

**Problematising the Public Sphere in China:
A Case Study of the Red Cross Society of China**

Submitted by

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Abstract

Problems that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) encountered in China, where the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)-State has extensive control over society, raise question over whether the Western concept of public sphere is appropriate for China; or on the other hand, whether it is necessary to reconceptualise public sphere theory and practice to capture the realistic situation in China. To test this hypothesis the development and operation of the Red Cross in China will be analysed from both a historical and theoretical perspective. The thesis argues that the changing historic role of the Red Cross in China provides a case study of how NGOs operate within an environment in which the State plays an interventionist role in what can be deemed the public sphere. This case study of the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC), a member of the International Federation, takes us from its inception in China through to the post-Mao period up to 1999, and analyses how it operates within an environment where the State has historically and contemporarily been a central component of the public sphere. Whilst interference by the State is a constant, however, due to the historic change of political systems, this study of the RCSC shows different characteristics not only in terms of government intervention but also in conceptualization of the public sphere. The aim of this study is to explore the relationship between the RCSC and governments before and after 1949 and examine the history of the RCSC in four different periods as this NGO adapted to changing State regimes and what that says about such western notions of the public sphere and civil society.

By examining the relationship between the RCSC and governments in the late Qing Dynasty, the Republic of China, the Mao era and the post-Mao era up to 1999, this thesis argues that despite the central role of the State in all the phases of the RCSC's history in China, there was differing but still evidential operational space for its effective functioning in civil society. The broader implications of the evidence from the RSCS role is that NGOs in China are able to perform useful roles in the Chinese society, such as the provision of public goods and services that the State cannot effectively provide. In this case study of the RCSC, the thesis demonstrates that the government intervention in NGOs was a phenomenon evident during the late Qing dynasty period and in the Republic of China period, the Maoist period from 1949-1978, and finally, to the post-Mao period up-to 1999. The pattern of relationship between the RCSC and the State reveals similarities more than differences in the way respective State's controlled the Red Cross and how the RCSC responded. Therefore, this case study concludes that the State's interactions with NGOs is not CCP specific, that the concept of public sphere is not simply a matter existence or non-existence and that NGOs in China can find a space to function and operate from Dynastical to 'socialism with Chinese characterises' in spite of government intervention and interference.

Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Abbreviation

<u>Term</u>	<u>Definition</u>
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
CPPCC	People's Political Consultative Council of China
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
INGOs	International Non-governmental Organizations
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
KMT	KMT (the Chinese National People's Party, Taiwan)
MCA	Ministry of Civil Affairs
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
NPC	National People's Congress
PRC	People's Republic of China
RCSC	Red Cross Society of China

Chapter 1: Introduction

China has experienced natural disasters and man-made suffering since ancient times, and in response many charities were established. However, there was no Red Cross in China until the commencement of the 20th century. The RCSC has a long history, having developed in the late Qing Dynasty period and continued through the Republican period, the Mao era, and the post-Mao era. In each of these eras it had a different character and a different relationship to the central government. When the Red Cross encountered serious events and needed help from the Qing government, the government did not have the required capacities, even though the central government sought to supervise and manage the Red Cross during the Republican period. Shortly after the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the re-organized social organizations and the RCSC including local Red Cross Offices refreshed and readjusted their internal relationship. Since the reform and opening-up, the development of the RCSC has begun a new relationship developed during 1979-1999.

This chapter includes seven sections. The first section provides introductory background on NGOs in general and the RCSC in particular. The second section reviews Chinese-language scholarship on the RCSC written by Chinese scholars, while the third section reviews English-language work by Western scholars. The fourth section establishes the research questions, the fifth section outlines the study's methodology, and the sixth section describes the overall research structure. Finally, the

last section clarifies the significance of the study, in terms of broader work on civil society and the public sphere.

1.1 Introductory Background

The concept of NGOs came into use with the establishment of the United Nations in 1945, to recognize the consultative status of organizations that were neither governments nor member states.¹ Since the 1970s, international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) have experienced rapid development in the various waves of globalization, are active in the international arena, and have adopted a new attitude.² Today the term NGO is broad and encompasses many different types of organizations within civil society. The concept of the “Third Sector” originated in 1972, however, it only attracted research and policy interest in the late 1980s. The “Third Sector” is an umbrella term that applies to entities that are independent of the state and the profit making markets, often referring to voluntary organisation, which are not strictly the public sector and not the private sector in its totality, neither the government nor business.³ The term of “Third Sector” is a sector separate from the state and the market. “The term is used to distinguish such organisations from the other two sectors of the economy: the public sector (‘the government’) and the private sector (‘business’)”.⁴

¹ Peter Willetts, "NonGovernmental Organizations," in *Social and Economic Development* (United Kingdom: EOLSS Publishers Co. Ltd., 2002), 25.

² Andreas Edele, *Non-governmental organizations in China*, Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiation (Geneva, Switzerland, 2005), 2.

³ Richard Hull et al., *The Third Sector*, vol. 1, Dialogues in Critical Management Studies (Emerald Publishing Limited, 2011), xiv-xv.

⁴ Rupert Taylor, *Third Sector Research* (Springer, 2010), 13.

The “Third Sector” is neither public sector nor private sector and it is also known as non-governmental organizations, non-market organizations, non-profit organizations, and voluntary organizations. The first sector means to public sector (the state) and the second sector means to private sector (the markets) and therefore the Third Sector can mean all those entities that are not in the first or second sectors. NGOs are part of the “Third Sector”, which includes civil organizations, not-for-profit organizations or NGOs that operate independently from any government.¹ Their functions are diverse and include campaigning, humanitarian relief, development work, social welfare, cultural activities, and conservation. In scholarship on the topic, an NGO’s orientation refers to the type of activities it takes on, which might include human rights, environmental, or development work.² In 2004, NGOs were responsible for approximately one-third of the total overseas development aid money.³

The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) is an independent humanitarian organization which is not governmental, political, racial, or sectarian in character.⁴ Salamon et al. called the IFRC a “global” associational

¹ Derek Gregory et al., *The dictionary of human geography* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 347.

² Anna C Vakil, "Confronting the classification problem: Toward a taxonomy of NGOs," *World Development* 25, no. 12 (1997): 2057-70.

³ Roger C Riddell, *Does foreign aid really work?* (Oxford University Press, 2007), 13.

⁴ *Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement*, adopted by the 25th International Conference of the Red Cross and Red Crescent at Geneva in 1986, amended in 1995 and 2006, 13.

revolution whose importance to the world in the late 20th century is comparable to the rise of the nation-state in the late 19th century.¹

In many developing countries governments used suspicious of NGOs, but were forced by economic hardship to accept and integrate them into their socio-economic programs.² On the other hand, some large-scale social movements that were once organizationally and ideologically cohesive in developing countries for various reasons became incoherent amid a shift in the themes of social mobilization.³ In contemporary China, NGOs are a product of economic and social reforms rather than as adjuncts of a larger social movement.⁴ Since the 1980s, China's socio-economic system has changed from a planned economy to a socialist market economy, and the pattern of "small government, big society" (小政府 *xiao zhengfu*, 大社会 *da shehui*) has been gradually established.⁵ Liu believes that NGOs are an important supporting element for the marketization of public service.⁶ According to Liu, this process aims to introduce a competitive mechanism into governmental public service, to divert some public

¹ Lester M. Salamon et al., *Global civil society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project, (The Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies Baltimore, MD, 1999), 4.

² Gerard Clarke, *Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Politics in the Developing World*, vol. 20 (University of Wales Swansea: Centre for Development Studies, 1996), 36-52.

³ David Lehmann, *Democracy and development in Latin America: economics, politics and religion in the post-war period* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992), 148.

⁴ Andreas Edele, *Non-governmental organizations in China*, 4-5.

⁵ Terry Boychuk, "Big Society, Small Government," *Macalester International* 18, no. 1 (2007): 17.

⁶ Liu Meiping 刘美萍, "Lun gonggong fuwu shichanghua yu woguo feizhengfu zuzhi de fazhan 论公共服务市场化与我国非政府组织的发展," [The Marketization of Public Service and the Development of the Non-Governmental Organization in China.] *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University 徐州师范大学学报* 33, no. 1 (2007): 121.

functions to NGOs and other members of the private sector. The government would only assume regulatory responsibilities in this model. However, in a single-party state such as China, the relationship between the state, the Party, and an NGO is more ambiguous and complex.¹ Consequently, NGOs in China face serious difficulties such as a lack of legitimacy, fundraising challenges, insufficient supervisory mechanisms, and deficient corporate management.²

This thesis is a case study of the RCSC, the largest charity organization with numerous fundraising channels in China. The origins of the RCSC are ambiguous, and Chinese scholars have offered at least four different explanations of how and when it was founded. The first version claims that its origin was somewhat unique, in that it was independently established in the Three Northeast Provinces of China as Puji Good Will (东北三省普济善会 *dongbei sansheng puji shanhui*), as a result of the Russo-Japanese war that broke out on February 6, 1904.³ The second version regards the Charities Association of China, which responded to the needs of the war wounded, as the forerunner of the RCSC.⁴ The third version agrees that the war gave impetus to the

¹ *Ibid.*, 121.

² Li Yuwen, "Introduction: Challenges and Opportunities for NGOs in Different Parts of the World," in *NGOs in China and Europe* (Routledge, 2016), 21-40.

³ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Wanqing shiqi de zhongguo hongshizihui lunshu 晚清时期的中国红十字会论述," [On the Red Cross Society of China during the late Qing Dynasty Period.] *Jindaishi yanjiu 近代史研究* 3 (2000): 135.

⁴ Chi Zihua 池子华, "Cong Zhongguo jiuji shanhui dao shanghai wanguo hongshizihui 从中国救济善会到上海万国红十字会," [From Chinese Charities Association to Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross.] *Shi Lin 史林*, no. 2 (2005): 76.

RCSC but proposes that its origin can be traced back to 1900.¹ Finally, there is the last version, which according to the Shanghai *Shun Pao* (申报), (one of the most influential newspapers with the longest publication period), it is alleged that the RCSC was founded by Ernest Major, a British merchant, on April 30, 1872. Liang Chen, a diplomat during the Qing Dynasty, met with representatives of the UK, the US, France, and Germany in the Shanghai Municipal Council and established the Shanghai Wanguo (万国) Red Cross Organization on March 10, 1904.² These conflicting versions of the RCSC's origins offer a unique research opportunity to explore the complex relationship between China's different state formations and the Red Cross's humanitarian work.³

The RCSC made its entrance into China at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was 1904, during the reign of the Qing Dynasty. The Chinese empire was experiencing a relatively tumultuous time with the Sino Japanese war and Western 'imperialists' interventions due to the Opium wars and the Boxer rebellion destabilising both the Dynastic government and the respective civil society.⁴ Consequently, the external invasion and internal rebellion created a humanitarian crisis beyond the control of the

¹ Yang Zhifang 杨智芳 and Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Lun zhongguo hongshizihui de qiyuan 论中国红十字会的起源," [The origin of Red Cross Society of China] *Journal of Social Science of Hunan Normal University 湖南师范大学社会科学学报* 35, no. 4 (2006): 115.

² Yang Zhifang 杨智芳 and Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Lun zhongguo hongshizihui de qiyuan 论中国红十字会的起源," 116-18.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Chen Kuide, "The Misleading Conception of Clan Society and the Reconstruction of Civil Society in China," *Chinese Intellectuals* (1991): 23-30.

rulers. From this perspective, it was necessary to establish a humanitarian relief system base on philanthropic practices for the suffering citizens.

In this period of unrest, China moved from an imperial system to a republican government. This transformation and other significant changes in the structure of government had a phenomenal impact on civil society. Civil society organizations began to appear after the fall of the Qing Dynasty and the creation of the Republic of China. The RCSC was instrumental in providing humanitarian relief to wounded soldiers, both in international conflicts and civil rebellions within China. As a result of its war-wounded effort, the indigenous Red Cross Society was recognized by the Federation of the Red Cross Society in Geneva in 1912. This led to the official registration of the Red Cross Society as an independent charity organization. The independence of the society did not last for long, however, two years later, the central government began intervening in the affairs of the society.

The Red Cross Organization is an INGO. The landscape of civil society and NGOs in China is more complex and includes various kinds of organizations other than governmental ones. The RCSC therefore makes an interesting case study of NGOs in China, and of civil society at large. Furthermore, after the establishment of the PRC in 1949 the original non-governmental Red Cross organization moved to Taiwan, while the Mainland Red Cross Society, which was arguably operated by the government, was reorganized.

The RCSC faced a number of changes which had direct implications on its internal operations. The PRC, just like the previous regimes, recognized the pertinent role that the Red Cross Society played in China, especially given the previous national disasters and civil wars that led to the creation of the PRC. The Chinese national fabric faced several ideological shifts, brought forth by revolutionary leaders that were inclined toward revising the political foundation of China in a global context. Briefly, the new political order was a result of a long-term revolution under the CCP. It later bore the PRC in 1949. This was the apex of the CCP, which was by far the most revolutionary entity in Chinese history.

The RCSC experienced several radical changes from 1979-1999 which transformed its operational framework at various levels. These changes were associated with the dynamic policies and ideologies that emerged after Chairman Mao's death, which ushered in new leadership. The PRC followed in the footsteps of the previous regimes by recognising the Red Cross Society for its central role in aiding the country during cases of civil strife, national disasters, and epidemics. The post-Mao era presented various reforms of the political, social, and economic spheres. These reforms were informed by a post-Cultural Revolution pragmatism but defined within the socialist historical foundations of the ruling CCP. The country had its first leader after Mao in Hua Guofeng (华国锋), who subscribed to the revolutionary Mao school of thought. To avoid appearing disloyal to Mao's perspectives on leadership, Hua adopted a careful

distancing from the Cultural Revolution that led to economic deterioration.¹ Hua's leadership mirrored Mao's in all dimensions, with the continuation of a diminished public sphere and enhanced state control over civil society organizations.² However, Deng Xiaoping (邓小平) later embraced a more market-based outlook, which was critical in promoting the comprehensive growth of the country, including growth in the public sphere and civil society.³

Notably, the recognition of international humanitarian efforts under the RCSC, which was still not popular during the Qing dynasty and the Republic of China era, became manifest during the Mao regime. In fact, Heins, Koddenbrock, and Unrau declared that it was during this period that the agency saw its activities transcend the national borders. For instance, the RCSC extended its humanitarian efforts to more than 140 countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The organization also provided valuable support in the repatriation of Japanese refugees stranded in China during the 1950s. Despite its increased international humanitarian support, however, the agency faced increased domestic constraints during this era.⁴

¹ Shen Yue 沈越, "Zichan jieji quanli" ying yiwei "shimin quanli" "资产阶级权利"应译为"市民权利", [Bourgeois right should be translated as townspeople's right.] *Tianjin Social Science 天津社会科学*, no. 4 (1986): 29-34.

² Xia Weizhong 夏维中, "Shimin shehui: zhongguo jinqi nanyuan de meng 市民社会: 中国近期难圆的梦," [Civil society: it is difficult to come true in China.] *Journal of Social Sciences in China 中国社会科学* 11, no. 4 (1993): 176-82.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Volker M Heins, Kai Koddenbrock, and Christine Unrau, *Humanitarianism and Challenges of Cooperation*, Routledge Global Cooperation (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), 172.

1.2 Literature review on the RCSC in China

Chinese studies of the RCSC have addressed various issues of history, disaster relief, rescue in wartime, local Red Cross societies, culture and humanism, legislation, the group's crisis of credibility, funding, international relations, and the relationship between the RCSC and the government.

Historical Accounts

There has been research on the Red Cross in China mainly in terms of its relationship to the State. Sun Shangen (孙善根) compiled *The Yearbook of Shen Dunhe: the Founder of Chinese Red Cross Movements*,¹ which narrates the lifetime achievements, and ideas of Shen Dunhe² (沈敦和) in chronological sequence. In the order of years, the purpose was to describe the life, deeds and thoughts of Shen Dunhe (1857-1920), an important social activist, philanthropist, and founder of the RCSC in the late Qing and early Republic of China. In the first month of the 30th year of Guangxu (光绪), the Shanghai Red Cross Society, the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and

¹ Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Zhongguo hongshizi yundong dianji ren Shen Dunhe nianpu changbian 中国红十字运动奠基人沈敦和年谱长编* [The yearbook of Shen Dunhe, the Founder of the Chinese Red Cross Movement] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang daxue chubanshe, 2014), 3-5.

² Shen Dunhe, Zi (字) was Zhong Li (仲礼), Renxian (鄞县) County, Zhejiang Province, social activist and philanthropist. He studied Cambridge University in England in the early years and specialized in politics and law. After returning to China, he served as teacher of Jinling Tongwen Hall (金陵同文), Jiangnan Navy Teacher School (江南水师学堂 *Jiangnan shuishi xuetang*), Wusong Self-Strengthening Military Operation Division Office (吴淞自强军营机处总办 *wusong ziqiang junying jichu zongban*), director of Shanghai Siming Corporation (上海四明公所 *Shanghai Siming Gongsuo*), first president of Ningbo Traveler in Shanghai Association (宁波旅沪同乡会 *Ningbo lvhu tongxianghui*), director of Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce (上海总商会董事 *Shanghai zongshanghui dongshi*), etc.

France, was to establish the Red Cross Society in China. It was elected as the director of the Chinese government and was the founder of the RCSC. Thirty-three years after the reign of Emperor Guangxu, Shen served successively as vice president of the RCSC, and was based in Shanghai. Shen successively founded the Epidemic Hospital of the RCSC, the General Hospital and the Medical Hall of Red Cross, the Branch Hospital of Tianjin Road, and the China Public Hospital. He also serves as the dean of the above institutes.¹ The book *Red Cross in Shanghai (1904-1949)* written by Ma Qiang (马强) and Chi Zihua (池子华) not only focuses on the Red Cross in Shanghai, but also records historical events and materials from Red Cross organizations such as the RCSC, International Red Cross, and Chinese Red Cross in Shanghai. *Compilation of Historical Materials of Red Cross in Shanghai (1904-1949)*, edited by Ma and Chi, similarly assembles historical data on movements of the Red Cross. The book collects historical materials, special information, correspondence, and documentation from the late Qing Dynasty (1904-1911), the Republic of China (1912-1930), the Anti-Japanese war period (1931-1945) and the demobilization (复员 *fuyuan*) period (1946-1949).²

Zhou Qiuguang (周秋光) believes that the academic study of the RCSC started one hundred years after its founding.³ Indeed, scholars did not discuss the RCSC until the

¹ Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Zhongguo hongshizi yundong dianji ren Shen Dunhe nianpu changbian 中国红十字运动奠基人沈敦和年谱长编*, 3-5.

² Ma Qiang 马强 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Hongshizi zai shanghai (1904-1949) 红十字在上海 (1904-1949)* [Red Cross in Shanghai (1904-1949)] (Zhongguo chuban jituan Dongfang chuban zhongxin 中国出版集团东方出版中心, 2015), 6-10.

³ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Wanqing shiqi de zhongguo hongshizihui lunsu 晚晴时期的中国红十字会论述," [Review of the Red Cross Society of China in Late Qing Dynasty] *Modern Chinese History Studies 近代史研究*, no. 3 (2000): 134.

end of the 20th century. In 1998, Min Jie (闵杰) introduced the Chinese Medical Bureau was a charity organization according to the “Red Cross Society Constitution”; “China Relief Association was a group established in accordance with the basic spirit and practice of the International Red Cross”; “Relief Charity – Pioneer of the RCSC” in *the History of Social and Cultural in Modern China (Volume II)*, the first academic historical work studying the movements of the RCSC published in China.¹ Zhou later published *Review of the RCSC in late Qing Dynasty*, the first work on the RCSC in the 21st century, to emphasize the organization’s historical process, operating mechanism, rescue and relief activities, and international contacts.² The book *The Red Cross Society in China: 1904-1927*, also compiled by Zhou, mainly discusses the revolution, the administration of the RCSC in the late Qing Dynasty and the Beiyang Government period, the history and organizational evolution, administrative and operational mechanisms, and relief and international contacts during those periods. His view in this book is that charity is a social force and the RCSC is the largest and most influential charitable organization in China, embodying the integration of Chinese and Western charities and culture.³ *The Red Cross and Modern China* compiled by Chi studies interactions between the RCSC and Modern China from 1904-1949, based on historical

¹ Min jie 闵杰, *Jindai zhongguo shehui wenhua bianqian lu (2) 近代中国社会文化变迁录 (2)* [The History of Social and Culture in Modern China (2)] (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe 浙江人民出版社, 1998), 184-85.

² Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, “Wanqing shiqi de zhongguo hongshizihui lunshu 晚清时期的中国红十字会论述,” [On the Red Cross Society of China during the late Qing Dynasty Period.] *Jindaishi yanjiu 近代史研究* 3 (2000) : 134.

³ Chi Zihua 池子华, Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国 (1904-1927)* [The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2008), 3.

materials. The book lays a foundation for subsequent study of the modern Red Cross Society. The RCSC in different historical periods has been a “beloved crowd”, especially through the research on the humanitarian activities and social impacts of the Red Cross’s rescue operations in the field, relief of the victims, public welfare undertakings, international aid, and social services. The profound connotation of the spirit of cross provides a useful historical reference for the construction of socialist spiritual civilization.¹ In *A Study on the RCSC in the Early PRC: 1949-1956*, Xu Guopu theoretically and historically discusses the progress of the RCSC in the early stages of the PRC. He believes that in the “strong countries, weak societies” (强国家, 弱社会) pattern which means that the party leads the country, the state dominates the society, and the party leads the society through the state. He also studies the organizational evolution and internal relations of the RCSC, and examines the institutional setup, organizational structure, and funding sources. In addition, he explored in the Patriotic Health Campaign from the Red Cross Domestic Relief Program, which includes health care training, medical prevention services, and reflects the humanitarian and charisma of the Red Cross. In the end, he investigates the exchanges and cooperation between the Red Cross and the international community, such as international medical and prevention services, to promote friendship between China and the Soviet Union, and assist the Japanese returning to China.² Chi compiled *Red Cross Movements: Historical*

¹ Chi Zihua 池子华, *Hongshizi yu jindai zhongguo 红十字与近代中国* [Red Cross and Modern China] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2004), 16.

² Xu Guopu 徐国普, *Xinzhongguo chengli chuqi zhongguo hongshizihui yanjiu (1949-1956) 新中国成立初期中国红十字会研究 (1949-1956)* [The Establishment of the People’s Republic of China: the

Review and Practical Concerns, which collects studies on the culture of the Red Cross, Red Cross capacity construction, and the historical study of the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China period.¹

Jin Yongzhen (靳永震) discusses the founding of Red Cross Hospitals during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895, and societal attitudes towards it. An international Red Cross organization with the aim of helping wounded soldiers and refugees emerged. It was represented by Red Cross Hospitals and was mainly located in Yingkou (营口), Yantai (烟台) and Tianjin (天津). These Red Cross hospitals were founded and led by Westerners in China, including missionaries, diplomats, businessmen, and military personnel. They played a key role in the rescue of Chinese wounded soldiers and refugees in the battlefield.² Jiang Lu (蒋露) similarly analyzes hospitals built by the RCSC from the late Qing Dynasty to the period of National Government in Beijing. In order to carry out the work of the Red Cross, Shanghai Red Cross Society established the Red Cross Hospital. Since then, with the official establishment of the RCSC, the Red Cross Hospital has continuously developed and expanded its scale, and medical education and the training of medical personnel have also made great progress, resulting

Study on the Red Cross Society of China (1949-1956)] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2013), 6-7.

¹ Chi Zihua 池子华, *Hongshizi yundong: Lishi huigu yu xianshi guanhuai 红十字运动: 历史回顾与现实关怀* [Red Cross Movements: Historical Review and Practical Concern] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2015), 3.

² Jin Yongzhen 靳永震, "Lun jiawu zhanzheng shiqi de hongshizihui yiyuan 论甲午战争时期的红十字会医院," [Red Cross Hospital during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895] *Journal of Hunan First Normal College 湖南第一师范学报* 6, no. 2 (2006): 23.

in a large number of outstanding medical talents.¹ Lv Zhiru (吕志茹) and Chi Zihua discuss the origin, organization and activities of teenager movements of the Red Cross in the demobilization period, and study the targets, overview, and achievements of the Red Cross Week. The extensive development of social services requires the voluntary service of a large number of enthusiastic people. The young people are full of enthusiasm and are mostly concentrated in schools to facilitate organizational training. Therefore, the Red Cross Youth Training Group has become the focus of this period. The Red Cross Youth Service Corps and the Red Cross Youth Association are the two major youth organizations organized by the RCSC during the “demobilization period.”

² Dai Binwu (戴斌武) discusses the social welfare of the Red Cross Society during the demobilization period, and its importance in society,³ while Wu Peihua (吴佩华) and Chi Zihua discuss the effects of “demobilization” on the RCSC in the later period of Anti-Japanese War. The preparations for demobilization began in the period of the Anti-Japanese War. With the help of the American Red Cross, the RCSC proposed a demobilization relief plan to carry out propaganda and mobilization within the conference. At the same time, it also actively implemented organizational and personnel

¹ Jiang Lu 蒋露, "Wanqing zhi Beijing guomin zhengfu shiqi de zhongguo hongshizihui yiyuan (1904-1927) 晚清至北京国民政府时期的中国红十字会医院 (1904-1927)," [China's Red Cross Hospitals from Late Qing Dynasty to Beijing National Government Period (1904-1927).] *Journal of Hunan Institute of Engineering 湖南工程学院学报* 22, no. 1 (2012): 77.

² Lv Zhiru 吕志茹 and Chi Zihua 池子华, "'Fuyuan shiqi" Zhongguo hongshizihui qingshaonian yundong jianlun "复员时期"中国红十字青少年运动简论," [Brief about Teenagers Movements of Red Cross in China during the Demobilization Period] *Journal of Hebei University (Philosophy and Social Science) 河北大学学报 (哲学社会科学版)* 31, no. 3 (2006): 135.

³ Dai Binwu 戴斌武, "Lun 'Fuyuan shiqi' Zhongguo hongshizihui de shehui fuli shiye 论“复员时期”中国红十字会的社会福利事业," [Social and Welfare Services of the Red Cross Society of China in Demobilization Period] *Guizhou Social Science 贵州社会科学*, no. 7 (2007): 164-68.

training. All kinds of preparatory work have created the conditions for the comprehensive expansion of the charity relief work during the demobilization period after the victory of the Anti-Japanese War.¹ There were two historical works written by Taiwanese scholars. The first is *Century History of the Red Cross Society of Republic of China (1904-2003)*, which provides historical materials for the study of movements in the Red Cross Society during its budding period, the late Qing Dynasty, the Beiyang (北洋) government period, the Republic of China period, and finally the group's return to Taiwan in 1949. This book mainly introduces the development of the Red Cross after its move to Taiwan. Zhang Yufa (张玉法) et al. concentrates on the Red Cross as a restructuring organization in Taiwan after 1949, which is not included in the literature review of Red Cross in mainland of China; administration and funding of the Red Cross Society; service development including medical and health services, training and education services, social associations and poverty alleviation, voluntary services; international activities; and cross-strait relations exhibitions.² The second work is *Research on the Beginnings of the RCSC* by Zhang Jianqiu (张建侗). This book uses the RCSC as a research subject because it was the premier charity in the Republic of China. At the same time, it has the characteristics of surpassing Chinese charities.

¹ Wu Peihua 吴佩华 and Chi Zihua 池子华, "Cong zhandi jiu hu dao shehui fuwu: Jianlun kangzhan houqi zhongguo hongshizihui de "fuyuan" gouxiang 从战地救护到社会服务:简论抗战后期中国红十字会的“复员”构想," [From War Rescue to Social Services: On the concept of "demobilization" of the Chinese Red Cross Society in the late period of Anti-Japanese War.] *Republican Archives 民国档案*, no. 1 (2009): 113.

² Zhang Yufa 张玉法, *Zhonghua minguo Hongshizihui bainian shi (1904-2003) 中华民国红十字会百年史 (1904-2003)* [Century History of the Red Cross Society of Republic of China (1904-2003)] (Taipei: Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui zonghui 中华民国红十字会总会, 2004), 4.

Zhang believes that the Red Cross crosses the geographical restrictions and becomes a national charity organization; the Red Cross Society is of an international nature; its work is diversified and its special status during the war. Zhang analyzes the structure, nature, status, organization, personnel, funding, main work, and contributions of the RCSC, and the relationship between the Red Cross Society, the government, and the country as a whole.¹

Disaster Relief

The Red Cross Society has made significant contributions to disaster relief in China. *Red Cross: Humanism in Disasters of Modern Wars* by Chi Zihua, Cao Jinguo (曹金国), Xue Lirong (薛丽蓉), and Yan Zhihai (阎智海) discuss rescue and relief efforts by the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society in the Russo-Japanese War, rescue actions of the Red Cross Society in the 1911 Revolutionary Movement, the Jiangsu-Zhejiang (江苏-浙江) War and humanitarian rescues of the RCSC, rescues during the Anti-Japanese war by the Jiangsu of the Red Cross Society, and humanitarian assistance of international Red Cross organizations to China during the full-scale anti-Japanese war period.²

¹ Zhang Jianqiu 张建猷, *Zhongguo hongshizihui chuqi fazhan zhi yanjiu* 中国红十字会初期发展之研究 [Research on the beginnings of the Red Cross Society of China] (Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中华书局, 2007), 3-4.

² Chi Zihua 池子华 et al., *Hongshizi: jindai zhanzheng zainan zhong de rendao zhuyi* 红十字：近代战争灾难中的人道主义 [Red Cross: Humanism in Disasters of Modern Wars] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2013), 2.

The *Red Cross Society and Social Assistance Services: 1922-1949*, compiled by Gao Pengcheng (高鹏程), discusses the origins of the Red Cross and social relief, and presents the social relief service of the Red Cross in terms of social relief and charity relief in the late Qing Dynasty. Secondly, it discusses the social relief services of the Red Cross Society, the professional organization of mobile social relief, spiritual and professional training of relief workers, as well as the social relief of the Red Cross Society during wars and disasters, and evaluates the efficiency of various social relief services. Lastly, it discusses the difficult situation of the Red Cross Society in the complex political environment of the Republic of China.¹ Zhou Qiuguang analyzes charity relief activities by the RCSC regarding natural disasters during the Beiyang national government period of the Republic of China. The first is the rescue of all kinds of tragedies, including the “Kuichou (葵丑)” in 1913 and the Zhangjiakou (张家口) Army Disaster; the Shandong (山东) Army Disaster in 1914, and the Sichuan (四川) and Henan (河南) Provinces Armed Forces; the 1916 National Security Warfare and other areas war disasters. The second is the rescue of various natural disasters, including floods, droughts, windstorms, earthquakes, fires, epidemics, and floods. In peacetime, the Red Society also carried out various public health activities such as healing and epidemic prevention, giving medicines and giving medicines.² Chi Zihua discusses

¹ Gao Pengcheng 高鹏程, *Hongshizihui jiqi shehui jiu zhu shiye yanjiu (1922-1949) 红十字会及其社会救助事业研究 (1922-1949)* [Red Cross Society and Social Assistance Services (1922-1949)] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2011), 3-8.

² Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Minguo beijing zhengfu shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de cishan jiuhu yu zhenji huodong 民国北京政府时期中国红十字会的慈善救护与赈济活动," [Charity Rescue and Relief Activities of the Red Cross Society of China during Peking Government Period of the Republic of China] *Modern Chinese History Studies 近代史研究*, no. 6 (2000): 107.

social relief activities of the RCSC in the “Beijing-Hebei flood” of 1917,¹ the “West and North China Drought” from 1928-1930,² and the “Aug. 2 Windstorm of Guangdong” in 1922.³ Lan Yan (兰艳) discusses the work of the RCSC in domestic disaster relief, medical care service, battlefield rescue, work helping Chinese citizens in Japan to return to China, and assistance with international disasters from 1949-1978.⁴ Sun Yusheng (孙语圣) analyzes the China Charity Relief Commission for the Japanese Earthquake, founded in response to Japan’s violent earthquake in 1923. The establishment of the China Association for Japan’s Disaster and Disaster Relief Association sent a medical team to Japan to rescue the victims; every effort was made to send the Japanese and Chinese to the country in batches, and settled and treated promptly. Reception of the representative of the Japan Visiting Group of the Chinese delegation to China and actively promoted Sino-Japanese folk diplomacy. With a view

¹ Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuji 1917 nian Beijing-Hebei shuizhai shulve - Yi Shun Pao wei zhongxin kaoca 中国红十字会救济 1917 年京直水灾述略-以《申报》为中心考察," [Beijing-Hebei Flood Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in 1917- Survey based on Shun Pao] *Journal of Huaiyin Teachers College 淮阴师范学院学报* 27, no. 2 (2005): 221.

² Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuzhu 1928 zhi 1930 xibei huabei hanhuang shulve 中国红十字会救助 1928 至 1930 年西北华北旱荒述略," [Overview of West and North China Drought Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China during 1928-1930.] *Social Science Zhanxian 社会科学战线*, no. 2 (2005): 180.

³ Li Yong 李勇 and Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuji 1922 nian guangdong "ba er fengzai" shulve 中国红十字会救护 1922 年广东“八二风灾”述略 [Overview of Guangdong Aug. 2 Windstorm Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in 1922]," in *Hongshizi yundong yanjiu (2007 nian juan) 红十字运动研究 (2007 年卷)* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2007), 97.

⁴ Lan Yan 兰艳, "1949-1978 nian zhongguo hongshizihui de guoneiwai jiuzhu huodong ji yingxiang 1949-1978 年中国红十字会的国内外救助活动及影响," [Domestic and Overseas Rescue Activities and Influence of Red Cross Society of China during (1949-1978).] *Journal of Yue Yang Vocational Technical College 岳阳职业技术学院学报* 27, no. 2 (2012): 113.

to improving Sino-Japanese relations.¹ Yang Hongxing (杨红星) studies the humanitarianism of the RCSC in the “Anti-SARS” campaign in 2003 from the perspective of epidemic disease rescue.²

Rescue in Wartime

In addition to disaster rescue and relief, there are many studies on the involvement of the RCSC in battlefield rescues. The *Red Cross on the Battlefield – A Memoir of Rescue Teams of the RCSC*, compiled by the Guiyang Archives Center, provides historical information on several movements of the Red Cross Society.³ Dai Binwu (戴斌武) analyzes the history and work of the RCSC before the Anti-Japanese War, the establishment and organizational system of rescue teams during the war, anti-war rescues, and epidemic prevention in *Study on Rescue Corps of the RCSC during the Anti-Japanese War*.⁴ The Rescue Corps was a non-governmental organization involved in rescue work during the Anti-Japanese War. Dai Binwu explores the construction of the rescue system during the war and its operation through the handling of casualties

¹ Sun Yusheng 孙语圣, "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuyuan 1923 nian riben da dizhen lunshu 中国红十字会救援 1923 年日本大地震论述," [1923 Japan Earthquake Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China] *Journal of Shangqiu Teachers College 商丘师范学院学报* 28, no. 2 (2012): 77.

² Yang Hongxing 杨红星, "Kangji "feidian" zhanyi zhong zhongguo hongshizihui cishan xingdong jianlun 抗击“非典”战役中中国红十字会慈善行动简论," [Charity Activity of the Red Cross Society of China in Anti-SARS Campaign] *Wenhua xuekan 文化学刊*, no. 6 (2007): 72.

³ Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, *Zhandi hongshizi - Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuwu zongdui kangzhan shilu 战地红十字——中国红十字会救护总队抗战实录* [Red Cross on the Battlefield – A Memoir of Rescue Teams of the Red Cross Society of China] (Guiyang: Guizhou renmin chubanshe 贵州人民出版社, 2009), 1.

⁴ Dai Binwu 戴斌武, *Kangzhan shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui jiuwu zongdui yanjiu 抗战时期中国红十字会救护总队研究* [Study on Rescue Corps of the Red Cross Society of China during the Anti-Japanese War] (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe 天津古籍出版社, 2012), 20-23.

during the Anti-Japanese War. At the same time, he discussed the Red Cross's strategy for rescue during the Anti-Japanese War period, as well as the role and status of the Rescue Corps.¹ Xue Qingyu (薛庆煜) was a member of the Anti-War Rescue Corps and published *Record of Rescue Corps of the RCSC and Emergency Medical Service Training School* to introduce the foundational role of the rescue corps in the RCSC and Emergency Medical Service Training School. He also analyzes the teaching procedures of the medical, rescue, and epidemic prevention systems of these medical organizations and their training programs.²

The book *Rescue Corps of the RCSC and Anti-Japanese War Rescues*, edited by Chi Zihua studies the anti-war rescue efforts of the Rescue Corps, and analyzes the corps foundation, change, organizational system, and battlefield rescues. It not only narrates injury, death, and disease treatment situations during wartime, but also discusses the historical experience of the corps in anti-war rescues, and highlights contributions made to maintaining anti-war forces.³ Chi also issued a series of papers about the war rescues of the RCSC to record the winding course of movements of the RCSC during wartime.⁴

¹ Dai Binwu 戴斌武, *Kangzhan shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui jiuhu zongdui yanjiu 抗战时期中国红十字会救护总队研究*, 8.

² Xue Qingyi 薛庆煜, "Ji Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuhu zongdui yu zhanshi weisheng ren yuan xunlian suo 记中国红十字会救护总队与战时卫生人员训练所," [Record of Rescue Corps of the Red Cross Society of China and Emergency Medical Service Training School] *History of Science and Technology 中国科技史杂志* 20, no. 2 (1999): 20.

³ Chi Zihua 池子华, *Zhongguo hongshizihui jiuhu zongdui yu kangzhan jiuhu yanjiu 中国红十字会救护总队与抗战救护研究* [Rescue Corps of the Red Cross Society of China and Anti-Japanese War Rescues] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2012), 2-3.

