



# Tides from the West

A Chinese Autobiography

英汉对照

## 西 潮

蒋梦麟 著

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## “博雅双语名家名作”出版说明

1840年鸦片战争以降，在深重的民族危机面前，中华民族精英“放眼世界”，向世界寻求古老中国走向现代、走向世界的灵丹妙药，涌现出一大批中国主题的经典著述。我们今天阅读这些中文著述的时候，仍然深为字里行间所蕴藏的缜密的考据、深刻的学理、世界的视野和济世的情怀所感动，但往往会忽略：这些著述最初是用英文写就，我们耳熟能详的中文文本是原初英文文本的译本，这些英文作品在海外学术界和文化界同样享有崇高的声誉。

比如，林语堂的 *My Country and My People*（《吾国与吾民》）以幽默风趣的笔调和睿智流畅的语言，将中国人的道德精神、生活情趣和中国社会文化的方方面面娓娓道来，在美国引起巨大反响——林语堂也以其中国主题系列作品赢得世界文坛的尊重，并获得诺贝尔文学奖的提名。再比如，梁思成在抗战的烽火中写就的英文版《图像中国建筑史》文稿（*A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*），经其挚友费慰梅女士（Wilma C. Fairbank）等人多年的奔走和努力，于1984年由麻省理工学院出版社（MIT Press）出版，并获得美国出版联合会颁发的“专业暨学术书籍金奖”。又比如，1939年，费孝通在伦敦政治经济学院的博士论文以 *Peasant Life in China—A Field Study of Country Life in the Yangtze Valley* 为名在英国劳特利奇书局（Routledge）出版，后以《江村经济》作为中译本书名——《江村经济》使得靠桑蚕为生的“开弦弓村”获得了世界性的声誉，成为国际社会学界研究中国农村的首选之地。

此外，一些中国主题的经典人文社科作品经海外汉学家和中国学者的如椽译笔，在英语世界也深受读者喜爱。比如，艾恺（Guy S. Alitto）将他1980年用中文访问梁漱溟的《这个世界会好吗——梁漱溟晚年口述》一书译成英文（*Has Man a Future? —Dialogues with the Last Confucian*），备受海内外读者关注；

此类作品还有徐中约英译的梁启超著作《清代学术概论》(*Intellectual Trends in the Ch'ing Period*)、狄百瑞(W. T. de Bary)英译的黄宗羲著作《明夷待访录》(*Waiting for the Dawn: A Plan for the Prince*), 等等。

有鉴于此, 外语教学与研究出版社推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列。

博雅, 乃是该系列的出版立意。博雅教育(Liberal Education)早在古希腊时代就得以提倡, 旨在培养具有广博知识和优雅气质的人, 提高人文素质, 培养健康人格, 中国儒家六艺“礼、乐、射、御、书、数”亦有此功用。

双语, 乃是该系列的出版形式。英汉双语对照的形式, 既同时满足了英语学习者和汉语学习者通过阅读中国主题博雅读物提高英语和汉语能力的需求, 又以中英双语思维、构架和写作的形式予后世学人以启迪——维特根斯坦有云: “语言的边界, 乃是世界的边界”, 诚哉斯言。

名家, 乃是该系列的作者群体。涵盖文学、史学、哲学、政治学、经济学、考古学、人类学、建筑学等领域, 皆海内外名家一时之选。

名作, 乃是该系列的人选标准。系列中的各部作品都是经过时间的积淀、市场的检验和读者的鉴别而呈现的经典, 正如卡尔维诺对“经典”的定义: 经典并非你正在读的书, 而是你正在重读的书。

胡适在《新思潮的意义》(1919年12月1日,《新青年》第7卷第1号)一文中提出了“研究问题、输入学理、整理国故、再造文明”的范式。秉承“记载人类文明、沟通世界文化”的出版理念, 我们推出“博雅双语名家名作”系列, 既希望能够在中国人创作的和以中国为主题的博雅英文文献领域“整理国故”, 亦希望在和平发展、改革开放的新时代为“再造文明”、为“向世界说明中国”略尽绵薄之力。

