

纪念中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利70周年重点出版物

中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书



◎ 苏光文 著

大轰炸中的 重庆陪都文化

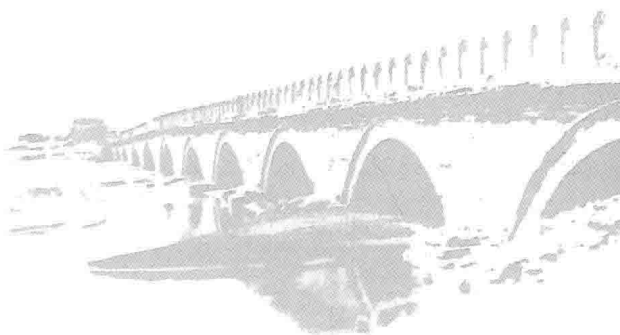
Alternate Capital Cultures
During Chungking Bombing



中国文联出版社
<http://www.clapnet.cn>

纪念中国人民抗日战争暨世界反法西斯战争胜利70周年重点出版物

中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书



◎ 苏光文 著

大轰炸中的 重庆陪都文化

Alternate Capital Cultures
During Chungking Bombing



中国文联出版社

<http://www.clapnet.cn>

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

大轰炸中的重庆陪都文化/苏光文著. —北京:中国文联出版社, 2015. 8
(中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书)

ISBN 978-7-5190-0242-8

I. ①大… II. ①苏… III. ①抗日战争—史料—重庆市 IV. ①K265.06

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2015)第202015号

大轰炸中的重庆陪都文化

作 者: 苏光文

出 版 人: 朱 庆

终 审 人: 奚耀华

复 审 人: 蒋 泥

责任编辑: 蒋爱民 褚雅越

责任校对: 师自运

封面设计: 小宝书装

责任印制: 陈 晨

出版发行: 中国文联出版社

地 址: 北京市朝阳区农展馆南里 10 号, 100125

电 话: 010-65389682 (咨询) 65067803 (发行) 65389150 (邮购)

传 真: 010-65933115 (总编室), 010-65033859 (发行部)

网 址: <http://www.clapnet.cn>

E-mail: clap@clapnet.cn

chuyy@clapnet.cn

印 刷: 中煤涿州制图印刷厂北京分厂

装 订: 中煤涿州制图印刷厂北京分厂

法律顾问: 北京市天驰洪范律师事务所徐波律师

本书如有破损、缺页、装订错误, 请与本社联系调换

开 本: 710×1000

1/16

字 数: 408千字

印 张: 25.75

版 次: 2015 年 8 月第 1 版

印 次: 2015 年 8 月第 1 次印刷

书 号: ISBN 978-7-5190-0242-8

定 价: 78.00元

中共四川省委宣传部、四川省社会科学院重大课题
中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书

编委会

总顾问：陶武先

主 任：李后强 侯水平

副主任：李明泉 苏 宁

编 委（按姓氏笔画排序）：

王骏飞	文天行	冯宪光	向宝云
苏 宁	苏光文	李北东	李建平
陈思广	姜 建	段从学	魏红珊

总 序

李后强

文化是民族的灵魂和血脉，在危难时期往往能释放出巨大的能量。

今年是抗日战争胜利 70 周年。这场战争起于 1931 年 9 月，止于 1945 年 9 月。旷日持久的战争给中国人民带来了巨大的灾难。冰冷的刺刀、震耳的炮声、凌厉的炸弹，殷红的鲜血、残断的尸体、焦黑的废墟，深深地铭刻在中国人民的记忆中。中华民族到了生死存亡的关头，神州大地到处燃烧起反侵略的烈焰，抗日民族统一战线的旗帜升起来了。抗日战争是中国近代抗击外敌入侵第一次取得完全胜利的民族解放斗争。四川作为抗战大后方，为抗战胜利付出了巨大牺牲，做出了重大贡献：当时四川总人口 4000 万，近 350 万川军中伤亡 64 万人。抗战初期川军出川时，各界普遍认为这是当时中国“最糟糕的军队”。然而，就是这支“最糟糕的军队”，从 1937 年的“淞沪会战”开始，几乎无役不与，无仗不惨烈。到抗战后期，曾经“最糟糕的部队”得到的评价是“川军能战”“无川不成军”的赞誉。抗日战争留下了光耀千秋的抗战文化。