⁴ Those papers are: Chi Zihua 池子华, "'Erci geming' zhong de zhongguo hongshizihui rendao jiu yuan '二次革命'中的中国红十字会人道救援," [Humanitarian Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in the Second Revolution] *Zhongshan Fengyu 钟山风雨*, no. 2 (2003): 30-33. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Kangzhan

Zhou Qiuguang describes wartime relief activity during the Beiyang government period of the Republic of China, including the War in Zhangjiakou (张家口) in 1913, the Shandong (山东) War and the Anhui-Henan (安徽-河南) war in 1914, and the national defense war and other war in other places in 1916. In addition, Zhou Qiuguang also analyzes the rescue of the RCSC in various natural disasters, such as floods, droughts, windstorms, earthquakes, fires, epidemics, and disasters. The RCSC also carried out various public health activities such as healing and epidemic prevention, and giving medicines. Zhou Qiuguang believes that the charitable activities of the RCSC are a

chuqi zhongguo hongshizihui de zhanshi jiuhu 抗战初期中国红十字会的战事救护," [War Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in the Early War Period.] *Jianghai xuekan 江海学刊*, no. 4 (2003): 132-37. Chi Zihua 池子华, "1937 nian zhongguo hongshizihui songhu kangzhan jiuhu jianlun 1937 年中国红十字会淞沪抗战救护简论," [Brief Discussion on Shong-hu Anti-Japanese War Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in 1937] *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University 徐州师范大学学报* 29, no. 4 (2003). Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui xin Hai zhanshi jiu hu xingdong 中国红十字会辛亥战时救护行动," [Rescue Actions of the Red Cross Society of China in the 1911 Revolutionary Movement.] *Republican Archives 民国档案*, no. 1 (2004): 40-45. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Xin Hai geming zhong liuri yixuesheng de jiu hu xingdong 辛亥革命中留日医学生的救护行动," [Rescue Actions of Chinese-Japanese Medical Students in the 1911 Revolutionary Movement] *Journal of Xuzhou Normal University 徐州师范大学学报* 30, no. 2 (2004): 27-28. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiu hu zongdui kangzhan jiu hu de ji ge duanmian 中国红十字会救护总队抗战救护的几个断面," [Several Aspects of the Red Cross Society of China Rescue Corps in Anti-war Rescue.] *Journal of Suzhou University (Philosophy and Social Science) 苏州大学学报 (哲学社会科学版)*, no. 4 (2004): 97-102. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Junfa shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de bingzhai jiu hu 军阀时期中国红十字会的兵灾救护," [War Disaster Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China during the Warlord Period.] *Journal of Shanghai Normal University (Philosophical and Social Science) 上海师范大学学报 (哲学社会科学版)* 33, no. 6 (2004): 92-97. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Shanghai wanguo hongshizihui jiuji ri'e zhanzhai shulun 上海万国红十字会救济日俄战灾述论," [Review of Russo-Japan War Disaster Rescue of the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society.] *History of Qing Dynasty 清史研究*, no. 2 (2005): 62-68. Chi Zihua 池子华, "Zhongguo hongshizihui huguo zhanzheng jiu hu shulun 中国红十字会护国战争救护述论," [Review of National Defense War Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China] *Journal of Hefei College (Social Science) 合肥学院学报 (社会科学版)* 24, no. 2 (2007): 85-87. Chi Zihua 池子华, "1914 nian Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiaodong jiu yuan 1914 年中国红十字会的胶东救援," [Eastern Shandong Rescue of the Red Cross Society of China in 1914.] *Wenhua xuekan 文化学刊*, no. 1 (2008): 65-69.

social dynamic and an important function in regulating the society.¹ Li Wei (李微) divides anti-war rescue into two periods: from the July 7th Incident to the Nanjing (南京) Occupation, and from the Nanjing Occupation to end of the Anti-Japanese War. The RCSC mainly provided medical care to injured soldiers; in the second stage, the RCSC was deemed the core of the entire rescue system during the anti-Japanese war period. For example, the rescue team went to Myanmar to rescue the expeditionary force and provided medical support to the CCP Army. In other words, the RCSC was the core of the entire rescue system during the Anti-Japanese War. At the same time, due to the continuous intervention of the government of the Republic of China, the RCSC also lost the original nature of its non-governmental organizations and was instead controlled by the government.²

Studies of Local Red Cross Societies

Studies of the Red Cross Society have also been conducted at a local or microscopic level. In their *Study on Regional Red Cross Movements in China*, Chi Zihua, Zhang Liping (张丽萍) and Wang Liping (王丽萍) carry out specific analyses of several Red Cross movements in East China and other movements in Jiangxi (江西), Anhui, Shandong, and Jiangsu in the early Republican period, such as epidemic prevention including the promotion of epidemic-fungus hazards and control methods, the

¹ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Minguo beijing zhengfu shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de cishan jiuhu yu zhenji huodong 民国北京政府时期中国红十字会的慈善救护与赈济活动," 109-12.

² Li Wei 李微, "Shixi kangzhan shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de jiuhu huodong 试析抗战时期中国红十字会的救护活动," [Analysis on Rescue Activities of the Red Cross Society of China during Anti-Japanese War] *Journal of Guizhou Normal University 贵州师范大学学报*, no. 4 (2004): 46.

development of preventive and therapeutic drugs, and the injection of vaccines for vaccination, and epidemic treatment including the collection of treatment funds, and the treatment of the epidemic hospital¹ Chi Zihua and Hao Ruyi (郝如一) similarly examine Red Cross movements in Jiangsu Province in modern times in *Modern Red Cross Movements in Jiangsu: 1904-1949*. This book mainly focuses on the enlightenment and rise of the Red Cross Movement of Jiangsu, and the operation and rescue activities of Jiangsu Red Cross Movement during the Anti-Japanese War and the “Demobilization” period.² Xu Guopu (徐国普) analyzes how social organizations such as Red Cross Society were seriously dependent on the government and had only a narrow space for independent development. The reorganization of the Jiangsu Red Cross in the early 1950s focused on institutional reorganization, ideological reorganization, and community registration. In the mid and late 1950s, the reorganization of the Jiangsu Red Cross focused on the creation and management of organizational structures. The two reorganizations led to the evolution of the Red Cross’s own nature, organizational structure and management system. Xu Guopu believes that the development of the organization of the Jiangsu Red Cross Society has a positive relationship with social development. However, under a highly centralized planning system, social organizations such as the Red Cross Society are heavily

¹ Chi Zihua 池子华, Zhang Liping 张丽萍, and Wang Liping 王丽萍, *Zhongguo hongshizi yundong de quyuan yanjiu 中国红十字运动的区域研究* [Study on Regions of Red Cross Movements in China] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2012), 5.

² Chi Zihua 池子华 and Hao Ruyi 郝如一, *Jindai Jiangsu hongshizi yundong (1904-1949) 近代江苏红十字运动 (1904-1949)* [Modern Red Cross Movements in Jiangsu (1904-1949)] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 合肥人民出版社, 2007), 1.

dependent on the government, and there is very little space for their independent development.¹ The book *Annals of Suzhou Red Cross Society* edited by Hao Ruyi and Chi Zihua was the first on the Red Cross Society, and also the first study of the RCSC's local branches. *Annals of Suzhou Red Cross Society* focuses on the Suzhou Red Cross Society in terms of historical development, organizational development, rescue, relief, promotion, youth, and friendly contacts.² Later, the companion volumes *Fifteen Years of Glory: 1950-1965*³ and *Frustration and Revitalization: 1966-2004*⁴ examined the Red Cross Society in Jiangsu Province. *Fifteen Years of Glory: 1950-1965* and *Frustration and Revitalization: 1966-2004* focus on the recovery and initial of the Red Cross Movement in Jiangsu, the in-depth development of the Red Cross Movement in Jiangsu, and the standardized Red Cross Youth Movement. Cui Jiatian (崔家田) discusses the historical experience of Red Cross movements in Henan during the full-scale anti-Japanese war period in *Historical Experience of Red Cross Movements in Henan During the Full-scale Anti-Japanese War- Centering on Meeting Communication*. During the period of Anti-Japanese war, the Red Cross in various regions was in a very difficult situation, but the Henan Red Cross Society continued its work at that time. Cui Jiatian believes that the reason why the Henan Red Cross insists

¹ Xu Guopu 徐国普, "Ershi shiji wushi niandai jiangsu hongshizihui de liangci zuzhi zhengdun 二十世纪五十年代江苏红十字会的两次组织整顿," [Two Organizational Restructuring of Jiangsu Red Cross Society in 1950s] *Journal of Chinese Communist Party History Studies 中共党史研究*, no. 2 (2012): 98.

² Hao Ruyi 郝如一 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Suzhou hongshizihui zhi 苏州红十字会志 [Annals of Suzhou Red Cross Society]* (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2008), 2-3.

³ Xu Guopu 徐国普, *Huihuang shiwu nian (1950-1965) 辉煌十五年 (1950-1965)* [Fifteen Years of Glory (1950-1965)] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2009), 1.

⁴ Yang Hongxing 杨红星, *Cuoze yu zhenqi (1966-2004) 挫折与振起 (1966-2004)* [Frustration and Revitalization (1966-2004)] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2009), 1.

on its work position is that it is closely related to its unique work spirit and working ability as well as its internal writing mechanism.¹ Finally, Cai Qinyu (蔡勤禹) and Jiang Yuankai (姜远凯) analyze the historical development progress of the Shandong Red Cross Society over one hundred years. They believe that the Shandong Red Cross Society has been in existence for more than 100 years since its establishment and has experienced war and political turmoil from the late Qing government, the Beiyang (北洋) government, the Nanjing Nationalist Government, and the PRC government, which is an important force for the social development in Shandong.²

Culture and Humanitarianism

Chi's *Study of Red Cross Movements: History and Development* focuses on the cultural development, capacity development, history, and international vision of the Red Cross Society, such as the history of the Red Cross Movement, the establishment of the construction of the Red Cross Movement, the system for the Red Cross Movement, the construction of the legal system for the Red Cross Movement..³ Zhang Liming (张立明) discusses the principle and practice of humanitarian ethics, Chinese-style Red Cross

¹ Cui Jiatian 崔家田, "Quanmian kangzhan shiqi henan hongshizi yundong de lishi jingyan - yi 'huiwu tongxun' wei zhongxin 全面抗战时期河南红十字运动的历史经验——以<会务通讯>为中心," [Historical Experience of Red Cross Movements in Henan during Full-scale Anti-Japanese War-Centering at Meeting Communication.] *Journal of Henan Normal University (Philosophy and Social Science)* 河南师范大学学报(哲学社会科学版), no. 5 (2010): 163.

² Cai Qinyu 蔡勤禹 and Jiang Yuankai 姜远凯, "Shandong hongshizihui de lishi bianqian ji qishi 山东红十字会的历史变迁及启示," [History and Enlightenment of Shandong Red Cross Society] *Oriental Forum* 东方论坛, no. 1 (2012): 1.

³ Chi Zihua 池子华, *Hongshizi yundong: lishi yu fazhan yanjiu 红十字运动: 历史与发展研究* [Study on Red Cross Movements: History and Development] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2013), 1-3.

movements, the spiritual and cultural development of the Red Cross, and medical and health reform in *Understanding the Humanitarian Service of the Red Cross: Reform and Development*.¹ *The Red Cross: Cultural Transmission, Crisis Management, and Capacity Development*, edited by Chi Zihua, studies cultural transmission, crisis management science, and charity organization capacity development using the method of historical studies and from an interdisciplinary angle.²

Legislation relating to the RCSC

In 1914, the Beiyang government promulgated the “Regulations of the RCSC” and was the beginning for the legislation of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China. During the period of the Nanjing Nationalist Government, several amendments and its implementation rules were made to the “Regulations of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China”. The “Law of RCSC” was drafted at the end of the 40s and the legal system was gradually established. It plays a role in regulating the organization of the Red Cross Society and enhancing charity and rescue capabilities. Zeng Guilin (曾桂林) studies the legislation of the Red Cross Society during the Republic of China period, arguing that at that time the administrative supervision was strong, legislation level was limited, clauses were not accurate, implementation results were seriously affected by

¹ Zhang Liming 张立明, *Hongshizi rendao shiye: gaige yu fazhan guanjian* 红十字人道事业: 改革与发展管见 [Understanding of Humanist Service of Red Cross: Reform and Development] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2013), 4-5.

² Chi Zihua 池子华, *Hongshizi: wenhua chuanbo weiji guanli yu nengli jianshe* 红十字: 文化传播、危机管理与能力建设 [Red Cross: Cultural Transmission, Crisis Management and Capacity Development] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2014), 3.

political situations, and laws were not stable.¹ The book *Study on Legal Changes in the PRC and the Red Cross Society*, compiled by the RCSC, studies the organization from the angle of legislation, including the Amendment Proposals of the RCSC Law, Comparative Study of the Legal Systems of National Red Cross Societies, Assessment Reports after the Legislation of the “Law of RCSC”, Local Statutory Studies, Theoretical Studies of Statutory Bodies, the Proposals of Reform Difficulties of the RCSC, research report on the development of the Red Cross (1949-2009), research report on several issues concerning the development of the Red Cross in China.² Wang Ronghua (王荣华) and Chen Hanxi (陈寒溪) argue that China accepted the basic rules of the international Red Cross movements in the 1990s because the participation of the Chinese government in international affairs had increased.³

The Crisis of Credibility

In June 2011, a young woman named Guo Meimei (郭美美), who claimed to be a “commercial general manager” of the RCSC, flaunted her luxury purchases and extravagant lifestyle online. Due to her lavish lifestyle, a focus of the RCSC controversy

¹ Zeng Guilin 曾桂林, "Minguo shiqi de hongshizihui lifa chutan 民国时期的红十字会立法初探," [Discussion on Red Cross Legislation in the Republic of China] *Journal of Suzhou University (Philosophy and Social Science)* 苏州大学学报 (哲学社会科学版), no. 5 (2009): 107.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizihui fa'xiugai yanjiu <中华人民共和国红十字会法> 修改研究* [Study on Legal Changes in the People's Republic of China on Red Cross Society] (Shehui kexue wenxian chubanshe 社会科学文献出版社, 2014), 1-2.

³ Wang Ronghua 王荣华 and Chen Hanxi 陈寒溪, "Guoji zhidu yu zhongguo hongshizihui lifa 国际制度与中国红十字会立法," [International System and Legislation of the Red Cross Society of China] *Journal of International Politics 国际政治科学*, no. 9 (2007): 30.

was raised all over the world. Although the RCSC denied Guo's involvement within the organization, the reputation of the RCSC has been placed into disrepute by Guo's claims. In this situation, the RCSC faces a credibility crisis in the society. People have lost their trust in this organization's ability to manage the donated funds in an honest and lawful manner. The Guo's scandal had led to significant decline of donations to the RCSC. According to the data of the Ministry of Civil Affairs (MCA), donations of the national reached 16 million US dollars in the first half year of 2011, but this was reduced by 11 million US dollars in 2012, which was 73% reduction as direct fallout of the Guo's incident. This research will explore how the intrinsic relationship between government and the RCSC impacts on credibility and perceived values of the Red Cross organization in case of scandals of mismanagement of funds.¹

Since the "Guo Meimei" episode, the RCSC has suffered a credibility crisis in Chinese society. Yao Jianjian (姚俭建) believes that it is urgent to re-establish the credibility of charity services in China. The predicament of the RCSC is not an isolated phenomenon. It reflects the problems faced by the Chinese charity system and ethics. Constructing the modernity of charity ethics at the conceptual and shaping the credibility of China's philanthropy are the foundation for guiding the development of charity in China.² Li

¹ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," *PEOPLE: International Journal of Social Sciences* 1, no. 1 (2015): 991-92.

² Yao Jianjian 姚俭建, "Cishan lunli xiandaixing de goujian yu lujing xuanze - jianxi zhongguo hongshizihui de xilie kunjing 慈善伦理现代性的构建与路径选择——兼析中国红十字会的系列困境," [Construction and Path Selection of Modern Charity Ethics – Analysis on Dilemma of the Red Cross Society of China.] *Journal of Shanghai University of Finance and Economics 上海财经大学学报*, no. 4 (2013): 11.

Chengwei (李程伟) and Luo Hongyan (罗鸿彦) suggest that the Red Cross Society should fill the role of “resource mobilization” and “service delivery” in crisis management, and proposed countermeasures in risk management.¹ Gu Chen (顾辰), from a sociological perspective, believes the weak credibility of the RCSC lies in excessive official governance, nontransparent financial information, low job efficiency, and frequent scandals.²

International Relations

Sun Yusheng studies the RCSC’s actions during the Anti-Japanese War, when it made accusations to the international society about Japanese troops aggression against China, and called on the governments of each country, along with the International Red Cross Society and its national affiliates, to assist China.³ Xu Guopu and Hao Ruyi, using the Jiangsu Red Cross Society as an example, analyze battlefield rescue work by the Red Cross Society during the Korean War.⁴ Wu Peihua (吴佩华) and Xu Liying (许立莺)

¹ Li Chengwei 李程伟 and Luo Hongyan 罗鸿彦, "Ziyuan dongyuan yu fuwu chuandi - shixi hongshizihui zuzhi zai weiji guanli zhong de zuoyong 资源动员与服务传递——试析红十字会组织在危机管理中的作用," [Resource Mobilization and Service Delivery – Analysis on Role of Red Cross Societies in Crisis Management] *Chinese Public Administration 中国行政管理*, no. 4 (2008): 75.

² Gu Chen 顾辰, "Hongshizihui gongxinli de ruohua yu chongjian 红十字会公信力的弱化与重建," [Credibility Weakening and Reconstruction of the Red Cross Society] *Reform and Open-up 改革与开放*, no. 12 (2011): 106.

³ Sun Yusheng 孙语圣, "Kangzhan shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui waijiao shuping 抗战时期中国红十字会外交述评," [Review on Diplomacy of the Red Cross Society during Anti-Japanese War] *Journal of Hefei University of Technology (Social Science) 合肥工业大学学报社会科学版*, no. 3 (2012): 34.

⁴ Xu Guopu 徐国普 and Hao Ruyi 郝如一, "Caoxian zhanzheng qijian zhongguo hongshizihui de guoji jiu yuan - yi jiangsu honghui wei ge'an 朝鲜战争期间中国红十字会的国际救援——以江苏红会为个案," [International Assistance of the Red Cross Society of China during the Korean War –Take Jiangsu Red Cross Society as Example] *Journal of Hebei University (Philosophy and Social Science) 河北大学学报 (哲学社会科学版)*, no. 4 (2009): 23.

discuss how the RCSC helped Japanese residents of China to return home, promoting friendship between China and Japan in the early stages of the PRC.¹ *The Diplomacy of the Red Cross of China: 1949-2009* by Chi Zihua is the first study on the RCSC's diplomatic efforts from an international angle.²

1.3 Literature review on the RCSC in the West

Western research on the RCSC is scattered and mostly occurs in concert with civil society literature. Like their Chinese colleagues, Western academics started paying attention to the RCSC in the late 20th century. Most scholars sought to understand the changes in the RCSC relative to the shifting discourse of the Chinese market reforms and the public sphere.³ For other scholars, the legal framework surrounding civil society in China, mainly affecting humanitarian organizations such as the RCSC, is of greater interest. For instance, Simon provides a comparative analysis of the legal frameworks implemented from ancient times to the post-imperial era, including the Maoist and post-Mao system. Simon asserts that different legal frameworks carried out during the different periods of Chinese governance influenced the humanitarian efforts

¹ Wu Peihua 吴佩华 and Xu Liying 许立莺, "Jiashe zhongri youhao guanxi de qiaoliang - jianguo chuqi zhongguo hongshizihui xiezhu riqiao guiguo tanxi 架设中日友好关系的桥梁——建国初期中国红十字会协助日侨归国探析," [Bridge of China-Japan Friendship – Discussion on Assistance of the Red Cross Society of China for Japanese to Return Home in Early People's Republic of China] *Japanese Problem Studies 日本研究*, no. 2 (2009): 34.

² Chi Zihua 池子华, *Zhongguo hongshizihui waijiao (1949-2009) 中国红十字会外交 (1949-2009)* [Diplomacy of the Red Cross of China (1949-2009)] (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2012), 1-2.

³ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 984. Yang Dali, "Reviewed Work: In search of civil society: Market reform and social change in contemporary China," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 2 (1998): 511.

differently.¹ Similarly, scholars such as Wei attempt to establish the interplay between the RCSC and the international humanitarian laws, such as the Geneva protocols.²

It is worth noting that there is an imbalance in the literature on the four eras of the Chinese political power: the late Qing Dynasty, Republic, Maoist, and post-Mao eras. Notably, much of the literature is on the Maoist and the post-Maoist eras. In contrast, the research on the literature of the late Qing Dynasty and Republican eras are either too fragmented or not analysed in theoretical conceptualization to elucidate the important issues regarding the functioning of the organization during these two periods. Furthermore, most of the studies on the status of the RCSC during the late Qing Dynasty and Republic eras only provide a general overview of the organization's inception and evolution. For instance, Li attempts to contextualise the pre-founding era of the RCSC and the different manifestations of the RCSC during the Qing Dynasty, including the Manchuria Red Cross Benevolent Society and the International Committee of the Red Cross.³ Such scholars also observe how the RCSC evolved from a humanitarian group to a modern philanthropy organization.⁴

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 161.

² Su Wei, "Red Cross Society of China: The 1977 Geneva Protocols and the development of international humanitarian law," *International Review of the Red Cross Archive* 27, no. 258 (1987): 282-87.

³ Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 27, no. 5 (2015): 2274-91.

⁴ "Connecting with the past – the fundamental principles of the international Red Cross Red Crescent Movement in critical historical perspective," 2015, https://www.icrc.org/en/download/file/15705/program-connecting_with_the_past.pdf. Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 989-90. Yang Dali, "Reviewed Work: In search of civil society: Market reform and social change in contemporary China," 511.

On the other hand, the majority of the literature on the RCSC in the Mao and post-Mao eras shows an increased interest in the proliferation of western institutions and norms in Chinese humanitarianism.¹ In fact, some scholars use the RCSC as a yardstick for assessing the level of authoritarianism that mars Chinese civil society.² In particular, these researchers attempt to show that the legitimacy of the RCSC has been subject to scrutiny in the Republic and post-Mao era. Issues such as the mixture of the non-profit and state-owned management models and the viral effect of the media have been considered in assessing the authority of the RCSC.³ However, there are conflicting views concerning the level of the RCSC's legitimacy. Some scholars seem to accentuate the need for state-owned non-profit entities in China, such as the RCSC, to implement necessary measures that sustain their legitimacy.⁴

The extant literature also shows that the RCSC served different purposes throughout the four eras. According to some scholars, the main role of the RCSC was to reinforce

¹ Chen Gang, "From ROC to PRC: Modernization of China's Disaster Management," in *The Politics of Disaster Management in China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 23-34.

² Jessica C Teets, *Civil society under authoritarianism: The China model* (Cambridge University Press, 2014), 75.

³ Pauline Hope Cheong and Yang Aimei, "Chinese non-governmental organizations, media, and culture: communication perspectives, practices, and provocations," *Chinese Journal of Communication* 10, no. 1 (2017): 1-11. Monroe E Price, Stefaan Verhulst, and Libby Morgan, *Routledge handbook of media law* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 295.

⁴ Long Ziyu, "Managing legitimacy crisis for state-owned non-profit organization: A case study of the Red Cross Society of China," *Public Relations Review* 42, no. 2 (2016): 372-74. Xie Shumin, Stephanie Mu-Lian Woo, and Zhang Lei, "Strategies for changing negative public attitudes toward organ donation in the People's Republic of China," *Patient preference and adherence* 8 (2014): 25. Cheng Yang, "Social Media Keep Buzzing! A Test of The Contingency Theory in China's Red Cross Credibility Crisis," *International Journal of Communication* 10 (2016): 20. Yang Guobin, "Internet activism & the party-state in China," *Daedalus* 143, no. 2 (2014): 110-23. Yang Yongjiao, Mick Wilkinson, and Zhang Xiongxiang, "Beyond the abolition of dual administration: The challenges to NGO governance in 21st century China," *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 27, no. 5 (2016): 2292-310.

the sovereignty of China during the Qing and early Republic periods.¹ Civic-minded citizens and the ruling factions were concerned that the sovereignty of China was susceptible to foreigners that encroached on the country on humanitarian grounds.² As such, each era's political system manipulated the RCSC as well as the wartime laws to further China's national agenda.³

Unlike the late Qing Dynasty and Republic eras, in the Maoist and post-Maoist periods the RCSC was not only involved in reinforcing the sovereignty of China but also in advancing China's quest to be a global power. Therefore, the literature on the Maoist and post-Mao eras traces a considerable level of involvement, by both local and international groups, in the affairs of the RCSC. For instance, Worden and Bullock observe that the introduction of the Rockefeller model of philanthropy in Chinese humanitarian organizations such as the RCSC strengthened China-U.S. ties.⁴ It was also during the Maoist and post-Mao eras that the RCSC assumed the mantle of oversight for the roles of particular government agencies. For instance, the Ministry of Health in China commissioned the RCSC to manage the organ donation system. In this role, the RCSC ensured the donation of organs, supervised procurement, and managed allocation to eligible recipients in a manner that accords with the laws governing organ

¹ Caroline Reeves, "Sovereignty and the Chinese Red Cross Society: The Differentiated Practice of International Law in Shandong, 1914–1916," *Journal of the History of International Law / Revue d'histoire du droit international* 13, no. 1 (2011): 155-77. Caroline Beth Reeves, "The Power of Mercy: The Chinese Red Cross Society, 1900-1937" (Harvard University, 1998).

² Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

³ Toshinobu Kawai, "The Archives of the Japanese Red Cross Society from 1877 to 1945," *人道研究ジャーナル* = *The journal of humanitarian studies* 1 (2012): 149-52. Reeves, "Sovereignty and the Chinese Red Cross Society: The Differentiated Practice of International Law in Shandong, 1914–1916," 155-77.

⁴ Daniel Worden and Mary Brown Bullock, "The Oil Prince's Legacy: Rockefeller Philanthropy in China," *Journal of American Studies* 46, no. 2 (2012): 522.

transplantation in China.¹ In the post-Mao era, the RCSC has also been at the forefront of assuaging diplomatic tensions between China and Taiwan.²

Importantly, a considerable number of scholars contend that the RCSC performed similar roles throughout the four eras. For Edgerton-Tarpley, the RCSC was pivotal in dampening the effects of famine in both the late Qing Dynasty and the Maoist and post-Mao periods.³ Similarly, Chen observes a link in the modernization of the RCSC's efforts in disaster management between the Republic period and the pre-reform period of the Mao regime.⁴ Other scholars contend that the RCSC has been at the forefront of propelling the growth of healthcare and medicine in China.⁵ Finally, scholars such as Simon⁶ and Wei⁷ view the RCSC as being critical in improving civil society throughout the four eras.

Drawing from this literature review, the evidence shows how the RCSC has changed and yet remained the same throughout the four periods. It is also of note that the sources identified in various Western publishing databases were written by both non-Chinese

¹ A Sharif et al., "Organ procurement from executed prisoners in china," *American Journal of Transplantation* 14, no. 10 (2014): 2246-52.

² Chang Yaochung, *Cybercrime in the Greater China region: regulatory responses and crime prevention across the Taiwan Strait* (Cheltenham: UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2012), 151.

³ "Famine in imperial and modern China," Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Asian History, 2017, <http://asianhistory.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780190277727.001.0001/acrefore-9780190277727-e-133>.

⁴ Chen Gang, "From ROC to PRC: Modernization of China's Disaster Management," 23-34.

⁵ Tu Ya 图娅 and Fang Tingyu 方廷钰, *History and philosophy of Chinese medicine (International Standard Library of Chinese Medicine)* [Zhongyi lishi yu zhexue (guoji biao zhun hua ying wen ban zhongyi jiaocai) 中医历史与哲学 (国际标准化英文版中医教材)], ed. Shelley Ochs (People's Medical Publishing House 人民卫生出版社, 2014), 219.

⁶ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"* (Oxford University Press, 2013), 161.

⁷ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 992-94.

and Chinese authors. Combining the views of both groups is imperative since they can provide a rich source of information on the operations of the RCSC and its implications from a Western perspective. However, the existing RCSC literature in the Western research databases is also scattered. Most sources address different individual issues with respect to the RCSC. While these scholars concur on some things, a degree of divergence exists in their arguments. As such, the conflicting views require a careful analysis when evaluating these claims. Further, in some periods of Chinese governance, particularly the late Qing and the Republic periods, information on the RCSC is very scarce. Although this presents a potential research gap, it might inhibit the reliability and validity of any research that seeks to investigate the RCSC in both periods. This thesis aims to address all these inadequacies.

1.4 Research Questions

This thesis is guided by an overarching research question: what can the study of the RCSC tell us about the unique relationships between civil society, Chinese culture, and state power? This question points to many other issues of theoretical and practical relevance: can theories of the public sphere and NGOs created by Western thinkers be accurately applied to contemporary China? How has the RCSC historically changed its relationship with government bodies since its inception, and how did these changes affect its management and provision of services to victims?

Under the above-mentioned umbrella questions there are also a number of subsidiary research questions:

1. What is the origin of the RCSC?
2. Were the Beiyang and Nanjing governments an impediment to the growth of the RCSC as a social organisation in China?
3. What services does the RCSC provide to citizens? Why and how is the RCSC experiencing challenges to its credibility?

1.5 Methodology

Chinese scholars discuss each period of the Red Cross's history based on the method of narrative history. Their research angles and methods are narrow. Such a pattern of positivist history is unable to explain historical problems and only offers a presentation of facts. This thesis introduces new ideas into the analysis of RCSC operations during its one hundred years of development, from the viewpoints of public sphere and civil society theories. Above all, the Red Cross is used as a case study to illustrate and analyse issues related to civil society and NGOs in China.

This study takes a historical and political science approach to the study of the Red Cross Society in China, to examine the operation of this INGO not only in a party-state. Through a comparative study of the four periods, it aims to unpack the similarities as well as differences of the Red Cross Society's actions and the role of the public sphere, over a period of more than one hundred years. This thesis employs a historical analysis methodology in analysing the RCSC's developing relationships with the Chinese

government, which is appropriate since much of the available data is generally either descriptive, as in the Chinese sources, or treats isolated topics, as in the Western sources.

For its discussion of historical information, this thesis mainly draws from primary resources that from the four volumes of *The Red Cross Society on Shun Pao* (1897-1949), the Shanghai *Shun Pao*, one of the most influential newspapers with the longest publication period, founded by Ernest Major, a British merchant, on April 30, 1872; *Ta Kung Pao* (大公报), first published in Tianjin (天津) in June 1902 and became a well-known newspaper nationwide, *Ta Kung Pao* published regular reports on the Red Cross, many of which were not published in *Shun Pao*; and *Sin Wan Bao* (新闻报) first appeared on Feb.17, 1893, and jointly run by Chinese and foreign merchants, which became one of the top three newspapers in Shanghai, and its circulation once surpassed *Shun Pao* to become the first newspaper in China to sell 100,000 copies .

Other important data sources for this thesis include primary resources from *The Compilation of Historical Materials of the RCSC: 1904-1949*, which presents historical information on the Red Cross of China in the late Qing Dynasty and the Republic of China, including rescue and salvation work in disaster-hit areas and war zones. The thesis also relies on the resources from *The Compilation of Historical Materials of the RCSC: 1950-2004*, *Ninety Years of the RCSC*, and *A Century of the Red Cross*. *Century* is the first work to study the complete one-hundred-year history of the RCSC.

The primary resources from the *Chronicles of the RCSC: 1994-2004*, along with the companion volume *Chronicles of the RCSC: 2005-2009*, adopts a chronological system and data in order to record important historical events and influential charity activities in the history of Red Cross movements in China. It is a necessary reference book for the history of the RCSC. The *Compilation of Historical Materials of Red Cross Movements in China (Volume I)*, shows historical data including eulogies, outlines, treaties, memorials, constitutions, branches, recorded events, recent records, collected biographies, literary works, and novels. A similar volume is the original *Autograph Album*, compiled in 2014 by the RCSC.

1.6 Thesis Structure

This thesis has eight chapters. Following this Introductory Chapter, Chapter 2 covers the theoretical framework and offers definitions of the public sphere and civil society. Specifically, it argues that civil society identifies multiple processes and actors which exist independently from the state, and at the same time extend beyond relationships at the family level. Chapter 3 analyzes how the implementation by the late Qing government and the RCSC deviated from the Western concepts, exploring the evolving roles of the RCSC, and assesses its subsequent actions in response to war casualties. It also evaluates the imperial response to the establishment of the Red Cross, illustrating the Qing government uses to control the Red Cross under Qing dynastic rulers. This chapter likewise analyzes the success of the Chinese Red Cross within the Republican

government period and its perception among liberal-minded citizens, and the contributing factors towards its indigenization in the period between 1904 and 1911.

Chapter 4 examines the development of the Red Cross in China in the Republican period, between 1912 and 1949. State intervention in the affairs of Red Cross was rampant during the rule of the Beiyang and Nanjing governments. This chapter also investigates RCSC operations between 1912 and 1949, to examine the development of private and public spheres in this period. Chapter 5 assesses the development of the Red Cross in China in the Mao era between 1949 and 1976. It also reviews international ties and the reorganization of the RCSC. Chapter 6 focuses on the changes in the politico-socio-economic sphere after Mao and how they directly affected the RCSC. It also evaluates the strides made by the RCSC in being internationally recognized and resuscitating its grassroots networks between the years 1977-1999. The management of the RCSC has a new stage after the 21st century. The period after 1999 does not include in the scope of this research because the management of the RCSC is still changing at this stage.

Chapter 7 summarizes the differences and similarities in the interaction between the Chinese government and the RCSC during the four discussed periods. It argues that there is some space for NGOs in China and that they play significant roles in Chinese society, such as the provision of public goods that the state cannot provide effectively. It then contends that NGOs has limited choice but to cooperate with the Chinese state,

and that the state intervenes in differing forms, either directly or indirectly irrespective of its political nature. In other words, NGOs and the Chinese government are not mutually exclusive regardless of the nature of the regime or the historical period. Additionally, this chapter shows that although Western ideas of civil society and the public sphere are hardly applicable in describing and analysing the development of the Red Cross in China, they have gained acceptance among some members of Chinese society over time. Finally, Chapter 8 summarizes this thesis and its contributions.

1.7 Significance

Given the current stage of the development of NGOs, research into the RCSC as a case study of a civil society organization is of both theoretical and practical significance. It is to begin with significance and value in the academic arena. Research on the RCSC from a civil society perspective is even rarer. With the gradual rise of social welfare NGOs, funding management systems require more advanced theories for guidance.¹ Second, there is scant research on the Red Cross in China in English publications. More comprehensive research on the RCSC is only available in the Chinese language. This study has been restricted exclusively to Chinese-speaking people.

Finally, the outcomes of this study may help to improve the social credibility of public welfare NGOs. Credibility refers here to the degree of recognition of and trust in an organization, and to some extent it determines the sustainable development and survival

¹Roger Courtney, *Strategic Management for Nonprofit Organizations*, (Routledge, 2002).

of NGOs. This study of the status and situation of NGOs in a state power environment may inform policy makers and influence the formation and improvement of public policy and the democratic process. It may therefore prevent some of the negative impacts of extreme market orientation by governments, and promote the further development of public services. Party state refers to the PRC period and market orientation refers to the post Mao era.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a conceptual framework for the analysis of the operation of NGOs in China, using the RCSC as a case study. Even though China is considered an authoritarian regime, and suggests the possible rise of the phenomenon of a particular form of civil society in China. However, I argue in this chapter that applying Western notions of civil society and the public sphere to China is still problematic, even though certain changes in Chinese society are making such Western ideas increasingly more relevant.

As a starting point, this chapter investigates different definitions and the main distinctive features the concept of “civil society”. This study addresses the idea of civil society through a case study of the RCSC, an international NGO that has experienced severe problems during its 100 years of operation in the country. This chapter is structured into three sections. The first section provides a brief review of various theoretical conceptualizations of civil society from Hobbes to Luhmann, and presents the definition of civil society employed in this study. The second section outlines the history of NGOs in China, presenting social activism in the country. The last section is about the development of the Red Cross in post-Mao China. I conclude that the RCSC, as an example of an effective non-governmental network in China, illustrates how

government and NGOs can jointly influence the development of civil society in the PRC.

This chapter contends that *civil society* identifies multiple processes and actors which exist independently of the state, and at the same time it extends beyond relationships which take place at the family level.¹ This does not deny that alternative definitions of the term are possible. For example, some scholars support the idea of differentiating between civil society and political society, while others argue that the term of civil society includes all sorts of political processes which occur independently from the institution of the state. The definition applied in this study is, however, the most appropriate to an investigation of the ongoing changes in Chinese society.

2.2 The Public Sphere and Civil Society: Ideological and Theoretical Framework

Civil society is a popular subject of research and analysis usually starts with narrow definitions.² Canales Clariond reflecting on Mexico, explains that many scholars associate civil society exclusively with non-government organizations. At the same time, other social scientists use the term “civil society” to include and explore organizations that exist in a society³ and pursue certain goals which are perceived by

¹ Gail Hershatter, "State of the Field: Women in China's Long Twentieth Century," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 4 (2004): 997.

² Canales Clariond, "Speech at 3rd Meeting of EU-Latin American-Caribbean Civil Society in Mexico," *European Economic and Social Committee* 5 (2004): 4.

³ Jean L Cohen and Andrew Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: England: MIT press, 1994), 223.

these scholars as social justice.¹ In contrast, this study analyses several aspects of civil society under a broader definition, arguing that civil society in China significantly differs from that in West.² Moreover, from the perspective of West, it might be even justified to assume that civil society doesn't exist in China or its role is very slight. Therefore, it seems logical to employ a broader definition of civil society to provide a well-argued point.

Specifically, a more comprehensive appraisal of civil society in China requires the consideration of not only formal but also informal organizations. Some organizations characterized as informal often exhibit higher levels of initiative and creativity than formal ones.³ It can be argued from Miller's perspective that the overwhelming majority of processes in civil society are derived from informal organizations and decentralized movements, it seems appropriate to pay attention to the informal side of civil society in China, and to research it as a phenomenon extending beyond formally recognized NGOs such as the RCSC.

Concerning that the phenomenon of civil society is complex, it seems understandable that there is single definition of it among scholars. Another definition is provided by Fukuyama, who proposed that civil society is "the realm of spontaneously created social

¹ R. Charli Carpenter, "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms," *International Organization* 65, no. 1 (2011): 75.

² Thomas David DuBois, "Before the NGO: Chinese Charities in Historical Perspective," *Asian Studies Review* 39, no. 4 (2015): 541-53, <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/casr20>.

³ Casey James Miller, "Dying for money: The effects of global health initiatives on NGOs working with gay men and HIV/AIDS in northwest China," *Medical anthropology quarterly* 30, no. 3 (2016): 421.

structures separate from the state that underlie democratic political institutions”.¹ However, others tend to interpret civil society as an entity not playing any significant role in politics. Fukuyama, Dunn, and Engels all emphasize the importance of state and family when discussing the civil society. While the state is understood as a concentration of social life, family is rather a concentration of individual life. In turn, civil society is a peculiar intermediary between them. According to Dunn, “civil society is broadly regarded as the domain of relationships which falls between the private realms of the family on the one hand and the state on the other”.² Civil society can be also seen as one of the instruments which enables the fulfilment of the political role of the family, the basic unit of society.³ Thus, the domain of civil society may be one of the mechanisms which connect the family and state within the framework of society.