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## 序 言

这是一本充满了智慧的书。这里面所包含的晶莹智慧，不只是从学问的研究得来，更是从生活的体验得来。

读这本书好像是泛舟在时间的洪流之中，一重一重世间的层峦叠嶂、激湍奔涛，都在我们民族和个人的生命中经过。而且这段时间乃是历史上一个极不平凡时代的新序幕，举凡人类中各个集团的冲突，乃至东西文化的磨荡，都集中在这风云际会。

时代的转变愈快，被人们忽略的史实愈多。若当时的人不予以记载，则后起的人更无从知道，无从了解。这种忽略和遗忘都是人类很大的损失，因为在不断的历史的过程中，以往的经验，正是后来的教训。

了解这种意义，才能认识蒋梦麟先生这本书所蕴藏的价值。他生长在这极不平凡时代已经过了七十年了。他从中国学究的私塾到西洋自由的学府，从古老的农村社会到近代的都市文明，从身经满清专制的皇朝到接受革命思想的洗礼，他多年生活在广大的外国人群里面，更不断生活在广大中国人群尤其是知识青年群众里面。他置身于中西文化思想交流的漩涡，同时也看遍了覆雨翻云、沧海桑田的世局。经过了七十华年，正是他智慧结晶的时候，到此时而写他富有哲学内涵和人生风趣的回忆，其所反映的决不是他的一生，而是他一生所经历的时代。

《西潮》这本书里面每一片段都含有对于社会和人生的透视。古人所谓“小中见大”正可于此中求之。其将东西文化相提并论之处，尤其可以发人深省。著者好举平凡的故事，间杂以微妙而不伤人的讽刺，真使我们感到一股敦厚淳朴的风味。这种风味在当今是不容易尝到的了。至于其中的妙语妙喻，不断的流露，正像珍珠泉的泉水，有如粒粒的明珠，连串的喷了上来。

这本书最难达到的境界，就是著者讲这个极不平凡时代的事实，而以极平易近人的口吻写出来，这正像孟邻先生做人处世的态度。若不是具备高度文化的修养，真是望尘莫及的。我何敢序孟邻先生的大著，只能引王荆公两句诗以形容他的写作和生平。诗云：

“看似平常最奇绝，成如容易却艰难。”

罗家伦

1959年12月6日



## PREFACE

This volume will try to tell the story of what has happened in China during the last hundred years, from the cession of Hongkong in 1842<sup>1</sup> to the blitzkrieg of Pearl Harbor in 1941, with emphasis on the latter half of that period. A century is a long time, but of China's more than four thousand years of history it is but a small fraction, less than one fortieth. Yet the change China has gone through in that brief span is unprecedented in her long life. And now more rapid changes on a still larger scale are about to take place.

Since the first exchange of gunfire at Marco Polo Bridge the attention of the world has been drawn to China. The heroic resistance at Shanghai, Taierchuan, and Changsha has evoked sympathy and admiration in the hearts of millions of China's friends throughout the world. The part China is destined to play in the affairs of nations will be of great interest to the world in the period before us. She has been appraised somewhat too high by her well-wishers and somewhat too low by those who do not know her. In either case the interest is there and the fact remains that she has fought almost singlehanded, for eight long, suffering years, a strong enemy sustained by religious-patriotic fanaticism, superior weapons, and efficient organization.

Neither by her friends nor by her own efforts could China be lifted overnight to the level of modern industrialized democracies; nor could she be exterminated by her enemies in a few years or even a few centuries. In the time ahead of us she will become a focus of attention for the world, since future peace—at least one of the major factors of peace—will depend much on a prosperous and strong China.

How is this great country to be made prosperous and strong? The problem must be solved by herself alone. Effective co-operation of friendly Powers will accelerate her success, but she alone must bear the responsibility of making herself worthy to be a leading partner of peace in the world.

