema" (*Women duiyu dianying yingyou de renshi*), *Film* 3 (1930); and Li Chunsen's "Constructing Nationalistic Cinema" (*Minzu zhuyi dianying de jianshe*), *Film* 4 (1930).
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- 55 See Xiusheng and Riku, "Revival of National Spirit" (*Guo hun de fuhuo*), in Chen Bo, ed. *Selected Chinese Film Commentaries of the 1930s* (*San shi niandai Zhongguo dianying pinglun xuan*), Beijing: China Film Press, 1993, pp. 60–1 (originally in *Chenbao*, September 1932); Yao Sufeng, "Comment on *Spring Silkworms*" (*Ping Chun can*), in *Selected Chinese Film Commentaries of the 1930s*, pp. 257–60 (originally in *Chenbao*, October 1933); Shi Linghe, "Comment on *A Bumper Harvest*" (*Ping Huang jin gu*), *Shenbao*, 4 June 1934; Tang Nai, "The Practical Significance of *Children of the Times*" (*Shidai de ernü de shidai yiyi*), in *Selected Chinese Film Commentaries of the 1930s*, pp. 475–8 (originally in *Chenbao*, May 1934); Tang Nai, "Common Enemy," in *Selected Chinese Film Commentaries of the 1930s*, pp. 263–5 (originally in *Chenbao*, April 1934).
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- 62 Jiang Zhongji, "Comment on *Twenty-four Hours in Shanghai*" (*Ping Shanghai er shi si xiaoshi*), *Chenbao*, 14 June 1934.
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CHAPTER 5

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- 77 See Zhu Tianwei, “‘Friendship’ or Aggression: The Crime of Kawakita Nagamasa’s Cultural Aggression” (*Youhao haishi qinlue: Chuanxi Duochangzheng de dianying wenhua qinlue zuixing*), *Film Art* 4 (1995): 17–24; and Shanghai Film Bureau, ed. *Historical Materials of Shanghai Film (Shanghai dianying shiliao)*, vol. 5, n.p., 1994, p.126.
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- 79 See Shanghai Film Bureau, ed., *Historical Materials of Shanghai Film*, p. 126.
- 80 See Zhang Shichuan’s “My Impression About Japanese Film” (*Wo de Riben dianying guan*), *Film Pictorial* 7, 1 (1943): 32–3.