As a brief summary, it can be deduced that civil society is a term which is mainly used for determining various processes and actors which exist independently from the state and, simultaneously, go beyond social processes and relationships which take place in family. Unfortunately, the fact that there is still no clear definition of the term civil society, this creates theoretical problems in researching the nature of civil society. In particular, it is not clear whether to include political organizations in civil society, while some scholars support the idea of differentiating between civil society and political

¹ Francis Fukuyama, *Trust: the social virtues and the creation of prosperity* (Free Press Paperback, 1995), 237.

² Elizabeth Dunn, *Civil society: Challenging western models* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 19.

³ Carlos Hoevel, "State Institutions, Civil Society, Family and Religion," in *The Economy of Recognition: Person, Market and Society in Antonio Rosmini* (New York London: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg, 2013), 219-25.

society,¹ others argue that the phenomenon of civil society includes all sorts of political processes which occur independently from the institution of state.

The Western roots of the term “civil society” can be found in ancient Greek and Roman philosophy. Aristotle regarded humans as “political animals”², and supported the concept of ancient democracy where citizens determined the future direction of city-states. Nevertheless, it is incorrect to claim that ancient philosophers developed the concept of civil society, as their understanding of society was significantly different from the modern view.³ In particular, they supported the institution of slavery and a strict division of people into classes and citizen come non-citizens. Plato even promoted ideas which are now associated with certain features of totalitarianism.⁴ For example, the class of “warriors” described in his famous “Republic” was deprived of all the rights enjoyed by other citizens, such as the right to own property. Reviewing the specifics of the “ideal state” described by Plato makes it clear that his Republic was very far from the current idea of civil society.⁵ Plato was rather an opponent of civil society who defended the right of the ruling Greek elites (or male-citizens) to make decisions at the expense of the opinions of the wider society.⁶

¹ Gail Hershatter, "State of the Field: Women in China's Long Twentieth Century," 997.

² Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Benjamin Jowett, ed. H.W.C. Davis (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2008), 28.

³ Aristotle, *Politics*, 29-34.

⁴ Plato, *The Republic of Plato*, ed. Benjamin Jowett, Elibron Classics series, (Adegi Graphics LLC, 2002), 36.

⁵ Carl Schmitt, Reinhart Koselleck, and Jürgen Habermas, "The Historicist Critique," in *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: England: MIT Press, 2011), 235.

⁶ Plato, *The Republic of Plato*, 36-47.

Thus, although some ideas associated with civil society were explored by ancient philosophers in the West, they did not formulate or define the phenomenon of civil society. Scholars such as Socrates contributed to the development of the ideas of democracy and civil rights from the perspective of religion.¹ It is usually assumed that the concept was used for the first time by Pufendorf, Leibniz, and Barbeyrac who believed that civil authority should take the middle ground between the threats of the state's absolute power on the one hand, and disorder on the other.² However, Leibniz was unable to develop the concept of civil society into a full social theory.

Another thinker named as one of the founders of the "civil society" is Hobbes. Hobbes also failed to develop a complete social theory on civil society, since the concept did not play a major role in his thought. Hobbes focused on justifying how the institution of the state saves people from a fearful "pre-state" context where the war of all against all, or "bellum omnium contra omnes",³ characterizes life. To achieve this aim, the state must be placed above society. This view differs from the idea of civil society as a peculiar intermediary between the institutions of state and family. All processes in civil society were seen by Hobbes as ego-driven. The interest of self-defense, which

¹ Socrates et al., "Greek and Roman insights into the nature of religion," in *The logic of religion*, ed. Jude P. Dougherty (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 14.

² Ian Hunter, "Conflicting obligations: Pufendorf, Leibniz and Barbeyrac on civil authority " *History of Political Thought* 25, no. 4 (2004): 671.

³ Eric Heinze, "Victimless Crimes," in *The Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics, Second Edition*, ed. Ruth Chadwick (Academic Press, 2012), 475.

allegedly gave rise to the state, also determines all individual actions within the framework of civil society.¹

One of the first fully developed theories of civil society was provided by Locke, who defined the concept of private property as its main basis.² This perspective is important as it directly contradicts the later ideas of Marx and Engels. Locke argues that the state is a function of society, and that society might even exist without the state after reaching a certain stage of development. However, while Marx and Engels defined private property as the most important feature of social life under the state, Locke assumed that property ownership was an intrinsic characteristic of society.³ In other words, even if the institution of the state were eliminated, private property would remain. The key objective of civil society is thus to guarantee that people, who are born equal, remain equal before the law. Therefore, Locke emphasizes that civil society cannot function under the institution of absolute power: "Absolute power, no matter who it belongs to, is quite far from being a type of civil society; it is just as inconsistent with it as slavery is inconsistent with property".⁴ In parallel with the creation of state, the creation of civil society is necessary for ensuring that people's natural rights are guaranteed.

¹ Jean-François Drolet, "Nietzsche, Kant, the democratic state, and war," *Review of International Studies* 39, no. 1 (2013): 35.

² John Locke, "Of Political or Civil Society," in *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (London: George Routledge and Sons, 1884), 233.

³ Locke, "Of Political or Civil Society," 233.

⁴ Locke, "Of Political or Civil Society," 235.

Montesquieu also positively evaluated the role of civil society in defending individual rights. He identified the two mechanisms representing a guarantee against despotism as civil society and the distribution of power. Due to civil society, each citizen gains the opportunity to behave in accordance with Montesquieu's understanding of the term "freedom", which implied doing anything not prohibited by the law.¹ While Hobbes did not draw a clear distinction between the institutions of state and civil society,² Montesquieu seems to believe the contrary. His argument was that while the state operates on the basis of political laws, civil society operates on the basis of social laws.³

Later, Rousseau made significant contributions to the theory of civil society. Unlike Hobbes, he regarded the so-called state of nature as primarily characterized by freedom. As a result, Rousseau argued that the key priority of any state is to ensure that its citizens are free. However, Rousseau also believed that as long as both state and private property co-existed, absolute freedom would not be possible. In this respect, Rousseau's views are notably different from his contemporaries. While Montesquieu considers private property an attribute of society, Rousseau considers it an attribute derived from and legitimized by the state itself. Therefore, Rousseau believes that society could in principle exist both without the state and without private property. The main obstacles preserving both institutions are unnecessary needs created by people, such as luxury

¹ Melvin Richter, "Montesquieu and the concept of civil society," *The European Legacy* 3, no. 6 (1998): 36-40.

² James H. Read, "Thomas Hobbes: Power in the State of Nature, Power in Civil Society," *Polity* 23, no. 4 (1991): 507-11.

³ Richter, "Montesquieu and the concept of civil society," 39.

goods or social status. Another innovation proposed by Rousseau is the idea of collective sovereignty, reflected in the concept of the common good. By seeking the common good, civil society cooperates with the state and ensures that civil rights are guaranteed.¹

The concept of civil society was further developed by representatives of Classical German Philosophy. Kant was one of the first thinkers both to state the necessity of civil society and to propose ways in which civil society could have been created. His view is that civil society exists under the condition of combining the will of all its members. According to Kant, civil society has three main features. First, every member of society should be free as a person. Second, all people are equal. Third, every member of society is supposed to be independent as a citizen. Achievement of a universal legal civil society would be the “greatest objective set by nature itself”.² The fundamental task of civil society is therefore to defend people’s interests, which arise from their individual development.

In his concept of the “state of nature”, Kant is more similar to Hobbes than to Francophone philosophers such as Montesquieu and Rousseau. He claims that people tend to be egoistic, stubborn, and difficult to live with. It was only through the institution of the state that people could interact with each other and pursue their

¹ Greg Hill, *Rousseau’s Theory of Human Association* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 38-40.

² Chris W. Surprenant, "Liberty, Autonomy, and Kant's Civil Society," *History of Philosophy Quarterly* 27, no. 1 (2010): 79-86.

personal interests. Kant's theory conveys the idea that there is no clear distinction between the phenomena of the state and civil society, since most features specified for the state are also relevant and inherent to society. Civil society was supposed to provide citizens with the right to be free in their choices, if they did not interfere with the freedom of others. As a result, Kant did not consider the possibility of conflict between the institution of the state and civil society.¹

A much more fully developed concept of civil society is found in Hegel. He identifies family, religion, morality, legislation, education, class relations, laws, and relationships between citizens as the basic components of civil society.² In civil society, individuals pursue their goals and interests. However, people are also forced to interact with each other and consider the needs of others. Interestingly, the need to belong in society is justified by Hegel not through general humanistic ideas, but by practical considerations.³ In particular, people are more likely to achieve their goals with the help of others.

It is important to point out that Hegel was one of the first thinkers to make a clear distinction between the phenomena of state and civil society.⁴ While the state ensures the achievement of common goals and the general will, civil society provides the

¹ Surprenant, "Liberty, Autonomy, and Kant's Civil Society," 79-81.

² Peter G. Stillman, "Hegel, Civil Society, and Globalization," in *Hegel and Global Justice*, ed. Andrew Buchwalter (New York London: Springer Dordrecht Heidelberg, 2012), 112-13.

³ Stillman, "Hegel, Civil Society, and Globalization," 115-17.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 91.

opportunity for people to achieve personal aims. A normal existence of both state and civil society at the same time is only possible under the condition of an accomplished social structure. Otherwise, state is likely to interfere with the civil society. From the perspective of global history, civil society is a peculiar stage which takes place between the stages of family and state.¹ Therefore, neither state includes civil society nor civil society includes family. The available evidence provides a premise to claim that Hegel's concept has become obsolete nowadays. Furthermore, a harmonious co-existence of state and civil society is only possible under an accomplished social structure. However, by positioning civil society as an intermediary stage of historical development between the family and the state, Hegel did not recognize the crucial importance of civil society in defending people's rights and freedom within the state, and in ensuring the progressive development of the state itself.² Thus, it is barely possible to analyse modern non-government organizations under Hegel's concept.³

The concepts of civil society developed by Marx and Engels is also become highly influential. Marx implies a clear distinction between state and society as two opposed phenomena, forced to coexist during certain historical stages and socioeconomic formations.⁴ From this perspective, civil society is everything not included in the institution of the state. The family is also included in civil society as the "unit of society" itself, as proposed by Engels. On the other hand, the relationships between

¹ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 96.

² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 100-12.

³ Stillman, "Hegel, Civil Society, and Globalization," 118-26.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 98.

individual freedom and public authority are derived from relationships between civil society and state. Notably, Marx does not endow society with any political roles. According to Marx, if civil society becomes involved in political processes, it rejects itself. The only political process which should be born within society is the revolutionary process eventually leading to changes in the current socioeconomic formation.¹

Just like the state, in Marxism civil society (which can only exist within the state) is also supposed to die out when the process of changing socioeconomic formations reaches the stage of communism. Its structure, according to Marx, is extremely complicated, and includes both individuals and other tangible and intangible elements.² The nature of civil society is necessarily connected with the phenomena of private interests and needs, labour, private law, religion, classes, and family. In line with Hegel's approach, Marx tried to explore the phenomenon of civil society from a historical perspective.³ At the same time, unlike Hegel, Kant, and Montesquieu, Marx's approach is based on the theory of historical materialism, according to which relationships between productive forces predetermine both political systems and civil society. Although civil society is the sphere in which the roots of a new socioeconomic

¹ Jean L Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory* (University of Massachusetts Press Amherst, 1982), 38-47.

² Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory*, 1982, 53-61.

³ Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory*, 1982, 65.

formation are born, it would be just a reflection of the current mode of material production.

To sum up, it is admissible to give a citation which illustrates the understanding of civil society in Marxism: “Civil society is referred to the entire commercial and industrial life of this stage and, thus, goes beyond states and nations.¹ Although, on the other hand, it is supposed to act like a nation and to have a structure similar to the structure of state”.² The phenomenon of civil society thus has the appearance of new socioeconomic formations, which will eventually die out along with the institutions of state and private property. In contrast, the institution of family is not considered by all Marxists as a foregrounding principle of social life. Some thinkers even propose eliminating the institution of the family, as exemplified during the time of the so-called war communism.³

In the 20th century, two well-known theoreticians of civil society emerged: Parsons and Gramsci.⁴ Parsons identified civil society with a societal community where the phenomena of solidarity and social integration play a crucial role. Parsons’s concept of civil society was developed in line with the liberal paradigm, and thus opposite to Marxist views. According to Parsons, modern society is characterized by legality and plurality. Modern society can potentially be turned into such an “ideal” civil society

¹ Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory*, 1982, 66.

² Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory*, 1982, 68.

³ Cohen, *Class and Civil Society: The Limits of Marxian Critical Theory*, 1982, 69.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 117.

which guarantees the defense of people's rights and ensures their freedom: "The more privileged societies of the late twentieth century have to an impressive degree, which would have been impossible to predict a century ago, successfully institutionalized the more 'liberal' and 'progressive' values of that time".¹

For Parsons, the main function of civil society is to institutionalize cultural values as socially accepted norms.² Like many other scholars, Parsons argues that civil society has the potential to defend people from despotism.³ At the same time, he also assumes that it can defend citizens from the threats caused by modern capitalism.⁴ In this regard, Parsons has a different view from Marxism. While proponents of Marxism consider civil society to be a derivative that will die out along with the state, Parsons claims that civil society is a mechanism which can help citizens to live in a state.⁵ A brief review of the thoughts of modern scholars, politicians, and journalists suggests that Parsons came very close to a modern understanding of civil society.⁶ His concept is an example of a liberal theory which regards civil society as an effective mechanism which may help citizens to defend their rights and normally live in modern states.⁷

¹ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 119.

² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 120.

³ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 122.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 123-25.

⁵ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 127-29.

⁶ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 141.

⁷ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 142.

Gramsci represents the contrasting leftist perspective on civil society. He followed some ideas put forward by Hegel and Marx, but developed his own and radically different theory.¹ In particular, Gramsci perceived both family and political culture within the framework of civil society. At the same time, in opposition to both Marx and Hegel, he does not associate the phenomenon of capitalist economy with civil society.² According to Gramsci, civil society is simultaneously independent from political power and from economic development.³ Like Marx, Gramsci regards struggle between classes as the root of some social processes. Therefore, the nature of each civil society is mainly determined by its specific struggles.⁴ Finally, one of Gramsci's biggest contributions to social philosophy is his historical analysis of relations between state and society. He identified the following five historical forms of such relations: medieval corporatism, absolutist dualism, dissolution of the older corporate forms, dualism of new social associations and modern state, and, eventually, the atomization of modern forms of cultural and social integration.⁵

So far, all the theories discussed in this chapter interpret civil society as a positive trend, although their authors endow civil society with different features.⁶ For the time being, it is important to notice that the philosophers mentioned here recognize the crucial importance of civil society for achieving certain goals, such as ensuring a proper

¹ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 142.

² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 143.

³ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 143-44.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 146.

⁵ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 152-58.

⁶ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 223.

defense of people's rights, preparing preconditions for the next socioeconomic formation, or enabling fruitful and mutually beneficial interactions between the institutions of family and state.

In contrast, authors such as Arendt, Habermas, Foucault and Luhmann have openly criticized the concept of civil society. Arendt agreed with Marx regarding the assumption that civil society is derived from the current socioeconomic formation.¹

However, she distinguishes between the public and private spheres, and does not recognize the role of civil society in enabling an adequate interaction between them.²

Phenomena such as bureaucracy, public opinion, political corruption, and the welfare state threaten normal relationships between the domains of freedom and non-freedom, but civil society cannot act as an instrument to support human rights because this would only be possible within the framework of a state.³ Thus, Arendt argues that most of advantages of civil society noticed by other scholars are related to the institution of the state and cannot exist without it.⁴

In line with Arendt, Habermas also understands civil society as an intermediary between individuals and the state, and strongly emphasizes that civil society is the place where communication between individuals and the state takes place. The emergence of the public sphere in the 18th century “put state in touch with the needs of society through

¹ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 177.

² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 178-80.

³ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 185.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 195-98.

the mechanism of public opinion”.¹ At the same time, the future of this public sphere is seen from a negative and pessimistic perspective. Civil society is gradually becoming more and more political and commercial, Habermas proposes that it will eventually lead to the establishment of a degenerative form of social life.²

Another critic of civil society was Foucault, who argues that the state operates at a distance via bio-power even through civil society to discipline people.³ Nonetheless, he believes that civil society can potentially exist without the institution of state. Civil society was thus seen more as a form of control of economic relations than as an institution aimed at restricting individuals and used by politicians to manipulate public opinion.⁴ Foucault ultimately contends that civil society is a non-existent transactional reality rather than a progressive force.⁵ Finally, according to Luhmann the problem of differentiating between state and society is insoluble. Civil society is a social system, but it cannot act as the only domain where common goals can be established. In other words, civil society cannot exist without the state and cannot be separated from it.⁶ Moreover, even the term “civil society” is unjustifiable because new realities have significantly changed the nature of modern societies. Nowadays, it is safe to assume

¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, trans. Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence (Cambridge MA: MIT press, 1989), 33.

² Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, 33.

³ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 255.

⁴ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 257-58.

⁵ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 286-97.

⁶ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 301-09.

that there is one global society in close communication. This global society exists beyond state borders.¹ Among all the concepts reviewed in the section, Luhmann's communication system theory, which subordinate's humans to systems, seems to be the most applicable nowadays. This is because the development of Internet technologies has transformed the nature of social interactions to the point where many theories from past centuries seem to have become partially or even entirely obsolete.²

2.3 The Concept of Civil Society in China: Complexity and Contradictions

The theories discussed above are important to explain the significance of civil society, as well as to interpret the interactions between the institution of the state and the public sphere. Most theories define civil society as an intermediary between the state and family. While some authors, including Marx, believed that the family is part of civil society, most considered that the role of civil society is to enable the interaction between the state and families, while others such as Habermas and Foucault were highly critical of the concept itself. From the perspective of the problem under investigation, those theories which describe civil society as a political unit which influences policies may be irrelevant to considerations of modern China, since social organizations in China are influenced by politics. Habermas's concept describes civil society as a space for rational dialogue regardless of the state or market but was primarily concerned with liberal

¹ Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 319-20.

² Cohen and Arato, *Civil Society and Political Theory*, 1994, 329-39.

democracies.¹ Likewise, Foucault regards civil society as different from the state and the market but was mainly using Western Europe as his case study. Considering that social organizations in modern China experience a strong pressure from the government, the last definition seems to be applicable to the problem under investigation in that the state does work both at a distance from the State proper but China also has an overarching State system of friend and enemy. During a discussion of the Red Cross's case, the phenomenon of civil society will be primarily understood in this thesis as an intermediary between state and families, which provides a space for communication between them. While this intermediary can be often used by one party for influencing the other one, the case of the Red Cross in post-Mao period in China will imply the situation when state uses civil society an instrument of influence in order to reach certain political goals that is distinct from both Habermas and Foucault's social theories.

If we apply the theories above to the specific case of contemporary China, it could be argued that the lack of a strong civil society in China is the main reason why NGOs in the PRC experience difficulties in operating effectively. The main reason for this situation may be the still highly influential principles of Confucianism, which can be simultaneously understood as a philosophy, a tradition, and a religion. Confucianism has determined the social life of Chinese people for a long time, and was the prevailing Chinese thinking during a substantial part of the pre-imperial period and during the entire imperial period. The period of Chinese history called Modern China became

¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*, 29.

rather problematic for Confucianism, since it does not harmonize with the principles of communism and thus was officially censored. However, since the 1970s the Chinese government has been less hostile to Confucianism, which led to its gradual development into the form of neo-Confucianism, notably in an effort at legitimation. In the late 1970s to 1999, many Confucian postulates have been integrated into Chinese communist teaching, as well as being part of Chinese social life and business ethics to bolster CCP social standing.¹

Within a growing differentiation between state and society the Chinese government has made efforts to avoid any growing differentiation between the state and society. Society is composed of individuals who cannot understand the meaning of most political processes; thus, it's better to discipline them into doing something than trying to explain them the necessity of it.² The mechanism for ensuring that this identity is maintained often appeals to national traditions, according to which people are supposed to adopt behavioural modes because they are common and accepted within a certain social structure.³ Confucianism argues that the state is like a family. Roles are distributed among politicians and branches of power the same way they are distributed among members of a Chinese family.⁴ For instance, in the Confucian, the role of a father is

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"*, (Oxford University Press, 2013), 233.

² Jean Cohen, "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society," *Philosophy & Social Criticism* 14, no. 3-4 (1988): 321.

³ Cohen, "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society," 323.

⁴ Peter Nosco, "Confucian Perspectives on Civil Society and Government," in *Confucian Political Ethics*, ed. Daniel A. Bell (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 25.

played by the state's ruler.¹ This poses the question of whether Confucianism is favourable or unfavourable to the concept of civil society. Its proponents seem to regard society as a simple summation of families without any specific features.²

Understanding society as a summation of families, as well as recognizing a state as “one big family”, may therefore be the main reason why Confucianism is against the emergence and development of civil society. This is distinct from West, where civil society is believed to be an intermediary between the institutions of state and family, and to present its own distinctive features.³ According to synergy concept a process of combining families in one system which society is supposed to create a system which will have its own unique features and characteristics that were not inherent for any of these families.⁴ The philosophy of Confucianism proposes a simple view of social life that implies a gradual scaling process.⁵ At the same time, the rules which determine the functioning of families and states are seen as the same. In this situation, civil society has no intermediary role to play between families and the state. In this situation, the role of civil society as an intermediary between families and states is questioned.⁶

¹ Nosco, "Confucian Perspectives on Civil Society and Government," 30.

² Richard Madsen, "Confucian Conceptions of Civil Society," in *Confucian Political Ethics*, ed. Daniel A. Bell (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 3-16.

³ Henry Rosemont Jr., "Civil Society, Government, and Confucianism: A Commentary," in *Confucian Political Ethics*, ed. Daniel A. Bell (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008), 52.

⁴ Cohen, "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society," 324-26.

⁵ Rosemont Jr., "Civil Society, Government, and Confucianism: A Commentary," 46-49.

⁶ Nosco, "Confucian Perspectives on Civil Society and Government," 20-22.

The prevalence of Confucianism and limited influences of other cultures and philosophies in China were the main reasons why the concept of civil society only started to develop there in the 20th century. The Xinhai Revolution in 1911 was in this respect an important historical phase that generated a sprout of democracy. In particular, the Constitution introduced in 1912 was a huge step against traditionalism. It declared the equality of all citizens regardless of their races, classes, and religions. It also promised to defend private property, freedom of entrepreneurship, basic democratic freedoms, and a right to pass official exams for all citizens.¹

Between 1912 and 1949 the history of Chinese civil society was particularly rich, as an impressive number of NGOs were established. However, after 1949, a completely new phase was inaugurated.² After banning the majority of NGOs that existed in the country, the new revolutionary government under Mao only allowed nine social organizations. According to Mao, civil society was a mechanism of struggle used by “urban petty bourgeoisies and national bourgeoisies”, and as such should be opposed by the dictatorship of the people. Civil society existed in the state during the next twenty – twenty-five years was a logical interpretation of the Mao’s teaching. In his own words: “Who are the people? They are the worker class, peasant class and urban petty bourgeoisies and national bourgeoisies.... To those running dogs of the imperialists,

¹ Wang Jiping 王继平, "Lun Xinhai Geming Shiqi de Shimin jiqi Shehui Xinli 论辛亥革命时期的市民及其社会心理," [On the Citizens and Their Social Psychology during the Revolution of 1911.] *Social Science Journal 社会科学辑刊* 1 (1989): 16-19.

² Zhang Jianqiu 张建隼, *Zhongguo hongshizihui chuqi fazhan zhi yanjiu 中国红十字会初期发展之研究*, 11-13.

the landlord class and bureaucratic capitalists and those who represent KMT counterrevolutionaries and their followers, we shall exercise dictatorship. They shall be obedient and shall not make any trouble. If they do, they shall be promptly stopped and punished”.¹

In connection with the case study of the RCSC, the evolution of relations between the state and civil society in China was characterized by a total integration of the RCSC into the institution of the state with the help of the administrative system.² Later, the reform and opening initiated in the late 1970s influenced the development of social organizations in post-Mao China. However, in the 1990s, the liberalization of the economic space was accompanied by a reduction of the social space, which negatively influenced social organizations. In the historical development, civil society in China seems to be in better shape than it used to be during any other periods under the Communistic government between 1979-1999. However, while on one view of the emergence of certain forms of pluralism and institutionalism in Chinese society may imply the emergence of a form of western civil society, on the other view of civil society as exists in liberal democracies is not present in China. Such facts as the continued rule of a single party and mass executions illustrate the justification of this statement.³

¹ Mao Zedong, *Selected Works*, vol. 2 (Beijing: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), 32.

² Zhang Jianqiu 张建猷, *Zhongguo hongshizihui chuqi fazhan zhi yanjiu 中国红十字会初期发展之研究*, 18-19.

³ Timothy Brook and B. Michael Frolic, *Civil Society in China* (ME Sharpe, 1997), 21-25.

Nevertheless, it seems obvious that the civil society's development provides many more opportunities for Chinese NGOs than any other historical period since 1949.¹

Yu claims that the introduction of numerous laws in the social sphere, joining international organizations, holding village-level elections in the countryside, and elections of National People's Congress (NPC) deputies in various provinces .²

Although most of the liberalization processes are taking place in the economic sphere, some expect civil society to become more influential in the near future.³

Hsu, Hsu and Hasmath point out that there are around 560,000 social organizations in the PRC, according to the 2017 data from the MCA. The first major feature of Chinese NGOs is the effect of the authoritarian political context on them. The second distinctive characteristic is that they vary significantly in their dependence on regional factors. As stated above, the scope of social activism is not the same in different parts of the country.⁴ The rise of social entrepreneurship has encouraged some thinkers to forecast the emergence and development of civil society in China as a teleology of marketisation, which will see civil society emerge in the near future. Hsu, Hsu and

¹ Norton Wheeler, *The Role of American NGOs in China's Modernization: Invited Influence*, vol. 38 (Routledge, 2012), 92-97.

² Yu Zhiyuan, *The Rise and Growth of AIDS NGOs in China* (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 2011), 124.

³ Liu Sijia, Vivian G Kirby, and Paul D Berger, "NGOs' Advertising in South Africa and Implications for NGOs in China," *International Journal of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Essays* 2, no. 1 (2017): 18.

⁴ Jennifer YJ Hsu, Carolyn L Hsu, and Reza Hasmath, "NGO strategies in an authoritarian context, and their implications for citizenship: The case of the People's Republic of China," *Voluntas: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 28, no. 3 (2017): 1157-79.

Hasmath explains that this problem is not as obvious as it might seem to be. It is certainly true that the number of charity events, social projects, and registered NGOs has been rapidly increased. Hsu, Hsu and Hasmath consider the high-profile fundraising projects organized by celebrities, events carried out by international organizations such as the United Nations Children's Fund and Medicines Sans Frontiers, and the large number of people helping victims of the 2008 earthquake and donating substantial amounts of money to corresponding social projects as signs of the emerging civil society.¹

However, Hsu warns against such straightforward predictions. The claim that social entrepreneurship automatically means an emerging civil society is barely justified. As Hsu contends, an understanding of civil society implies regarding it as a peculiar opposition to the institution of the state. By existing in the middle between the institutions of state and family, civil society opposes the state in many matters and defends people's rights. However, this concept of civil society cannot be applied to modern China. Chinese NGOs do not oppose the state, but instead help it in solving certain social problems. It can be even admissible to assume that Chinese social organizations are rather innovative instruments of the state, ensuring that current social problems are solved effectively and efficiently. In other words, there is no direct link between the phenomena of social organizations and democracy in China, where social entrepreneurship does not often turn into political activism. It exclusively exists in the

¹ Jennifer YJ Hsu, Carolyn L Hsu, and Reza Hasmath, "NGO strategies in an authoritarian context, and their implications for citizenship: The case of the People's Republic of China," 1157-79.

domain of solving social problems and sometimes addressing certain economic issues. The available evidence also suggests that the main reason behind the emergence of so many social organizations in China is not democratic processes, but the liberalization of the economy. Even the scholarly term ‘social entrepreneurship’ indicates that this process derives from the business world.¹

Although charity organizations do not pose a real threat to the government, the state has made a noticeable effort to control them. In particular, DuBois argues that the rise of charity organizations was a strategy employed by the government in order to delegate responsibility for some social problems to the private sector. The rise of charity organizations was a strategy employed by the government in order to delegate responsibilities for some social problems to the private sector. Even though, the state seems to be very cautious with charity organizations as the state tries to replace any independent organizations with state-controlled units because their wide networks are considered a threat due to their potential influence on a large number of people. For example, there is a requirement to only use donations collected overseas by locally-registered charities and not internal to China. This requirement has been negatively perceived by Western analysts as it increases the chances of misunderstandings and misconduct.²

¹ Carolyn L Hsu, *Social Entrepreneurship and Citizenship in China: The Rise of NGOs in the PRC* (Taylor & Francis, 2017), 233.

² Thomas David DuBois (2015) Before the NGO: Chinese Charities in Historical Perspective, *Asian Studies Review*, 39:4, 541-553

Hsu, Hsu, and Hasmath also argue that NGOs in China experience various severe problems.¹ Aside from the need for political authorization, there is also a disturbing issue connected with the cultural context. Many Chinese citizens are not eager to participate in social organizations, as they associate them with Western interventionism and an anti-state ideology.² The number of volunteers is generally low. While the percentage of people willing to help charity organizations is increasing annually, it is still significantly lower than in Western countries. Secondly, funding is also limited due to the scarcity of donations to charity organizations.³ The case of the 2008 earthquake was demonstrative in this regard, since a significant fraction of people chose to help victims of the earthquake on their own, without relying on charities. In other words, civil society's role of intermediary between the institutions of state and families or individuals is still not widely recognized by the Chinese people.⁴ As a result, there remains a contradiction between the subordination of non-state organizations to party and government bodies on the one hand, and their desire to be independent on the other.

2.4 NGOs and the Red Cross in China: Development of the Public Sphere and Civil Society

The Impact of the CCP on NGO Activity

¹ Jennifer YJ Hsu, Carolyn L Hsu, and Reza Hasmath, "NGO strategies in an authoritarian context, and their implications for citizenship: The case of the People's Republic of China," 312.

² "Conceptual History and Theoretical Synthesis". Chapter 1: 82-199.

³ Cohen, "Discourse Ethics and Civil Society," 328.

⁴ Liu Sijia, Vivian G Kirby, and Paul D Berger, "NGOs' Advertising in South Africa and Implications for NGOs in China," 20.

From the perspective of Western political science, the dominant role of the CCP would exclude liberal-democratic principles of the representation of interests.¹ In real life, China's political structure allows for a certain degree of representation of organized interests, mainly through the activities of the institution in inter-party cooperation and CCP-led political consultations, whose importance in the decision-making process is increasing, and in the functioning of NGOs.²

The existing public organizations in modern China do not have a significant influence on policy making and political decisions. They are rather aimed at solving current administrative problems (for example, fighting corruption and abuse of power by officials) and promoting the CCP's political course.³ In China, these organizations are closer to CCP units in the society,⁴ since leadership positions in these organizations are occupied by party members. Thus, the functions of these organizations boil down to advancing the political line of the CCP rather than representing group interests.⁵

China has a specific component of the political system, the People's Political Consultative Council of China (CPPCC), which, although it demonstrates a positive dynamic in the process of "participation in power", however, the degree of

¹ Norton Wheeler, *The Role of American NGOs in China's Modernization: Invited Influence*, 38, 102-06.

² Carolyn L Hsu, *Social Entrepreneurship and Citizenship in China: The Rise of NGOs in the PRC*, 233.

³ Norton Wheeler, *The Role of American NGOs in China's Modernization: Invited Influence*, 38, 108.

⁴ Neil Munro, "The Socio-political Bases of Willingness to Join Environmental NGOs 57 in China: A Study in Social Cohesion," *International Journal of Social Quality* 3, no. 1 (2013): 51.

⁵ Carl Schmitt, Reinhart Koselleck, and Jürgen Habermas, "The Historicist Critique," 300.

“participation” is generally not high, and the activities of the CPPCC as a whole need sharply to strengthen Legal justification.¹

The mechanism of articulation of organized group interests is in the process of formation and has not yet received a vivid expression. The existing mechanisms of organization of interests and official channels for their articulation do not have a significant influence on the process of developing a policy and making important political decisions; they are rather aimed at solving current administrative problems (for example, fighting corruption and abuse of power of officials) and promoting the CCP’s political course.²

According to Chinese law, in addition to associations representing the interests of various social groups (women, disabled people, national minorities, etc.), all non-profit institutions fall into the category of NGOs. Thus, only some Chinese organizations, including the RCSC, can be considered as NGOs in Western sense.³ Despite the fact that the Chinese government and CCP pursue a cautious policy towards NGOs, the activities of the RCSC, an organization that does not operate in politically sensitive areas, are generally not subject to harassment or any other restrictions on the part of the CCP.

¹ Qi Mei, "Developing a working model for legal NGOs in China," *Wash. U. Global Stud. L. Rev.* 10 (2011): 344.

² Norton Wheeler, *The Role of American NGOs in China's Modernization: Invited Influence*, 38, 110-12.

³ Liu Sijia, Vivian G Kirby, and Paul D Berger, "NGOs' Advertising in South Africa and Implications for NGOs in China," 19.

The legislative base of the PRC in the field of regulating the activities of NGOs has been insufficiently developed. As a consequence, the overwhelming majority of NGOs operating in China are not registered (according to various estimates, their number exceeds 1 million).¹ There was information about the development by 2002 of amendments to the existing law on the registration of NGOs that contained detailed criteria for the definition of NGOs, but there is no precise information on the progress of work on them. The government pursues a cautious policy towards NGOs; the activities of foreign religious organizations in China are banned. Nevertheless, most organizations that do not operate in politically sensitive areas are generally not subject to harassment or any other restrictions on the part of the authorities, in the period under consideration in this thesis.²

The Public Sphere and Civil Society in China

In modern society, NGOs can participate in the decision-making process of party and government bodies in the following ways:

- on behalf of the organization or industry, to make demands to decision-making bodies;

¹ R. Charli Carpenter, "Vetting the Advocacy Agenda: Network Centrality and the Paradox of Weapons Norms," 133.

² Chen Fuyu, "Taboos in China: To Be or Not to Be," *English Language Teaching* 5, no. 7 (2012): 322.

- some party and government bodies, when approving and implementing a certain course, apply to NGOs for expert advice, take their opinions into account, and review and/or correct the course being pursued;
- if the conducted course is detrimental to the interests of the members of the community, the NGOs, on behalf of their members, can negotiate with the relevant authorities.

NGOs are an important means of increasing the level of transparency of the political process in the public sphere in China. In a sense, the development of NGOs positively influences the increase in the level of transparency of state policy.¹ Often, requests for clarification of political decisions only succeed given pressure on the government by existing non-state groups.² Various research societies, scientific societies, and federations providing consulting services often hold meetings for their members and organize special courses or conferences, during which political information is disseminated and discussed.³ Such meetings are an important source of political information for members of NGOs. Some NGOs also create their own newspapers, magazines, and websites, through which they broadcast political information. Finally, private bookstores that emerged at the beginning of the period of “reform and opening”

¹ Tan Yeling, "Transparency without Democracy: The Unexpected Effects of China's Environmental Disclosure Policy," *Governance* 27, no. 1 (2014): 38-40.

² Liu Sijia, Vivian G Kirby, and Paul D Berger, "NGOs' Advertising in South Africa and Implications for NGOs in China," 21.

³ Li Xiaoyun and Dong Qiang, "China's Environmental Education," *Chinese Education & Society* 43, no. 2 (2010): 6-15.

have had a significant impact on the expansion of channels for broadcasting political information, and on changes in the regulation of broadcasting.¹

Within the current model of governance in China, party and state bodies also control the working capital and establish party cells in the structure of NGOs. To date, NGOs of various types have generally had three sources of financial resources: government funding, government financing and self-sustainment in equal shares, and self-financing (complete self-sufficiency).² The most influential NGOs, such as the China Disabled Persons Federation, the China Association for Enterprise Management, the All-China Science and Technology Society, the Chinese Administrative Society, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the Komsomol, and the Women's Federation, are almost entirely funded by the government. In addition, the CCP's governing bodies have opened cells in relatively large-scale and important NGOs. For example, the RCSC has had a party committee, a trade union, and a youth organization in the post-Mao period, amounting to a total of 45 established units.³

Under such a system of governance, most non-state organizations are subordinate to the leadership of party and government bodies, while maintaining relative autonomy.⁴

¹ Liu Sijia, Vivian G Kirby, and Paul D Berger, "NGOs' Advertising in South Africa and Implications for NGOs in China," 22.

² Ivan Franceschini, "Labour NGOs in China: A real force for political change?," *The China Quarterly* 218 (2014): 245.

³ Carolyn L Hsu, *Social Entrepreneurship and Citizenship in China: The Rise of NGOs in the PRC*, 211.

⁴ J. Hsu, Yuwen Li (Ed.), *NGOs in China and Europe: Comparisons and Contrast*. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*. 18, no. 3 (2013): 305-306.

Voluntarily submitting to the leadership of these bodies improves relations and guarantees more financial support and power. Therefore, the majorities of relatively powerful non-state organizations willingly accept leadership from the competent party and government bodies, maintain cooperative relations with them often proactively seek instructions and report on certain important issues, even enter the item on voluntary acceptance of the leadership of the competent bodies in the organization's charter.¹

However, several NGOs hope to gain greater independence. For example, the All-China Youth Federation is an NGO established by the central committee of the Komsomol, which should take the leadership of the central committee both in the field of organizational leadership and the content of activities. However, after its creation the leaders immediately began to seek ways to increase their independence. Eventually they were granted the right to directly control the content of their own activities and activities of their local units, creating a relatively independent system.² In reality there is a great internal contradiction between the subordination of non-state organizations to party and government bodies and the desire of the former to independence. This contradiction to

¹ J. Hsu, "Li Yuwen (Ed.), NGOs in China and Europe: Comparisons and contrasts," *Journal of Chinese Political Science* 18, no. 3 (2013).

² Shao Xiaoxia, "University NGOs in China's Northwest: Taking Gansu Province as an Example," *Chinese Education & Society* 43, no. 2 (2010): 111.

a large extent forms a mutual relationship between non-state organizations and party, government bodies.¹

In addition to subordination and independence, a third form of interaction between non-state organizations and party and government bodies is the endeavor by NGOs to influence party and government policies,² especially with the aim of adjusting or developing courses of action to maximize their own benefits. This desire is most clearly manifested in the activities of regional or professional organizations. In addition, non-state organizations also understand the need to influence the strategic course of the party and government, and to promote political and economic reforms.³

The Role of the Red Cross Society in Post-Mao

The RCSC in post-Mao China has actively cooperated with the government, providing support to the state in the areas of emergency and health care.⁴ The mission of the RCSC was promoted by members of the youth organizations through the media and posters.⁵ Its rapid development took place after the beginning of the reforms and the opening of China to the outside world in the late 1970s.⁶ The President of the State became the first

¹ Li Xiaoyun and Dong Qiang, "China's Environmental Education," 133.