China is a nation neither of angels nor of incompetents; she is a nation of common mortals with feelings, ideas, love and hate, hopes and despair,

beauty and ugliness, accomplishments and failings, virtues and vices. It is hoped that the world will not expect from her people more than it does from other ordinary human beings. She has no panacea for all her troubles, nor any magic box by aid of which she can transform herself at will into what she desires to be. Whatever success she has achieved has been paid for with sweat in time of peace and with blood in time of war.

## 序

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《西潮》里所谈的是中国过去一百年间所发生的故事，从一八四二年香港割让起到一九四一年珍珠港事变止，尤其着重后五十年间的事。一个世纪是相当长的一段时间，但是在四千多年的中国历史里，却只是短暂的一个片段，几乎不到四十分之一。不过中国在这段短短的时间内所经历的变迁，在她悠久的生命史上却是空前的，而且更大规模的变化还正在酝酿中。

自从芦沟桥的枪声划破长空，中国的局势已经引起全世界人士的注意。国军在淞沪、台儿庄以及长沙的英勇战绩，已经赢得全球中国友人的同情与钦敬。在未来的岁月中，中国势将在国际舞台上担任众所瞩目的角色。这些年来，爱护中国的人士未免把她估计得太高，不了解中国的人士则又把她估计得太低。无论估计过高或过低，对中国的关切是一致的；而她几乎孤立无援地苦战八年之久，也是无可否认的事实。在这漫长痛苦的八年中，她与具有优越的武器、严密的组织以及宗教的爱国狂热的强敌相周旋，愈战愈奋，始终不屈。

不论是本身的努力，或者友邦的援助，都不能使中国在旦夕之间达到现代工业化民主国家的水准；但是她的敌人也不可能在几年之内，甚至几百年之内，灭亡她。在未来的岁月中，中国将是举世人士注意力的焦点，因为未来的和平与中国之能否臻于富强是息息相关的。

中国怎样才能臻于富强呢？这个问题必须由她自己单独来解决。友邦的密切合作固然可以加速她的成功，但是她必须独立担负起使自己成为世界和平支柱的责任。

中国既不是一个天神般万能的国家，也不是一个低能的毫无作为的国家。她是一群有感情、有思想的凡人结合而成的国家。他们有爱、有恨；有美、有丑；有善、有恶；有成就、有失败；有时充满希望，有时陷于绝望。他们只是一群平平常常的人，世界人士不能对他们有分外的要求和期望。中国没有解决一切困难的万应灵丹，也没有随心所欲脱胎换骨的魔术。如果她已经有所成就的话，那也是平时以汗，战时以血换来的。



To the question "What is the trouble with China?" the author can only answer that there are a number of troubles waiting for solution in that vast country of teeming millions, more than she will be able to solve in any limited span of time. Some were created by enemies who tried to conquer her, others by herself during the time of metamorphosis; still others have been imposed on her by force of circumstance or as legacies of the past. Some of the more difficult problems have been solved or partially solved during recent years before the war; many others remain to be dealt with in due course of time.

Looking back over the last fifty years which he has personally experienced—over the past hundred years with which he is familiar, and even farther, down the long reaches of China's history which he has been taught—the author has traced to the best of his knowledge the threads of a number of problems, some lying deep in her past, others arising from the rapid changes which caught her unprepared. He has tried to tell, within the limits of discretion, what has happened in China, especially during the last fifty years. For those friends who desire to co-operate with her, with a view to solving some of the difficult problems of a more enduring peace, this moderate volume may be helpful in giving an insight into the life and problems of the Chinese people. For co-operation cannot possibly proceed without mutual understanding. To understand what is actually the background—the mental, emotional, and moral constitution—of the country, is essential for a lasting co-operation.

With the above ideas in mind the author has described ordinary happenings in some detail so as to acquaint the reader in some measure of intimacy with the mental, emotional, and moral make-up of the Chinese people as revealed through their life in peace and war. As small things often reflect major developments in a country, it is hoped that some sense of the meaning of greater events may be gathered from these apparent trifles of daily life.