- 81 Cited in *Popular Film World*, “Scriptwriters, Directors and Actors in 1943” (*Sanshier niandu de bian dao yan*), 1 (1944).
- 82 See *Popular Film World*, “A Review of Chinese Cinema of 1943.”
- 83 Ouchi Takao, “The Character of the Great East Asian Film” (*Da Dongya dianying de xingge*), *Film Pictorial* (*Dianying Huabao*), 7, 1 (1942): 21.
- 84 See Zhang Shichuan’s “My Impression of Japanese Film.” Akira Iwasaki introduces state-policy films as follows: “the Japanese government got involved in film production in 1934, and established the ‘Great Japan Film Association’ the following year. The Association claimed, ‘film should carry out the state policy of the Great Japanese Empire. It must fulfil its unique propagandistic and educational role in politics and diplomacy not only during critical moments but also at ordinary times. Film should serve the country.’” See Akira Iwasaki’s *Japanese Film History* (Chinese version), Beijing: China Film Press, 1981, pp. 150–1.
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- 86 Sato Tadao, “Shanghai Cinema during the Japanese Occupation,” China Film Archive, ed. *Chinese Cinema in the Eyes of the Overseas Critics*, n.p., 1983, pp. 186–96.
- 87 Yu Mowan, “From *Eternal Fame* to Huaying” (Cong *Wanshi liufang tan dao Huaying*), in *The 16th Hong Kong International Film Festival*, pp. 19–22, 30.
- 88 Tong Qi, “Alas! Chinese Cinema Has Entered a Stage of Low Ebb” (*Wuhu! dichao liao de Zhongguo dianying*), *Film* 1, 7 (1946).
- 89 *Film*, “Li Lihua, Zhou Manhua and Hu Feng Blatantly Seek Publicity in Chongqing When Films of the Puppet Regime Are Being Banned” (*Wei pian jinyan sheng zhong, Li Lihua, Zhou Manhua, Hu Feng zai Chongqing dasi huodong*), 1, 2 (1946).
- 90 *Film*, “Huaying Filmmakers Active Again” (*Huaying hongren you huoyue le*), 1, 4 (1946).
- 91 Poshek Fu, “Struggle to Entertain.”
- 92 *Popular Film World*, “A Review of Chinese Cinema of 1943.”
- 93 Poshek Fu, “Struggle to Entertain.”
- 94 *Universal Love*, *Eternal Fame* and *A Riot of Color* were praised by the Japanese-controlled journals in Shanghai. See *Popular Film World*, “A Review of Chinese Cinema of 1943,” and Shi Wong’s “Fang Peilin Produces Musical *A Riot of Color*” (*Fang Peilin paishe gewu pain Wanzi qianhong*), *Popular Film News* 3, 30 (1943). For the film story *Story of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom* and the comment on this film, see Zhu Tianwei’s “‘Friendship’ Or Aggression.”
- 95 See Yu Mowan’s “From *Eternal Fame* to Huaying.”
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- 97 This essay was presented by Poshek Fu at the Second International Conference on Chinese Cinema, Hong Kong, April 2000. Original emphasis.
- 98 See Zhu Tianwei's "'Friendship' or Aggression."
- 99 See Luo Ka's "Tong Yuejuan Discusses Zhang Shankun" (*Fang Tong Yuejuan tan Zhang Shankun*), *The 18th Hong Kong International Film Festival*, pp. 110–2.
- 100 See the synopsis of *Universal Love* in *The General Catalogue of Chinese Film*, p. 700.
- 101 See Shi Wong's "Fang Peilin Produces the Musical, *A Riot of Color*."
- 102 *Popular Film World*, "A Review of Chinese Cinema of 1943."
- 103 See Sato Tadao's "Shanghai Cinema during the Japanese Occupation."
- 104 Kawakita Nagamasa, "My Lifelong Experience," *Economic News* (Japan), 3 April – 2 May 1980. Cited from Zhu Tianwei's "'Friendship' or Aggression."
- 105 *Film Pictorial*, "Zhang Shankun Visits Manying" (*Zhang Shankun fangwen Manying*), 8, 2 (1944): 29–33.
- 106 See Tadao Sato's "Shanghai Cinema During the Japanese Occupation."
- 107 Cited from Yu Mowan's "From *Eternal Fame* to Huaying." Originally from Shen Xicheng's "Kawakita and the Film Cooperation Between China and Japan" (*Chuanxiduo yu Zhong Ri dianying hezuo*), *Dacheng* 59, n.d., p. 61.
- 108 Tadao Sato, "Li Xianglan and Yoshiko Yamaguchi."
- 109 See Gu Cangwu's "The Civil Perspective of *Eternal Fame*" (*Wanshi liufang de minjian shiyan*), in *The 16th Hong Kong International Film Festival*, pp. 23–5.
- 110 Gu Cangwu, "Xianglan, a Remarkable Woman in the Turbulent Days" (*Luanshi qi hua Xianglan*), in *The 16th Hong Kong International Film Festival*, pp. 10–2.
- 111 See Fang Yan's "Outline of the Film Undertaking of the Central Committee of KMT" (*Zhongyang dianying shiye gaikuang*), *China Film Yearbook*, 1934.
- 112 See *Film Daily* (*Dianying ribao*), "The Third Anniversary of China Film Studio" (*Zhongguo dianying zhipian chang chengli san zhounian*), 6 October 1940.
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- 115 Shi Dongshan, "Chinese Cinema Since the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression."
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- 117 See Luo Xuelian's "Cinema During the Last Four Years' Anti-Japanese War."