² Ibid.

³ Shao Xiaoxia, "University NGOs in China's Northwest: Taking Gansu Province as an Example," 132.

⁴ Yu Zhiyuan, "The effects of resources, political opportunities and organisational ecology on the growth trajectories of AIDS NGOs in China," *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 27, no. 5 (2016): 2259.

⁵ Ibid., 113.

⁶ Song Chengcheng, Wang Shizong, and Kristen Parris. "All Roads Lead to Rome: Autonomy, Political Connections and Organisational Strategies of Ngos in China." *China: An International*

honorary president of the National RCSC, demonstrating the special attention and support given to the Society by the government, as well as the government's profound impact on the activities of the Red Cross in China.¹

Financing of staff salaries and the general management costs of the RCSC is also carried out by the government. Provincial and local offices are responsible for financing their programs and implement local fundraising activities. Emergency assistance funds are formed primarily at the expense of the general population through local or national campaigns. In 1996, the Chinese Red Cross Foundation was established in Beijing in order to raise funds for the statutory activities of the RCSC.²

Although the RCSC has many emergency stations, medical clinics, hospitals, emergency preparedness centers, training centers, and other fixed assets, remote areas of the country lack material resources.³ The organization of the RCSC works according to a five-year plan. The 1999-2004 plan was approved by the Seventh National Congress in 1999 and focused on three key tasks: institutional development, humanitarian assistance, and dissemination of information on the activities of the Red

Journal 13, no. 3 (2015): 89.

¹ Casey James Miller, "Dying for money: The effects of global health initiatives on NGOs working with gay men and HIV/AIDS in northwest China," 414-30.

² Shawn Shieh and Deng Guosheng, "An emerging civil society: the impact of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake on grass-roots associations in China," *The China Journal*, no. 65 (2011): 322. Yu Zhiyuan, "The Effects of Resources, Political Opportunities and Organisational Ecology on the Growth Trajectories of AIDS NGOs in China," 2254.

³ "Conceptual History and Theoretical Synthesis". Chapter 1 : 109.

Cross.¹ According to this plan, the RCSC had to proceed to establish a new financial system and management system in its offices, and to improve the overall communication system and information exchange system between the headquarters and branches.²

2.5 Conclusion

The development of the Red Cross organization, as a phenomenon in the political and social environment in China, illustrates different historical periods in the development of NGOs in the country.³ The economic and political reforms that began after 1978 created the basic political, economic, and legal conditions for the formation of civil society in China. The formation of civil society as a state institution in post-Mao China had an important impact on public, economic, and political life, contributed to a certain extent to the change in the form of public management, and stimulated the improvement of public management.⁴

¹ Shieh and Deng Guosheng, "An emerging civil society: the impact of the 2008 Sichuan earthquake on grass-roots associations in China," 322.

² Yu Zhiyuan, "The Effects of Resources, Political Opportunities and Organisational Ecology on the Growth Trajectories of AIDS NGOs in China," 2259. Casey James Miller, "Dying for money: The effects of global health initiatives on NGOs working with gay men and HIV/AIDS in northwest China," 414-30.

³ McMullen, Jeffery S. "Delineating the Domain of Development Entrepreneurship: A Market-Based Approach to Facilitating Inclusive Economic Growth." *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice* 35, no. 1 (2011): 113.

⁴ Song Chengcheng, Wang Shizong, and Kristen Parris. "All Roads Lead to Rome: Autonomy, Political Connections and Organisational Strategies of Ngos in China." *China: An International Journal* 13, no. 3 (2015): 87.

The development of civil society was also important for promoting the political participation of citizens, greater publicity of politics, the growth of citizens' self-government, decreased government corruption and increased government effectiveness, and the democratization and validation of government decisions.¹ NGOs have actively participated in social work, changed the image of the government for the better, and strengthened Chinese citizens' sense of political identity. Social work is the responsibility of the state, but when the government is unable to achieve the most satisfactory results, NGOs play an indispensable role.² NGOs contribute to improving the image of Chinese society, warming relations between the government and its citizens, and strengthening the recognition of the nation state by citizens.³

Improving management relies on the cooperation between the government and citizens. However, in China this cooperation has not been always realized directly, and in fact assistance from an intermediary organization has been often required.⁴ Thus, NGOs in China could be considered an important bridge, providing communication between the government and citizens.⁵ NGOs aim at the improvement of management in the country and the development of cooperation between the government and citizens. Most NGOs,

¹ Neil Munro. "The Socio-Political Bases of Willingness to Join Environmental Ngos 57 in China: A Study in Social Cohesion." *International Journal of Social Quality* 3, no. 1 (2013): 49.

² Franceschini, "Labour NGOs in China: A real force for political change?," 245.

³ Zhan Xueyong and Tang Shuiyan. "Political Opportunities, Resource Constraints and Policy Advocacy Environmental NGOs in China", *Public Administration*, Vol.91, no. 2 (2013): 381-399.

⁴ Shao Xiaoxia, "University NGOs in China's Northwest: Taking Gansu Province as an Example," 132.

⁵ *Ibid.*,35.

including the RCSC, encourage their members to actively participate both in the internal work of the organization and in the political life of the state.¹

In conclusion, this chapter shows that NGOs in China can be broadly divided into various categories: public organizations, non-profit organizations, foundations, educational institutions, and corporations.² They face serious problems, mostly born in the Republic and post-Mao periods in China when NGOs were outlawed.³ As such, NGOs in China are in the process of formation and development. As such, the emerging phenomenon of NGOs within the Chinese public sphere and civil society draws renewed interest. The RCSC has always existed under conditions of insufficient funds, constant state intervention, and political instability.⁴

In this chapter I have laid out the theoretical framework that will guide this thesis. By considering the works of leading theorists on civil society, we observe some disagreement as to the role of the state in civil society. In the case of China, the state clearly plays an important role in NGOs. Based on the case study of the RCSC, the phenomenon of civil society is defined in this thesis as an intermediary between the state and families and as a communication bridge between them. This intermediary can

¹ Yang, Katja M, and Björn Alpermann. "Children and Youth Ngos in China: Social Activism between Embeddedness and Marginalization." *China Information* 28, no. 3 (2014): 320.

² DuBois, "Before the NGO: Chinese Charities in Historical Perspective," 541-53.

³ Song Chengcheng, Wang Shizong, and Kristen Parris. "All Roads Lead to Rome: Autonomy, Political Connections and Organisational Strategies of Ngos in China." *China: An International Journal* 13, no. 3 (2015): 89.

⁴ "Conceptual History and Theoretical Synthesis". Chapter 1: 112.

be often used by one side to influence the other, and the RCSC in the post-Mao period is a clear example of the state using civil society an instrument of influence in order to reach certain political goals. Subsequent chapters will present individual case studies, to show that this understanding of civil society can illuminate the role and significance of the RCSC in China's public sphere.

Chapter 3 The Red Cross Society beyond the Qing Government:

1904-1911

3.1 Introduction

China has experienced natural disasters and man-made suffering since ancient times, and in response many charities were established. However, there was no Red Cross Society in China until the commencement of the 20th century. In 1863, the first Geneva conference officially established the Red Cross, and the organization made its grand entrance into China at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was a relatively strenuous time for the Chinese empire, with Japanese colonizers and Western imperialists on its borders. External invasions and internal rebellions created a human crisis beyond control. In the imperial period, the state was very weak as the imperial family controls the centre which has some control only to the administrative level of the county. With the foreign penetration the state was very weak. But even so it still exercised control the Red Cross. In this context, the government and private realm initiated the establishment of humanitarian relief and philanthropic practice in China. This chapter analyzes how the implementation of this plan by the late Qing government and the Red Cross deviated from the Western concepts, explores the evolving roles of the Red Cross in China, and assesses its subsequent actions in response to war casualties during the late Qing Dynasty. I also evaluate the response from the imperialist rulers to the establishment of the Red Cross, illustrating the vague distinction between the

Chinese Red Cross and the skeptical Qing dynastic rule. Finally, this chapter explores the success of the Chinese Red Cross within the conservative government and among liberal-minded citizens, and the contributing factors towards its indigenization in the period between 1904 and 1911.

3.2 The Establishment of the Red Cross in China

There were no active NGOs in China in 1864, when the Geneva conference established the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). At that time,

[t]here were 12 founding member countries, including Switzerland, Patton, Belgium, Denmark, Risbania, France, Hercynian, Italy, Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, and Württemberg. On August 22, 1864, 12-member states formally signed the “Geneva Red Cross Convention” in Geneva, altogether 10 of them. The purpose was to promote humanity and rescue the wounded and wounded soldiers in the war.¹

It could be said that Chinese people knew very little about the Red Cross Society, as only foreign ministers or students studying abroad knew of it. All kinds of disaster relief and other relief efforts were still undertaken by the *Shantang* (善堂)² and *Shanhui* (善会).³ The Qing government did not deem that the Red Cross should fill important needs, rather it was indifferent to the Red Cross.⁴

¹ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国(1904-1927) [The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)]*, 5.

² Nurseries, nursing homes and other charities.

³ Charities for disaster relief and rescue refugees.

⁴ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国(1904-1927) [The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)]*, 5.

In May 1874, Japan tried to take over part of Taiwan, so there was a military conflict between China and Japan. Shanghai's *North China Daily News*¹ (字林西报 *Zilin Xibao*) and *Shun Pao*² (申报 *Shen bao*) discussed the issue of escuing the war wounded. An article in the *North China Daily News* promoted the Red Cross Society as the agencv for treating the wounded on both sides, specifically advocating the organization's neutrality since "after the war, regardless of each other, all the injured people were treated simultaneously".³ After detailing the role of the Red Cross as an ambulance organization in saving the wounded, the author expressed hope that China would follow suit:

[w]hy is China not convening charitable people to follow such a charitable act? If we want to promote this kind of charity, we must discuss both sides properly. And to restrain the soldiers, not to be savage and ferocious, and to kill innocent people.⁴

As a result, only the Japanese Red Cross (日本赤十字社 *Riben Chishizishe*) assisted victims on Chinese battlefields during the Sino-Japanese War (中日甲午战争 *Zhongri Jiawu zhanzheng*) in 1894, while missionaries from Europe and the United States built

¹ *North China Daily News* was an English newspaper founded by Westerners in Shanghai. Its ideological and cultural concepts are from the West.

² The Shanghai *Shun Pao*, one of the most influential newspapers with the longest publication period, was founded by Ernest Major, a British merchant, on April 30, 1872.

³ "Jiaozhan shi yi yuchou baohu renming 交战时宜预备保护人命 [The protection of human life during wartime]," *Shun Pao* 申报 (Shanghai), September 7, 1874. At that time, a discussion about setting up the charitable organization of the Red Cross Society was first published in the *North China Daily News*.

⁴ "Jiaozhan shi yi yuchou baohu renming 交战时宜预备保护人命 [The protection of human life during wartime]." At that time, a discussion about setting up the charitable organization of the Red Cross Society was first published in the *North China Daily News*.

Red Cross hospitals.¹ However, unfortunately most soldiers were not reached by these isolated Red Cross initiatives. A positive result was that sectors of the government were aware of the International Red Cross, and the Qing government had substantial knowledge of its operations in the country. The Red Cross organization in China at this point was not yet China's own Red Cross organization. According to historical materials, during the early stages of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, the Swiss International Red Cross donated drugs and money to the Qing government. After the war, Wang Wenshao (王文韶), the Governor of the Qing government, revealed that "the director of the Committee heard that he sent 30 boxes of medicines, about 3,000 silvers".²

At the end of 1894, missionaries and foreign soldiers created a Red Cross hospital in Yingkou (营口) to treat wounded Chinese fighters.³ After the Yingkou Red Cross Hospital (营口红十字会医院 *Yingkou hongshizihui yiyuan*) had been operational for only three months, the number of Chinese medical injuries had already reached nearly 1,000. At that time, many foreign doctors joined forces in the Red Cross

¹ Dugald Christie, *Thirty Years in Moukden, 1883-1913* (London: Londons Constable and Company LTD. , 1990), 99-108.

² Qi qizhang 戚其章, "Zhili zongdu Wang Wenshao zou wei qing jiang taixi hongshizihui yishi baoxing bian'e yi zhao jiquan zhe 直隶总督王文韶奏为请奖泰西红十字会医士宝星匾额以昭激劝折[The Governor of Wang Wenzhen played for an invitation to award the Taixi Red Cross societe healer Bao Xing to express his exhortation]," in *Zhongri Zhanzheng 中日战争* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1989), 644.

³ "Shanhui mujuan 善会募捐 [Charities fundraiser]," *Shun Pao 申报*, December 19, 1894.

hospital.¹ The Yantai Red Cross Hospital (烟台红十字会医院 *Yantai hongshizihui yiyuan*) was set up slightly later than the Yingkou Red Cross Hospital and was completed in January 1895. As of the end of April, a total of 163 people had been treated for combat wounds, “to the extent that the injuries were very light, so they would not be able to count until they were cured”.² Tianjin also set up a Red Cross hospital to help other hospitals with injuries. It was much larger than the Yingkou Red Cross Hospital, including the Red Cross-owned hospitals, and served a greater number of wounded soldiers.

Meanwhile, foreigners in Tianjin also backed the establishment of the “Independent Red Cross Society” and sent a Red Cross medical team to Yingkou, mainly to assist non-Red Cross Society hospitals in the field.³ Consequently, the Red Cross hospitals in Yingkou, Yantai, Tianjin, and other places were spontaneously established by Chinese civil society. In addition, some individuals contributed to Red Cross activities on purely humanitarian grounds. For example, Kim (金氏 *Jin Shi*),⁴ a female Chinese doctor, collaborated with foreign volunteers to treat wounded soldiers and establish a

¹ "Yi Yingkou hongshizihui zhixie mufei bingsu jin zhuangshu 译营口红十字会致谢募费并述近状书 [The recent translating book of the Yingkou Red Cross Society to thank the fundraiser and state]," *Shun Pao 申报*, April 6, 1895.

² "Yiyuan shuwen 医院述闻 [Hospital news]," *Shun Pao 申报*, April 25, 1895.

³ B. C. Atterbury, "Red Cross Work in Tientsin " *The China Medical Missionary Journal* IX, no. 4 (1895): 12.

⁴ Kim, a Chinese woman who studied medicine in the United States, collaborated with another woman to establish the Red Cross to treat the wounded during the Sino-Japanese War. Min jie 闵杰, *Jindai Zhongguo shehui wenhua shi 近代中国社会文化史* [The History of Social and Culture in Modern China], vol. 2 (Hangzhou: Zhejiang renmin chubanshe, 1998), 183.

temporary emergency hospital.¹ However, there is insufficient evidence to attribute the creation of the Red Cross in China to Kim and her foreign collaborators.

The foundations of the Red Cross gained a proper root in China after the Sino-Japanese War. Sun Gan (孙淦),² the Chinese director of foreign trade with Japan, was the first to advocate and promote the Red Cross in China, based on the Japanese model. He believed that “our soldiers were suffering heavy casualties and many civilians were also suffering during the war; however, our country’s military doctors are not enough; but the Japanese Red Cross had sent an ambulance team as tens thousands to the Liaodong (辽东) battlefield, and they were strictly neutral, not only rescuing injured Japanese soldiers but also rescuing injured Chinese soldiers”.³ During the Sino-Japanese War period, Sun was interested in the Japanese Red Cross which rescued the wounded and treated soldiers, avoiding death from battlefield injuries.⁴ He then joined the Japanese Red Cross, an organization helping soldiers injured in the war, and gained some

¹ Min jie 闵杰, *Jindai Zhongguo shehui wenhua shi 近代中国社会文化史*, 2, 182-83.

² Sun Gan was from Shanghai, a Chinese citizen living overseas in Osaka, Japan. He supervised Chinese students studying in Japan, engaged in business trade, then worked for the Post and Ship Association of Japan. See The library of Shanghai 上海图书馆编, *Wang Kangnian shiyou shuzha 汪康年师友书札* [Letters to Teachers and Friends by Wang Kangnian], vol. 4 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986-1989), 4126.

³ "Daban huashang Sun Gan cheng qing Yu qinshi zhuan zi zongshu zoushe hongshizihui bing" 大阪华商孙淦呈请裕钦使转咨总署奏设红十字会稟 [Report on Officially Requesting Imperial Yu Geng to Consult the General Administration for Establishing Red Cross Society by Chinese Merchant Sun Gan in Osaka], *Shanghai Shiwu bao 上海时务报* (Shanghai) 1914.

⁴ "Chuangxing Shanhui 创兴善会 [Establishing charities]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), March 26, 1898.

understanding of its principles, roles, and attributes without interference from the Chinese government.

Sun also translated the principles of the Red Cross from Japanese into Chinese and proposed the creation of the Chinese Red Cross to Qing officials. The request sought to “simulate a model from the west to establish a Red Cross Society and join the country in favor of the military and government. They asked for approval and turned to the General Administration of Justice for the case”.¹ The centralized model he proposed in various petitions was favourably accepted by the officials, who concurred that it would serve the public interest and allow for governmental control. The view of Sun was that:

[a]mong the laws of all nations, this will be the great government of recent decades. If there are military affairs, it will be considered neutral, and it will be harmed, and all nations will discuss it. His lover also added another, and his emphasis on people is the same. This is the same as all nations.²

Although the petitions were forwarded to the China Foreign Minister, Zongli Yamen (总理衙门), and some support for the idea was obtained, no action was initiated. Sun Gan decided to seek help from Yu Geng (裕庚), the ambassador to Japan, who wrote to the Qing government requesting formal permission to establish the Chinese Red Cross, and who “examined Hongshizihui (红十字会), the term in west was Red Cross

¹ "Chuangxing Shanhui 创兴善会 [Establishing charities]."

² "Daban huashang Sun Gan cheng qing Yu qinshi zhuan zi zongshu zoushe hongshizihui bing" 大阪华商孙淦呈请裕钦使转咨总署奏设红十字会禀 [Report on Officially Requesting Imperial Yu Geng to Consult the General Administration for Establishing Red Cross Society by Chinese Merchant Sun Gan in Osaka]."

Society, disaster relief and rescue people, called charity behaviour, I have witnessed it”.¹ This showed that Chinese officials, represented by Yu Geng, were still supportive of the Red Cross. In fact, after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894, Wang Wenshao spared no effort to publicize the fact that “doctors from Western Red Cross were indiscriminate in entering and leaving the battlefield to heal wounded soldiers”.² However, the request was denied as it came from a Chinese citizen living abroad.

As a result, Yu Geng convinced the reformist Wang Kangnian (汪康年) to disseminate the Red Cross principles in the province of Hunan, and prepared dissemination material himself.³ Evidence suggests that other national advocates and foreigners were also involved in marketing and creating awareness of the need for the Chinese Red Cross. They included reformists such as Sun Yat-sen (孙中山), who translated the British First Aid Manual of the Red Cross (赤十字会救伤第一法 *Chishizihui jiushang diyifa*) into Chinese.⁴ In 1897, the London Red Cross published and distributed the manual both in China and in overseas Chinese communities.⁵ Although the Qing government was non-cooperative and opposed the idea, the movement advocating the establishment of the

¹ "Daban huashang Sun Gan cheng qing Yu qinshi zhuan zi zongshu zoushe hongshizihui bing" 大阪华商孙淦呈请裕钦使转咨总署奏设红十字会稟 [Report on Officially Requesting Imperial Yu Geng to Consult the General Administration for Establishing Red Cross Society by Chinese Merchant Sun Gan in Osaka]."

² Min jie 闵杰, *Jindai zhongguo shehui wenhua bianqian lu (2) 近代中国社会文化变迁录 (2)*, 182.

³ The library of Shanghai 上海图书馆编, *Wang Kangnian shiyou shuzha 汪康年师友书札*, 4, 1436-37.

⁴ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国 (1904-1927) [The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)]*, 16.

⁵ Huang Yan 黄彦, *Hongshizihui jiushang fa (yizhu) 红十字会救伤法(译著) [First Aid Manual of the Red Cross (translating)]* (Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe, 2012), 98-107.

Chinese Red Cross, based on the Japanese model, was gaining momentum abroad and generating social pressure in China.¹

Shun Pao published three articles, including “the establishment of the RCSC” (创兴红十字会说 *Chuangxing hongshizihui shuo*), “the RCSC’s selected history translation” (红十字会历史节译 *Hongshizihui lishi jieyi*), and “the desirable statement of the establishment of the RCSC” (中国亟宜创兴红十字会说 *Zhongguo Ji Yi Chuangxing Hongshizihui Shuo*). These documents introduced the history, basic aims, rights and obligations, and rescue methods of the International Red Cross Society. At the same time, they also demonstrated the necessity and possibility of creating a Red Cross Society in China. For example, “the establishment of RCSC” provided that:

[i]nformation on the International Red Cross organisation. Meiweiling (梅威令), a British physician, opened a trauma hospital that enrolled dozens of students in a medical area from Taiwan and Fujian provinces. Teaching content not only related to clinical medicine, but also ambulance practice in Shanghai. This article was published in the earliest records of the Red Cross Movement.²

During the Sino-Japanese War, several doctors from Britain, France, Germany and other countries established Red Cross hospitals in battlefields to provide medical

¹ Sun Yat-sen 孙中山, '*Hongshizihui jiushang diyifa' yixu*' 红十字会救伤第一法' 译序 [First Aid Manual of the Red Cross], 孙中山全集 [Collected works of Sun Yat-sen], (Zhonghua shuju 中华书局, 1981), 108.

² "Chuangxing Hongshizihui Shuo 创兴红十字会说 [The establishment of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), May 9, 1898.

treatment to the wounded.¹ The article “the desirable statement of the establishment of the RCSC” expressed that:

[a]ppreciation for the action of the Red Cross Society of Japan for rescuing hundreds of thousands wounded in battlefields. The content discussed battlefield rescues of wounded soldiers and famine relief. Although China’s health care was not developed at the time, establishment of the Red Cross in China was gaining support in terms of humanitarian ideals and medical practice. The general attitudes of society were positive, which promoted an active response”.²

Wang Bing (汪炳), a merchant of Shanghai, obtained the approval of the local government to establish the Administration Bureau of China, designed to emulate the charter of Red Cross and mainly handle relief work.³ After the Boxer Rebellion (庚子事变 *gengzi shibian*), Shanghai merchants and officials acted to relieve refugees living in villages by establishing the “relief good will” (救济善会 *jiuji shanhui*)” and “good will” (济急善会 *jiji shanhui*) as temporary relief agencies.⁴ The establishment of these two agencies was mainly based on local relief, with the objective to rescue wounded on battlefields but not to rescue famine refugees throughout the country. Although the works of these charitable associations were like the Red Cross, they were not the same, because the establishment of charities in China was not entirely independent, as support was necessary from the government.

¹ "Hongshizihui lishi jieyi 红十字会历史节译 [Red Cross History Selection Translation]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), May 30, 1898.

² "Zhongguo ji yi chuangxing hongshizihui shuo 中国亟宜创兴红十字会说 [The desirable statement of the establishment of the Red Cross Society of China] ", *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), April 10, 1899.

³ Min jie 闵杰, *Jindai Zhongguo shehui wenhua shi 近代中国社会文化史*, 2, 184.

⁴ "Quan Zhongxi guanshen jijiu beifang nanmin shuo 劝中西官绅急救北方难民说 [The statement of Western aid northeast refugee]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), February 20, 1904.

The April 1899 first Peace Conference in Hague involved delegates from 26 countries in Europe, Asia, and the United States.¹ China was present due to an invitation by Russia and was represented by Yang Ru (杨儒), a Qing government minister in Russia. Three of the four meeting agendas revolved around the Red Cross. The Chinese envoys did not sign the agreement but had until 31 December 1899 to consider founding a Red Cross Society in China: “the Qing government would facilitate its operations, and the private sector would maintain the organization through donations”.²

Upon returning to China, Yang Ru proposed that the Qing Government should join the Geneva Convention and establish the Red Cross in the country. The Zongli Yamen (总理衙门) department used the Japanese Red Cross as a model to illustrate the proposals discussed at the Geneva Convention.³ As a result, the Qing government signed the Geneva Convention, Water War Treaty, and the Red Cross Treaty before submitting the signed document to the Swiss Government.⁴ The Red Cross Society was therefore established under international conventions, which outlined the best practices for humanitarian assistance. In the following year, Yang Ru resigned from his government position to manage the establishment of the Chinese Red Cross, donating 5,000 pieces

¹ Li Shunmin 李顺民, "Cong Baohehui de canyu kan qingmo waijiao xiandaihua de nuli 从保和会的参与看清末外交现代化的努力," [The Late Qing Diplomatic efforts to modernize after the participation of Hague Conference.] *Shi Yun 史耘* 1 (1995): 139-42.

² Li Shunmin 李顺民, "Cong Baohehui de canyu kan qingmo waijiao xiandaihua de nuli 从保和会的参与看清末外交现代化的努力," 145-46.

³ Li Shunmin 李顺民, "Cong Baohehui de canyu kan qingmo waijiao xiandaihua de nuli 从保和会的参与看清末外交现代化的努力," 139-52.

⁴ Li Shunmin 李顺民, "Cong Baohehui de canyu kan qingmo waijiao xiandaihua de nuli 从保和会的参与看清末外交现代化的努力," 146-47.

of silver as a start-up fund. Unfortunately, due to the Boxer Rebellion (庚子事变 *Gengzi Shibian*), Yang's work to establish the Chinese Red Cross was halted by the government. Yang had proposed modelling the Red Cross in China on the Japanese Red Cross, which was "advocated by officials and supported by donations from citizens (官倡民捐 *guanchang minjuan*)"¹. Yang believed that the Chinese Red Cross should be established by the State, not by a non-government organisation, a contrasting approach to Sun Gan's idea of an independent organisation. It was an indication that the newly formed organization would operate privately and independently, despite its formulation and regulation by the government. In summary, unlike the non-governmental origins of the Red Cross in Europe, the Qing government and the private sector cooperated to establish the Chinese Red Cross, implying that it was not a separate entity from the State.

3.3 Shanghai's Wanguo Red Cross

According to Yang and Zhou, the *jiji shanhui* was the harbinger of the RCSC.² In 1904, the Russo-Japanese War broke out in the Three North-eastern provinces (东北三省 *dongbei sansheng*) of China, including Heilongjiang (黑龙江省), Jilin (吉林省), and Liaolin (辽宁省). The Qing government remained neutral and could not rescue the refugees, so a group of merchants from Shanghai privately organized relief for the

¹ Shi E Yang Ru zou zun fu hedu baohe gonghui zhenshi fan E qingxing zhe 使俄杨儒奏尊赴和都保和公会箴事返俄情形折[Report from Yang Ru, a Qing government minister in Russia, returned from the Hague Peace Conference], (Qingji waijiao shiliao 清季外交史料, 1899), 140 juan, 17-19.

² Yang Zhifang 杨智芳 and Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Lun zhongguo hongshizihui de qiuyuan 论中国红十字会的起源," 115-21.

Northeast battlefield. On 8 February 1904, Shen Dunhe (沈敦和)¹, Ren Xifen (任锡汾), Shi Zejing (施则敬) and other Shanghai merchants, in order “to assist the Red Cross Society [...] to rescue the refugees in the Northeastern Three provinces”,² launched the Northeast Three Provinces Puji Good Will (东三省普济善会 *dong san sheng puji shanhui*) organisation, which followed the example of the West in line with the purpose of the Western Red Cross. Later, it was named “the Northeast Three Provinces Puji Good Will” and was dedicated to rescuing refugees.³

Sponsors took the lead on funding, securing foreign donations from European countries, and both private and public contributions were advertised in newspapers for transparency.^{4, 5} Shen negotiated with Timothy Richard, a Western missionary, to

¹ Shen Dunhe was born into a family of merchants in Ningbo. His father, Shen Xiong (沈熊), had handled five trade agencies, and then moved to Shanghai. Shen graduated from Cambridge University in London. He obtained recognition from the Governor of Two Rivers because he had handled a case involving a Jiangning housing lease. He continued to handle Military Schools, the Duzao fort, self-reliance, etc. Shen had experience studying abroad, but he also had experience dealing with foreign affairs. He was good at socializing and had a certain prestige in official circles, so he was called "the first southern Red Road station." Because of his native place and lineage, he could get in touch with merchants in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces. Therefore, given his qualifications, capabilities, contacts, etc., Shen was the most prominent of the three Chinese directors. Sun Shangen 孙善根, *Zhongguo hongshizi yundong dianji ren Shen Dunhe nianpu changbian* 中国红十字运动奠基人沈敦和年谱长编, 3-4.

² "Puji qunsheng 普济群生," *Shun Pao 申报*, March 11, 1904.

³ "Jiuhu Manzhou huamin ce 救护满洲华民策 [The Policy of Rescue Manchurian] ", *Xinwen Bao 新闻报*, February 26, 1904.

⁴ "Hongshizihui jizi wenfan 红十字会集资文番 [Raising funds by Red Cross]," *Xinwen Bao 新闻报*, March 3, 1904.

⁵ "Quan Zhongxi guanshen jijiu beifang nanmin shuo 劝中西官绅急救北方难民说 [The statement of Western aid northeast refugee]."

establish the Red Cross in China.¹ Richard asked for supports from churches.² This Red Cross organization was thought to be founded on the European model. Later Shi, who was from gentry in Shanghai, met with Shen and other 22 Shanghai merchants³ in the International Settlement, with an aim to establish the Chinese Red Cross. For the first time they created a Charities Association in China under the Red Cross name, separate from the government. At the meeting, Shen Dunhe briefly introduced the basic situation of the International Red Cross Society, then discussed the methods for starting the Northeast Three Provinces Puji Good Will. Finally, a consensus was reached. The decision was made to

[p]repare 100,000 yuan for the deposit...Please open the nearest Chinese and Western Directors of charities. Set up the General Administration in Shanghai, specifically for fund-raising, and set up branch offices in Beijing and Tianjin to recruit rescue victims... The Southerners were rescued one by one, and the local residents, medical treatment each other, used the purpose of the Western Red Cross Society.⁴

¹ "Chuangban Shanhui 创办善会 [Building charities]," *Xinwen Bao 新闻报*, March 4, 1904.

² "Shi jun zhao ji biyi shanghai chuangshe wanguo hongshizi zhihui huiyi dazhi 施君肇基笔译上海创设万国红十字支会会议大旨 [Translation of Summary of the Conference on Establishing Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross Society by Alfred Shi jun zhao ji]," *Shun Pao 申报*, March 14, 1904.

³Participants: Yang Xingcheng (杨杏城), Shen Dunhe (沈敦和), Zeng Shaoqing (曾少卿), Su Baosen (苏宝森), Shi Zejing (施则敬), Li Yunshu (李云书), Wang Shaohao(王少灏), Wang Songtang (王松堂), Feng Hengsheng (冯珩生), Shen Manyun (沈纒云), Wang Wenxi (汪文溪), Jiao Leshan (焦乐山), Song Ziwen (宋子文), Yao Yangeng (姚燕庚), Ren Xifen (任锡汾), Zhou Jinzhen (周金箴), Wang Jianzai (汪建斋), Wu Shaoqing (吴少卿), Wang Yifu (王益甫), Chen Runfu (陈润夫), Xi Zipei (席子佩), Huang Shiquan (黄式权). "Dong san sheng hongshizi puji shanhui zhangcheng bingqi 东三省红十字普济善会章程并启 [Constitution of Three Northeastern Provinces Red Cross] ", *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), March 3, 1904." Ji puji shanhui chuci yishi qingxing 记普济善会初次议事情形 [Record of First Meeting of Three Northeast Provinces]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), March 4, 1904.

⁴ "Dong san sheng hongshizi puji shanhui zhangcheng bingqi 东三省红十字普济善会章程并启 [Constitution of Three Northeastern Provinces Red Cross] ".

The Red Cross worked most directly in the three Northeast provinces, but also provided relief to refugees and individuals from other regions.¹ An article called “China needs to set up a Red Cross” (中国宜入红十字会说 *Zhongguo yiru hongshizihui shuo* was published in the *Shun Pao* on March 5, 1904, mainly arguing that “the Puji Good Will (普济善会 *Puji shanhui*) was able to become a harbinger of the Chinese Red Cross”.² However, the Northeast Three Provinces Puji Good Will was still used the word “shanhui (善会)” which showed that it had not deviated from the good manners model. Even if the Russo-Japanese War were to terminate, the Red Cross would continue to exist in Chinese society and would be recognised by the International Red Cross Committee. This article not only referred to Sun Gan’s idea of establishing a Red Cross in China, but also discussed the idea of a medical college to teach injury treatment methods. The “First Aid of Red Cross” title was proposed in a translation by Sun Yat-sen, who advocated donations from civil mobilisation.³ However, the Northeast Three Provinces Puji Good Will was not the original Red Cross in China, and it did not follow the route of collaboration between the private and public sectors modeled by the Western and international community. For instance, the government was committed neither to establishing the Red Cross in all 20 provinces (as the Wanguo Red Cross of

¹ "Dong san sheng hongshizi puji shanhui zhangcheng bingqi 东三省红十字普济善会章程并启 [Constitution of Three Northeastern Provinces Red Cross]".

² "Zhongguo yi ru hongshizihui shuo 中国宜入红十字会说 [China needs to establish a Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), March 5, 1904.

³ Sun Shanggen 孙善根, *Zhongguo hongshizi yundong dianji ren Shen Dunhe nianpu changbian 中国红十字运动奠基人沈敦和年谱长编*, 26.

Switzerland did) nor to joining the International Red Cross organization.¹ Meanwhile, the Northeast Puji Good Will had a strong pattern of goodwill, operation, and management, but its value did not gain recognition by either the Soviet Union or Japan.

Even though there were different voices calling for the establishment of the Red Cross in China, the merchants of Shanghai still considered the Northeast Three Provinces of China as undertaking the Puji Good Will. As a result, the private and public sectors had different views on how the Red Cross should be established in China. People from all walks of life, such as the Shanghai bureaucrats and businessmen, believed that “government officials and directors of various countries want to set up a Wanguo Red Cross Society in Shanghai in the wake of the scourge of war”.² The Qing government believed the Red Cross should operate under its own control and did not formally subscribe to the Geneva Convention, but the Shanghai merchants nonetheless proceeded with the creation of the Chinese Red Cross. Liang Cheng (梁诚), the diplomat of Qing Dynasty, worked with representatives of foreign collaborators (led by Timothy Richard) from the United Kingdom, the United States, Germany, and France. At 5:15 pm on March 10, 1904, the foreign gentries met at the Shanghai Municipal Council, where Timothy Richard first recommended the establishment of the Red Cross in China.³ Shen Dunhe and other Shanghai merchants contributed to organising the Red

¹ "Dong san sheng hongshizi puji shanhui zhangcheng bingqi 东三省红十字普济善会章程并启 [Constitution of Three Northeastern Provinces Red Cross]".

² "Puji qunsheng 普济群生."

³ "Eryue chuyi ri shanghai wanguo hongshizihui chuci jiyi huida 二月初一日上海万国红十字会初次集议问答 [Question and Answer of First Meeting of Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross on March 17, 1904]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), March 21, 1904.

Cross jointly with other countries and proposed a board of directors. There were 45 directors at the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross, which included 35 Western directors led by Timothy Richard and 10 Chinese directors led by Shen Dunhe. Nine directors were elected from those 45, who were tasked with handling the affairs of the Red Cross in China.¹

Because the Qing government maintained a neutral attitude, the organisation was not regarded as relevant to the Qing government. Lv Haihuan² (吕海寰) and Sheng Xuanhuai (盛宣怀), who were Ministers of the Qing government, had known about its formation, but they avoided participating in it. On March 17, 1904, Yuan Shikai (袁世凯), the Minister of the Foreign Affairs Department, expected the Red Cross to be established by merchants:

It was hard for the Red Cross to be government-run, but government would allocate funds if merchants created it. Others were raising

¹ " Shi jun zhao ji biyi shanghai chuangshe wanguo hongshizi zhihui huiyi dazhi 施君肇基笔译上海创设万国红十字支会会议大旨 [Translation of Summary of the Conference on Establishing Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross Society by Alfred Shi jun zhao ji]."

² Lv Haihuan (吕海寰), Zi (字) Jingyu, was from Laizhou, Shandong Province. In 1867, he was examined as Juren (举人) and later served as an officer for more than ten years. In 1894, he served as a director of Tonghai Dao in Changzhou, Jiangsu Province. During his tenure, he paid special attention to social welfare services. In 1897, the Qing government appointed him as a Minister to Germany and the Netherlands. On January 6, 1906, he was transferred to the Ministry of War (兵部尚书). On January 20, the appointment of the Foreign Affairs Agency was confirmed. Starting June 18, 1907, he served as Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外务部尚书). On September 4th, he became the Minister of Taxation (税务大臣). Starting January 21, 1908, he served as minister of the Jinpu (津浦) railway. On November 13, 1911, the Qing government appointed him as president of the RCSC. Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国 (1904-1927) [The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)]*, 37-38.

abundant funds, and they elected a representative who would negotiate with Japan and Russia for the recognition.¹

The board members of the Red Cross designated the organization as the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross. The Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross differed from the Western concept of a charitable organization, as it was formulated by merchants and foreigners to operate in the private realm with no government contributions, because the Qing administration did not want to be involved in the formulation of a group that would not be under its control. However, “the Qing government did offer some support and resources, and even provided a representative to negotiate the group’s recognition by the Soviet Union and Japan”.²

Timothy Lee was the general director of the Western Red Cross while Shen Dunhe, Shi Zejing, and Ren Xifen were the directors of the RCSC. They decided to establish financial records, set up bank accounts for the organisation, publish books for donation, receive donations, send thank-you letters for donations, distribute grants for relief, form Niuzhuang (牛庄) clubs, support agents who promote their work, and manage other matters in Beijing and Tianjin. In addition, Lv Haihuan and Sheng Xuanhuai, both Ministers of the Qing government, provided support and help to the Red Cross, but

¹ "Guangxu sanshi nian eryue chuyi ri fa beiyang dachen xin yijian: xituo cou hongshizihui shi 光绪三十年二月初一日发北洋大臣信一件:希妥筹红十字会事 [A letter from Beiyang minister on March 17, 1904:Preparing for the establishment of the Red Cross Society]," in *Da Qing wanguo hongshizihui dang'an* 大清万国红十字会档案 [Archives of Da Qing Cosmopolitan Red Cross] (Beijing: 1904), 25.