1945 年，中共中央机关报《新华日报》曾发表《感谢四川人民》的社论，称赞四川是“历史上最大规模的民族战争之大后方的主要基地”，称赞四川人民“对于正面战场，是尽了最大最重要的责任”。此外，由于国土的大批沦陷和国民政府迁都，大批工厂、学校、文化单位

西迁入川，四川成为抗战时期中国的政治文化中心。在漫长的抗战岁月中，在中国共产党领导下，伴随着民族统一战线的形成和民族解放战争的推进，形成了波澜壮阔而又独具特色的四川抗战文化。抗战时期，四川成为世界反法西斯战争的指挥中心之一，成为大后方的政治、经济、军事、文化中心，成为世界反法西斯统一战线与中国抗日民族统一战线的交汇点，为二战的胜利和民族解放战争的胜利做出历史性的贡献。尘封了大半个世纪的抗战文化，是四川宝贵的精神文化财富。

四川抗战文化不仅具有四川特色，还具有全国影响和世界意义，是中国现代史研究内容的重要方面。从中国现代文化发展史来看，四川抗战文化是中国现代文化发展中最为辉煌的阶段，具有里程碑的意义。四川是大后方核心之地，也是抗战文化的主战场。可以说，把四川抗战文化搞清楚了，大后方的抗战文化就基本搞清楚了，对于我国抗战文化的研究无疑具有重大的意义。

中国现代文化的发展经历了漫长的历史过程，但比较而言，抗战时期更为辉煌。西南是抗战的大后方，陪都在重庆。四川的地位举足轻重，抗战文化的重点在四川。战争会毁灭文化，这在国际上不乏范例。可中国的抗日战争不仅没有使我们的民族文化毁灭，还促进了中国现代文化的发展。四川的抗战文化在战火硝烟中谱写出历史新篇章，这正是中国文化强大生命力的表现。

抗日战争的胜利是中华民族文武两条战线的胜利。文化战线的抗战文化，启发了民众的觉悟，激励了将士的斗志，揭露了日寇的暴行，抨击了汉奸的无耻。如果没有抗战文化的鞠躬尽瘁，抗日战争要取得胜利是难以想象的。左翼文化的作用还不止此。周恩来说：鲁迅是导师，郭沫若是主将。鲁迅逝世后，郭沫若便是带领着大家一道前进的向导。郭沫若为旗帜的文化队伍以新民主主义思想浸润人们的心田，拓宽了新民主主义的文化阵地，削弱了其他文化形态的影响，为中国共产党赢得了人心，构筑了更加坚实的通往新中国的大道。

抗战文化是中国的，也是世界的。它是世界反法西斯文化的重要组

成部分。而世界文化也因为有了中国的抗战文化才更加灿烂。抗战文化为战胜日本侵略者立下了卓越的功勋，也为世界反法西斯战争做出了自己的独特贡献。

抗战文化是丰富多彩的文化。统一战线的建立为抗战文化的繁荣营造了相对自由的天地。新民主主义文化、三民主义文化、民族主义文化、自由主义文化、中国传统文化都有自己被认同的空间。但至大至刚的浩然正气和历代民族英雄典范是没有文化或只有少量文化的民众参加抗战的精神力量。要知道，他们的精神力量正是抗战最广大的原动力。纵观中国数千年文化史，很少有哪个时期的文化如抗战时期那样壮观。横看西方文化，也少有能出其右者。战争是一把双刃剑。侵略战争是摧毁被侵略者文化的罪魁，反侵略战争亦能促进文化的发展。中国不是能被入侵者从地球上抹去的国家，也绝不可能，因为她有广袤的反侵略的土地。抗战文化独有的价值正在这里。

研究四川抗战文化，对于当前的文化建设有着重大作用和现实意义。第一，抗战文化是爱国主义文化，爱国主义是中华民族的光荣传统，是推动中国社会前进的巨大力量，是各族人民共同的精神支柱，是社会主义精神文明建设主旋律的重要组成部分。抗战文化研究是爱国主义教育的重要组成部分，是提高全民族整体素质的基础性工程，是引导人们特别是广大青少年树立正确理想、信念、人生观、价值观，促进中华民族振兴的一项重要工作。第二，抗战文化是追求理想、追求进步的文化，是社会主义先进文化的重要组成部分，对于清除文化垃圾，净化人文环境，将起到积极作用。第三，抗战文化是统一战线的文化，是全民族的文化，推进抗战文化研究对于海峡两岸关系的和谐、增强中华文化的凝聚力和向心力，将起到积极的推动作用。第四，抗战文化是四川的重要文化史实，其宝贵的精神文化价值至今能发挥重要作用。它具有显著的地方特色、全国意义和世界影响，对于把四川建设成文化强省具有不可替代的作用。