- 118 Shi Dongshan, "Chinese Cinema Since the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression."
- 119 See "The Minutes of the Discussion on the Chinese Film Line" (*Zhongguo dianying de luxian wenti zuotanhui jilu*), *Chinese Film (Zhongguo dianying)* 1, 1 (1941).
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- 121 Shi Dongshan, "Chinese Cinema Since the War of Resistance Against Japanese Aggression."
- 122 Song Zhidi, "A Brief Discussion on Film Popularization" (*Lue lun dianying tongsu hua wenti*), *Saodangbao*, 10 April 1939.
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- 124 Cited from He Bini's "Fragmentary Writing About *Wind and Cloud Over Mongolia*" (*Za tan Saishang fengyun*), *Saodangbao*, 1 March 1942.
- 125 For synopses, see Cheng et al., vol. 2, pp. 129–32.
- 126 Xia Yan, *Old Memories*, p. 488.
- 127 On the debate about nationalization, see Tang Huang's "On the Nationalization of the Film Industry" (*Dianying guoying lun*), *National Daily [Guomin gongbao]*, 12 February 1939; and Wang Pingling's "From Soviet Film to Chinese Film" (*Cong Sulian dianying tan dao Zhongguo dianying*), *Sino-Russian Culture* 7, 4 (1940).
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- 132 Luo Jingyu, "On State Policy of Film" (*Lun guoce dianying*), *Chinese Cinema (Zhongguo dianying)* 1, 1 (1941).
- 133 Ibid.
- 134 On Chongqing film audience composition, see Yang Cunren's "About Filmmaking for the Peasants" (*Nongcun yingpian de zhizuo wenti*), *China Film* 1, 1 (1941); and Wang Pingling's "The Production and Exhibition of Wartime Education Film" (*Zhan shi jiaoyu dianying de bianzhi yu fangying*), *Times' Spirit* 4, 3 (1941).
- 135 Ge Yinghong, "On National Style" (*Guanyu minzu xingshi*), *Literature Monthly (Wenxue yuebao)* 1, 2 (1940).

- 136 See Xiang Jinjiang's "On Film's National Form."
- 137 Zheng Yongzhi, "On Nation's Own Cinema" (*Minzu benwei dianying lun*), *China Film* 1, 3 (1941).
- 138 Ibid.
- 139 "Zhushihuishe" and "Yinghua" are Japanese words that literally mean "limited company" and "film." "Manying" is sometimes known in English-language essays by its Japanese pronunciation as "Man'ei."
- 140 See Hu Chang and Gu Quan, p. 22.
- 141 Ibid.
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- 143 See Changchun Local Chronicles Compilation Committee's *Changchun City Local Chronicles: Film Chronicles* (*Changchun shi zhi: dianying zhi*), Changchun: Northeast Teachers University Publishing House, 1992, p. 19.
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- 146 For synopses, see Hu Chang and Gu Quan, pp. 44–5, 99–100, 181.
- 147 See the synopsis of *Dawn* in Hu Chang and Gu Quan, pp. 99–100.
- 148 See Hu Chang and Gu Quan, pp. 100–101.
- 149 For the synopsis of *Yellow River*, please see Hu Chang and Gu Quan, pp. 100–1.
- 150 For the synopses of these two films, please see Hu Chang and Gu Quan, pp. 48–9, 102.
- 151 "Manchuria Cinema Association Document," 15 December 1938. Hu Chang and Gu Quan, p. 33.
- 152 Gu Hua, "On Governing the Performing Arts in Manchuria" (*Manzhou yanyi tongzhi lun*), *Film Pictorial* 8, 3 (1944): 22–5.
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- 154 Zhong Yin, "A Letter to Film Directors" (*Zhi daoyan*), *Film Pictorial* 7, 7 (1943).
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- 156 Wang Ze, "Analysis of Manchurian Cinema" (*Manzhou dianying poushi*), *Film Pictorial* 7, 10 (1943): 20–2.
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- 161 Wang Ze, "An Analysis of Manchurian Film."