² "Guangxu sanshi nian eryue chusan ri shou shangbu wen yijian: hongshizihui shi 光绪三十年二月初三日收商部文一件:红十字会事 [Receiving a letter from the Affairs Department on March 19, 1904: Events of Red Cross]," in *Da Qing Wanguo Hongshizihui Dang'an* 大清万国红十字会档案 [Archives of Da Qing Cosmopolitan Red Cross] (Beijing: 1904), 28.

avoided direct participation in the organisation: “since there were more than a thousand refugees who were coming from the northeast of China every day, however, the Qing government did not actively participate in the Red Cross”.¹ In addition, led by Lv Haihuan, Sheng Xuanhuai, Wu Chongxi, Shen Dunhe, Ren Xifen, Shi Zejing, and other officials and merchants, the group issued the “Enlisting Fundraising and Rescue to Protect Northeastern Refugees” document (劝募筹款救护东北难民通电 *quanmu choukuan jiuhu dongbei nanmin tongdian*), which was issued to all provinces across the country. Telegrams were used to inform the people of the country that the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society had been recognized by the government and required all sectors of society to actively support and carry out rescue and relief work.² After these telegrams, the society immediately received the support of the National Superintendent of the County and many pledges to donate money. Some officials also served in the court and asked for the establishment of a Chinese Red Cross Society, such as Xia Dunfu (夏敦复). In a memorial to the US Chancellor Liang Cheng (梁诚), he asked the Qing government to transfer Shantang (善堂) to the Red Cross Society for all the

¹ "Guangxu sanshi nian eryue chusi ri shou shangyue dianzheng dachen dian yijian: niding hongshizihui shangfa 光绪三十年二月初四日收商约电政大臣电一件：拟定红十字会商法 [Receiving a Letter from the minister of the Business and Administration on March 20, 1904: Formulating the Business Law of Red Cross]," in *Da Qing wanguo hongshizihui dang'an* 大清万国红十字会档案 [Archives of Da Qing Cosmopolitan Red Cross] (1904), 30.

² "Quanmu choukuan jiuhu dongbei nanmin tongdian 劝募筹款救护东北难民通电 [Enlisting Fundraising and Rescue to Protect Northeastern Refugees]," *Shun Pao* 申报, April 2, 1904.

provinces and join the International Red Cross.¹ In summary, the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross respected the distinction between public and private circles.

3.4 The Qing Government and Civil Societies

Eventually, the Qing government agreed to the establishment of the Chinese Red Cross in China. As a consequence, an article was published in *Shun Pao*, the leading newspaper in China, requesting donations from the public to aid the refugees in the northeast. The campaign managed to raise 50,000 silver pieces.² On June 5, 1904, another article was published in *Ta Kung Pao* to present the history, purpose, and effects of the Red Cross.³ On June 29, 1904, Zhang Deyi (张德彝), a minister of the Qing government to Britain, announced that China had agreed to sign the Geneva Red Cross Conventions and join the International Red Cross.⁴ The president and vice-president of the Geneva International Red Cross preferred setting up an independent Red Cross, as opposed to the mixed public and private Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross, but eventually sent a request to the Foreign Ministry to extend the recognition of the

¹ "Wanguo hongshizihui dianwen 万国红十字会电文 [Telegram of the Cosmopolitan Red Cross]", *Shun Pao 申报*, April 4, 1904.

² "Quanjuan wanguo hongshizihui jingfei 劝捐万国红十字会经费 [Requesting donations for the Cosmopolitan Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), April 10, 1904.

³ "Yanshuo hongshizihui jinggao Zhongguo 演说红十字会敬告全国 [Speeches of the Red Cross]," *Ta Kung Pao 大公报*, June 5, 1904.

⁴ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)* [Chronicles of the Red Cross Society of China (1904-2004)] (Hefei: Anhui Renmin chubanshe, 2005), 15.

Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross.¹ The Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross formulated an eight-item “interim concise statute,” detailing how

[t]he Red Cross was established by China, Britain, France, Germany, the United States, using a statement of the establishment by Chinese-Western directors who hosted Lv Haihuan, Sheng Xuanhuai, and Wu Chongxi (吴重熹), three Ministers of the Qing government, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of China, the ministry of China, the foreign ministers of Northern and Southern China, governments of each province, the Chinese Empress Dowager, the Emperor’s order, and the ambassador of China in Russia, the Ministers of Japan and Russia in Beijing all worked together to handle the affairs of donation.²

This statute also included a Special Statement: “all people, no matter if they are Chinese or Western, are treated by the Red Cross”, which embodies the spirit of the Red Cross.³

On July 30 and 31, the *Shun Pao* serialised “The concise interim statute of Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross”.⁴

In addition, the Qing government had already signed the agreements of the Red Cross, so it was more inclined to officially advocate the establishment of the Chinese Red Cross that was still managed by the Shanghai merchants. However, the Shanghai merchants believed that China should completely join the process of the Geneva Convention and be recognised by the International Red Cross Committee. On August

¹ "Wanguo hongshizihui dianwen 万国红十字会电文 [Telegram of the Cosmopolitan Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), June 29, 1904.

² "Shanghai wanguo hongshizihui zanxing jianming zhangcheng 上海万国红十字会暂行简明章程 [The concise interim statute of Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), July 29, 1904.

³ "Shanghai wanguo hongshizihui zanxing jianming zhangcheng 上海万国红十字会暂行简明章程 [The concise interim statute of Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross]."

⁴ "Xu Shanghai wanguo hongshizihui zanxing jianming zhangcheng 续上海万国红十字会暂行简明章程 [The concise interim statute of Shanghai Cosmopolitan Red Cross (continued)]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), July 30, 1904.

12, 1904, the president and vice-president of Geneva International Red Cross replied that China should set up an independent and national Red Cross, rather than a joint operation.¹

Because of the Boxer Incident and Russo-Japanese War, the Swiss government announced that China officially joined the Geneva Convention in August 1904. However, this did not mean that Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross was recognised by the International Red Cross Committee. In fact, the ICRC had sent two letters to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to notify them that the Chinese Red Cross should be registered under the ICRC. However, they had not yet received responses from the Foreign Ministry or the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross. Therefore, they could not confirm that the ICRC recognised the Chinese Red Cross. On November 14, 1904, an article titled “The establishment of Red Cross by merchants” was published in the *Business News*, as a request to merchants to establish an organisation in the form of the Red Cross.²

Although the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross maintained its name after the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, its work was officially war-related, with only two projects outside the war context.³ By May 1906 Liao Tai (廖太), the representative of Chinese

¹ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 5.

² "Shang ban hongshizihui 商办红十字会 [The establishment of Red Cross by merchants]," *Xinwen Bao 新闻报*, November 14, 1904.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 6.

students in Tokyo, had founded the Chinese Woman Red Cross, the first women's organization in China with Red Cross principles. Many students who studied in Tokyo advised her to organise a Red Cross to provide her countrymen relief services after she returned to China. The organization was the first to assist Chinese citizens overseas, during the San Francisco earthquake. Its establishment received considerable much societal attention, and an article was published in *Ta Kung Pao* praising the group's work.¹

After the Russo-Japanese War, the work of the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross dwindled, and it was eventually terminated after its assistance to Chinese victims of the San Francisco earthquake. It was clear to government ministers that the group's failure resulted from a lack of funds, and that the intervention of the Chinese government would be critical for the international recognition of the Chinese Red Cross.² Meanwhile, the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross had not yet been recognized by the International Red Cross, and China was not invited to the International Red Cross Conference in 1907.³ This proves that China was still not recognised by the ICRC.

Even though the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross failed due to a lack of support and recognition, the idea of creating a Chinese Red Cross was now advocated in civil

¹ "Zhongguo furenhui zhi faqi 中国妇人会之发起 [The establishment of the Chinese women Red Cross]," *Ta Kung Pao* 大公报, May 10, 1906.

² "Wanqing guanyu hongshizihui kaichuang zhi zouzhe (1) 晚清关于红十字会开创之奏折 (一) [Memorial of establishment of Red Cross in the late Qing Dynasty]," (July 31,1906).

³ "Hongshizihui lishi zongzhang Shen Dunhe baogao 红十字会理事总长沈敦和报告 [Report from the general director of the Red Cross Shen Dunhe]," *Shun Pao* 申报 (Shanghai), November 15, 1906.

society. Wang Xipu's (王熙普) article "Reason for establishment of a Red Cross" was published on the *Shun Pao* on July 3, 1907.¹ He mainly demonstrated the need for a Red Cross to assist in disasters relief. There were also no hospitals in China at that time, so suffering was only alleviated by western missionaries who set up hospitals and ambulance services. He advocated setting up the RCSC for catastrophe relief, medical treatment, and general health. To raise awareness and encourage charitable donations, he also said that if the Red Cross were set up, he would individually donate 20,000 silvers. He also proposed the creation of Red Cross hospitals, parasitic hospitals, medical schools, and an anti-smoking association.²

At the same time, the Ministers of the Qing government, Lv Haihuan and Sheng Xuanhuai, requested permission to restore the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross. In fact, they hoped that the Qing government would re-establish the Red Cross of China. However, the Qing government did not pay attention to their request. Sheng and Lv also proposed the creation of a Red Cross Society within the MCA. Sheng recommended changing the name to Da Qing Red Cross (大清红十字会 *Da Qing hongshizihui*), since the Qing government would handle all the operations. They submitted a formal request on July 21, 1907 to the government, asking for the establishment of a unified Red Cross and the construction of hospitals and schools. This

¹ " Chuangshe hongshizihui zhi liyou 创设红十字会之理由 [Reason for Establishment of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 3, 1907.

² "Chuangshe hongshizihui zhi liyou xu 创设红十字会之理由续 [Reason for Establishment of Red Cross (Continued)]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 24, 1907.

application marked the end of the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross, and a path towards the RCSC.¹

The newly created Red Cross instituted a temporary hospital in Shanghai to treat the victims of the 1908 epidemic in Shanghai, while the Chinese newspaper *Shun Pao* called for the recruitment of health care professionals.² In 1909, Shen Dunhe and other merchants used the remaining donations from the Russo-Japanese War to build a Hospital of the RCSC in Shanghai.³ In 1909, Sheng Xuanhuai and Lv Haihuan again requested the Qing government to re-establish the Chinese Red Cross. Lv Haihuan and Wu Chongxi also presented “the application of regulation of the RCSC” to the Qing government, which proposed the official appointment of the president of the Red Cross. They also submitted “the regulation of the RCSC,” which was written by Shen Dunhe. They drafted the constitution of the Chinese Red Cross with an emphasis on a minister being the president of the organization. This time, the Qing government responded immediately: on February 27, 1910, Sheng Xuanhuai was nominated as the first chair and president of the Red Cross, and was appointed by the Qing government.⁴

¹ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 8-9.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhaokao yi xuesheng 中国红十字会招考医学生 [Requesting recruitment of health care professionals]," *Shun Pao 申报*, September 4, 1908.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 11.

⁴ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 12.

On March 13, 1910, Sheng officially requested a name change from the RCSC to Da Qing Red Cross (the Great Qing Red Cross), which happened a few months later.¹ On May 20, a coalition of Military, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Army Department, and Navy Office representatives presented a proposal to implement the RCSC.² The proposal further requested that the Red Cross be supervised by Department of Army and Navy in times of war, in addition to locating the head office in Beijing, to allow timely reporting to the government. The military supervised the facilities of the Red Cross Battlefield Command and marked the aid distributions with the Red Cross battlefield symbol. The Medal of the Red Cross was also approved by the Federation authorities. Moreover, they set up an initial structure to supervise the president of Red Cross. However, the Shanghai merchants held the opposite opinion. Shen Dunhe proposed that if the Red Cross was a military planner, it would just work behind the army when a war broken out. Moreover, the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society of China had foreign sources of contributions, so it was difficult to merge with the military. On June 5, the RCSC was officially renamed to “Da Qing Red Cross”.³

The reason for the establishment of different versions of the Chinese Red Cross was simply that the distinction between government-run and civil society-run was evident

¹ "Junzi chu zou xiang he hongshizihui yuan zou jing chen guan jian zhe 军谘处奏详核红十字会原奏敬陈管见折 [Memorial to the Throne on Humble Opinions about Scrutiny of the Original Memorial of Red Cross Society by the Military Staff Department]," *Ta Kung Pao* 大公报, June 21, 1910.

² "Junzi chu zou xiang he hongshizihui yuan zou jing chen guan jian zhe 军谘处奏详核红十字会原奏敬陈管见折 [Memorial to the Throne on Humble Opinions about Scrutiny of the Original Memorial of Red Cross Society by the Military Staff Department]."

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004)* 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004), 13.

from the very outset. This ambivalence between civil society and state control at this formation stage showed that civil society in China was not robust enough to sustain the Red Cross; it needed state finances for sustenance, but state involvement invoked state control. Sheng Xuanhuai, as the first president of the Chinese Red Cross, negotiated with the Qing government several times, but its work was not implemented. That is to say, the Da Qing Red Cross was not set up, so the attitude of the Qing government about the Chinese Red Cross was only in effect on paper. These moves increased the tension between the public and private roles in the organization.

3.5 Consolidation and Recognition of the RCSC after 1911

The Wuchang Uprising began in October 1911, before the incipient Red Cross had achieved full national coverage. Shen Dunhe was prompted to constitute the Wanguo Board of the Red Cross of China in Shanghai, which would operate in the battlefield. Zhang Zhujun strived to form the Chinese Red Cross before leading the first Red Cross medical team into the war zone. In the meantime, Shen Dunhe and other merchants collected donations under the label of the Chinese Red Cross.¹ The Qing government organized a Red Cross rescue team and deployed it to the Hubei battlefield. Because Sheng Xuanhuai had lost his official position, he recommended Lv Haihuan as a Relief Association for charity before he left. He also sent a rescue team to the Hubei battlefield

¹ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 14.

from Beijing. In this situation, the rescue operation required the active involvement of three teams: the civil society, the Shanghai merchants, and the Qing government.

On November 13, 1911, the late Qing government renamed the Da Qing Red Cross to the RCSC and appointed Lv Haihuan as its second president.¹ The Chinese Red Cross Conference was held on November 18, 1911, and the Chinese Red Cross Special Assembly was held November 19, 1911, when it was announced that Chinese and foreign merchants still organized the Chinese Red Cross.² On November 26, 1911, Shen Dunhe invited Youhe Changxiong (有贺长雄), a Doctor of Jurisprudence in Japan, to Shanghai to review the regulation of the RCSC.³ During the Republican Revolution of 1911 the RCSC had launched more than 50 branches across China, while individual doctors established hospitals in the name of the Red Cross to treat the wounded soldiers. Meanwhile, after the evaluation of the RCSC, Songfang Houjue (松方侯爵), the president of the Red Cross Society of Japan, sent a letter to the ICRC requesting the participation of the RCSC in the International Red Cross. This recognition request indicated that the society was already set up with offices in Shanghai.⁴

¹ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 16.

² "Hongshizihui lishi zongzhang Shen Dunhe baogao 红十字会理事总长沈敦和报告 [The report of General Director of Red Cross by Shen Dunhe]", *Shun Pao 申报*, November 19, 1911.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 17.

⁴ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 18.

Although the cooperation of the private sector and the presence of regulation were crucial for the sustainability of the Red Cross, the government and Shanghai merchants still held opposing views on its formulation. The late Qing government believed that the Chinese Red Cross should be under the control of the government and be located in Beijing. In contrast, the Shanghai merchants felt that the organization should be established in the public sphere, since the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross was originally created with their contributions. These conflicts lasted for the entire year until 1912, when the Republic of China sent Ferguson, a foreign consultant to the Beijing government, to negotiate with Shen Dunhe. They concluded that the RCSC would be co-organized by government officials and merchants.¹

3.6 Summary

The first Red Cross experience in China is associated with the provision of relief during the Sino-Japanese War. The exemplary work of the organization stimulated a public debate in the civil sphere among the social elite. However, skepticism from the Qing government halted the establishment of the Chinese Red Cross. To retain government control and attain international recognition as a civilized society, the interaction between the public and private sectors indigenized the Red Cross. This process was facilitated by the Shanghai merchants and foreigners who formulated the organization and the Qing officials who initially patronized the society in secret. The Chinese Red

¹ "Beijing zonghui Feng Enkun shou Ferguson han 北京总会冯恩昆收福开森函 [Feng Enkun from Beijing Red Cross received Ferguson's Letter]," in *Archives of Red Cross 红十字会档案* (Nanjing Nanjing dier lishi dang'an guan cang 南京第二历史档案馆藏, 1912).

Cross was a unique hybrid that integrated the Western concept of humanitarian relief into the Chinese benevolence. The indigenization of the Red Cross provided a reliable model for learning the culture of the West without eroding the Chinese cultural identity. The first Red Cross in China was established in the private realm as an NGO. The society was formulated by several civic-minded merchants from Shanghai, with the aim of providing emergency relief to soldiers and victims of the Russo-Japanese war in the three Northern provinces. Meanwhile, the board of the Red Cross was comprised of foreigners who assisted in soliciting international support. This composition helped the organization send volunteers in the battleground. Additionally, it prevented the interference and takeover of the organization by the Qing government. The end of the Russo-Japanese war reduced the relevance of the organization, however, exposing it to inadequate funding.

Chapter 4 The Red Cross Society in the Republic of China: 1912-1949

4.1 Introduction

In the 20th century China moved from an imperial system to a republican one, and finally to a government led by the CCP. These transformations in government structure had a phenomenal impact on civil society. In the era of the Qing government, civil society was regarded as a western concept and was shunned by a considerable proportion of the population. The imperial crown was responsible for carrying out most functions performed by civil society. The Qing dynasty had ruled China for over four centuries, and had little tolerance for dissent¹ or for the development of civil society. Civil society organizations began to appear around the time of the fall of the Qing dynasty and the creation of the Republic of China. The RCSC emerged in the final years of the Qing dynasty and was instrumental in providing humanitarian relief to wounded soldiers, whether they were hurt in international conflicts or civil rebellions within China. As noted earlier, the indigenous Red Cross Society was eventually recognized by the Federation of the Red Cross Society in Geneva in 1912 and officially registered as an independent charity organization. Nevertheless, the independence of the society

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"*, 34.

did not last for long; in two years, the Republic government had begun to intervene in its affairs.

During the short space of time of the Republic period, the central government was very weak since the emergent republic administration was in its infancy and there were warlords threatening its stability. It was one of the most chaotic political periods and yet the central government still managed to control the Red Cross. This chapter will examine the development of the Red Cross in China in the Republican period between 1912 and 1949. As discussed below, state intervention in the affairs of the Red Cross was unchecked during the Beiyang and Nanjing governments. In this period, it could be argued that the Red Cross and other NGOs became part of the state apparatus for two main reasons. First, civil societies were heavily reliant on the government for financial support; and second, the culture of Confucianism hindered the formation of a public sphere where citizens interact without interference from the government.¹ This chapter will also explore RCSC operations between 1912 and 1949 to investigate the development of private and public spheres in this period. The overall argument being that the ideological conflict between the RCSC and the government was a sign that civil society still lacked penetration and depth in China during the Republican period.

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"*, 86.

4.2 The RCSC Beyond the Beiyang Government: 1912-1927

The Provisional Government of the Republic of China was established on January 1, 1912, marking the end of China's feudal monarchy. Sun Yat-sen¹ became the provisional President of the Republic of China in Nanjing.² After the establishment of the Republic of China, the president of the International Federation of Red Cross in Geneva, Switzerland, sent a letter to Shen Dunhe, the Director of the Board of the RCSC, confirming that "China had officially joined the International Federation of the Red Cross as a member".³ This was the first time the RCSC was recognized internationally by the International Federation of the Red Cross.

The Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement clearly required that each member organization "[b]e duly recognized by the legal government of its country on the basis of the Geneva Conventions and of the national legislation as a voluntary aid society, auxiliary to the public authorities in the humanitarian field".⁴ On February 17, 1912, Shen Dunhe telegraphed an application for legal recognition of the Red Cross to Yuan Shikai, stating that

Since the founding of the Armed Forces of the Association, the Chinese and Western healers of the United Churches have set up 65 branch hospitals, cured more than 10,000 wounded patients, and collected thousands of remains in Hubei (湖北) and Ningxia (宁夏). There were more than 3,000 Chinese and foreign members, who were eager to fight in the field. They had more than a hundred days of business, and they prepared to take risks. Their deeds had been announced by the Wanguo Red Cross and the

¹ Sun Yat-sen was the provisional President of the Republic of China in Nanjing from January 1, 1912 to April 1, 1912.

² School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 19.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 19.

⁴ *Statutes of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement*, 9.

Federation League was accepted. Jiachen Dongye (甲辰冬业) and Switzerland have come to an agreement, so the foundation has been set up. Since the founding of the Republic of China, the Red Cross did not dare to make any effort to relieve itself of its own limitations, in the hopes that it would last forever, the forest of the Red Cross Society. God worships and creates difficulties, maintains protection, and did not pray.¹

Two days later, Yuan agreed to register the RCSC, replying that

In this battle, the Red Cross will combine with Chinese and Western members, recovering from medical injuries, and be commended for their ingenuity. Now that the Republic has been declared, it should expand its righteous actions, maintain its protection, and be responsible for its efforts. It should cooperate with the League of Red Cross Societies at the end of the year and pray for the comrades of Comrades to work together, without any prayer.²

For his part, the Vice President Li Yuanhong telegraphed Sun Yat-sen to place his statement on file for the RCSC:

Since the uprising in Hubei Province, bloody battles have taken place for several days, and the remains have never been considered disabled. Fortunately, the RCSC had set up a temporary hospital to treat the wounded patients and bury the dead. The RCSC had already come to Shanghai with the appointment of Songfang Houjue (松方侯爵), the president of the Japanese Red Cross Society, who discussed the revision of the constitution with Dr. Youhe Changxiong (有贺长雄). Reinforcing the introduction from Japan, the Wanguo Red Cross Federation of the Republic of China has been recognized as the official Red Cross Society of the Republic of China. The military uprising occurred in the Eastern and Western provinces, and 50 branches were set up. Such enthusiasm for philanthropy seems to be

¹ Yuan Shikai was the provisional President of the Republic of China in Beiyang from March 10, 1912 to June 6, 1916. School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004)* 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004), 20.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Beijing Yuan da zongtong laidian 北京袁大总统来电 [Telegram from Yuan Shikai the President of Beiyang government]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1904-1949)* 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949) (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993), 57-58.

particularly commendable. It was essential to grant permission and publish in newspapers, to promote perceptions.¹

Sun Yat-sen approved the registration of the Red Cross, which was followed and processed by the Ministry of Interior. He telegraphed this message:

Since the founding of the Republican Military, all soldiers on the battlefield have gone to justice and suffered casualties. They all depended on the Red Cross for rescue and burial, and they did their utmost to achieve success. It was only the Battle of Hubei Province that was not special. (Sun) Wen knew that. After receiving the telegram, we set up a temporary hospital in Wuhan before the conference to rescue the injured and evade death. After working with Japan's Youhe Changxiong to change the constitution, he was recognized by the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China, and he received an order to initiate the organization. The enthusiasm and dedication of the Red Cross should not be ignored. The Ministry of the Interior should be allowed to register as a legal organization.²

Finally, a series of correspondence between the Red Cross in China and government officials resulted in approval of the RCSC's registration as an official organization.³

The conflict between Beijing and Shanghai

The conflict between Beijing and Shanghai escalated due to the International Conference of Red Cross in Washington. In 1912, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Wucang Li fu zongtong zhi nanjing sun da zongtong dian 武昌黎副总统致南京孙大总统电 [Li Yuanhong, the vice president of the Republic of China in Wuchang, telegraphed to Sun Yat-sen, the president of the Republic of China]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1904-1949) 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949)* (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 1993), 57.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Wucang Li fu zongtong zhuan Sun da zongtong zhi zonghui de dianwen 武昌黎副总统转孙大总统致总会的电文 [Li Yuanhong, the vice president of the Republic of China in Wuchang, transferred the telegram to the Head office of the Red Cross]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1904-1949)* (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe, 1993), 57-58.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 20-21.

received notice from the International Conference of the Red Cross. It first informed Shen Dunhe of the Shanghai Committee of the Red Cross and expected it to participate in the conference on its own. Shen didn't care about this matter, however, so he passed the notice to the Head office of Red Cross in Beijing. Then, Beijing reported to President Yuan Shikai that Rong Kui (容揆), a Chinese Counsellor in the United States, would attend the conference on behalf of the RCSC. Beijing, however, sent John Calvin Ferguson to accompany Rong Kui as a consultant, as Rong Kui had little knowledge of the RCSC.¹

When Shen Dunhe learned that Beijing had decided to attend the conference, Shanghai instantly changed its attitude and asked Huang Ding (黄鼎), the supervisor of Chinese students in the United States, to represent Shanghai at the conference.² However, since this decision was not approved by the head office, Beijing sent John Calvin Ferguson to Shanghai to negotiate with Shen Dunhe. They reached an agreement with respect to the relationship between Beijing and Shanghai. The core principle was the cooperation of Beijing and Shanghai: Lv Haihuan would be the President the Red

¹ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 21.

² "Zhi Lv huizhang dian 致吕会长电 [Telegraphed to the President Lv Haihuan]", in *Lv Haihuan wanglai dianhan lugao 吕海寰往来电函录稿 [Records of Lv Haihuan Correspondences]* 715-16. "Zhi Shanghai Shen Zhongli dian 致上海沈仲礼电》 [Telegraphed to Shen Zhongli in Shanghai]," in *Lv Haihuan wanglai dianhan lugao 吕海寰往来电函录稿 [Records of Lv Haihuan Correspondences]*, 835-36. "Shanghai Shen Zhongli laidian 上海沈仲礼来电 [Telegraph of Shen Zhongli from Shanghai]," in *Lv Haihuan wanglai dianhan lugao 吕海寰往来电函录稿 [Records of Lv Haihuan Correspondences]*, 839-40.

Cross, while Shen Dunhe would be the main Board officer. Under these conditions, Beijing agreed to allow Huang Ding to attend the conference.¹

Both Beijing and Shanghai sent their own representatives, thus obscuring the representation of the RCSC. Before the conference, Shen Dunhe sent a letter the Chairman of the ICRC, using the title of President of the RCSC, to stress Shanghai's legal status. The ICRC concluded that the RCSC faced internal competition, and forwarded the letter to Rong Kui, John Calvin Ferguson, Huang Ding, and Zhang Yintang (张荫棠), a Minister in the United States. After discussion, they agreed that internal conflicts should be solved in China instead of creating an international incident. This way, the image of China's Red Cross Society would not be damaged in the U.S. These four people made a joint statement that the head office of the RCSC was in Beijing, and that all correspondence should be delivered to President Lv Haihuan for handling. The Chairman, therefore, decided to let go of the letter from Shen Dunhe.²

The final decision of the Chinese delegation helped to improve Beijing's position at the conference, but the conflict between Beijing and Shanghai remained unsolved. On August 17, 1912, newspapers reported the event, mainly focusing on that conflict.

¹ "Shanghai Shen Zhongli laidian 上海沈仲礼来电 [Telegraph of Shen Zhongli from Shanghai]," 715-16. "Zhi Lv huizhang dian 致吕会长电 [Telegrammed to the President Lv Haihuan] ", 844.

² "Canjia wanguo hongshizihui di jiu ci dahui baogao 参加万国红十字会第九次大会报告 [Report on Participation of the Ninth Conference of Cosmopolitan Red Cross Society] ", in *Lv Haihuan wanglai dianhan lugao 吕海寰往来电函录稿 [Records of Lv Haihuan Correspondences]* 847-75. "Shen Dunhe zhi mei wanguo hongshizihui di jiu ci dahui huizhang han 沈敦和致美万国红十字会第九次大会会长函 [Letter from Shen Dunhe to the Chairman of Red Cross Committee for the 9th International Conference]," in *Lv Haihuan wanglai dianhan lugao 吕海寰往来电函录稿 [Records of Lv Haihuan Correspondences]* (1990), 877-81.

Beijing announced by telegram that the RCSC would hold a conference in Beijing that autumn, on the topic of combining all the Red Cross Societies into one organization. Meanwhile, Shanghai passed on the news that the first general meeting would be held on September 15, in Shanghai, to elect standing members, the president, and directors.¹ The Beiyang Government was also part of this and claimed to support the conference by Lv Haihuan.

In early August, President Yuan Shikai approved the application of the Beijing head office for the autumn conference.² Beijing immediately requested the Ministry of Internal Affairs to instruct local governments to submit information about local branches of the Red Cross, to facilitate holding the conference.³ Shanghai, probably under pressure from the Beiyang government and the head office, put off the general meeting to two weeks later.⁴ The conflict between Beijing and Shanghai escalated since the root cause was still present. Despite support from the government, Beijing was short

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui di yi ci huiyuan dahui guanggao 中国红十字会第一次会员大会广告 [Advertisement of the First General Meeting of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), August 7, 1912.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui huizhang Lv Haihuan cheng qing yu qiudong jian zai beijing kaihui zhaoji huiyuan heding yongjiu tongyi banfa wen 中国红十字会会长吕海寰呈请于秋冬间在北京开会召集会员核定永久统一办法文 [Article by President Lv Haihuan to apply for conference held in Beijing between Autumn and Winter for Member Assembling to Discuss Consolidation]," (1912).

³ "Hongshizihui huizhang Lv Haihuan cheng da zongtong zhaoji zhihui yi zi you neiwubu dian zhi ge dudu zhuan chi chaming zaoce zi song qing jian heban wen'an wen 红十字会会长吕海寰呈大总统召集支会已咨由内务部电知各都督转饬查明造册咨送请鉴核办案文 [Report by Lv Haihuan to Request President Yuan Shikai to Order the Ministry of Internal Affairs to Inform Governors by Telegram to Assemble Branches]," (Nanjing, September 13, 1912).

⁴ "Zhongguo hongshizihui dahui gaiqi guanggao 中国红十字会大会改期广告 [Advertisement on the Date Change of Conference of the Red Cross Society of China] ", *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), September 12, 1912.

on practical capability with respect to fundraising, medical care, and relief. The case with Shen Dunhe was just the opposite: he had support from the Shanghai merchants but no acknowledgement by the government, which was crucial for cooperation from official organizations. In this light, Beijing and Shanghai had to negotiate to adopt agreements made by the delegation to the international conference in the U.S., and to consolidate Beijing and Shanghai into one organization.

This time, Ferguson came to Shanghai for negotiation on behalf of Beijing. The process, however, was not smooth, and Shen Dunhe believed that Shanghai had the support of the directors, members, branches, and donors at home and abroad. At the same time, the Red Cross Society in Wuhan wrote a petition to Yuan Shikai to abolish the head office in Beijing. The case was then referred to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. When informed of this decision, an ailing Ferguson rushed to negotiate with Shen Dunhe and Jiang Qudan. Finally, Ferguson convinced Shen that “competition was not the way out for charity”, and they reached a merger agreement after discussing several terms and conditions. This was the initial consensus reached by Ferguson and Shen, though further government approval was required to validate it:

First, the Head office is based in Beijing; second, the president and vice president are honorary appointments; third, Lv Haihuan is appointed as president, and Ferguson as the consultant; fourth, besides interaction with the government, the Head office will deal with diplomatic affairs; fifth, Shen Dunhe is appointed as vice president to handle all affairs in Shanghai; sixth, the Red Cross Society in Shanghai is renamed as the Affairs Office of the RCSC, with Jiang Qudan as director; seventh, the affairs office has responsibility for handling all affairs of the Red Cross; eighth, the General Meeting of the Red Cross is set for September 29 in Shanghai; ninth, the general meetings of all provincial branches will be subsequently held in

Shanghai; tenth, the president and vice president shall announce to all branches of the society in official letters the merger of Beijing and Shanghai.¹

The first General Assembly of the RCSC was held in Shanghai on September 29, 1912. The General Assembly adopted “the Constitution of the RCSC” as its first official statute, completed the operation within the Board of Directors system, adopted the “the constitution of the combination of Beijing and Shanghai”, and confirmed that

[t]he head office is based in Beijing and the affair office is located in Shanghai; the president works in Beijing while the vice-president works in Shanghai; and the affairs office has responsibility for handing all affairs of the Red Cross. The Constitution of the RCSC marks the end of the conflict between Beijing and Shanghai to establish the Red Cross and achieves cooperation between Beijing and Shanghai.²

The conference also adopted the “branches statute of the RCSC” and held discussions on “methods of raising funds for the RCSC”, “the Law of Red Cross branches” and other issues. The establishment of branches was strictly according to the rules and regulations of “the application of the Red Cross Society branches” document, which required the approval of Red Cross headquarters.³ The Red Cross achieved a standardised management system and the controversy over the RCSC between officials and merchants ended after the conference, which established legitimacy and unity. The conference confirmed that the RCSC was jointly led by Beijing and Shanghai. In other words, the establishment of the RCSC combined officials and merchants following the

¹ "Shanghai hongshizihui laidian 上海红十字会来电 [Telegram from the Red Cross Society in Shanghai]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), September 21, 1912.

² School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 22.

³ School of Sociology in Suzhou University 苏州大学社会学院 and Suzhou Red Cross Society 苏州市红十字会, *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004) 中国红十字历史编年(1904-2004)*, 22-24.

formation of the Republic of China. Shen explained this agreement by claiming that “the conflict between Beijing and Shanghai will only deprive our compatriots in war of practical help. There is no choice but to make concessions”.¹

On October 6, 1912, the congress of the RCSC was officially established. Based on the charter of the East-West countries, the congress established the charter of the RCSC, electing the president and vice president of the Republic of China as the honorary president and vice-president of the RCSC. In this session, the Red Cross Society also held its first executive council meeting in Shanghai, where Yuan Shikai and Li Yuanhong were recognized as honorary president and vice president, respectively, Lv Haihuan as president, Shen Dunhe as vice president and chairman of the executive council, and Jiang Qudan (江趋丹) as director. At the same time, this decision was telegraphed to relevant government authorities for distribution.² Later, the Beijing government acknowledged and announced the decision,³ and Yuan Shikai issued the

¹ "Hongshizihui kaihui ji 红十字会开会纪 [Minutes of the Red Cross] ", *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), September 30, 1912.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross] ", *Zhongguo hongshizihui 中国红十字会*, 1934, 44; "Hongshizihui kaihui ji 红十字会开会纪 [Minutes of the Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, October 18, 1912.

³ "Linshi da zongtong ling 临时大总统令 [Interim Order by President Yuan] ", (1912)." Hongshizihui kaihui mang 红十字会开会忙 [Tight Meeting Schedule of the Red Cross] ", *Shun Pao 申报*, October 16, 1912." Paiding hongshizihui huizhang yaodian 派定红十字会会长要电 [Telegraph of the president of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报* (Shanghai), October 20, 1912.

“President Commands” stating that “Lv Haihuan was the president of the RCSC, and Shen Dunhe is the vice-president of the RCSC”.¹

On October 30, 1912, the Red Cross Society held a combined assembly in Shanghai, including representatives from the Beijing government (including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Navy and the War Department), vice-president Li, Governor Zhao Erzhan (赵尔巽) of Liaoning Province, and Governor Cheng Dequan (程德全) of Jiangsu Province. This showed the recognition and support of the governmental authorities for this collaboration. The assembly was meaningful on two levels:

First, although Beijing and Shanghai recognized the collaboration and confirmed personnel appointments, and the assembly was just a platform to announce all provisions in the merger agreement, the collaboration somehow laid a foundation for the unity of the RCSC; second, the assembly discussed the charter and internal regulations of the Red Cross²

However, the Beiyang government was so dissatisfied with the new charter that it stipulated new regulations to restrict the Head office. On November 20, 1912, President Yuan submitted the draft to the Senate for examination by the Commission of Legislative Affairs. However, the draft was not approved due to political conflicts.³ It

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zheng huizhang Lv Haihuan deng cheng da zongtong baoming kaihui bihui riqi bing niding zong fen hui zhangcheng qingqian hewen bing cheng 中国红十字会正会长吕海寰等呈大总统报明开会毕会日期并拟定总分会章程请签核文并呈 [President Haihuan Lv Informs President Yuan of Meeting Schedule and Drafted Charter for Approval] ", (Nanjing, 1912).

² "Hongshizihui tongyi dahui jishi 红十字会统一大会记事 [Minutes of the Combination Assembly of the Red Cross] ", *Shun Pao 申报*, October 31, 1912.

³ "Canyiyuan shiyi yue ershi ri yishi richeng 参议院十一月二十日议事日程 [Agenda of the Senate on November 20] ", (Nanjing, 1912).

was not until 1914 that President Yuan announced the “Regulations of the RCSC” (Article 11), which was

[t]he earliest rule for supervision and management of the Red Cross. The Regulation totally ignored the affairs office and the executive council, and replaced them on purpose with administrative orders. In other words, the dominant position of Shanghai office in the Red Cross was denied.¹

On October 5, 1915, the Beiyang government promulgated the implementation of regulations jointly drafted by the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which clearly stated that the affairs office in Shanghai was a branch office. In other words, the authority of the executive council was also reduced since the Beiyang government would be supervising the Red Cross Society. According to the regulations:

[t]he meeting of the executive council should be convened by the Chairman, with at least two-thirds attendance; in case of emergency, the Chairman should exercise discretion for a trial before acquiring the approval of the executive council; during war, the Chairman should change the executive council into an interim council, and executive senators should remain in office, while other members and senators should be selected by the Chairman himself; the asset manager and supervisor should still be elected by the executive council, and the executive senators can only be selected in unnecessary cases to be staff of the head office; the Chairman should convene an extraordinary national conference on his own; the Department of the Army, the Department of the Navy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs can ask the President for the right of article amendment. The rules also provided that any articles repeated would not be applicable.²

¹ "Da zongtong shenling 大总统申令 [President Order]," (Nanjing, 1915).

² "Lujun, Neiwu, Haijunbu cheng niding Zhongguo hongshizihui tiaoli shixing zize chengqing xunshiwen bing piling 陆军、内务、海军部呈拟定中国红十字会条例施行细则呈请训示文并批令 [Request for Instruction on Rules for Implementing Regulations of Red Cross Society of China by the Department of Army, the Department of Navy, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Reply],"

The policies by the Beijing government were clearly intended to weaken the affairs office and executive council in Shanghai and lower their positions, and correspondingly to enhance the government's control of the RCSC. Shanghai was extremely unhappy about these actions and sent a representative once to negotiate with the government, but received no explanation.¹

The conflict between Shen Dunhe and the American Red Cross

There was an existing relationship between the American Red Cross and the RCSC since both had made mutual donations in a major disaster, so relations between the two countries were harmonious. This relationship was maintained until 1918 when the American Red Cross wished to establish a branch in China, to increase donations and publicity as well as recruit members for the American Red Cross. However, Shen Dunhe and other members of the RCSC opposed the American Red Cross having a branch in China and a series of disputes resulted. The conflict was not only personal, but also affected the RCSC and other branches of the Red Cross. The Chinese government and the American Red Cross in Washington, the US Embassy Minister, and the Consul in Shanghai all paid close attention to the conflict, which had a profound impact on the RCSC.