20世纪80年代，在中共四川省委宣传部的领导和支持下，四川省

社会科学院会同西南师范学院、重庆师范学院等单位率先在全国吹响向抗战文学、文艺进军的集结号。各种形式的研究成果也陆续问世。国内国际都有了一定的影响。在纪念世界反法西斯胜利 70 周年的背景下，我们将这些研究进一步拓展，向中国抗战文化迈进。

由于种种原因，我们过去的抗战文化研究总体来看对历史的描述并不那么全面，有的评价也较粗疏，范围也嫌狭窄。抗日战争已经结束七十年了，似乎很遥远了，可日方依然有人在那里做这样那样、隐形或非隐形的否定。如果能有先哲孟子说的“同情之心人皆有之”的话，就应该真诚地对那场给中国造成数千万人伤亡的侵略战争说不，更应该像祈祷“上帝饶恕我们”的德国总理勃兰特那样谢罪。作为抗战文化的研究者，除了对否定者感到愤懑之外，更多的还是责任。那就是理智地客观地书写历史的真相，不能让历史被某些人作为小姑娘随意打扮，误导后人。

多卷本“中国·四川抗战文化研究丛书”即将付梓出版，这部书凝聚了四川省社会科学院及四川省内多家院校学者们的数年心血。参加撰写工作的都是在这方面多年深耕、研究有成者。尊重历史，是研究历史的基本原则，是历史唯物主义的态度，也是中国文化的传统。司马迁撰写《史记》，注重的就是调查、实录与秉笔直书。相信他们能写出有个性、有创见、有水平、有影响的学术著作。

“中国·四川抗战文化研究”将是四川省社会科学院长期支持的重点项目，我们将持续推进，分批出版学术著作，希望各界批评指正。

2015 年 3 月 26 日于百花潭

(作者系四川省社会科学院党委书记、教授)

Preface

By Li Houqiang

Culture is the soul and blood vessel of a nation, which could release huge power in peril.

This year marks the 70th anniversary of victory of the Counter-Japanese War which lasted from September 1931 to September 1945. The protracted war caused terrible disaster for the Chinese people. The cold sword, thunders of cannons and bombs, blood, broken bodies and charred ruins have left an ever-lasting imprint on the memory of the Chinese people. When the Chinese nation was at the moment of life-and-death, the flame of anti-aggression was lighted across the land of China. The anti-Japanese national united front was formed. The Counter-Japanese War is the first successful national liberation struggle since modern times in resistance against foreign aggression. As the Rear Area, Sichuan made considerable sacrifice and contribution to the victory of the Counter-Japanese War. Sichuan had a total population of 40 million, nearly 3.5 million of whom were soldiers, 640000 of whom died or injured during the war. In the early period of the war when the Sichuan troops went out of Sichuan, they were widely believed to be the “worst troops” in China. However, it was these very “worst troops” that fought in almost all the battles since the breakout of the Battle of Shanghai in 1937. In the later period of the war, the “worst troops” was claimed as troops good at fighting. The eight-year

long war produced the splendid Counter-Japanese War cultures.