- 162 See Jin Yin's "A Letter to Directors" (*Zhi daoyan*) and Wai Wen's "A Letter to Scriptwriters" (*Zhi jiaoben jia*), *Film Pictorial* 7, 7 (1943).
- 163 Song Shui, "Seven Years Production at Manying."
- 164 Wang Ze, "An Analysis of Manchurian Film."
- 165 *Film Pictorial*, "A New Film of Manying: *Tuberose*" (*Guanyu Manying xinpian Wanxiangyu*), 8, 3 (1944): 11.
- 166 Wang Ze, "An Analysis of Manchurian Film."
- 167 Song Shui, "Seven Years of Manying Film Production."
- 168 See *Film Pictorial*, "Zhang Shankun Visits Manying."
- 168 See Hu Chang and Gu Quan, p. 98. Synopses of the 32 films are between page 99 and 126.
- 170 Jin Yin, "A Letter to Directors."
- 171 *Film Pictorial*, "Zhang Shankun Visits Manying."
- 172 Jiao Ling, "A Mirror" (*Yi mian jingzi*), *Film Pictorial* 8, 9 (1944): 28. Jiao Ling is a pen name. Judging from the tone, this article seems to be written by a Japanese.
- 173 Shao Yan, "The Direction of Decisive War Film" (*Juezhan dianying de xin dongxiang*), *Film Pictorial* 8, 9 (1944): 34–5.
- 174 Song Shui, "Seven Years Manying Film Production."
- 175 See Hu Chang and Gu Quan, p. 80.
- 176 Kawakita Nagamasa, "My Lifelong Experience."
- 177 *Film Pictorial*, "Zhang Shankun Visits Manying."

CHAPTER 6

- 1 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, pp. 167, 169.
- 2 Du Yunzhi, vol. 2, p. 382.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 There will be a discussion on the social conditions later in this chapter.
- 5 Bai Yang et al., "My Hope After the Victory" (*Wo dui shengli de xiwang*), *Film and Drama World* (*Yingju shijie*) 1 (1946).
- 6 Mao Zedong, "The Political Situation and Our Policy After the Victory of the Anti-Japanese War" (*Kangri zhanzheng shengli hou de shiju he women de fangzhen*), *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Beijing: People's Publishing House, 1964, p. 1130.
- 7 Chu Pingan, "China's Political Situation" (*Zhongguo de zhengju*), *Observation* (*Guancha*), 3 August 1948, p. 6. Cited in Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945–1949*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978, p. 200.
- 8 See *Dongnan Daily*, 24 December 1948. Cited in Suzanne Pepper's *Civil War in China*, p. 90.

- 9 Wu Shichang, “On the Professionalization of the Party” (*Lun dang de zhiye hua*), *Observation*, 8 March 1947, p. 10. Cited in Suzanne Pepper’s *Civil War in China*, p. 137.
- 10 Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China*, p. 170.
- 11 John King Fairbank and Merle Goldman, *China: A New History*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998, p. 332.
- 12 *Ibid.*, pp. 332, 334.
- 13 Ou Yongxiang, “On Hong Kong Cinema” (*Xianggang dianying lun*), *Film Forum (Dianying luntan)* 2, 2 (1948).
- 14 See Luo Mingyou’s “The Chinese Film Undertaking After the War” (*Fuyuan hou de Zhongguo dianying shiye*), *Film Forum (Dianying luntan)* 1, 2 (1947); and *Qingqing Movie*, “The Present Day’s Film Circles” (*Jinri yingtian*), 15, 9 (1947).
- 15 See *Film (Dianying)*, “Lianhua Has Been Officially Returned to Its Owners” (*Lianhua yi zhengshi fahuan*), 1, 7 (1946).
- 16 See *Qingqing Movie*, “The Present Day’s Film Circles.”
- 17 See Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 153.
- 18 See Luo Xuelian’s “China Film Enterprise Limited Company in the Last Year” (*Yi nian lai de zhongdian*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 10 (1948).
- 19 The other three issues are: “One was the slowness with which the Japanese were disarmed ... A third general issue was the inadequacy of the economic and financial measures implemented at this time. Finally ... was the condescending attitude adopted by returning officials toward the general population that had ... remained behind to live under Japanese rule rather than evacuate to the interior with the KMT.” In Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China*, p. 9.
- 20 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, pp. 148–9.
- 21 See *Qingqing Movie*, “Film Trade Association Has Been Established” (*Dianying ye gonghui chengli*), 16, 14 (1948).
- 22 See *Qingqing Movie*, “A Brief History of Luo Xuelian, the General Manager of China Film Enterprise Limited Company, Since He Has Engaged in Film Work” (*Zhongdian zongjingli Luo Xuelian cong ying shilue*), 16, 24 (1948); Wai Shigong, “Inside News” (*Neimu xinwen*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 16 (1948); Jin Bao, “Xia Yunhu and Ren Zongde, Two Owners of Kunlun, Have Parted Company” (*Xia Yunhu yu Ren Zongde, Kunlun liang jutou fenshou*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 12 (1948).
- 23 *Qingqing Movie*, “Film Trade Union Has Been Established.”
- 24 “Zhongzheng” is the name Chiang Kai-shek adopted when he entered politics.
- 25 *Film Forum*, “The Result of Zhongzheng Film Prize” (*Zhongzheng dianying xuanju jieguo*), 2, 2 (1948).
- 26 Du Yunzhi, vol. 2, 358.