(Nanjing, 1916). "Zhongguo hongshizihui tiaoli shixing guize 中国红十字会条例施行规则 [Rules for Implementing Regulations of the Red Cross Society of China]," (Nanjing 1916).

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui ershinian dashi gangmu 中国红十字会二十年大事纲目 [List of Major Events for Red Cross Society of China in 20 Years]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui yundong shiliao xuanbian 中国红十字会运动史料选编* (Hefei: Hefei gongye daxue Chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2014), 40-45.

In 1918, near the end of the First World War, China and the United States joined the Alliant camp, where the American Red Cross claimed to be “American” but was actually a “Wanguo Red Cross”.¹ The American Red Cross asked the Consul General of the United States in Shanghai to discuss with Shen Dunhe how the United States could set up the branch of American Red Cross in China. Specifically, the U.S. intended to establish a Red Cross branch in Shanghai to facilitate the transport of medical supplies for the French war relief and for fundraising in China. In Shen Dunhe’s view, Britain, France and other countries had already established Red Cross branches in Shanghai, so Shen Dunhe would not prevent the American Red Cross from also doing so. In addition, the branch of the American Red Cross in China was mainly for fundraising. Therefore, the RCSC was also in favour of an American Red Cross branch in Shanghai.

Shen Dunhe had established the Huayang Charity (华洋义赈 Huayang yizhen) which gained the appreciation of the American Red Cross. So when the American Red Cross requested to establish a branch in China with a charity focus, Shen Dunhe agreed.² When Shen expressed his support for the American Red Cross to establish a branch in China, the United States had received no formal agreement documents from China. However, Sa Moji had called Shen Dun and said: “There is no opposition to the American Red Cross setting up a branch in China, and the vice president of the RCSC,

¹ "Jieshao meiguo hongshizihui zan cheng yuan qi 介绍美国红十字会赞成员启 [Introduction to the American Red Cross for Associate Members]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 17, 1918.

² "Shen Dunhe zhi Xia Yingtang han 沈敦和致夏应堂函 [Letter of Shen Dunhe to Xia Yingtang]," *Shun Pao*, May 7, 1918.

Shen, agrees to that. We welcome the American Red Cross undertaking worthwhile activities in China, so the RCSC will give strong support to the American Red Cross".¹

When Sa Moji (萨门司) sent this letter, the society understood that the American Red Cross was to set up a branch in China, and Wang Zhengting (王正廷) would be the president for the branch. The Chinese government, Shen Dunhe, and local chapters had put forward their views. The debate between the RCSC and the American Red Cross regarding the proposed branch continued for more than a year. The conflict affected the normal development of the RCSC: as Shen had agreed to set up the branch of the American Red Cross, he was forced to resign.

In January 1918 the Chinese government, Shen Dunhe, and the RCSC agreed that the American Red Cross should come to China for fund-raising activities. However, the United States wanted to establish a branch of the American Red Cross in China; the Chinese government and RCSC opposed this idea. In April 1918, a document produced by the Army of China explicitly forbade the establishment of an American Red Cross branch in China, because the American Red Cross had only negotiated with, and gained permission from, Shen Dunhe. However, the American Red Cross had already publicly announced that it would be allowed to establish a branch in China. This situation was embarrassing for the American Red Cross, which resulted in Shen Dunhe being censured by other members of the RCSC.²

¹ "Shen Dunhe zhi Xia Yingtang han 沈敦和致夏应堂函 [Letter of Shen Dunhe to Xia Yingtang]."

² "Shen Dunhe zhi Xia Yingtang han 沈敦和致夏应堂函 [Letter of Shen Dunhe to Xia Yingtang]."

In Shen's account, "if the American Red Cross is only to set up transit agencies primarily responsible for transport of relief goods, it can be considered. If the American Red Cross sets up a branch in China, which is half the national nature of the Red Cross, it cannot be allowed in my own opinion. So I cannot give feedback about it."¹ Therefore, Shen changed to a neutral attitude and no longer expressed any opinion. Due to the attitude of the RCSC, the American Red Cross sought another way to secure consent from China. Meanwhile, the American Red Cross declared that it was not going to establish a branch in China. Wang Zhengting, as the president of the American Red Cross in China, was misinformed.

Subsequently, Anrid, the representative of the American Red Cross in China and the United States Embassy Commercial Counsellor, clarified the misunderstanding. Anrid stated that

[t]he United States was to establish a temporary agency to collect donations in China, such as clothes, hand-made bandages, and other items to send to the European battlefield for the wounded. This activity was not seen as the American Red Cross acting independently, but had unanimous treaty approval. Although the name "American Red Cross in China" literally translated into Chinese as "the branch of the American Red Cross in China", the nature of its activity was different from that of the RCSC, so the institution would not infringe on the RCSC.²

The conflict between the RCSC and the American Red Cross was, in fact, a misunderstanding caused by English translation. Shen Dunhe, the president of Shanghai

¹ "Shen Dunhe zhi Xia Yingtang han 沈敦和致夏应堂函 [Letter of Shen Dunhe to Xia Yingtang]."

² "Guanyu Meihonghui zai hua mukuan xiaoxi 关于美红会在华募款消息 [Reports on the Fund Raising of the American Red Cross in China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 4, 1918.

Commerce Association, along with a representative of the American Red Cross and the vice consul of the United States in Shanghai who was proficient in Chinese, jointly decided to translate “the American Red Cross” as “the preparatory ambulance material department of the United States”. When asked by the Ministry of Interior, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Department of the Army, Shen Dunhe said: “the branch is incompatibly involved”.¹ Subsequently, Shen Dunhe sent the announcement to the European battlefield that the American Red Cross relationship was purely charitable in nature and did not interfere with the sovereignty of the national Red Cross, but instead gave it support. Local branches of the Red Cross were informed about the preparatory ambulance material department of the United States going to various regional areas to raise funds, and told that they should provide hospitality and assistance.²

Government intervention in the RCSC as a government-run organization

After the conflict between the Red Cross Societies in China and the United States, a series of actions by the Beiyang government led to “people from civil society misunderstanding that the government was going to take the Red Cross back to being a government-run organization.”³ Until 1919, the Department of the Army, together with the Department of the Navy and the Department of Internal Affairs, sent a

¹ "Meihonghui yizheng zai hua mujuan mingcheng zhi baogao 美红会译正在华募捐名称之报告 [Report on Fundraising Activities in China Translated by the American Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 21, 1918.

² "Meihonghui yizheng zai hua mujuan mingcheng zhi baogao 美红会译正在华募捐名称之报告 [Report on Fundraising Activities in China Translated by the American Red Cross]."

³ "Zhongguo hongshizihui quanguo dahui ji (xu) 中国红十字会全国大会纪（续） [Minutes of General Meeting of the Red Cross (continued)]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 27, 1922.

representative to Shanghai in response to criticism by the American Red Cross Society of the RCSC, to investigate the accounts of the General Affairs Office. The Head Office of the RCSC in Beijing proposed to actively release the regulations and implementation rules issued by the Government; however, such a release was still opposed by Shen Dunhe. Shen Dunhe even attempted to draft a revision of the foregoing regulations for review by the General Assembly and final approval at the National Conference of the General Assembly, based on which he would plead with the Government to make the revision.¹ This attempt was, in fact, the continuity of opposition to the intent of the Government for exerting greater control over the General Affairs Office. This was obviously unacceptable to the Beiyang Government, which then decided to take drastic action.²

The Beiyang government was dissatisfied with the current work of the Red Cross and attempted to select new officers. Shen Dunhe noted that “the government’s intention to replace employees was designed to rectify and expand the scope”.³ On April 29, 1919, the Beiyang Government directly announced that Cai Tinggan (蔡廷干)⁴ would be

¹ The Second Historical Archives of China, "Zonghui fa Shen fu huizhang han 总会发沈副会长函 [Letter from the Head Office to Vice President Shen]," in *Hongshizihui dang'an 红十字会档案 [Archives of the Red Cross Society]* (February 19, 1919), 476-3241.

² The Second Historical Archives of China, "Zonghui fa Wu jingzhong han 总会发吴敬仲函 [Letter from the Head Office to Wu Jingzhong]" in *Hongshizihui dang'an 红十字会档案 [Archives of the Red Cross Society]* (April 16, 1919), 476-3239.

³ "Shen Zhongli laidian 沈仲礼来电 [Telegram from Shen Zhongli]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 18, 1919.

⁴ Cai Tinggan, called Yaotang (耀堂) as a courtesy name, was a native of Xiangshan (香山), Guangdong. He was sent to America for study in the 12th year of Emperor Tongzhi in the Qing Dynasty (同治十二年 A.D. 1873) when he was still a child. Later, he came back and served at Dagu Torpedo School. During the First Sino-Japanese War, he even led a torpedo boat to fight in the battle. In the 3rd year of Emperor Xuantong (宣统三年 A.D. 1911), he was assigned as the Chief of the Navy Inspection

dispatched to undertake the position of Vice President of the RCSC, which meant the former Vice President, Shen Dunhe, was removed from the position.¹ This act, was embarrassing for Shen, and it was followed by a letter from Shen to the General Assembly on the very day requesting his resignation.² According to the 1912 Charter of the RCSC,

The president, vice president and consultants, the secretary-general, and the director-general should be elected at the conference; the term of office should be limited to three years.³

At that time, there was no necessity to report to the central government for approval. According to the Regulations of the RCSC announced by the government in 1914, "the president and vice president of the RCSC are ordered by the President".⁴ The

Division under the Department of the Navy. During the 1911 Revolution, he went to Wuchang, following the orders of Yuan Shih-kai, to negotiate with Li Yuanhong (黎元洪). In 1912, he was promoted to be a senior military staff officer, titled as a vice admiral; in 1913, he was made the Superintendent of the Department of Revenue, and latter additionally made the protocol officer of the President's Office, or the English secretary of Yuan Shih-kai according to another source. In 1918, he became a member of the Customs Revision Committee. Cai Tinggan had been serving in Beijing since the late Qing Dynasty, and had been placed in important positions by successive presidents in the Beijing Government since the reign of Shih-kai Yuan due to his specialty in foreign language. This was probably one of the reasons why he was selected by the Beiyang Government as the Vice President of the Red Cross Society of China. Xu Youchun 徐有春, *Minguo renwu da cidian* 民国人物大辞典 [The Great Dictionary of Figures in the Republic of China] (Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin chubanshe 河北人民出版社, 1991), 1363.

¹ "Da zongtong ling 大总统令 [Presidential Order]," *Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公报 (Nanjing), April 30, 1919.

² The Second Historical Archives of China, "Zonghui Feng Enkun fa Lv huizhang han 总会冯恩昆发吕会长函 [Letter from Feng Enkun of the Head Office to President Lv]," in *Hongshizihui dang'an* 红十字会档案 [Archives of the Red Cross Society] (May 1, 1919), 476-3239.

³ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhangcheng 中国红十字会章程 [The Charter of the Red Cross Society of China]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian* 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (Nanjing: Nanjing daxue chubanshe 南京大学出版社, 1993), 226.

⁴ "Zhongguo hongshizihui tiaoli 中国红十字会条例 [Regulations of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao* 申报, September 29, 1914.

government's restraint on the Red Cross Society had greatly increased, but it still was elected by the Red Cross Society then got the president's announcement.

On the other hand, Shen also telegraphed the Head Office in Beijing to urge Cai Tinggan to Shanghai as soon as possible, for handover formalities. Prior to the handover, the General Assembly resolved to have Jiang Qudan, a standing member, temporarily hold the position.¹ The Head Office showed little response to the resignation of Shen Dunhe, and Secretary Feng Enkun even criticized Shen: "It is not a time for resignation, but an action out of resentment".²

After receiving the appointment, Cai Tinggan immediately arranged to meet the General Secretary of the Head office, Feng Enkun, indicating his intention of practically restructuring the General Affairs Office in a "peaceful treatment" manner. He telegraphed Shen Dunhe of Shanghai and requested that he maintain the situation for the time being, together with the General Assembly, for the reason that Cai still had some unfinished duties in Beijing.³ However, Cai's trip to Shanghai for the handover was disrupted, which might be partially attributed to the May 4th Student-led Patriotic Movement (五四学生爱国运动会 *wusi xuesheng aiguo yundonghui*) that broke out in

¹ "红十字会常议会纪事 [Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 5, 1919. "Honghui fuhuizhang jidai jiaoti 红会副会长急待交替 [Urgent Replacement of the Vice President of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 6, 1919.

² The Second Historical Archives of China, "Zonghui Feng Enkun fa Lv huizhang han 总会冯恩昆发吕会长函 [Letter from Feng Enkun of the Head Office to President Lv]."

³ The Second Historical Archives of China, "Zonghui Feng Enkun fa Lv huizhang han 总会冯恩昆发吕会长函 [Letter from Feng Enkun of the Head Office to President Lv]." "红十字会常议会纪事 [Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Red Cross Society]."

Beijing and lasted for more than one month. At last, representatives had to be sent by Cai to Shanghai for the takeover, as officially urged by the State Council in a formal letter and indicated by Lv Haihuan, the President of the Head office.¹

Nearly three months later, the 6 representatives² who were dispatched by Cai Tinggan arrived at Shanghai, and they immediately received all the property books of the General Affairs Office from Shen Dunhe and Jiang Qudan. Shen then formally resigned his chairmanship in the General Assembly. Considering that the 6 representatives were actually officers or employees with the Department of Revenue, the Department of Internal Affairs, the Department of the Army, and the Department of the Navy, a fact which might create great concern among the General Assembly that the Red Cross Society would be turned into a government-run organization, Cai Tinggan specially asked Shen Dunhe to explain the “misconception” of the government-run organization.³

Shen Dunhe took the opportunity to complain to Cai Tinggan that none of the 6

¹ "Honghui fuhuizhang jidai jiaoti 红会副会长急待交替 [Urgent Replacement of the Vice President of the Red Cross Society]," p.425. "Zhongguo hongshizihui fuhuizhang Cai Tinggan cheng 中国红十字会副会长蔡廷干呈 [Report from Cai Tinggan of Vice President of Red Cross Society of China]," *Zhengfu gongbao 政府公报* (Nanjing), September 9, 1919.

² Wen Boting (文博亭) was a unit chief from the Department of Revenue, Shao Houfu (邵厚夫) was a secretary from the Department of Internal Affairs, Wu Like (吴励科) was a consultant from the Department of the Navy, Tan Qilian (谭其廉) was a section member from the Department of the Navy, Wang Xingfu (王行甫) was a section member from the Department of the Army, and Huang Youbo (黄友柏) was the former section chief of the Finance Department.

³ "Honghui xin fuhuizhang paoyuan lai hu jieshou 红会新副会长派员来沪接收 [Reception of Representatives Sent by the New Vice President of the Red Cross Society to Shanghai]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 16, 1919. "Zhongguo hongshizihui xieshi fuhuizhang Shen Dunhe qishi 中国红十字会卸事副会长沈敦和启事 [Announcement on Resignation of Shen Dunhe, Vice President of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 20, 1919. "Cai tinggan zhi Shen Zhongli dian 蔡廷干致沈仲礼电 [Telegram from Cai Tinggan to Shen Zhongli]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 25, 1919.

representatives took charge of affairs after the takeover, which worried the General Assembly.¹ Later, Cai arrived at Shanghai and completed the handover between the new and old Vice Presidents.² When Cai Tinggan arrived in Shanghai for a dinner party for the merchants, he had already expressed his ambitions. He said that the “cross badge was a ten word, and the old language had ‘a ten view and a ten-finger’s view’. Cai Tinggan today is regarded by all nations of the Red Cross, and what the nations are saying is that we should do a vigorous business”.³

Although Cai Tinggan explained that the Red Cross Society would not be turned into a government-run organization, he might have obtained authorization from the Beiyang Government for a takeover and restructuring of the General Affairs Office.⁴ Therefore, after the announcement of his taking the office, Cai first engaged Tang Yuanzhan (唐元湛), a standing member and fellow native of Guangdong, as the Director General of the General Affairs Office, and declared that the General Affairs Office would continue operation under the leadership of Tang in its established mode. He also actively made plans to increase the membership of the General Assembly, showing a clear intention of substantially restructuring it.⁵ These events represented a reconciliation between the

¹ "Shen Zhongli fu Cai Tinggan dian 沈仲礼复蔡廷干电 [Reply telegram from Shen Zhongli to Cai Tinggan]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 26, 1919.

² "Xinren hongshizihui fuhuizhang di hu 新任红十字会副会长抵沪 [Arrival of the New Vice President at Shanghai]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 29, 1919. "Honghui xin fu huizhang zhi jiaoti 红会新旧副会长之交替 [Supersedence of Old Vice President by a New One]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 31, 1919.

³ "Honghui fuhuizhang yanhui hu shenshang ji 红会副会长宴会沪绅商纪 [Vice President of the Red Cross Meet Shanghai Businessmen]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 2, 1919.

⁴ "Beijing tongdian 北京通电 [Telegram to Beijing]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 1, 1924.

⁵ "Honghui kuochong changyiyuan e shu 红会扩充常议员额数 [Increasing Standing Members of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 5, 1919. "Zhongguo hongshizihui fuhuizhang Cai Tinggan

Vice President on behalf of the Government and the Vice President on behalf of the General Assembly, and also paved a foundation for restructuring the General Assembly.¹

On August 12, 1919, the General Assembly held its first meeting after restructuring; 34 participants were present, including 6 members remaining in office and 28 new members. During the meeting, all the members retained Shen Dunhe as the Chairman of the General Assembly; Cai Tinggan announced that except for the admission of students as members, "other matters will still apply the established regulations without any change".² The Committee of the General Assembly was actually one Cai's ideas for reform, which were intended to give more authority to the standing members for participating in affairs of the General Assembly.³

After Cai Tinggan took office, the Vice President's office was relocated from Shanghai to Beijing while the General Affairs Office and the General Assembly remained in Shanghai. This apparently failed to satisfy the Beiyang Government, which earnestly sought greater control in terms of regulations. In May of the following year, the Department of the Army, jointly with the Department of the Navy and the Department

jiuzhi qishi 中国红十字会副会长蔡廷干就职启事 [Announcement on Inauguration of Cai Tinggan , Vice President of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 7, 1919.

¹ "Honghui banshiyuan gongyan xinjiu fuhuizhang 红会办事员公宴新旧副会长 [Staff of the Red Cross Society Publicly Entertaining New and Old Vice Presidents]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 11, 1919.

² "Hongshizihui changyiyuan hui jishi 红十字会常议会纪事 [Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 13, 1919.

³ "Honghui kuochong changyiyuan e shu 红会扩充常议员额数 [Increasing Standing Members of the Red Cross Society]," p.438.

of Internal Affairs, announced a revision of the Constitution of the RCSC and the corresponding rules that had been released in 1914 and 1915. These new materials were released on June 3. The major change was

[t]o cancel the Shanghai Office (i.e. the General Affairs Office); additionally, the revised Constitution also provided a 3-year office term for the President and the Vice President, increased the number of standing members to 48, and included funds as assets of the Head office which might not be used without approval from the Department of the Army and the other two departments.¹

Meanwhile Shen Dunhe, the Chairman of the General Assembly, died in July. He was replaced by Yang Sheng (杨晟). Two months later President Lv Haihuan resigned, and the Beiyang Government appointed Wang Daxie (汪大燮) as his successor. In 1921, Tang Yuanzhan who had been appointed General Director of the General Affairs Office by Vice President Cai Tinggan, died due to a stroke, so he was succeeded by Zhuang Lu (庄箴) who was elected by the General Assembly.² The abovementioned orders were issued by the President and completely abandoned the election of the RCSC. The government's behaviour had allowed the private sector to regain the RCSC as a government-run organization. Therefore, Cai Tinggan declared that "all these positions were taken over in accordance with the regulations."³ He explained:

¹ "内务总长田文列、陆军总长期云鹏、海军总长萨镇冰呈 [Submission from Tian Wenlie, Chief of the Department of Internal Affairs; Qi Yunpeng, Chief of the Department of the Army and Sa Zhenbing, Chief of the Department of the Navy]," *Zhengfu gongbao* 政府公报 (Nanjing), June 3, 1920.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui ershinian dashi gangmu 中国红十字会二十年大事纲目 [List of Major Events for Red Cross Society of China in 20 Years]," 30-37.

³ "Hongshizihui changyiyuan hui jishi 红十字会常议会纪事 [Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Red Cross Society]."

If there was any misunderstanding that the government attempted to set the Red Cross as an official organization, it must be explained. All parties should be asked to explain, what was the suspect? This was a case of misconduct. This was a business venture. Public organizations were charitable organizations, that is, non-profit organizations. The government was willing to take back the organization. This had no doubters.¹

Since Cai Tinggan took office, there had been internal conflict in the operations of the Red Cross Society. The Shanghai office had maintained decision-making power independent of the Head office in Beijing, which constituted the trigger of this conflict. On August 28, 1920, the General Assembly held a meeting to discuss matters relating to expenditures and the number of standing members, and to further resolve debates on the revision of the Constitution. At the meeting, Sheng Zhushu (盛竹书) proposed increasing the number of standing members, but Qian Xinzhi (钱新之) advocated considering the regulations issued by the Government, while Wang Zhiqing (王芝卿) held the opinion that since there were explicit provisions, the President might necessarily increase the number of standing members. Sheng Zhushu pointed out that many provisions of the Constitution (Government's decree) were not applicable and proposed a revision of the Constitution by the General Assembly. Then Chairman Yang Sheng reminded the attendees that since the regulations had been released by the Government, it should be considered whether the General Assembly had the right to make any revisions.

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui quanguo dahui ji (xu) 中国红十字会全国大会纪（续） [Minutes of General Meeting of the Red Cross (continued)]."

Qian Xinzhi suggested that rules for standing members be primarily formulated, while Sheng Zhushu warned against focusing on the regulations instead of the Constitution, since the Constitution was the parent while the regulations were a child. When both sides reached a deadlock, Yang Sheng proposed a compromise that simultaneously applied both views: Sheng and Qian would undertake drafting the rules, while the General Assembly was responsible for selecting several persons to study the Constitution. This proposal was supported. However, Sheng and Qian declined and recommended Jin Bangping (金邦平) to draft the rules for them. Finally, the General Director recommended that Sheng, Qian, and Jin jointly draft the rules; this recommendation was approved.¹

At the meeting of the General Assembly, the participants argued based on different views and stands regarding the Government's decree. Some advocated observance of the Government's decree, while some other recommended that the General Assembly revise the decree. The argument about whether to observe the regulations suggests that the inherent internal problems of the General Assembly, or even those of the Head office, was due to the problem of whether to acknowledge the legally constituted authority of the Beiyang Government. Hence, the conflict between the government and non-government stance became increasingly sharp.

The Second National Conference of the General Assembly

¹ "Hongshizihui kai changyihui ji 红十字会开常议会纪 [Meeting Minutes of the General Assembly of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 29, 1920.

To resist the pressure from the Government by resorting to the grassroots public's desire for non-government organizations, the General Assembly convened the Second National Conference in 1922, as the expiration of the standing members' office term had brought about the abovementioned conflict. In opposition to the meeting, Chairman Wang Daxie telegraphed branch offices in advance to prevent them from dispatching representatives to Shanghai for the meeting. Wang further proposed that after the re-election, "the General Assembly should be relocated to Beijing where the Head office was located".¹ Wang's proposal sought to cut off the connection between the General Assembly and Shanghai, which obviously conformed to the policy of the Beiyang Government but caused great resentment among the General Assembly. In response, the General Assembly started a showdown with Wang and the Beiyang Government.

Regardless of the opposition from the Head office and any possible disputes, the Second National Conference was held in Shanghai on June 25, 1922. Over 500 persons, including representatives from over 160 branch offices, representatives from local governments, and other members of the Red Cross Society, were present at the meeting. However, neither the President nor the Vice President of the Head office showed up, and the Beiyang Government did not designate a representative either. On the very day of the meeting, the General Assembly telegraphed Wang Daxie in public, stating that the regulations and rules released by the Beiyang Government in 1920 had not been passed by the General Assembly and thus were not acknowledged, and that the location

¹ "Hongshizihui jinri kai quanguo dahui 红十字会今日开全国大会 [Today's National Conference of the Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 25, 1922.

of the General Assembly in Shanghai had been approved through a resolution by the National Member Assembly in 1912 and could not be changed.¹

The General Assembly considered the RCSC to be a highly focused public charity belonging to the nation's people, which reflected the dignity of the country and its people and must exhibit integrity. Therefore, the General Assembly questioned Wang

[w]hether it is [your intention] to intentionally change the nature of the Society, overturn the Constitution that has been implemented long since, never again raise donations, and completely turn the Society into a government-run organization with governmental funds. Please make an explicit reply at the agreed date, so that we may announce it to the world for public comment.²

This public telegram was also directed at the Beiyang Government. This was also the first time since its establishment that the General Assembly expressly opposed the regulations issued by the Government, persisted in its location in Shanghai, and challenged the motive of taking back the Society for official control. Meanwhile, the General Assembly also reminded the Government that taking back the organization to run it officially would be at the cost of governmental funds rather than the privately raised funds.

The dispute between the Head office in Beijing and the General Assembly in Shanghai made Cai Tinggan take a neutral position. He felt that "in this situation, it's

¹ "Hongshizihui jinri kai quanguo dahui 红十字会今日开全国大会 [Today's National Conference of the Red Cross]."

² "Hongshizihui jinri kai quanguo dahui 红十字会今日开全国大会 [Today's National Conference of the Red Cross]."

inconvenient for me to attend the meeting to avoid ambiguity”.¹ The meeting was started by an announcement of the agenda by the Director General Yang Sheng, followed by a public election of the chairman for the meeting. Yang was first elected as the chairman, but he declined; then Sheng Zhushu, a standing member, was elected. After introduction by the chairman, President Zhuang Lu presented the letters from the Head office and the Vice President Cai Tinggan, giving the reason for the absence of the Vice President. Therefore, the chairman brought the legitimacy of the meeting up for a vote; most participants deemed it legitimate, and they resolved to amend the regulations.²

By the end of the meeting, Yang Sheng had made a speech formally rejecting the legal system of the Head office in Beijing and the Beiyang Government. In the speech, he first reviewed the evolution of the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Society, which was founded with donations by gentry and merchants during the period of Emperor Guangxu (光绪) in the late Qing Dynasty. Yang declared that the RCSC was “a non-government charity organization” rather than “a government charity organization”. Therefore, Yang said, “since no regulations have been agreed upon, there are no valid regulations”. In other words, no regulations would be valid without consent of the members. When it came to the regulations and implementation rules released by the Beiyang Government in 1914 and 1920, he demonstrated that the Constitution passed

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui quanguo dahui ji 中国红十字会全国大会纪 [General meeting of the Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 26, 1922.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui quanguo dahui ji 中国红十字会全国大会纪 [General meeting of the Red Cross]."

by the General Assembly in 1912 was “a result of common agreement”, while the regulations issued by the Beiyang Government should become effective only after being approved by the General Assembly. However, the Assembly had been dissolved in 1914, and though a new Assembly was set up in 1920, the regulations had never been submitted for discussion or resolution.

Therefore, Yang argued that the regulations issued by Beiyang Government relating to the Red Cross Society “could not be considered as regulations, nor effective”. He stressed that the RCSC should regard “the common agreement as the basis”, and that any inapplicable provision in the conference passed in 1912 should be amended by the General Assembly with reference to common practice. Yang also proposed setting up a fund and asked the members for opinions on efforts in two aspects; he pointed out that the fund-raising capacity of the Shanghai side was far greater than the Beijing side, suggesting that the gentry and merchants in Shanghai provided major economic support to the Red Cross Society. At the end of the speech, Yang noted the significant position of standing members: “standing members are the main body of the Society, while members of the General Assembly are the backbones”. He further reminded the members to place an emphasis on election, so as to “compensate the regret of the gone by the coming”, having indicated his regret for the dismissal of the former Vice President, Shen Dunhe.¹

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui quanguo dahui ji 中国红十字会全国大会纪 [General meeting of the Red Cross]."

The strong attitude of the Shanghai members definitely imposed great pressure on senior officers of the Head office. On June 27, when the 2nd session of the National Conference was still being held, Vice President Cai finally attended; he had already resigned from his position with Beijing. The presence and declaration of Cai could be considered as acknowledging the justness of the National Conference.¹ On the same day, the revised Constitution drafted by the representatives of the General Assembly was discussed as the most important matter, though there were some opposing voices. For example, the representative from the Hankou (汉口) branch office threatened to leave and declared that he disagreed with passing any provision in conflict with Government's regulations. The revised Constitution was finally passed after some changes were made.²

Compared with the old Constitution, the revised Constitution reflected several efforts at resisting the Beiyang Government's interference. For example, at the very beginning, in the first article, it provided that "The Society is organized by members based on the common practice of social organizations in a democratic country", regardless of any legal regulations. Though it clearly specified that the Constitution should be registered with the Government, it stated that the Constitution would become effective upon approval by the National Member Assembly; it also specified that the General Affairs

¹ "Honghui quanguo dahui xiugai huizhang zaizhi 红会全国大会修改会章再志 [Records on Constitution Revision of the Red Cross Society at National Conference]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 28, 1922.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui xiuzheng zhangcheng 中国红十字会修正章程 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui yundong shiliao xuanbian 中国红十字会运动史料选编* (Hefei Hefei gongye daxue chubanshe 合肥工业大学出版社, 2014), 91-97.

Office was still located in Shanghai, while the Head office was located “where the Central Government was located”, without even mentioning Beijing.¹ Additionally, the revised Constitution also clarified the locations and authorities of the Head office and the General Affairs Office:

[t]he Head office should be responsible for matters relating to the Government and foreign affairs; the General Affairs Office should be responsible for matters relating to military officers and field commanders during wartime and local governments during non-wartime, foreign affairs of trading ports, negotiations with the Wanguo Federation of the Red Cross Society, and matters relating to branch offices and conferences. Most work was actually undertaken by the General Affairs Office, with only a limited amount undertaken by the Head office. With regard to personnel election, the President and Vice President would be elected by the General Assembly and appointed by the Government; both the President and the Vice President had an office term of one year, but could be re-elected upon expiration of the term. The President was revised to be “a completely honorary title”, and would serve where the Head office was located. Two Vice Presidents would be elected and appointed, one in the Head office and one in the General Affairs Office. Duties of the President and Vice Presidents should be specified based on the foregoing provision on the Head office and the General Affairs Office. Additionally, the General Affairs Office would have a Director General that was elected by the General Assembly. A national conference would be held in Shanghai every 3 years.²

According to the new Constitution, the General Assembly was located in Shanghai and the number of standing members would increase to 48. The standing members would be elected by National Conferences; elected standing members would have an office term of 3 years and could be re-elected upon the expiration of the term. The General

¹ The old Constitution provided that the Head office was located in Beijing. It is unknown whether the revision regarding the location represented a challenge by the Shanghai side, particularly the General Assembly, against the Beiyang Government.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui xiuzheng zhangcheng 中国红十字会修正章程 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]."

Assembly had a Director General and a Deputy Director General that would be elected by and among the standing members.¹ In addition to property management, account inspection, and formulation of rules as usual, the General Assembly further had the authority to elect the President, Vice Presidents, and Director General; review the qualifications of and dismiss members on the board of resolution; and investigate and approve the setup of branch offices. The General Assembly might convene an extraordinary national conference as it deemed necessary. During wartime, the General Assembly should have the office terms extended, and it could be changed into an interim General Assembly, with interim standing members additionally elected.²

On June 29, the 3rd Session of the National Conference was held for the election of standing members. The agenda of the conference was concluded by completion of the voting procedure.³ As the total number of valid votes at the conference was 597, but there were only 165 representatives from local branch offices, it is likely that representatives from Shanghai represented the majority, which was fully demonstrated by the voting results that came out in early July. Among the 48 standing members and 13 alternate standing members, it is noteworthy that the former President, Wang Daxie, was elected as an alternative standing member with relatively fewer votes. The former

¹ "Honghui quanguo dahui xiugai huizhang 红会全国大会修改会章 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society at the National Conference]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 27, 1922. "Zhongguo hongshizihui xiuzheng zhangcheng 中国红十字会修正章程 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]."

² "Honghui quanguo dahui xiugai huizhang 红会全国大会修改会章 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society at the National Conference]."

³ "Honghui kai dahui xuji 红会开大会续纪 [Continued Records on the Conference of the Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 30, 1922.

Vice President, Cai Tinggan, was elected as a standing member with a number of votes ranking only in 8th place, while the other standing members elected were mostly gentry and merchants or local officials in Shanghai.¹ On July 7, the newly elected standing members had their first meeting, at which Wang Yiting (王一婷) was elected as the Director General of the General Assembly and Sheng Zhushu as the deputy Director General. On July 8 a second meeting was held, at which Wang Daxie was elected as the President, Cai Tinggan was elected as the Vice President in Beijing, and Cheng Yang was elected as the Vice President in Shanghai. On August 17, the Beiyang Government acknowledged the results of this election and announced the appointments of the President and Vice Presidents.²

The National Conference was a victory for the gentry and merchants in Shanghai. The Conference passed the revised Constitution and ensured the General Assembly was the central authority of the RCSC; the President was appointed by the Government but now occupied an honorary position and was subject to election by the General Assembly. Adding a Vice President position in Shanghai meant that the General Affairs Office dominated governance via the Vice President in Beijing. Meanwhile, the newly elected members of the General Assembly were more representatives of the Shanghai side. Finally, the President and Vice Presidents were elected by the General Assembly and only passively acknowledged by the Beiyang Government. As mentioned above, Shen

¹ "Honghui kai dahui xuji 红会开大会续纪 [Continued Records on the Conference of the Red Cross]."

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui ershinian dashi gangmu 中国红十字会二十年大事纲目 [List of Major Events for Red Cross Society of China in 20 Years]."

Dunhe hoped to adhere the Red Cross to the private sector and successfully achieved his goal, while the Beiyang government's attempt to make the Red Cross a government-run organization was defeated.

Therefore, during the subsequent reign of the Beiyang Government or even during the reign of the Government of the Republic of China, the RCSC constantly maintained its status as a civilian-run organization, while the General Assembly, dominated by partial gentry and merchants in Shanghai, remained in a leading position. In 1924, when the office term of the President and the Vice Presidents expired, the General Assembly held a meeting on March 23, at which Yan Huiqing (颜惠庆) was elected as the President and Cai Tinggan and Yang Sheng were elected as the Vice Presidents; on April 29, the Beiyang Government approved the appointments as usual.¹ In 1928, Yan Huiqing was re-elected and remained in the position until 1934 before the restructuring of the Head office. During his tenure, however, the General Assembly, consisting of partial gentry and merchants in Shanghai, remained the central authority of the RCSC. After the founding of the Republic of China, the controversy about having a government-run or civilian-run Red Cross Society also drew to an end.

¹ "Hongshizihui gaixuan zheng fu huizhang 红十字会改选正副会长 [Reelection of the President and Vice Presidents of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, April 17, 1924. "Zhongguo hongshizihui ershinian dashi gangmu 中国红十字会二十年大事纲目 [List of Major Events for Red Cross Society of China in 20 Years]."

4.3 The RCSC beyond the Nanjing Nationalist Government: 1927-1936

Since its inception the RCSC relied largely on the Qing Government for its nationwide operations, and thus fell under control of the Government as an official or semi-official institution. Following the Revolution of 1911, the Red Cross had to unravel its connection with the Qing Government and the newly established Beiyang Government. After the Nanjing Nationalist Government was founded, the RCSC was once again trapped in a similar situation, but one much more complex. The core problem was that the Nanjing Nationalist Government did not trust the Red Cross. Therefore, the Nanjing Nationalist Government launched an effort to investigate the Red Cross.

When no rescue activities were organised by the Red Cross in the battlefields, during the fights between the National Revolutionary Army and the warlords Sun Chuanfang (孙传芳) and Zhang Zuolin (张作霖), General Jiang Jieshi (蒋介石) was furious. He organised the 12-member Investigation Committee for the Shanghai Red Cross to supervise Red Cross activities.¹ On August 12, 1927, the Committee received an order from General Jiang stating that

Immediate investigation is required of the internal operations of the Red Cross, with Chen Fangzhi (陈方之), director of the Military Medical Service Department, and Yang Xingfo (杨杏佛) has gone to Shanghai to conduct thorough investigations.²

On day later, the Committee held a conference with Zhuang Lu (庄篆), chairman of the Red Cross Society, together with physician Wang Peiyuan (王培元), to discuss a

¹ "Zong silingbu paiyuan cecha honghui 总司令部派员澈查红会 [Investigation Committee for Red Cross by Headquarters]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 13, 1927.

² "Zong silingbu paiyuan cecha honghui 总司令部派员澈查红会 [Investigation Committee for Red Cross by Headquarters]."

detailed investigation schedule. Chen Fangzhi was elected to preside over the conference. He pointed out the following reasons for the investigation:

First, the Red Cross had accumulated many problems over the years; Second, the Red Cross had not complied with the Nanjing Nationalist Government's order and violated the purpose of the Red Cross; Third, the status of the Red Cross was illegal.¹

Chen believed that the establishment of the RCSC by the Beiyang government was now being reformed by the Nanjing Nationalist Government. There were many internal problems in the Red Cross Society that was established beyond the Beiyang government. He hoped to thoroughly investigate the Red Cross by thoroughly examining the various experiences of the committee.

Yang Xingfo pointed out that the shortcomings in the work of the RCSC are that Nanjing and Shanghai all criticized the work of the Red Cross in front of the battlefield. They did not take the initiative, and there was no main responsible person to direct rescue work on the battlefield. Therefore, the front-line work and rescue ability was insufficient and requested help from the Military Medical Service. Wang Peiyuan stated that the Chinese Red Cross encountered various difficulties in its front-line work. Zhuang Lu, chairman of the Red Cross Society, also expressed his opinions at the conference. The Red Cross team sent four teams, each of about ten people, to carry out rescue work. At the same time, Zhuang Lu asked the committee to vote and pass it on to the General Command for follow-up.²

Investigation and supervision were reportedly carried out immediately after the conference. A rescue team of about 40 experienced practitioners, led by Fu Weide (傅

¹ "Cecha hongshizihui zuori jihui 澈查红十字会昨日集会 [Investigation Committee for Red Cross Society Organized]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 14, 1927.