In 1945, *Xinhua Daily*, the mouthpiece of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China carried an editorial, *Expressing Gratitude to Sichuan People*, which said that Sichuan was “a major base of the Rear Area of the largest national struggle in history”, and that Sichuan people “played the most important role in frontline battlefield”. Sichuan became the political and cultural center during the Counter-Japanese War due to the loss of vast territory and the move of the capital of National Government and a large number of factories, schools and cultural departments moved westwards to Sichuan. During the long resistance war, the Counter-Japanese War cultures featuring Sichuan characteristics was nurtured in Sichuan, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, with the formation of the national united front and the development of the national liberation war. During the war, Sichuan made great contributions to the victory of the Second World War and national liberation war, as one of the command centers of the world’s anti-fascist war, the political, economic, military and cultural center of the Rear Area and the crossing of the world’s anti-fascist war united front with China’s Counter-Japanese united front. The Counter-Japanese War cultures which have been buried for over half a century are the valuable cultural treasure of Sichuan.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan feature Sichuan characteristics and national and international significance. It is a major content of the research on China’s modern history. From the perspective of the development of China’s modern culture, the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan represent the most splendid stage in the development of China’s modern culture, which marked a milestone. Sichuan was the center of the Rear Area during the eight-year resistance war and the main battlefield of the Counter-Japanese War cultures. The understanding of the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan means the understanding of the Counter-Japanese War cultures of the Rear Area, which is of vital significance to the research on China’s Counter-Japanese War cultures.

The development of China's modern culture experienced a long history, but the Counter-Japanese War period is the most splendid one. Southwestern China was the Rear Area of the Counter-Japanese War and chungking was the second capital, which showed the important position of Sichuan. The focus of the Counter-Japanese War cultures was in Sichuan. War destroys culture, as embodied by the numerous examples in the world. However, instead of destroying our national culture, China's Counter-Japanese War promoted the development of China's modern culture. The Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan developed further during the war, which proved the vitality of Chinese culture.

The victory of the Counter-Japanese War was the victory of the cultural and military fronts of the Chinese nation. The cultural front Counter-Japanese War cultures aroused the awareness of the masses, boosted the morale of the generals and soldiers, revealed the atrocities of the Japanese troops and criticized bitterly the shameless traitors. It would be unimaginable to win the Counter-Japanese War if there were no contribution from the Counter-Japanese War cultures. The left wing culture's effect was more than that. As Zhou Enlai said, Lu Xun was the mentor and Guo Moruo was the general. After the death of Lu Xun, Guo Moruo was the guide to lead us along the way. The new democracy by Guo Moruo infiltrated people's hearts, broadened the cultural field of the new democracy, weakened the impact of other cultural forms, won the support from the people for the Chinese Communist Party and built a more solid road leading to the New China.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures belong to China as well as the world. It is an important part of the world's anti-fascist culture and the world's culture become more splendid for its existence. The Counter-Japanese War cultures contributed greatly to the defeat of the Japanese invaders and made special contribution to the world's anti-fascist war.

The Counter-Japanese War cultures contain a variety of cultures. The formation of the united front created a free land for the booming of the Count-

er-Japanese War cultures, where the New Democracy culture, Three People's Principles culture, nationalism culture, liberalism culture and traditional Chinese culture all found their places. The awe-inspiring righteousness and the heroic deeds of previous heroes served as the spiritual strength of the public who joined the Counter-Japanese War. This spiritual strength was the primary driving force for the Counter-Japanese War. Throughout the thousands-years history of Chinese culture or the Western culture, there was no single culture in any period that was as splendid as that during the Counter-Japanese War. War is a double-edged sword as it is the culprit for the destroying of the culture of the victim of the aggression, and also promotes the development of culture. China is not a country that can be wiped off the earth by invaders for it had a vast land of anti-aggression, which was exactly the unique value of the Counter-Japanese War cultures.

The research on the Counter-Japanese War cultures of Sichuan is of great significance to the building of modern culture. First, the Counter-Japanese War cultures is a patriotism one, and patriotism is the glorious tradition of the Chinese nation, the huge driving force for the development of China's society, the shared spiritual pillar of the people of all nationalities and an important part of socialist cultural and ethical progress. The research on the Counter-Japanese War cultures is an important part of the education in patriotism, a basic project to improve the overall quality of the entire nation and an important undertaking to guide people, particularly the teenagers in pursuing ideal, forming faith and outlook on life and the rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Second, the Counter-Japanese War cultures feature the pursuing of ideals and progress and represent an important part of an advanced socialist culture. It will play an active role in removing cultural rubbish and purifying cultural environment. Third, the Counter-Japanese War cultures is a united front culture and culture of the whole nation, and the research on Counter-Japanese War cultures will promote the harmony of cross-strait relations and enhance the cohesive force of the culture of the Chinese nation. Fourth, the Counter-Japa-

nese War culture is an important cultural historical fact of Sichuan with a valuable spiritual and cultural value which has extended its influence over today. It has a prominent local color, a nationwide significance and an influence around the world. It has an irreplaceable role in building Sichuan into a cultural province.