- 27 Ibid., p. 369.
- 28 Cited from Du Yunzhi, vol. 2, 414.
- 29 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, 297.
- 30 Ranbir Vohra, *China: The Search for Social Justice and Democracy*, New Delhi: Penguin Books, 1990, p. 2.
- 31 Cited in Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 213. Shi Dongshan, “Part of Preparation of *Eight Thousand Li Clouds and Moon*” (*Ba qian li lu yun he yue zhunbei gongzuo zhi yi bu*), *Yiyue Weekly* (*Yiyue zhoukan*) (1947).
- 32 Ibid.
- 33 Tang Xiaodan, “To Place Our Hopes on the Future: Words From the Director” (*Jituo yu xiwang: daoyan zhe de hua*), China Film Studio special issue of *Spring Dream in the Heaven* (*Tiantang chunmeng*), 1947.
- 34 The film was continuously screened for 100 days in Shanghai. See Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 222. This figure originally appeared in *Zhengyanbao*, 11 January 1948.
- 35 Like *Spring River, Clouds and Moon* was also warmly welcomed. See Hua Cheng’s “The Production of *Eight Years of Separation and War* is Costly and Proceeds Slowly” (*Paipian sudu man, huaqu shiwanwan, ba nian liluan laoban tiaojiao*), *Qingqing Movie* 15, 1 (1947).
- 36 See Qian Xia’s “Many Cuts Have Been Made in *Spring Dream in Heaven*” (*Tiantang chunmeng da jian te jian*), *Tiebao*, 25 March 1947.
- 37 Tang Ke, “Requirements for a Good Movie” (*Lun dianying jia gou zhi zhizuo tiaojian*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 23 (1948).
- 38 Wang Yang, “Torch of the Spirit: My Impression of *Lights of Ten Thousand Homes*” (*Jingshen de huojia: kan Wan jia denghuo yihou*), *Drama and Film Chronicle* (*Ying ju chunqiu*) 1, 1 (1948).
- 39 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 193.
- 40 Shen Fu, “*The Holy Town*,” *Yingyi Pictorial* 1 (1946).
- 41 Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 187.
- 42 Ibid., p. 188.
- 43 See Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 193.
- 44 Ye Shengtao et al., “The Cultural Circles Recommend *Bright Day*” (*Wenhua jie tuijian Yanyangtian*), *Dagongbao*, 6 May 1948.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 See Sun Yu’s “Notes of Writing and Directing *The Life of Wu Xun*” (*Biandao Wu Xun zhuan ji*), *Guangming Daily*, 26 February 1951.
- 47 Mao Zedong, “We Should Pay Attention to the Discussion on *The Life of Wu Xun*” (*Yingdang zhongshi dianying Wu Xun zhuan de taolun*), *People’s Daily*, 20 May 1950.
- 48 See *Qingqing Movie*, “The Preview of *A Man and Woman in Disguise* Caused Dispute” (*Jia feng xu huang shipian qi jiufen*), 15, 4 (1947).