² "Cecha hongshizihui zuori jihui 澈查红十字会昨日集会 [Investigation Committee for Red Cross Society Organized]."

维德), was dispatched to Xiaguan (下关).¹ As of August 28, 1927, all four teams were in place at the battlefield. The teams, with the investigation in mind, exhibited outstanding performance in rescuing the wounded soldiers and refugees.² Therefore, the census committee also considered that the ambulance team performed well and did not make any detrimental moves against the Red Cross. The census committee did not identify any problems with the Red Cross.

4.4 The dispute over re-organizing the RCSC

The Ministry of Internal Affairs sent a letter to the Head office asking to conduct a reelection as soon as possible, after the Nationalist Government made Nanjing the capital in 1928.³ On September 21, 1928, an executive council meeting of the Head office was held and attended by more than ten members. A vote was held at the meeting:

Yan Huiqing (颜惠庆) was elected to be President of RCSC, Wang Zhengting (王正廷) to be Vice President in Beijing, and Yu Qiaqing (虞洽卿) to be Vice President in Shanghai.⁴

The election results and the Red Cross charter were telegraphed to the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the record. The Red Cross conventionally submitted such election results to the government for appointment. However, the Nanjing Nationalist Government explained, "The President and Vice President are elected by vote, so the

¹ "Honghui jiuhu jinri chufa 红会救护队今日出发 [Red Cross Rescue Team Dispatched]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 20, 1927.

² "Xiaguan honghui dian qing caigou yaopin 下关红会电请采购药品 [Xiaguan Rescue Team Request Drug Purchase]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 28, 1927.

³ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross]".

⁴ "Hongshizihui gaixuan zheng fu huizhang 红十字会改选正副会长 [Reelection of the President and Vice Presidents of the Red Cross Society]."

government may not issue a letter of appointment".¹ The Nanjing Nationalist Government was not amicable to the Red Cross at that time, so it refused to appoint and cancelled some privileges by the Red Cross.²

The Nanjing Nationalist Government's refusal to appoint was undoubtedly a blow to the Red Cross Society. At the same time, the Red Cross Society began an internal dispute and members even attacked each other with leaflets and black letters.³

Chairman Zhuang Lu resigned in January 1929 because he didn't receive the appointment of the Nationalist Government and an internal dispute arose. Wang Peiyuan acted as Interim Council President. The executive council elected Jiang Qudan and Yao Yuqin (姚虞琴) to be representatives of the executive council. They discussed official business and undertook a joint liability with Wang Peiyuan.⁴

The Red Cross didn't receive the letter of appointment from the Nanjing Nationalist Government after a long wait, and they decided to give up after more than 7 months. On May 10, 1929, the Red Cross held an inauguration ceremony for the president and vice president.⁵ There were no government representatives in attendance and no other organization representatives attended the ceremony. Even President Yan Huiqing didn't

¹ "Honghui gexiang zhangze chengsong guomin zhengfu bei'an 红会各项章则呈送国民政府备案 (Documents Submitted to the Nationalist Government by the Red Cross) ," *Shun Pao 申报*, October 16, 1930.

² In the past, the Red Cross could send telegrams for free. However, starting in February 1929, the Ministry of Transport cancelled this privilege. "Honghui mianfei dianzhao bei quxiao 红会免费电照被取消 [Cancellation of Free Telegram of the Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, February 5, 1929.

³ "Honghui tongzhi waibu weihu zhi hanjian 红会通知外部维护之函件 [A Letter of the Red Cross to Notify External Maintenance]," *Shun Pao 申报*, January 21, 1929.

⁴ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross] ". "Wei guoji ciye beiming beizhai tongbao qingming 为国际慈业悲鸣被灾同胞请命 [A compatriot who was mourned for the international charity]," *Shun Pao 申报*, February 21, 1930.

⁵ "Honghui zuori huanying zheng fu huizhang jiuzhi 红会昨日欢迎正副会长就职 [Red Cross Held Inauguration Ceremony for President and Vice President Yesterday]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 11, 1929.

attend. Therefore, only fewer than 14 council members attended this ceremony. The president and vice president failed to solve the internal dispute after taking office; instead the dispute got worse due to organizational and financial issues.

As mentioned above, President Yan Huiqing was not in Shanghai and the Vice President in Beijing, Wang Zhengting (王正廷), didn't concern himself with council affairs, so the Vice President in Shanghai, Yu Qiaqing, became an important leader of the Head office.¹ However, at an executive council meeting,

Wang Peiyuan hoped that Vice President Yu would re-organize the Red Cross. Jiang Qudan, Director of the Fundraising and Relief Office, pointed out unreservedly that the Nanjing Nationalist Government didn't appoint the president and vice president. This was to indicate that the authority of the Head office was exercised jointly by the council president and vice president in Shanghai.²

After that, Jiang Qudan proposed to set up and actively run another Fundraising and Relief Committee.

The Committee was set up officially on June 15, 1929. Li Weihou (李伟侯) acted as Committee Chairman and Lin Kanghou (林康侯), Du Yuesheng (杜月笙), Mu Ouchu (穆藕初), Cao Rangzhi (曹让之), Wang Boqi (汪伯奇), Yang Meinan (杨梅南), Wang Peiyuan (王培元), Yao Yuqin (姚虞琴), Xia Yingtang (夏应堂), Lao Jingxiu (劳敬修), Chen Fuchen (陈辅臣), Chen Xuejia (陈雪佳), Yu Shaozhang (于少彰), Ha Shaofu (哈少甫), Jiang Xingjie (蒋星阶), Jiang Qudan as the Economic Committee (江趋丹, 兼经济委员), Huang Chujiu (黄楚九), Tan Rongpu (谭容圃), Ye Yuhu (叶誉虎), Guo Biao (郭标), Chen Jiageng (陈嘉庚), and Zhong Ketuo (钟可托)

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui xiuzheng zhangcheng 中国红十字会修正章程 [Revised Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]."

² "Honghui changyihui ji 红会常议会记 [Minutes of Executive Council Meetings of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 23, 1929.

acted as committee members. A report was sent to the executive council for recording after establishment.¹

Yu Qiaqing immediately made a counterattack and proposed setting up another executive committee to assist the vice president in council affairs.² An executive committee consisting of 11 members, including Zhao Xien (赵锡恩), was established later. The members of the Fundraising and Relief Committee and the executive committee were the same except for Chen Xuejia (陈雪佳).³ In other words, the two teams were opposite to each other. This was the first time that Du Yuesheng intervened in the affairs of the Red Cross.

Jiang Qudan published an article in *shun Pao* to narrate the history of the Red Cross since its establishment. The article particularly mentioned the story that

The Beiyang Government intended to nationalize the Red Cross and suspended Shen Zhongli (沈仲礼) from his duties and assigned Cai Tinggan to take over in 1927. There were willing to affix their signatures, build a monument for the four founders and compile a story transaction for them... encourage current Red Cross members and let them know the pioneering hardships of founders so that they could abandon their biases to get through hardships together and make efforts to develop the Red Cross.⁴

It seemed that these appeals used the past to satirize the present and were intended to mobilize Red Cross members.

¹ "Honghui couzhen weiyuan zhi renxuan 红会筹赈委员之人选 [Candidates of Fundraising and Relief Committee of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, June 24, 1929.

² "Honghui changyihui ji 红会常议会记 [Minutes of Executive Council Meetings of Red Cross]."

³ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross]".

⁴ "Honghui wei chuangshizhe jianta jigong 红会为创始者建塔纪功 [Red Cross Built A Monument for Founders]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 8, 1929.

Jiang Qudan repeatedly challenged the position and power of Yu Qiaqing, but the conflict mainly came from their divergence in relief work. At the executive meeting,

President Wang Yiting proposed to open a separate account for the Fundraising and Relief Committee to draw a clear line with the Red Cross... Committee Chairman Li Weihou (李伟侯) reported that there was a donation of RMB 30,000 left. Yu Qiaqing proposed to raise another RMB 20,000 to collect RMB 50,000, while Wang Yiting claimed that RMB 15,000 should be transferred to Gansu (甘肃) and Shanxi (陕西) respectively because the disasters there were serious, while funds transferred to Beijing should be paid by colleagues on account.¹

Jiang Qudan and the Fundraising and Relief Committee thought it was better to raise as much funding as possible; Yu Qiaqing and the President of the executive council Wang Yiting were conservative and worried that the account of the Fundraising and Relief Committee would influence the finances of the Red Cross. The executive meeting was a declaration of a breakup between the two sides. The Fundraising and Relief Committee decided to continue fundraising so that the relief program might be expanded. Yu Qiaqing, on the opposite side, would not attend the committee's meetings anymore.

The scale of the Fundraising and Relief Committee was increasingly expanded. By the beginning of August 1929, the committee announced that RMB 200,000 had been raised in that month.² On the day after the news was communicated, Yu Qiaqing immediately sent his resignation by telegram to the Nanjing Nationalist Government,

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross] "; "Honghui changyihui ji 红会常议会记 [Minutes of Executive Council Meetings of Red Cross]."

² "Honghui yusuan jizhen kuanmu 红会预算急赈款目 [Emergency Relief Items of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 5, 1929.

and Wang Yiting stated that he would not be responsible for the affairs of the Red Cross, including attending meetings and signing payments, as of August 1. The reason:

[f]irst, the Red Cross charter was inconsistent with the reality; second, the internal authorities were not centralized; third, there were too many vacancies of executive council members. Yu Qiaqing thought that a National Congress must be convened to carry out a thorough reorganization. A notice should be sent 6 months prior to the congress. Slow action cannot save a critical situation.¹

The Red Cross had published a notice to prepare for the general meeting, which was planned to commence in April of the next year.

Wang Peiyuan (王培元) was recommended as the Chairman of the Preparatory Committee by general acclaim; Jiang Qudan, Wen Lanting (闻兰亭), Yuan Jiayi (袁嘉熙), Yao Yuqin (姚虞琴), and Tan Rongpu (谭蓉圃) were preparatory members.²

At the same time, the Nanjing Nationalist government accepted the resignation of Mr. Yu.

Ji Jing (嵇镜) of the International Department of Foreign Affairs, Du Yaoji (杜曜箕), counsellor of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and Yan Zhizhong (严智钟), Medical Director of the Ministry of Health, came to Shanghai and expressed that the previous name and regulations were not suitable since the time for preparing the general meeting was too long. So, the government planned to revise regulations on behalf of the Red Cross to arrange meeting affairs.³

¹ "Yu he De ci honghui fuhuizhang 虞和德辞红会副会长 [Qiaqing Yu Resigned His Vice President of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 9, 1929.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui choubei disanjie huiyuan dahui tonggao 中国红十字会筹备第三届会员大会通告 [Notice of Preparation of the 3rd General Meeting of Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, September 20, 1929.

³ "Zhengli hongshizihui 整理中国红十字会 [Arrangement of Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, November 15, 1929. "Sanbu zhengli zhongguo honghui 三部整理中国红会 [Arrangement of Red Cross Society of China by Three Steps]," *Shun Pao 申报*, November 16, 1929.

The Red Cross held a meeting to discuss how the government was getting involved in and arranging the Red Cross, which would affect its reputation, cause suspicions among all members and donators, as well as hamper the ongoing donations. Then, the attendees recommended and appointed representatives to deliver the results of the meeting to the Nanjing Nationalist government and negotiate with them.¹

After the Nanjing Nationalist government successively got involved in reorganising the Red Cross, Yu Qiaqing resumed his position. In the meeting about his reinstatement, Wang Yiting pointed out that “the aim of the government sending people to Shanghai was to urge Vice-chairman Mr. Yu to resume his position, support the progress of the Red Cross, and eliminate obstacles”. Yu still insisted that the Relief Committee should take on the relief fund, and that the Affairs Office of the Red Cross should be responsible for expenses related to medicine, medical aid, burial, and health, which was approved by many councillors.² Yu insisted on revising regulations as soon as possible and organizing a temporary executive council. He solemnly expressed that “the Red Cross Society was an international career which shall not be managed and arranged by several people. There was no other way but modifying regulations. Otherwise, he would quit the office”.³ At last, Yu stated that he would only take office until the beginning of the General Meeting.

¹ "Honghui zuo kai changyihui 红会昨开常议会 [Executive Council Meeting of Red Cross Society of China Yesterday]," *Shun Pao 申报*, November 7, 1929.

² "Honghui zuzhi suijun zhenzai dui 红会组织随军拯灾队 [Organization of Military Disaster Relief Team of Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, November 15, 1929.

³ "Hongshizihui zuo kaihui huanying Yu Qiaqing shishi 红十字会昨开会欢迎虞洽卿视事 [Meeting to Welcome Investigation of Yu Qiaqing by Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, February 21, 1930.

Yu Qiaqing clearly expressed his dissatisfaction through his speech. In fact, some people published reports in newspapers to attack Jiang, claiming that “Jiang occupied the great power and governed the meeting affairs”.¹ The notice of Jiang Qudan disclosed all the internal disputes of the general meeting. The saying in the notice that “humiliation and insults for one year” referred to all kinds of disputes since Yu Qiaqing took his post. The “weak power and lonely position” meant that Jiang and his mates couldn’t contend after the Nanjing Nationalist government got involved. It seemed that Jiang lost heart for the meeting affairs.²

On April 24, the most serious conflicts of the RCSC broke out around the selection of councillors. The meeting commenced at 9:00 am and the voting ended at noon. This meeting was attended by representatives from 121 branches, involving 72 members. Disputes occurred when opening the ballot box and counting the ballots. Three ballot examiners—Dong Lin (董霖), Ye Zhisheng (叶植生), and Gu Keyong (顾克用)—claimed that there were four doubtful points:

[f]irstly, there were 72 check-ins but 87 ballots in total; secondly, Jiangpu (江浦) Branch repeated the vote; thirdly, two-thirds of the ballots were written by Chinese brush, however, no brush or ink stones were provided; fourthly, the vote was ended at 12 o’clock noon, while there were still ballots mailed out from the meeting field at 2:00 pm. Given these doubtful points, a representative from Shexian (歙县) County Wu Jiansan (吴甲三) stopped the counting of ballots, and reported it to the temporary general meeting in the second day.³ About 10:00pm that day, dozens of people came

¹ "Wei guoji shanye beiming bei zai tongbao qingming 为国际善业悲鸣被灾同胞请命 [Requesting for the Compatriots during disaster beyond International Philanthropy]," *Shun Pao 申报*, February 21, 1930.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui shengming 中国红十字会声明 [Declaration of Red Cross of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, March 7, 1930.

³ "Zhongguo hongshizihui disanjie huiyuan dahui choubei gaixuan weiyuanhui xuanyan 中国红十字会第三届会员大会筹备改选委员会宣言 [Declaration of the 3rd General Meeting of Red Cross Society for Preparation of Re-election Committee]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 1, 1930.

with weapons and destroyed the meeting field, calling for re-election, and only left after a long time.¹

The interim general meeting was held the next day, attended by representatives of more than 73 branches and over 100 members, who discussed the remediation of this election.

It was finally decided

[t]o have a re-election on April 28 and to organize a re-election committee consisting of ten persons: Ye Zhisheng (叶植生), Zhou Guoxun (周国焯), Wu Jiasan (吴甲三), Dong Lin (董霖), Gu Keyong (顾克用), Shen Laisen (沈来森), Zhou Guangjiu (周光九), Wang Peiyuan (王培元), Wei Ruifeng (卫锐锋), and Wu Yaosan (吴耀三). Many staff of the general council attended the interim general meeting, including Wei Ruifeng and Wu Yaosan.² On April 27, the re-election committee was formally established.³

It can be seen from the abovementioned name list that the re-election committee was composed of some branch representatives and the general council staff.

The general council was destroyed by many people. Wang Yiting (王一亭) and Guan Jiongzhi (关炯之) proposed “24 by-elections and stating that the vote was for re-election. When there were changes in the vote process, 49 people still voted.”⁴ The Nanjing Nationalist government then ordered the Shanghai Municipal Health Bureau to investigate and deal with the offenders. The Shanghai Municipal Special Zone Court

¹ "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 24, 1930.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui disanjie huiyuan dahui choubai gaixuan weiyuanhui xuanyan 中国红十字会第三届会员大会筹备改选委员会宣言 [Declaration of the 3rd General Meeting of Red Cross Society for Preparation of Re-election Committee]." "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]." "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross]".

³ "Honghui gaixuan weiyuanhui diyici huiyi 红会改选委员会第一次会议 [The 1st session of Reelection Committee of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 1, 1930.

⁴ "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]."

arrested the re-election member Shen Laisen (沈来森) on the charge of damaging the RCSC.¹ At the same time, the executive council also decided to convene another interim general meeting on August 10, 1930 to settle the election and all the other problems. The previous general meeting was considered as “no result with votes”.² In this situation, people claimed the re-election had failed.

The conflict resulted from a re-organization between Yu Qiaqing and Jiang Qudan. Yu Qiaqing insisted that the general meeting carry out an organization reform of the general council by thoroughly altering the constitution so as to prevent the general council from being controlled by the minority, while Jiang persisted in maintaining the traditions of the RCSC, so inevitable disputes occurred between both parties. During the general meeting, all the measures taken by some branch representatives and the staff members of the general council seemed to accord with Jiang’s suggestions. It should be noted that Jiang Qudan was not elected as an executive senator on April 24, which might be one of the reasons for the re-election.³

However, the investigation results of the Health Bureau of the Shanghai Municipal Government indicated that the incident of violence was involved with this senatorial re-election.⁴ The current Vice Chairman in Beijing and the foreign minister Wang Zhengting (王正廷) identified Jiang Qudan as the person who had committed the

¹ "Honghui gaixuan dingqi kaipiao 红会改选定期开票 [Reelection of the Red Cross Society of China Made Out an Invoice Regularly]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 1, 1930. "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]."

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui tonggao 中国红十字会通告 [Announcement of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, May 9, 1930. "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]."

³ "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]."

⁴ "Honghui dingshi kai dahui 红会定期开大会 [Regular General Meeting of Red Cross Society]."

incident.¹ The general council countered that there was no concrete evidence, and also Jiang Qudan said he had not done anything, but the Nanjing Nationalist government gave an order to the general council via the Shanghai Health Bureau, requiring that Jiang Qudan be suspended as an executive senator.² In August 1930, Jiang Qudan submitted an application for resignation and from then on, he disappeared from the central general council permanently.³

On August 11, 1930 an interim general meeting was convened, again with only dozens of attendees, excluding the executive council president Wang Yiting (who pled illness) and including merely 3 executive senators, which caused complaints by many members.⁴ They finally decided to postpone the meeting till August 19.⁵ The Nanjing Nationalist government gradually felt impatient with the long-term internal troubles of the general council. The Health Bureau of the Shanghai Municipal Government again wrote to Wang Yiting to ask how to solve the election disputes in the council itself and how to handle the remedial measures approved by the Nanjing Nationalist government.⁶ Soon afterwards, executive senator Wen Lanting (闻兰亭) and member Hong Yanbin (洪雁宾) proposed organizing a committee for constitution revision in accordance with

¹ "Guomin zhengfu yancha honghui an 国民政府严查红会案 [Strict Investigation of the Kuomintang Government about Case of the Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, July 27, 1930.

² "Honghui changyihui ying ban ge'an 红会常议会应办各案 [All Cases Supposed to Be Handled by General Council of Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 9, 1930.

³ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhengqiu huiyuan dahui tekan 中国红十字会征求会员大会特刊 [Special Issue for General Assembly of the Red Cross]".

⁴ "Hongshizihui dahui ji 红十字会大会记 [Summary of Conference of Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 12, 1930.

⁵ "Zhongguo hongshizihui jinyao tonggao 中国红十字会紧要通告 [Emergency Announcements of Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 17, 1930.

⁶ "Shi weishengju chaban honghui zonghui jinxun 市卫生局查办红会总会近讯 [Recent News about Investigations of the Municipal Health Bureau into the General Council of Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 18, 1930.

the remedial methods issued by the Nanjing Nationalist government, and recommended 11 members to take charge of revising all the constitutions to satisfy the Nanjing Nationalist government's expectations.¹ After 18 meetings in total from August 20 to November 16 by the committee for constitution amendment, the revision of four constitutions, including the Constitution of the Red Cross of China, the General Principles of Branches, Election Law, and Details of Executive Committee was finally completed.²

The Red Cross Society immediately submitted the revised constitutions to the Nanjing Nationalist government for the record.³ However, after discussions during the relevant government departments' conferences, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs even proposed following the examples of Japan and other countries in the management of government-specific regulations, which was accepted by the Nanjing Nationalist government as the declared policy. At the end of December, the government released a piece of news showing that regulations on the Red Cross would be formulated by legislatures.⁴ This behavior once again demonstrated that the government persistently intervened in the

¹ Hong Yanbao (洪雁宝), Xu Xichun (徐熙春), Xue Shaoting (薛少廷), Wen Lanting (闻兰廷), Jiang Daqiu (蒋达秋), Yang Ke (杨克), Ye Zhisheng (叶植生), Wu Jiasan (吴甲三), Zhou Guangjiu (周光九), Li Zhenbang (李振邦), and Dong Xinqin (董心琴). "Honghui linshi dahui jueyi xiugai zhangcheng 红会临时大会决议修改章程 [Interim Conference to revise the Constitution of Red Cross]," *Shun Pao 申报*, August 21, 1930.

² "Honghui xiugai huizhang weiyuanhui xiugai wanjun dangji bimu 红会修改会章委员会修改完竣当即闭幕 [Committee to completed Revision of Constitution of Red Cross Society of China]," *Shun Pao 申报*, November 20, 1930.

³ "Honghui gexiang zhangze chengsong guomin zhengfu bei'an 红会各项章则呈送国民政府备案 (Documents Submitted to the Nationalist Government by the Red Cross) ."

⁴ "Hongshizihui teding tiaoli zhi pizhun 红十字会特定条例之批准 [With Approval of Specific Regulation of Red Cross Society]," *Shun Pao 申报*, December 28, 1930.

Red Cross. The conservatives of the Red Cross possessed increasingly smaller controllable areas after the government's direct interference through legislation.

The aforesaid dispute exactly represented the reconfirmation of the status and line for the RCSC during the transition period from the Beiyang Government to the Nanjing Nationalist government. The Red Cross had maintained a lukewarm relationship with the government since its establishment. Though its president and vice president must be appointed by the government and its constitutions were also required to be recorded, it still always kept a relatively independent position. And besides, its work integrated charities' emphasis on relief efforts with the Red Cross's battlefield rescues gave a semblance of independence.

Yu Qiaqing, finally with strong support from the Nanjing Nationalist government, was able to go on with various re-organization procedures. Despite the government's support, Yu Qiaqing still faced difficulties with the re-organization, because the re-organization must be discussed at the National Convention. However, the Nanjing Nationalist government eventually unilaterally decided to directly formulate the regulations and incorporate the RCSC into the government management system. The internal reform led by Yu Qiaqing in the general council was finally successfully completed. Therefore, the RCSC gradually lost its independent position from then on.

4.5 The RCSC beyond the Resistance War Against Japan: 1937-1942

After the July 7th Incident (also known as the Marco Polo Bridge Incident) in 1937, the comprehensive Anti-Japanese War started in China. On August 31, the Nationalist Government Department of Health ordered that "all national NGOs, including the Red

Cross, should establish their head offices in Nanjing”. Thus, one month later, the Head office of the Red Cross held the 9th Joint Session of Executive Directors and Supervisors, where the decision was made to move the Head office to Nanjing. Later, the Red Cross Head office appointed Secretary-General Pang Jingzhou (庞京周) as Director.¹ Meanwhile, Vice President of the Red Cross, Du Yuesheng (杜月笙), together with some Directors and Supervisors, moved to Hong Kong and set up the Hong Kong Office of the Red Cross.² On October 2, as core figures of the Red Cross Head office had gone to Hong Kong, several Chinese and foreigners established the Shanghai International Committee of the RCSC, in order to continue medical and rescue work in Shanghai.³ As Japanese troops approached Nanjing from Shanghai, the Nanjing Office had to be moved from Nanjing to Hankou on November 21. Thus, the Nanjing Office was cancelled and renamed the Hankou Office.⁴

Around the same time, on December 6, representatives of the Department of Health held a meeting with Red Cross Vice President Du Yuesheng, Executive Supervisor Qian Xinzhi (钱新之), Secretary-General Pang Jingzhou, and other members of the

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zaijing sheli shoudu banshichu zhi jingguo 在京设立首都办事处之经过 [Processes of Establishment of Capital Office in Nanjing]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, 1937, 13-14.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Xianggang lishishi jian banshichu zhi gongzuo baogao 香港理事室兼办事处之工作报告 [Work Report of Hong Kong Directors' Chamber and Office]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, 1937, 35-40.

³ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Benhui guoji weiyuanhui gongzuo gaikuang 本会国际委员会工作概况 Job Summary of International Committee of Red Cross " *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, 1937, 13-14.

⁴ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhuhan banshichu jingguo qingxing 驻汉办事处经过情形 [Processes of Establishment of Hankou Office]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, 1937, 16.

Red Cross in Hong Kong, where they agreed on the “Regulations on Adjustment of Rescue Work of Head office of the RCSC” (调整中国红十字会总会救护事业办法 *tiaozheng zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiu hu shi ye banfa*). The Regulations specified:

First, the executive agency would be moved to Hankou, along with the central competent authority, and directed by Vice President Du Yuesheng, Directors, Supervisors and other personnel who left Shanghai; second, the Shanghai Office and all rescue works were to be managed by the Vice President, Executive Directors, Supervisors, and other personnel who stayed in Shanghai at their discretion; third, in order to cope with changes in the current political situation, the Hong Kong Office was to be expanded or additional offices established in other places to handle affairs such as collection and donations, equipment gathering, and transshipment. In addition, the regulations specified the rescue policies of the Red Cross and provided that the Red Cross reorganize medical workers in various places and organize small mobile first-aid teams. The regulations also enacted Lin Kesheng (林可胜) as the acting Director-General of the Rescue Committee.¹

Lin Kesheng continued to re-organize the Rescue Committee under the support of the regulations, consisting of the Directors Chamber and four sections (the General Affairs Section, Medical Section, Transportation Section and Materials Section), among which the Medical Section was the most important.² He also assembled medical teams under

¹ Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, "Tiaozheng zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiu hu shi ye banfa 调整中国红十字会总会救护事业办法 [Regulations on Adjustment of Rescue Work of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China]," in *Archives of General Ambulance Corps 救护总队档案* (Guiyang, 6 December 1937), 40-3-26. Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Linshi jiu hu wei yuan hui 临时救护委员会 [Interim Rescue Committee]" *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 58 (1937): 20-21.

² Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiu hu wei yuan hui di yi ci baogao 中国红十字会总会救护委员会第 1 次报告 The First Report of Rescue Committee of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China" in *Archives of General Ambulance Corps 救护总队档案* (Guiyang, 1937-1938), 40-3-60.

the Medical Section and acted as team leader. The medical teams were distributed in three regions according to workplaces, with a leader and one or two deputy leaders for each. They consisted of three groups, i.e. surgery group, bandaging group, and X-ray group, with 15 to 20 members in each group. There were originally 37 medical teams.¹ In early 1938, these medical teams became the General Ambulance Corps.² Considering the Red Cross re-organization, some leaders in Hong Kong held an interim meeting of Executive Directors and Supervisors on March 3, 1938, which was attended by Vice President Du Yuesheng, along with Executive Directors Lin Kanghou (林康候), Wang Zhen (王震), and Wang Xiaolai (王晓籁). The meeting recognized the establishment of the Hankou Office and confirmed the Red Cross branches in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Hankou.³

Wuhan (武汉) was threatened by war after the Japanese army occupied Jiangxi in the summer of 1938. The Red Cross Rescue Committee decided to retain two medical teams working around Wuhan and move the remainder to Changsha (长沙) in May 1938. On October 1 of that year, the Hankou Head office moved to Changsha. On

¹ Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiuwu weiyuanhui di yi ci baogao 中国红十字会总会救护委员会第 1 次报告 The First Report of Rescue Committee of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China ". Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, " Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiuwu weiyuanhui jiuwu gonggao di yi hao 中国红十字会总会救护委员会救字高第壹号 [Bulletin No. 1 of Rescue Committee of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China]," (1937-1938), 40-3-60.

² Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, " Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiuwu weiyuanhui di er ci baogao 中国红十字会总会救护委员会第 2 次报告 [The Second Report of Rescue Committee of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China]," (1938), 40-3-60.

³ Guiyang Archives 贵阳市档案馆, "1938nian 3 yue 3 ri linshi changwu lishi huiyi yijue an 1938 年 3 月 3 日临时常务理事会议决议案 [Resolution of Meeting of Interim Executive Council on 3 March 1938]," (1938), 40-3-171.

November 12, the Rescue Committee and former Hankou Office (renamed as the Changsha Interim Office) moved to Jiaoshanping (椒山坪), Qiyang (祁阳).¹ In Qiyang, some personnel of the Interim Office went to Kunming (昆明) as required by the Head office and established the Kunming Branch of the Interim Office on February 11, 1939.² Soon, the Rescue Committee and Interim Office were removed from Qiyang to Guilin (桂林), Guangxi (广西), and finally to Guiyang (贵阳) in February 1939.³

Meanwhile, the RCSC held the 22nd Plenary Joint Session of Directors and Supervisors, attended by 22 persons: 15 attendees and 7 representatives. It was an important meeting for the reorganization of the Red Cross in China. Chairman Wang Zhengting harshly criticized three deficiencies of the Red Cross:

Wang's first criticism was in regard to the organization of the Red Cross in China. There had not been such a great war since the establishment of Red Cross, so the preparation and organization were not perfect. Secondly, Wang criticized the communication as lacking detail, with repeated or missed works. Third, Wang stated that a lack of cooperation amongst the Red Cross in China, which is even more important than organization and communication, made the efforts defective.⁴

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Changsha linshi banshichu jingguo qingxing 长沙临时办事处经过情形 [Process of Changsha Interim Office]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 58 (1938): 16-17.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui banshichu gongzuo baogao 中国红十字会总会办事处工作报告 [Work Report of Head Office of Red Cross Society of China]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 59 (1939): 7-9.

³ The second Historical Archives of China 南京第二历史档案馆, "Pang Jingzhou gei zhuhan banshichu shouyu 庞京周给驻汉办事处授予 [Instruction from Jingzhou Pang to Hankou Office]," in *Archives of Red Cross 红十字会档案* (January 27, 1939), 476-1910.

⁴ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo honghui zai gang kaihui 中国红会在港开会 [Meeting of Red Cross Society of China in Hong Kong]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 46 (1939): 13-14.

Wang also put forward three proposals:

First, it is to cooperate with other organizations, especially governmental agencies. It was a pity that there still was no office of the Red Cross in Chongqing, the capital in wartime. Second, it is to strengthen propaganda in order to increase donations. Third, publish account information regularly. Wang also stressed that orders should be centralized in one place to gain mutual effects.¹

In terms of organization, the decision was that “the Head office should be located where the President and Vice President are located as the core workplace. Furthermore, strategies to improve administrative organization would be decided through consultation of the President, Vice President, Executive Directors, and Supervisors”. After further discussion in the Plenary Joint Session of Directors and Supervisors on February 27 to 28, a resolution was made to transfer all official seals, accounts, and related important files of the Red Cross to Hong Kong, the location of the President and Vice President.² Hong Kong became the official command center of the Red Cross in China.³

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo honghui zai gang kaihui 中国红会在港开会 [Meeting of Red Cross Society of China in Hong Kong]," 13-14.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui banshichu gongzuo jianbao 中国红十字会总会办事处工作简报 [Work Briefing of Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 48 (1939): 18. Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui banshichu gongzuo baogao 中国红十字会总会办事处工作报告 [Work report of the Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 59 (1 April to 31 December 1939): 7-9.

³ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui banshichu gongzuo baogao 中国红十字会总会办事处工作报告 [Work report of the Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China]," pp.62-63.

At the same time, the RCSC also established secondary organizations across the country. As Kunming demonstrated increasingly important strategic significance, the Head office decided to upgrade the Kunming Branch of the Interim Office and appointed Gao Ren'ou (高仁偶) to be the Secretary of the General Office. Then, the Session of Executive Directors and Supervisors decided to move the Guiyang Interim Office to Chongqing (重庆) and renamed it the Chongqing Branch Office. Tang Chengzong (唐承宗) was appointed as Head office Secretary and Chongqing Branch Office Director via an engagement letter. From January 14 to 15, 1940, the Head office held the 23rd Plenary Joint Session of Directors and Supervisors in Hong Kong, where it was decided to appoint Pan Xiaoe (潘小萼) as Secretary-General.¹ At the end of January, the Board of Executive Directors and Supervisors decided to relocate the Head office to Chongqing, incorporate the former Chongqing Branch Office into the Head office, rename the office in Shanghai as the Shanghai Office and retain the General Office in Hong Kong.²

However, the members in Shanghai insisted that Shanghai was the original site of the Red Cross in China and had a historical relationship between the domestic and overseas

¹ The Second Historical Archives of Nanjing 南京第二历史档案馆, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui di yi jie li jianshahui di 23 ci lianxi huiyi jilu 中国红十字会总会第 1 届理、监事会第 23 次联席会议记录 [Minutes of the 23rd Joint Session of the 1st Board of Executive Directors and Supervisors of the Red Cross Society of China]," in *Achieves of Red Cross Society of China 红十字会档案* (January 14 to 15 1940), 476-1945.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui banshichu gongzuo jianbao 中国红十字会总会办事处工作简报 [Work Briefing of Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 58 (January 23 to February 5 1946): 102.

branches. So, they argued, the original businesses in Shanghai should remain and a monthly expenditure budget should be allocated despite relocating the Head office to Chongqing and renaming the former Head office as the Shanghai Office. Besides this, they proposed that affairs of the reorganized Shanghai Office should be managed by the Executive Directors and Supervisors in Shanghai. The Hong Kong Office expressed its consent regarding the proposal of the Shanghai Office. Thus, the issue of relocating the Head office to Chongqing finally came to an end.¹ The former Chongqing Branch Office was incorporated into the Head office, and the former Head office in Shanghai was renamed the Shanghai Office and the General Office remained in Kowloon, Hong Kong.² After the relocation to Chongqing, the Head office was held by the Secretary-General rather than the President, Vice President, Executive Directors, and Supervisors, as they remained in Hong Kong.³

After that, the 24th Joint Session of Directors and Supervisors was held by the Head office, where Wang Zhengting clearly pointed out:

What was especially mentioned was self-criticism of all agencies' works concerning communication. It was well known that any agency or group should

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Shanghai zonghui gaishe zhuhu banshichu jingguo gaikuang 上海总会改设驻沪办事处经过概况 [General Process of the Establishment of Shanghai Office by Shanghai Head Office]," *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 60 (1940): 37-42.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui zongbanshichu gongzuo jianbao 中国红十字会总会总办事处工作简报 [Work Briefing of Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Monthly of the Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, May 28 to June 30, 1940, 22-30.

³ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Shanghai zonghui gaishe zhuhu banshichu jingguo gaikuang 上海总会改设驻沪办事处经过概况 [General Process of the Establishment of Shanghai Office by Shanghai Head Office]," 41.

maintain a complete organizational system, unify administrative power, and observe discipline; or else the power of the whole organization would be weakened due to indiscipline and the administrative management would be disordered and divergent, flexible command would not be realized, and work efficiency would be influenced because of separate administrative power. In particular, in terms of discipline, personnel at all levels all should comply with the discipline of a group, knowing their responsibilities, and taking serving others as their aim, so as not to destroy the system and go beyond their own authority, but play a role by means of exercising their powers.¹

In response to Wang's proposal for more discipline, an ambiguous stipulation was proposed that "the powers of the Interim Rescue Committee should be conducted by the President, Vice President, and Board of Executive Directors and Supervisors, and Session proceedings should be notified to Executive Directors and Supervisors in Hong Kong". On the other hand, the Head office proposed that the organizational system of the Red Cross Society in difficult times should be approved only after the inspection and amendment of some Executive Directors and Supervisors.² On December 8, 1941, Hong Kong was attacked by the Japanese army and occupied. The Red Cross Head office had to cease operations. From that day, the main functions of the Head office were centralized in Chongqing.

¹ Wang Zhengting 王正廷, "1940 niandu benhui gongzuo jiantao 1940 年度本会工作检讨 [Annual Work Review in 1940]," *Conference Communication 会务通讯*, no. 3 (1940): 2.

² "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui di 1 jie li jianshihui di 24 ci lianxi huiyi jilu 中国红十字会总会第 1 届理、监事会第 24 次联席会议记录 [Minutes of the 24th Joint Session of The First Session of the Board of Executive Directors and Supervisors of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Conference Communication 会务通讯*, no. 3 (1941): 5-7.

4.6 Government Controls the Red Cross: 1943-1949

Although the Red Cross President, Vice President, and some Executive Directors and Supervisors of the RCSC moved to Chongqing after the Pacific War broke out, many other Directors and Supervisors remained in Shanghai. Influenced by the Pacific War, the Directors and Supervisors in the Shanghai region could not take part in meeting decisions made by the Head office. While Hong Kong was occupied concurrently, the Head office made organizational adjustments correspondingly. However, disconnection between the Head office and Shanghai Office facilitated the comprehensive reorganization of the Red Cross in China. Along with the above-mentioned reasons, the active involvement of the Kuomintang Government in Red Cross activities prompted the reorganization of the RCSC. In February 1943, the Supreme National Defense Council passed *the Wartime Memorandum of the RCSC* (红十字会战时组织大纲 *hongshizihui zhanshi zuzhi dagang*).¹ Likewise, the Military Commission published the *Provisional Regulation of the Kuomintang Government Military Commission on Supervising the RCSC in Wartime* (国民政府军事委员会战时监督红十字会暂行办法 *guomin zhengfu junshi weiyuanhui zhanshi jiandu hongshizihui zanxing banfa*), further stipulating, “Any affairs in the wartime cause of the Red Cross Society shall be checked and supervised by the Kuomintang Government

¹ "Benhui gaizu jingguo qingkuang 本会改组经过情况," [Reorganization Process of the Red Cross Society of China] *Conference Communication 会务通讯*, no. 15: 8-10.

Military Commission".¹ In other words, the competent authority of the Red Cross Society in wartime was not the Department of Health, but the Military Commission.