CHIANG MONLIN

如果有人问：“中国的问题究竟在哪里？”作者只能答复：中国正有无数的问题等待四亿五千万人民去解决，而且不是任何短时间内所能解决。有些问题是企图征服她的敌人造成的，有些则是蜕变过程中她本身所制造的；另有一些问题是客观环境引起的，也有一些问题则是历史的包袱，有一些比较困难的问题已经在战前几年内解决，或者局部解决，更有许多问题则尚待分别缓急，逐一解决。

回顾作者身经目睹的过去五十年，以及作者所熟悉的过去一百年，甚至追溯到作者所研习过的中国的悠久历史，作者已经就其所知探求出若干问题的线索，有些问题深深植根于过去，有些则由急剧的变化所引起。作者已经力求平直客观地陈述中国过去所发生的变迁，尤其是过去五十年内所发生的事情。对于愿意与中国合作，共同解决妨碍持久和平的若干问题的国际友人，本书或可提供一点资料，帮助他们了解中国人民的生活与问题。合作是勉强不来的，必须彼此相互了解，然后才能合作。欲谋持久的合作，必须先对一国的真实背景有所了解，包括心理、情感，以及道德等各方面。

因此，作者对于日常琐事也往往不厌其详地加以描写，希望藉此使读者对中国人民在战时与平时所反映的心理、情感和道德等，能有比较亲切的认识，日常琐事往往可以反映一个国家的重大变迁，希望读者多少能从作者所记述的身边琐事中，发现重大史实的意义。

蒋梦麟

1943 年于重庆

## PROLOGUE: FRONTIER CITY

During a world upheaval with bombs dropping from the sky and bursting all around, one is apt to wonder what caused these terrible things to happen.

What has happened in the world in the last decade is not something that merely dropped from the sky. Events have their causes. In the last years of the war, as I cast my mental view beyond the horizons of Kunming, where most of this volume was written, I saw how one event had led to another, with consequent social and political changes. Musing over the past in that scenic city on the Burma<sup>1</sup> Road overlooking tranquil, historic Kunming Lake, with bomb-shattered houses standing around me like the remnants of Pompeii, the scenes of what had happened during my lifetime unfolded themselves like a dream clearly and vividly before me; and I set pen to paper to put down what I had seen with my own eyes during the last half century of rapid change in the life of my country.

As I began to write we were in the midst of heavy munitions traffic coming in by truck from Burma. The fighting planes of the American Volunteer Group known as the "Flying Tigers" droned over our heads. War profiteers and truck drivers roamed the streets by hundreds and thousands with their pockets full of bank notes, while the price of commodities soared sky-high.

A British friend remarked to a professor of our university that we ought to have controlled prices at the beginning of the war. "Well," said the professor with a tinge of humor, "we will know better in the next war." He went on to remark that if he had had the capital he might have followed the example of the Greek philosopher who cornered olives in ancient Greece in anticipation of a poor olive crop. When the crop failed, he was rich. But the professor had no capital and too little of that sort of foresight, and in addition, too much of patriotism in his way.

After Pearl Harbor came waves of bad news of the Allies. Hongkong, the Malay States, and Singapore fell one after the other. The enemy

headed for Burma. China rushed troops there; they retreated, after a stubborn resistance, through the mountains and swamps of Upper Burma, living on banana roots. They were greatly annoyed by the leeches that dropped on their heads from trees, suckers that hooked onto you and

## 前言：边城昆明

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炸弹像冰雹一样从天空掉下，在我们周围爆炸，处身在这样的一次世界大动乱中，我们不禁要问：这些可怕的事情究竟为什么会发生呢？

过去几十年内世界上所发生的事情自然不是从天上掉下来的。任何事情有它的起因。本书的大部分是二次大战将结束时在昆明写的，当我们暂时忘掉现实环境而陷入沉思时，我常常发现一件事情如何导致另一件事情，以及相伴而生的政治、社会变化。昆明是滇缅公路的终点，俯瞰着平静的昆明湖，城中到处是敌机轰炸后的断垣残壁，很像庞贝古城的遗迹。我在这边城里冥想过去的一切，生平所经历的事情像梦境一样一幕一幕地展现在眼前；于是我捡出纸笔，记下了过去半世纪中我亲眼目睹的祖国生活中的急剧变化。