- 49 Li Jiangwu, "From A Man and Woman in Disguise to Democracy" (*Cong Jia feng xu huang shuo dao minzhu*), *Dagongbao*, 19 and 20 July 1947.
- 50 "The Future of Chinese Cinema" (*Zhongguo dianying de qiantu*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 4 (1948).
- 51 Yu Jun, "Notes of Chinese Film History" (*Zhongguo dianying shi ji*), *Qingqing Movie* (*Qing qing dianying*) 29 (1948).
- 52 Ding Lie, "Talking About *Spring in a Small Town*" (*Tantan Xiao cheng zhi chun*), *Qingqing Movie* 16, 33 (1948).
- 53 Shi Qi holds that this film "absorbs the quintessence of traditional Chinese opera ... [Meanwhile] using boudoir repinings to pour out an author's heart is a major characteristic of Chinese literature and art and *Spring in a Small Town* carries forward this tradition and minutely describes the mixed feeling of a grumbling woman who hesitates between her husband and her lover. This description reflects some thoughts during that turbulent times," in Huang Ailing, ed. *Poet Director Fei Mu* (*Shiren daoyan Fei Mu*), Hong Kong: Hong Kong Film Critics Society, 1998, pp. 295–300.
- 54 Gu Cangwu, "Great Harmony and a Society with Modest Competency: Seeing Fei Mu's Rethinking on the Confucian Culture From *Song of China*" (*Datong shijie yu xiaokang shehui: cong Tianlun kan Fei Mu dui Rujia wenhua de fansi*), in Huang Ailing, ed. *Poet Director Fei Mu*, pp. 338–48.
- 55 Fei Mu, "A Letter to Yang Ji From the Director and the Scriptwriter (*Daoyan juzuozhe xie gei Yang Ji*)," *Dagongbao*, 19 October 1948.
- 56 Ding Lie, "Talking About *Spring in a Small Town*."
- 57 Li Youxin, "Spring Comes and Goes: Quartet of the Sexual Passion in the Small Town" (*Chun qu chun lai: Xiao cheng qingyu sichongzou*), in Gao Xiaomei, ed. *The Film Aesthetics in Spring in a Small Town: Salute Fei Mu*" (*Xiao cheng zhi chun de dianying meixue: xiang Fei Mu zhijing*), Taipei: National Film Archive, 1996, pp. 20–29.
- 58 Li Zhuotao, "From China and Go Beyond Tradition: An Analysis of *Spring in a Small Town*" (*Yi hu Zhongguo, chao hu chuangtong: shi xi Xiao cheng zhi chun*), in Huang Ailing, ed. *Poet Director Fei Mu*, p. 282.
- 59 *Qingqing Movie*, "The End of Grief of a Present-day Woman Has Been Revised" (*Xin gui yuan mo duan chong pai*), 16, 16 (1948).
- 60 *Qingqing Movie*, "Please Don't Produce Films in a Rough Way" (*Qing bu yao cuzhilanzao*), 1 (1947).
- 61 Zhang Ailing, "Notes About *Long Live the Missus*" (*Taitai wansui tiji*), *Dagongbao*, 3 December 1947.
- 62 Ye Yiqun, "Establishing Chinese Film Style" (*Jianli Zhongguo dianying fengge*), *Qingqing Movie* 17, 14 (1949).
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Ibid.