In the 1980s, under the leadership of and support from the Publicity Department of Sichuan Provincial Committee of the Communist Party of China, the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences, along with Southwest China Normal University, Chungking Normal University and other organizations initiated the research on literature and art of the Counter-Japanese War throughout China. Fruits come out in succession which have had exerted certain influence both at home and abroad. To echo the 70th anniversary of the victory of the world's anti-fascist war, we are extending our research further, advancing towards Chinese Counter-Japanese cultures.

For various reasons, our previous research on anti-aggression cultures failed to deliver a comprehensive description of the history in general and some comments contain inattentive contents and narrow research scopes. Although the Counter-Japanese War ended 70 years ago, some Japanese are still trying to deny it in different ways. They should have admitted the aggressive war which caused casualties of millions of Chinese, and should have apologized like Germany Chancellor Brandt who said "God Forgive us", if they really had natural sympathies that all men have as Mencius said. As researchers of the Counter-Japanese War cultures, in addition to feeling outraged by those who are trying to deny the crime, they should also reveal the historical truth in a rational and objective way in order to prevent history from being twisted by someone who intends to mislead later generations by dressing up history like a little girl.

Multivolume "Counter-Japanese War Cultures Research Series, Sichuan, China" are to be published soon. This series are the fruit of the painstaking efforts by scholars from the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences and universi-

ties and colleges in Sichuan who have authored many related writings. Respect for history is the fundamental principle in studying history, an attitude of historical materialism and a tradition of Chinese culture. Sima Qian paid a lot of attention to collecting facts and true recording of facts when writing the Record of the Grand Historian. I believe the authors of this series can come up with creative, high-level influential academic writings.

“Counter-Japanese War Cultures Research Series, Sichuan, China” is a key project which has won support by the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences in a long term. Related academic writings will be published in batches and are open to criticism.

May 26, 2015

In Baihuatan

(The author is the professor in the Sichuan Academy of Social Sciences.)

目 录

001 / 导 论

001 / 一、重庆·重庆陪都·重庆陪都文化

006 / 二、重庆陪都文化：大轰炸中的血泊奇葩

013 / 三、重庆陪都文化：完整的历史存在

028 / 四、重庆陪都文化：爱国主义母题

035 / 五、重庆陪都文化的共时性与历时性意义

041 / 第一章 文化组织机构

041 / 一、“第三厅” · “文工会”

053 / 二、“文运会” · “文协”

063 / 第二章 新闻传媒

063 / 一、新 闻

071 / 二、传 媒

090 / 第三章 文化思想理论及论争

090 / 一、“暴露与讽刺”讨论 · “与抗战无关论”论争

106 / 二、“民族形式”讨论·“主观论”论争

118 / 三、“文艺政策”论战·“战国”派批判

129 / 四、《屈原》唱和

144 / 五、《沁园春·雪》唱和

160 / 第四章 教 育

161 / 一、教育概况

174 / 二、陶行知·晏阳初·张伯苓

180 / 第五章 小 说

180 / 一、小说概况

194 / 二、茅盾·巴金·老舍

206 / 第六章 诗 歌

206 / 一、诗歌概况

218 / 二、艾青·臧克家·袁水拍

231 / 第七章 戏 剧

231 / 一、戏剧概况

240 / 二、郭沫若·阳翰笙·夏衍·陈白尘

254 / 第八章 电 影

254 / 一、电影概况

262 / 二、史东山·孙瑜·应云卫

269 / 第九章 音乐·美术

269 / 一、音乐概况

278 / 二、马思聪·赵沅·贺绿汀·沙梅

283 / 三、美术概况

292 / 四、徐悲鸿·张善子·傅抱石·李可染

296 / 第十章 哲学·宗教

296 / 一、哲学概况

307 / 二、梁漱溟·熊十力·冯友兰

314 / 三、宗教概况

320 / 四、太虚·刘子如

324 / 第十一章 对外交往

324 / 一、交往渠道

334 / 二、文学对外交往

346 / 三、电影对外交往

357 / 四、美术对外交往

367 / 五、音乐对外交往

374 / 六、哲学·宗教对外交往

377 / 七、对外文化交往中的认同与排击

388 / 后 记