当我开始写《西潮》的故事时，载运军火的卡车正从缅甸源源驶抵昆明，以“飞虎队”闻名于世的美国志愿航空队战斗机在我们头上轧轧掠过。发国难财的商人和以“带黄鱼”起家的卡车司机徜徉街头，口袋里装满了钞票。物价则一日三跳，有如脱缰的野马。

一位英国朋友对西南联大的一位教授说，我们应该在战事初起就好好控制物价。这位教授带点幽默地回答说：“是呀！等下一次战争时，我们大概就不会这样笨了。”这位教授说：如果有资本，他或许早已学一位古希腊哲学家的榜样了。据说那位希腊哲学家预料橄榄将欠收而囤积了一大批橄榄。后来橄榄果然收成不好，这位哲学家也就发了大财。可惜我们的教授没有资本，也没有那种未卜先知的本领，而且他的爱国心也不容许他干损人利己的勾当。

珍珠港事变以后，同盟国家节节失利。香港、马来联邦和新加坡相继陷落，敌军继续向缅甸推进。中国赶派军队驰援印缅战区，经激战后撤至缅甸的丛林泽地，有时还不得不靠香蕉树根充饥。尤其使他们寝食难安的是从树上落到他们身上的水蛭，这些吸血鬼钻到

drank your blood. If you tried to tear one off, it carried away in its mouth a piece of your flesh. The best way of getting rid of these nasty parasites was to rub salt on them, but salt there was none. The next best way, in the circumstances, was to slap at them until they gave you up.

Chinese nationals in Burma left by tens of thousands, and made their way back to China by the Burma Road. Enemy planes bombed and machine-gunned them. Three thousand people, men and women, young and old, died on the way. A torrent of refugees flowed along the road into Kunming. Streets were crowded with thousands of distressed people and public buildings were set aside for their temporary lodging. After two or three months they gradually melted into the neighboring provinces; many went back to their native provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung.

The Burma Road, built in eight months by the hands of some eighty thousand farmers, men, women, and children, was now cut at the other end and rendered useless. Kunming, once on the high-way of international traffic, was now an isolated city, and only by air could one travel to India. The Yunnan-Burma Railway, under construction by 250,000 men, was to be finished within twelve months; it was partially built, then suspended. China was cut off from the world, with the enemy on three sides and only the faintest trickle of supplies remaining. In this isolation she held out, fighting for her national existence every inch of the way, until the end of the war.

Let us forget recent history for the moment and look back to the past to see what we can learn from it.

你的皮下，不动声色地吸走了你的血液。你如果想用力把它拉出来，它就老实不客气连肉带血衔走一口。对付这些吸血鬼最好的办法是在它们身上擦盐，但是在丛林里却又找不到盐。在这种环境下，唯一的办法是用手死劲去拍，拍得它们放口为止。

成千成万的缅甸华侨沿着滇缅公路撤退回中国。敌机沿途轰炸他们，用机枪扫射他们，三千妇孺老幼就这样惨死在途中。难民像潮水一样沿滇缅公路涌入昆明。街头拥满了家破人亡的苦难人民，许多公共建筑被指定为临时收容所。经过两三个月以后，他们才逐渐疏散到邻近省份；许多人则直接回到福建和广东老家。

八万左右农民以及男女老幼胼手胝足建筑成功的滇缅公路现在已经因另一端被切断而告瘫痪。一度曾为国际交通孔道的昆明现在也成为孤城，旅客只有坐飞机才能去印度。二十五万人加工赶筑的滇缅铁路，原来预定十二个月内完成，但是部分筑成以后也因战局逆转而中止了。中国已与世界各地隔绝，敌人从三方包围着她，只有涓涓滴滴的外来补给靠越过世界驼峰的空运在维持。中国就在这种孤立无援的窘境中坚持到底，寸土必争，直到战事结束为止。

我们且把近代历史暂时搁在一边，让我们回顾一下过去，看看能否从历史中找出一点教训。

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