- 65 *Dagongbao* (Hong Kong), 5 May 1950. Fei Mu was a filmmaker who had been based in Shanghai before the CCP's takeover of mainland China in 1949. This viewpoint can therefore be understood as typical of Fei Mu's understanding of national cinema in the 1940s though the article was published in Hong Kong in 1950.
- 66 Fei Mu, "The Issue of Cinematization of Chinese Opera" (*Zhongguo jiuju de dianying hua wenti*), *Qingqing Movie* (*Song of Ancient China* [Gu *Zhongguo zhi ge*] special issue)(1941).
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Fei Mu, "Foreword to the Special Issue of *Happiness Neither in Love Nor in Death*" (*Sheng si hen tekan xuyan*), Huayi Film Studio's special issue (1948).
- 69 Yu Jun, "Notes of Chinese Film History."
- 70 Cited in Ding Yaping's *Imaging China: 1945–1949* (*Yingxiang zhongguo: 1945–1949*), Beijing: Culture and Art Publishing House, 1998, p. 264; Xu Xihen, "To Reach the Higher Artistic Level by Learning From Others: Foreword to the Publication of This Journal" (*Zhengqu geng gaodu de yishu shuizhun: dai fakanci*), *World Film* (*Shijie yingtian*) 1 (1945).
- 71 See Cheng Jihua et al., vol. 2, p. 268.
- 72 For stories of *Suspicion* and *Come Back, the Soul of My Wife*, see *Film and Drama* 10 (1948) and 11 (1948). For story of *Butterfly's Dream*, see *Film and Drama* 9 (1948). For story of *One Heart and A Dream*, see *The General Catalogue of Chinese Film*, vol. 2, pp. 830, 835.
- 73 For the film story, see *Film and Drama*, 10 (1948).
- 74 See the film story in *Film and Drama* 11 (1948).
- 75 Ding Yaping, *Imaging China: 1945–1949*, p. 107.
- 76 Lu Jia, "Comments on He Zhaozhang, a Director of Zhang Shichuan's Style" (*Ping Zhang xi daoyan He Zhaozhang*), *Shanghai Film Circles* (*Shanghai yingtian*) 1, 10 (1944): 20.
- 77 Zheng Junli, *Voiceover* (*Huawaying*), Beijing: China Film Press, 1979, p. 34.
- 78 Ibid., pp. 35–6.
- 79 *Qingqing Movie*, "Random Talk of Night Lodging" (*Xianhua Ye dian*) 16, 5 (1948).
- 80 For examples, see Neng's "Comments on *Twin Sisters*" (*Ping zimei hua*) and Zhou's "Comment on *Coming Back*" (*Ping guilai*), *Film and Radio Weekly* 3, 7 (1934): 133.
- 81 Ning Jingwu, "The Influence of Opera on Chinese Film Art Form" (*Xiqu dui Zhongguo dianying yishu xingshi de yingxiang*), in Huang Ailing, ed. *Poet Director Fei Mu*, p. 312.
- 82 For the issues of point of view and monologue, see Hu Jubin's "The Narrative Characteristics of *Spring in A Small Town*" (*Xiao cheng zhi chun de xushi teshe*), *Contemporary Cinema* 6 (1993): 41–4.

- 83 Yang Ji, “Comments on *Spring in a Small Town*” (*Xiao cheng zhi chun shi ping*) *Dagongbao*, 2 October 1948.
- 84 Cited in Ning Jingwu’s “The Influence of Opera on the Chinese Film Art,” in Huang Ailing, ed. *Poet Director Fei Mu*, p. 318.
- 85 Catherine Yi-yu Cho Woo, “The Chinese Montage: From Poetry and Painting to the Silver Screen,” in Chris Berry, ed. *Perspectives on Chinese Cinema*, London: British Film Institute, 1991, pp. 21–9.
- 86 Ibid.

CONCLUSION

- 1 Leo Ou-fan Lee, “The Urban Milieu of Shanghai Cinema, 1930-1940,” in Yingjin Zhang, *Cinema and Urban Culture in Shanghai, 1922-1943*, pp. 96, 74.
- 2 Ibid., p. 74. Lee’s own research in this essay is an attempt to use an “external angle” to research early Chinese cinema. He discusses the cultural context of Chinese cinema in the 1930s, namely the relationship between cinema and Chinese modernity, by examining how Chinese urban audiences were nurtured by native print culture and how the audiences were at the same time exposed to the modern culture of Hollywood cinema. To adopt an “external angle” thus means that to research Chinese cinema one should not only focus on the cinema itself.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 74-5.



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