According to *the Wartime Memorandum of the RCSC*, the Red Cross Society was reorganized in February 1943. The President, Vice President, Directors, and Supervisors were reshuffled as designated by the Kuomintang Government:

Jiang Menglin (蒋梦麟) held the President of the head office, while Wang Zhengting was reappointed as Honorary Vice President, and Du Yuesheng (杜月笙) and Liu Hongsheng (刘鸿生) acted as Vice Presidents. Executive Directors included Wang Xiaolai (王晓籁) along with Dai Jitao (戴季陶), Kuomintang Government Commander Shang Zhen (商震), Minister of Economic Affairs Weng Wenhao (翁文灏), and Foreign Minister Song Ziwen (宋子文). Qian Xinzhi continued in the post of Executive Supervisor, while Zhang Boling (张伯苓) and Song Hanzhang (宋汉章) were Executive Supervisors. Wang Shijie (王世杰), who was the Secretary-General of both the People's Political Council and the Central Design Bureau, Relief Committee Vice President Qu Yingguang (屈映光), and Chairman of Taiwan Investigation Commission of Central Design Bureau Chen Yi (陈仪).²

The RCSC, acting as a non-governmental organization, had been usurped by government control by this reorganization.

Following victory in the resistance war against Japan on August 15, 1945, the KMT government considered *the Wartime Memorandum of the RCSC* as only applicable to

¹ "Guomin zhengfu junshi weiyuanhui zhanshi jiandu hongshizihui zanxing banfa 国民政府军事委员会战时监督红十字会暂行办法," [Provisional Regulation of Kuomintang Government Military Commission on Supervising the Red Cross Society of China in the Wartime] *Conference Communication 会务通讯*, no. 18: 52-53.

² "Benhui gaizu jingguo qingkuang 本会改组经过情况."

the war period, acting to abolish the regulation immediately upon the end of the war.¹ The KMT government passed the “*Measures on Administrating the RCSC during the Demobilization Period* (复员期间管理中国红十字会办法 *fuyuan qijian guanli zhongguo hongshizihui banfa*)” resolution on November 20, 1945. This resolution turned “the authority of the RCSC over to the Executive Yuan (行政院 *xingzheng yuan*) and stipulated that the Executive Yuan be conducted and supervised by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Department of Health and China National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration”.² “The President and Vice President of the Head office were both retained, and 15 to 21 Directors were appointed to organize the Board of Directors, among which seven Directors were appointed as Executive Directors. The board of Directors was the supreme authority whose members were designated by the Executive Yuan. In addition, the Board of Supervisors was abolished”.³

The RCSC implemented this reorganization on January 1, 1946. Jiang Menglin was the President of the Head office, while 19 Directors were designated by the Executive Yuan.

For example:

¹ "Guomin zhengfu ling 国民政府令 [The Kuomintang Government Order]," in *Archives of Kuomintang Government* (February 15 1946).

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Fuyuan qijian guanli zhongguo hongshizihui banfa 复原期间管理中国红十字会办法 [Measures on Administrating the Red Cross Society of China during Demobilization Period]," *Monthly of the Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 1 (1946): 12. Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Gongzuo dongtai 工作动态 [Work News]," *Monthly of the Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 1 (1946): 14.

³ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 1946 nian 1 yuefen gongzuo jianbao 中国红十字会总会 1946 年 1 月份工作简报 [Work Briefing of the Head Office of the Red Cross Society in January in 1946]," *Monthly Bulletin of Red Cross Society 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 1 (1946): 7.

Jiang Tingfu (蒋廷黻) was Director General of National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Jin Baoshan (金宝善) was Director General of the Department of Health; Ma Chaojun (马超俊) was Nanjing City Mayor; Xu Guomao (徐国懋); Wu Youxun (吴有训) was the president of Central University; Guan Songsheng (关颂声) was an architect; and Liu Hongsheng (刘鸿生) a former businessman, was appointed as the Director General of the Shanghai branch of National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, so they could enhance contact between the Head office and the National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration to promote ease of access to relevant relief supplies. Du Yuesheng (杜月笙); Gu Zhenggang (谷正纲) was Minister of Ministry of Social Affairs; Wang Yunwu (王云五) was a famous scholar and publisher; Zhou Yichun (周诒春) the former Minister of Agricultural and Forestry Bureau, was appointed as Minister of the Department of Health when he became a Director; Liu Ruiheng (刘瑞恒) was Chairman of the Health Committee of the National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration; Xu Jiqing (徐寄廌); Hang Liwu (杭立武); Wang Xiaolai (王晓籁); Qian Dajun (钱大钧) was Shanghai City Mayor; Zhang Aizhen (张蔼真) was the first female Director of the Head office; and Yu Bin (于斌) was the bishop for the Catholic Church in Nanjing area.¹

Amongst the President of the Head office and these 19 Directors, nine Directors were officials, two were businessmen, two were bankers, two were scholars, and five members had unknown occupations. Businessmen and bankers, a mainstay in the previous Plenary Session, were now overshadowed by officials.² Most Directors in the 10th Plenary Session were officials who came from the Executive Yuan, the National Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Department of Health, and other departments closely related to the work of the Red Cross in the post-war period.

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui zhuyao renyuan mingdan 中国红十字会总会主要人员名单," [List of Main Members of the Red Cross Society of China.] *Monthly of Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会月刊*, no. 1 (1946): 13.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui zhuyao renyuan mingdan 中国红十字会总会主要人员名单."

4.7 Summary

An ideal public sphere for the Red Cross movement did not exist under the Beiyang and Nanjing governments. This chapter has presented evidence suggesting that this was not the case under the Beiyang and Nanjing governments. The Red Cross movement was no exception and did not enjoy independence. As noted earlier, there was considerable government interference in the Red Cross Society, thereby limiting its autonomy. The Beiyang and Nanjing periods made it nearly impossible for the public to voice their concerns about the operations and nature of the Red Cross Society in China. During that period, the political climate likewise discouraged people from voicing their complaints about governmental interference in the organization.

Chapter 5 The Red Cross Society of China in the Mao Era: 1949-1976

5.1 Introduction

After Mao came to power in 1949, the RCSC faced a series of adjustments which had direct implications on its internal operations. These changes were the result of new national policies based on Soviet and Communist ideologies that transformed China.¹ Nevertheless, the PRC also recognized the importance of the RCSC, especially in the light of national disasters and civil wars that led to the creation of the PRC itself.

The Mao era presented a number of social reforms and reconstruction initiatives similar to those in the Soviet Union.² Since China had its roots in monarchical and class-based foundations, the Mao political system sought to introduce a “proletariat dictatorship” through communism and revolution under the CCP, with both positive and negative implications for the country.³ However, some sections of China opposed the new order, despite the majority having embraced the new ideology and communism.⁴ China’s

¹ Scott Rozelle and Johan FM Swinnen, "Why did the communist party reform in China, but not in the Soviet Union? The political economy of agricultural transition," *China economic review* 20, no. 2 (2009): 275-87.

² Andrew G Walder, "Marxism, Maoism, and Social Change: A Reexamination of the "Voluntarism" in Mao's Strategy and Thought," *Modern China* 3, no. 2 (1977): 125-60.

³ A. James Gregor, "Mao Zedong and the Conquest of China," in *Marxism and the Making of China* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 97.

⁴ Gregor, "Mao Zedong and the Conquest of China," 99.

predicament had direct implications for the RCSC, which had roots in the Geneva International Conventions and forged major alliances with western powers such as the United States.¹ They also affected the International Red Cross Organization, which had enjoyed fruitful ties with its Chinese chapters and previous Chinese leaders.²

Given these contexts, the PRC sought to incorporate NGOs into its national framework and therefore to control the Red Cross.³ Similarly to the way the Kuomintang government established the Wartime Organization Regulation of the RCSC in 1943 to manage RCSC affairs, the communist government attempted to run the organization as a government department.⁴ In 1950, the Minister of Health was appointed to the position of President of the RCSC, which represented a major political change in the organization.⁵ During the Mao era, there were minor parties in existence but were subject to the one party state, which was totally under the control of the CCP. The Red Cross was considered as one of many mass organizations that had to follow the party line. This chapter addresses the relationship between the Chinese state and society

¹ David P Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 107.

² Marian Moser Jones, *The American Red Cross from Clara Barton to the New Deal* (JHU Press, 2012).

³ World Red Cross and Red Crescent, "In the Red Cross and Red Crescent World: 125th Anniversary of the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement: World Red Cross and Red Crescent Day 1988: Joint message of the league of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies and the International Committee of the Red Cross," *International Review of the Red Cross* 28, no. 264 (1988): 298-99, <https://doi.org/10.1017/s0020860400073988>.

⁴ Rozelle and Swinnen, "Why did the communist party reform in China, but not in the Soviet Union? The political economy of agricultural transition," 156.

⁵ David P Forsythe, *The Humanitarians: The International Committee of the Red Cross*, 64.

during the early phases of the PRC. It also discusses the RCSC's international ties and its eventual reorganization.

5.2 Restructuring for Social Organizations

In November 1931, The Soviet Republic of China (中华苏维埃共和国 *zhonghua suweiai gongheguo*) was established by the CCP under the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship (工农民主专政 *gongnong minzhu zhuanzheng*). In December 1935, under the War of Resistance against Japan, a proposal to use "the People's Republic" (人民共和国 *renmin gongheguo*) in place of "the workers' and peasants' Republic" (工农民主共和国 *gongnong minzhu gongheguo*) was put forward at the Wuyaobao Meeting (瓦窑堡会议). In January 1940, Mao Zedong (毛泽东) suggested building a Democratic Republic featuring the "joint dictatorship of all revolutionary classes" (各革命阶级联合专政 *ge geming jieji lianhe zhuanzheng*) in *The Theory of New Democracy* (新民主主义论 *xin minzhu zhuyi lun*).¹ *The Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference* (中国人民政治协商会议共同纲领 *Zhongguo renmin zhengzhi xieshang gongtong gangling*), which is a constitution provisional in nature and was adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in September 1949, reads as follows:

The PRC is a New Democracy (新民主主义 *xin minzu zhuyi*), that is, the state of the people's democracy, and is based on the worker-peasant alliance,

¹ Zhonggong zhongyang dangshi yanjiushi 中共中央党史研究室, *Zhongguo gongchandang lishi 中国共产党历史* [History of Chinese Communist Party], vol. 2 (Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe 中共党史出版社, 2011), 38.

the people's democratic dictatorship by uniting all democratic classes and all peoples at home.¹

The Constitution of the PRC (中华人民共和国宪法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo xianfa*), which was adopted by the NPC (全国人民代表大会 *quanguo renmin daibiao dahui*) in September 1954, stipulated that:

[a]ll power in the PRC belongs to the people. The authority that people exercise their power is the NPC and Local People's Congresses at various levels.²

As can be seen, the establishment of the PRC in 1949 and the First Session of the NPC (第一届全国人民代表大会 *diyijie quanguo renmin daibiao dahui*) for the first meeting in 1954 were based on completing the general election and holding the Local People's Congress at all levels, demonstrating the formal establishment of the state system of the People's Democratic Dictatorship (人民民主专政 *renmin minzhu zhuanzheng*) and the People's Congress system of Democratic Centralism (民主集中制 *minzhu jizhongzhi*).

Improvement and rectification for social organization was another important step during the early period of the PRC. *The Common Program* (共同纲领 *gongtong gangling*) stipulated that:

¹ *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian* 建国以来重要文献选编, [Important Literature Compilation Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China], vol. 1 (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe 中央文献出版社, 1992), 2.

² *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian* 建国以来重要文献选编, [Important Literature Compilation since the Founding of People's Republic of China], vol. 5 (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe 中央文献出版社, 1993), 522.

The public in PRC has the free right for thinking, speaking, publishing, gathering, forming an association, communication, personal liberty, residence, migration, religion and demonstration.¹

That clarified Chinese citizens' right to "forming an association" (结社 *jieshe*) in principle, but also proposed the political premise to be followed by citizens when exercising democratic rights.

Though social organization was different from party and government organization, it was related to politics. There were many kinds of social organizations with complicated conditions, including those in liberated areas under the leadership of the CCP, those following the government of KMT, religious groups related to 'imperialism', creating a complex matrix of what the CCP defined in binary dialectics: "forward and backward", "positive and reactionary", and "legal and illegal". In order to set up a stable socio-political context, the CCP and the People's Government sought to improve and rectify social organizations according to *The Common Program*. Therefore, the CCP's experience of managing social organizations in the base area and liberated area provided a valued reference for managing social organizations.²

On September 29, 1950, *Social Group Registration Interim Measures* (社会团体登记暂行办法 *shehui tuanti dengji zanxing banfa*), the first administrative laws and regulations of the PRC, was approved by the Government Administration Council. And

¹ *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian* 建国以来重要文献选编, 1, 1-3.

² Zhang Fan 张帆 and Yang Hong 杨洪, "Kangzhan shiqi zhonggong shetuan guanli zhengce chutan 抗战时期中共社团管理政策初探," [First Exploration on the Management Policy of the Social Organization of the CCP During the Period of Anti-Japanese War.] *Literature of Chinese Communist Party* 党的文献, no. 4 (2010): 36-42.

on March 23, 1950, the *Implementary Provision on Social Group Registration Measures* (社会团体登记办法施行细则 *shehui tuanti dengji banfa shixing xize*) was issued by the Department of the Interior. From then on, the social group took effect regarding the national united registration of classification. On that point, *The Interim Measures* (暂行办法 *zanxing banfa*) stipulated that, except for organizations free from registration, “any social organization should apply to the People’s Government for registration in accordance with this measures” and “any reactionary group that does harm to the country and the people’s interest shall be forbidden to be set up; any registered organization later found to be reactionary shall be revoked and dismissed”.¹ The *Interim Measures* (施行细则 *shixing xize*) made specific provisions regarding social group registration. In addition, the CCP and the People’s Government formulated relevant and specific regulations given the nature and features of social groups, such as the Labour Union Law of the PRC (中华人民共和国工会法 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo gonghui fa*) issued in June 1950, and proposed democratic reforms, self-government, and relevant policy for reorganizing religious society.² The introduction of these regulations and policies provided a basic legal basis and some policy support for governing the social groups.

¹ Legislative Committee of Central People's Government 中央人民政府法制委员会编, *Zhongyang renmin zhengfu faling huibian (1949-1950)* 中央人民政府法令汇编 (1949-1950) [The Decree Series of Central People's Government (1949-1950)] (Falv chubanshe 法律出版社, 1982), 159-62.

² Legislative Committee of Central People's Government 中央人民政府法制委员会编, *Zhongyang renmin zhengfu faling huibian (1949-1950)* 中央人民政府法令汇编 (1949-1950).

In the early period of the PRC, the government adapted specific policies for different social groups for rectification, including:

[b]anning any reactionary group, suppressing any counter-revolutionary activities, reorganizing, restructuring, and reserving any kinds of groups handed down from Old China without any political problems, and greatly supporting any groups in support of the PRC.¹

The policy of greatly supporting groups in support of the PRC, was based on the political binary model, on one hand, provided special political position to people's groups with a firm political stand, free from social group registration, and on the other hand, advocated and supported newly-built groups and regrouped the backwards group in China. For the leading organizations, articles of association, model of action and political awareness were beneficial to construction causes in the PRC, so long as they were re-organized and re-constructed, and so long as new goals and directions were politically determined. By contrast, groups defined as reactionary and conducting reactionary activities, which were perceived as endangering the PRC and the interest of people, and causing a threat to the state and social stability were suppressed.

After issuing the *Interim Measures*, China banned or dismissed reactionary organizations and cracked down on the counter-revolutionary movement. Members who conducted counter-revolutionary movements utilizing the Feudal Hui-Dao Men (封建会道门 *fengjian huidaomen*) were sentenced to death or life imprisonment. Those

¹ Wang Shigang 王世刚, *Zhongguo shetuan shi 中国社团史* [History of Chinese Social Organizations] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 1994), 438.

committing minor crimes were sentenced to three years or more of imprisonment.¹ Also, in the early stage of the PRC, the reform of religious groups was implemented under the friend come enemy distinction. There were two types of religious reform: the democratic reform of Buddhism, Taoism, and Islam, and the independent innovation of Christianity and Catholicism.

Around six kinds of new social groups were formed, namely the People Group (人民群众团体 *renmin qunzhong tuanti*), Social Public Welfare Group (社会公益团体 *shehui gongyi tuanti*), Cultural and Art Work Group (文艺工作团体 *wenyi gongzuo tuanti*), Academic Research Group (学术研究团体 *xueshu yanjiu tuanti*), Religious Group (宗教团体 *zongjiao tuanti*), and other legal groups.² The Social Public Welfare Group gained legitimacy and realized modern transformations, becoming the bridge linking the CCP and the People's Government with the masses.

5.3 Restructuring the RCSC in 1950

The RCSC, established in the late Qing Dynasty, evolved in response to changing political parameters, civil war, and the Japanese invasion. The RCSC was reorganized in 1907, 1911, 1934, 1943, and 1946, changing its organizational and development direction.³ An article in *Shun Pao* reported that “the headquarters of the ICRC of

¹ Legislative Committee of Central People's Government 中央人民政府法制委员会编, *Zhongyang renmin zhengfu faling huibian (1951)* 中央人民政府法令汇编(1951) [The Decree Series of Central People's Government (1951)] (Falv chubanshe 法律出版社, 1982), 4.

² Wang Shigang 王世刚, *Zhongguo shetuan shi* 中国社团史.

³ *Zhongguo hongshizihui* 中国红十字会, [The Red Cross Society of China] (Zhonghua minguo xingzhengyuan xinwenju yinhang 中华民国行政院新闻局印行, 1947), 1-2, 19.

Geneva is motivated by humanitarian motives, based on an absolute neutrality and non-political position.”¹ This article emphasized that “the ICRC of Geneva is a politically neutral organization.”² In 1950, the RCSC was reorganized again. The reasons for reorganization were as follows.

The revolution of 1949 produced changes at the national political level of the Red Cross, in terms of personnel, and especially the leadership of the RCSC in China that showed marked shift from its establishment. Furthermore, the Head office of RCSC was relocated to Taiwan. April 1949 marked the end of rule of the Nanjing Nationalist Party on Mainland China. At this time, President of the RCSC Jiang Menglin (蒋梦麟) and other elites critical to the Nanjing Nationalist Party left for Taiwan, leaving only General Secretary Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), Vice President and Director Liu Hongsheng (刘鸿生), Managing Director Wu Youxun (吴有训), Managing Director Jin Baoshan (金宝善), Managing Director Xu Guomao (徐国懋), Director Wang Xiaolei (王晓来), and Director Xu Jiqing (徐奇颀) remaining as leaders. The Board of Directors, with 19 directors and managing directors, was dismissed.³ The Head office also established a Staff Association of the RCSC. For its close relationship with the CCP, the Staff

¹ "Shimin keneng zaoshou zainan, hongshizihui yuanyu yuanjiu 市民可能遭受灾难, 红十字会愿予援救 [Citizens may suffer disasters, Red Cross is willing to rescue]," *Shun Pao* (Shanghai), May 19, 1949.

² "Shimin keneng zaoshou zainan, hongshizihui yuanyu yuanjiu 市民可能遭受灾难, 红十字会愿予援救 [Citizens may suffer disasters, Red Cross is willing to rescue]."

³ "Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui zonghui zhuyao ren yuan mingdan 中华民国红十字会总会主要人员名单 [Staff List of the Head Office of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]," *Hongshizi yuekan* 红十字月刊 1946, 13.

Association was praised by the Military Control Commission of Nanjing.¹ On May 28, all remaining RCSC staff moved to Shanghai, and joined the Shanghai Office established in 1946.² In August, the Head office also moved to Shanghai.³

Despite this reorganization the RCSC was less effective than before, with many branches struggling to maintain normal operations. Statistics show that by the end of 1948, the RCSC had 193 branches, 6 sub-branches, and 385,000 members.⁴ The founding of the PRC caused social instability, leading to poor management and weaker connections between the Head office and branches. Most branches were effectively non-operational, without events, loss of contact with members and no mention of membership fees. Fewer than 20 branches had retained contact with the Board of

¹ The Military Control Commission was a temporary local organ of political power for liberated areas. Zhonggong zhongyang dangshi yanjiushi 中共中央党史研究室 CCP History Studies, *Zhongguo gongchandang lishi 中国共产党历史* [History of the Chinese Communist Party], Shangce 上册 vols., vol. 2 (Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe 中共党史出版社, 2011), 38.

² In 1946, the Red Cross Society of China set up offices in Beijing, Shanghai, Hankou, Guangzhou, Chongqing, and other cities to help them recover, and founded branches in North China, East China, Middle China, South China, and West China. Apart from the Shanghai Office, other four offices ended their work by the end of 1946. See "Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui zonghui 35 nian 12 yuefen gongzuo jianbao 中华民国红十字会总会 35 年 12 月份工作简报 [Work Brief for December of 1946 by the Head Office of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]," (Zhongguo di'er lishi dang'an guan dang'an 中国第二历史档案馆档案 The Second Historical Archives of China,).

³ Before this, the Head office had been moved from Shanghai to Beijing, then to Shanghai again, followed by Chongqing and Nanjing. See Zhang Yufa 张玉法, *Zhonghua minguo Hongshizihui bainian shi (1904-2003) 中华民国红十字会百年史 (1904-2003)*, 34, 99, 222-36.

⁴ Hu Lansheng 胡兰生, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui huiwu baogao 中国红十字会总会会务报告" [Work Report by the Head Office of the Red Cross Society of China.] *Xin Zhongguo hongshizi 新中国红十字会* September, no. 1 (1950): 4. By December of 1948, there were 194 branches and 10 sub-branches across China. Chi Zihua 池子华 and Hao Ruyi 郝如一, *Jindai jiangsu hongshizi yundong (1904-1949) 近代江苏红十字运动(1904-1949)* [Modern Red Cross Movement in Jiangsu (1904-1949)] (Hefei: Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2007), 198.

Directors; 40 directors administered the society, and only 10 branches had maintained business organizations, while the Board of Directors was dismissed. In total, only 89 branches across China still worked effectively.¹

Ideological confusion was the biggest challenge faced by the RCSC in this period. Many workers were still heavily depended on the government, and some people believed the RCSC had a narrow remit as a charity run by the wealthy to relieve people in disaster situations. Based on a limited reading of its history, others saw the RCSC as purely a medical care group, running hospitals and clinics and organizing first-aid teams in wartime. For some, the RCSC was a “neutral”, “international”, and “super-politics” team that aided all regardless of their positioning and class. Thus, the working policies of the Red Cross should be restricted by the new government.² The confusion over its role combined with leadership changes, organizational disorder in the branches, and ideological confusion evidenced in the previous organizational structure, its guiding ideas and work objectives could no longer attune to the needs of the reorganized RCSC. Therefore, the RCSC was again reorganized based on unified ideas, to guarantee effective operations.

In addition, China was reorganizing social groups in accordance with State-Party laws.

In each period of China’s historic change, social organizations were connected to

¹ Xu Guopu 徐国普, *Xinzhongguo chengli chuqi zhongguo hongshizihui yanjiu (1949-1956) 新中国成立初期中国红十字会研究 (1949-1956)*, 21.

² Li Dequan 李德全, "Xinzhongguo hongshizihui de gongzuo fangxiang yu fazhan buzhou 新中国红十字会的工作方向与发展步骤 [Work Direction and Development Steps for Red Cross Society of China]," *Renmin ribao 人民日报* (Beijing), February 1, 1951.

politics. After the founding of the PRC, the mix of social groups was complicated, including mass organization and new legal groups participating in the founding of PRC, social groups connected to the Nationalist Party that were established or controlled, as well as religious groups, some legal and some illegal. In this context, the CCP and Central Government took legal measures to categorize and manage the many social groups with a purpose of consolidating power, rebuilding social and political order, and ensuring the proper association power of citizens. Consequently, the RCSC became connected to the government, and was included in the “Retain and Reorganize” list.

The *Common Program* offered a political and legal basis for the PRC to reorganize social groups like the RCSC. The mandate to “advocate national sports, promote health and medicine, and pay attention to the health of mothers, infants, and children”¹ was another key political basis for reorganizing the RCSC. The *Interim Measures for Registering Social Groups* (社会团体登记暂行办法 *shehui tuanti dengji zanxing banfa*) and *Detailed Rules on Measures for Registering Social Groups* (社会团体登记办法施行细则 *shehui tuanti dengji banfa shixing xize*) were formulated and published by the State Council and the Interior Ministry in September of 1950 and March of 1951, marking the start of a substantial phase of social group reorganization. The already reorganized Head office applied to the Interior Ministry to re-register as a social group in August 1951, then issued a statement in September of that year to require branches

¹ *Jianguo yilai zhongyao wenxian xuanbian* 建国以来重要文献选编, 1, 2-11.

to register or re-register with local governments.¹ Thus, the reorganization of the RCSC was part of a nation-wide social group reorganization led by the government.

The incubation reflected interaction and cooperation between the State and society. After the founding of the PRC the CCP was in power, and through the Party people were defined as the masters of their own country, at least in the sense that the nation was unified and the Opium war “concession” areas were abolished. The RCSC adjusted their working ideas and offered the Central Government the right to take over and lead the Society. Early in May 1949, Secretary General Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), leader of the Head office, took a clear stand on behalf of the RCSC. By May 30, 1949, most parts of China had been liberated. As “branches faced staff changes and social system upgrades in the liberated area”,² the Head office issued *the Points for Attention for Branches of the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China in Liberated Areas* (*中华民国红十字会颁发解放区分会目前会务注意要点 Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui banfa jiefangqu fenhui muqian huiwu zhuyi yaodian*), approved by Hu Lansheng. This document required all branches to accept the leadership of the People’s Government and highlighted that “all land of the branches should be handled in accordance with the decree of the people's government”, “current work must focus on service for the public

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1950-2004)* 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1950-2004) [Selection of Historical Materials of the Red Cross Society of China (1950-2004)] (Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2005), 33.

² "Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui banfa jiefangqu fenhui muqian huiwu zhuyi yaodian 中华民国红十字会颁发解放区分会目前会务注意要点 [Point of Attention for Branched in Liberated Areas by the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]," (The Second Historical Archives of China 中国第二历史档案馆).

in cities and countries”, “branches should not move out from the local cities and counties, and those already moved out before liberation should move back immediately, or else they should be dissolved”.¹ Furthermore, it advised that “branches should register at the local government and accept their guidance; however, the organization and work of the branches itself was not restricted by the laws of the general public organizations.”² The *Points for Attention* (注意要点 *zhuyi yaodian*) emphasized that the people’s government controlled the local Red Cross offices. The Red Cross was more closely part of the State than was the case in western democracies. But this system did believe that to achieve stable government and unify the country the government had to be more encompassing, which matched the Marxist theory of a government for and by the people even if it was through the Party.

The transformation of the RCSC was marked by the Review Meeting of the RCSC on March 6, 1950. For suggestions and support of the Shanghai Military Control Commission, the Review Meeting was organized by the Head office and held in its office at No. 856 Xinzha Road, Shanghai, where over 40 representatives from branches across China, along with representatives of the Shanghai Military Control Commission and Health Office, gathered together to review operations and negotiate future directions. A consensus was reached that a delegation be elected to propose a takeover

¹ "Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui banfa jiefangqu fenhui muqian huiwu zhuyi yaodian 中华民国红十字会颁发解放区分会目前会务注意要点 [Point of Attention for Branched in Liberated Areas by the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]."

² "Zhonghua minguo hongshizihui banfa jiefangqu fenhui muqian huiwu zhuyi yaodian 中华民国红十字会颁发解放区分会目前会务注意要点 [Point of Attention for Branched in Liberated Areas by the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]."

to the Central Government in Beijing.¹ This review meeting put an end to the year-long chaos and united the reorganization efforts of the Red Cross of China.

The Health Ministry noted the changes to the Head office and notified the Shanghai Health Office by telegraph on March 9, 1950, the last day of the Review Meeting, to “pass on the news to Hu Lansheng that he is invited to Beijing” for a detailed discussion of the RCSC.² Hu Lansheng, with the approval of the Health Ministry, then left for Beijing despite obstruction by a representative of the International Committee of the Red Cross in the Far East.³ Minister Li Dequan (李德全) and Vice Minister Su Jingguan (苏井观) from the Health Ministry received Hu Lansheng’s briefing on the history and status quo of the Red Cross Society. Party Secretary and Vice Minister, He Cheng (贺诚), from the Health Ministry, agreed to transfer the takeover proposal to the State Council.⁴ For this reason, the RCSC again attracted the attention of CCP leaders. From

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui zai shanghai zhaokai gongzuo jiantao huiyi 中国红十字会在上海召开工作检讨会议 [Review Meeting held in Shanghai by the Red Cross Society of China]," (The Second Historical Archives of China 中国第二历史档案馆).

² "Weishengbu pairen shangtan hongshizihui qianjing yishi 卫生部派人商谈红十字会迁京一事 [Discussion of Red Cross Society Relocation to Beijing with Representative of the Health Ministry]," March 1, 1950.

³ The Delegation include Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), Labour Union Chairman Zhu Zihui (朱子会), Nanjing Branch Chairman Yang Dengying (杨登瀛), Xi'an Branch Chairman Ma Chanchong (马产翀), Chongqing Branch Chairman Huang Cixian (黄次咸), Hankou Branch Chairman Song Jingru (宋镜如), and Tianjin Branch Chairman Shu Minjie (舒敏杰). Hu Lansheng was the head and Zhu Zihui was the Secretary. See Zhou Jianyu 周健萸, "Yi Hu lao 忆胡老," [Memory about Mr. Hu.] *Zhongguo hongshizi 中国红十字*, no. 10 (1991). "Zai shanghai zhaokai gongzuo jiantao huiyi ji pai daibiaotuan laijing xiang zhongyang weishengbu qingshi huihou gongzuo wenti 在上海召开工作检讨会议及派代表团来京向中央卫生部请示会后工作问题 [Review Meeting in Shanghai and Delegation to Beijing for Instruction on Work toward the Health Ministry]," March 14, 1950.

⁴ *Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian 中国红十字会的九十年* [A Ninety-Year History of the Red Cross Society of China] (Beijing: Zhongguo youyi chubanshe gongsi 中国友谊出版社公司, 1994), 122.

May 1937 to May 1940, the 23rd Medical Team from the RCSC served the Eighth Route Army and people in Yan'an, prompting Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai to speak highly of its humanitarian spirit.¹ But there was no comparison as the Central Government sought to assert control over all of China, in an effort to unify the country after years of bitter division.

The Central Government paid significant attention to the petition of the RCSC. In late April of 1950, Hu Lansheng was invited to the Representative Meeting of the People's Relief Association of China (中国人民救济总会 *zhongguo renmin jiuji zonghui*),² where the Association, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Health, and Ministry of Foreign Affairs discussed and analysed the reorganization of the RCSC. In recognition of the history and characteristics of the RCSC, the central government decided to reorganize it instead of taking control, and they established the Association as the leading organization of the RCSC.³ At this time, Hu Lansheng and Zhu Zihui (朱子会)

¹ Qu Zhe 曲折, *Zhongguo hongshizi shiye 中国红十字事业* [Career of Red Cross Society in China] (Guangdong jingji chubanshe 广东经济出版社, 1999), 37-40.

² From April 24 to 29, 1950, the representative meeting of the People's Relief Association was held in Beijing, marking the official establishment of the All-China People's Relief Association. The Association was a people's relief association led by the central government, with Song Qingling (宋庆龄) as the president of the executive committee. On November 22, 1955, the central government decided to adjust the structure and work relations of the Association, which operated together with the Red Cross Society of China in the same office. Dangdai zhongguo yanjiusuo bian 当代中国研究所编 [The Institute of Contemporary China Studies], *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo shi biannian (1950) 中华人民共和国史编年(1950)* [The Chronicles of the PRC in 1950] (Dangdai zhongguo chubanshe 当代中国出版社, 2006), 299. Dangdai zhongguo yanjiusuo bian 当代中国研究所编 [The Institute of Contemporary China Studies], *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo shi biannian (1955) 中华人民共和国史编年(1955)* [The Chronicles of the PRC in 1955] (Dangdai zhongguo chubanshe 当代中国出版社, 2009), 811.

³ Zhou Enlai shuxin xuanji 周恩来书信选集, [Letters of Zhou Enlai] (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe 中央文献出版社, 1988), 431.

discussed and made decisions regarding the reorganization. It was clear that the reorganization was initiated by the Association and guided by the central government. The Head office was relocated to Beijing and then reorganized, which was planned by the Association and carried out by the Ministry of Health and the Association.¹

In early May of 1950, Hu Lansheng and Zhu Zihui were invited by Wu Yunfu (伍云甫), General Secretary of the Association, to meet in Beijing and discuss matters relevant to the relocation and reorganization of the RCSC. On May 5, representatives from the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Association, and the RCSC² discussed four actions for reorganization:

First, reorganization instead of State takeover based on the history and characteristics of the Red Cross Society; second, relocating the head office to Beijing, with all employees remaining in employment, except those who choosing not to relocate to Beijing; third, assets at the head office should be kept properly; fourth, the premises where the Beijing Civil Affairs Bureau Kindergarten was located (No. 22, Ganmian Hutong (干面胡同), Dongcheng District (东城区), Beijing, the former site of the Red Cross Society in the early period of the Republic of China, and then temporarily used by Beijing 1st Kindergarten), would become the new head office site.³

Following this meeting, the Ministry of Health submitted a preliminary reorganization plan to the relevant authorities for review. On July 8, staff at the Shanghai head office

¹ "Guanyu jiuji zonghui dingwei hongshizihui lingdao jigou ji qianjing gaizu gongzuo 关于救济总会定为红十字会领导机构及迁京改组工作 [On Positioning All-China People's Relief Association as Governing Organ of the Red Cross Society & Relocation and Reorganization in Beijing]," May 17, 1950.

² *Jianguo yilai Zhou Enlai wengao 建国以来周恩来文稿*, [Manuscripts of Zhou Enlai after 1949], vol. 3 (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe 中央文献出版社, 2008), 184-85.

³ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字* [A Century of the Red Cross Society of China] (Anhui renmin chubanshe 安徽人民出版社, 2003), 277-78.

left for Beijing in succession, and official work in Beijing commenced on July 17.¹ Two-way interaction was developed between the RCSC and the central government during the preliminary stage of reorganization. This interaction followed the “top-down” principle, with the government as the initiator and the RCSC as the receiver of information and directives. Thus, the central government and superior organizations held authority, and the RCSC provided feedback and petitioned decision-makers, which did not affect two-way interactions between the government and the Red Cross.

As previously mentioned, reorganization of the RCSC was led by the central government. The central government was identified as the leading organ of the RCSC in the preliminary stage, with the idea of “relocation first and then reorganization”. In fact, the central government paid much attention to the reorganization through all the stages. In the middle of July 1950, the Ministry of Health and the Relief Association applied to Zhou Enlai (周恩来), as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and discussed the reorganization scheme several times with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Culture Committee.² On July 25, the Relief Association, the Ministry of Health, and the

¹ "Guanyu honghui qianjing bangong riqi ji dizhi de han 关于红会迁京办公日期及地址的函 [Letter on the Office Date and Premises of Relocated Red Cross Society]," July 19, 1950.

² The Government Administration Council (政务院) governed such high-level committees as the Political and Legal Affairs Committee (政法委员会), Financial and Economic Committee (财经委员会), Culture and Education Committee (文教委员会), and the People's Supervision Committee (人民监察委员会), to supervise the operation of all departments, committees, bureaus, and offices under the Government Administration Council. Zhongyang renmin zhengfu fazhi weiyuanhui bian 中央人民政府法制委员会编 Commission of Legislative Affairs of the Central People's Government, *Zhongyang renmin zhengfu fazhi huiling huibian (1949-1950) 中央人民政府法制会令汇编 (1949-1950)* [Compilation of Orders by the Central Government (1949-1950)] (Falv chubanshe 法律出版社, 1982), 4-6. The Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Health, *guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui ji zhongguo renmin jiuji*

Ministry of Foreign Affairs met again and determined that the Relief Association would be responsible for preparing and organizing reorganization meetings, while the Ministry of Health would draft relevant documents.¹ To further guide and regulate the reorganization, Zhou and Li Dequan discussed specific issues regarding reorganization, and made the following decisions:

Firstly, the board of directors will be reorganized after negotiation. All directors, except those fleeing to Taiwan and overseas, will remain in employment, and vacant positions will be taken by representatives of relevant departments. Both old and new directors will be employed by the Government Administration Council, and the Board of Directors will be elected at the representative assembly. Secondly, the new Red Cross Society will act as the assistant of the Association. Finally, upon the establishment of the board, the Red Cross Society may announce the completion of reorganization and inform the ICRC that the new RCSC will send delegates to the International Red Cross Conference.²

On August 2, 1950, a Reorganization Meeting of the RCSC (中国红十字会协商改组会议 *zhongguo hongshizihui xieshang gaizu huiyi*) was held in Beijing, presided over by the presidium composed of Su Jinguan (苏井观), Wu Yunfu (伍云甫), and Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), with representatives from an extensive list of fields. This meeting acted as the National Members Representative Conference (全国会员代表大会

zonghui shuyu zhengwuyuan zhengfa weiyuanhui lingdao de tongbao 关于中国红十字会总会及中国人民救济总会属于政务院政法委员会领导的通报 [Notice of the Leadership of the General Committee of the Red Cross Society of China and the Chinese People's National Relief Association, which is the head of the Political and Administrative Committee of the Political Affairs Department], January 24 (1951).

¹ "Chengbao hongshizihui gaizu jingguo bingqing pizhun hongshizihui huizhang ji huizhang lishihui mingdan 呈报红十字会改组经过并请批准红十字会会章及会长理事会名单 [Submittal of the Reorganization Proposal, Constitution and List of Chairman and Directors]," August 29, 1950.

² *Zhou Enlai nianpu (1949-1976) 周恩来年谱(1949-1976)*, [Chronicles of Zhou Enlai (1949-1976)], vol. 1 (Zhongyang wenxian chubanshe 中央文献出版社, 1997), 60.

quanguo huiyuan daibiao dahui) of the RCSC. The next day, Zhou Enlai modified the *Constitution of the RCSC*¹ (*中国红十字会会章 zhongguo hongshizihui huizhang*) concerning the nature, purpose, and mission of the Red Cross Society. The modified Constitution was passed at the next reorganization meeting.

After the Reorganization Meeting of the RCSC about its Constitution, the first chapter clearly stipulated that “The RCSC is a people’s health care group under the leadership of the Central Government. The purpose is to assist the people’s governments and promote the prevention of diseases, health, medicine, and relief services, based on the general principle of ‘prevention-based’ actions and the relief welfare policy of ‘mobilizing and organizing people to achieve self-help’”. The third chapter provided “regulations of the ‘People’s Congress System of Democratic Centralism’ for the functions and responsibilities of the National Member Congress and the General Council, as well as the branch affiliation of various branches.” According to the fifth chapter on the provisions of the funds, the Fund will mainly rely on dues and business income as a necessary expense. When it is insufficient, it may request the People’s Government to provide appropriate subsidies and accept voluntary donations. [...] All the real estate, the business of the organization, and the transportation of relief welfare materials of the Association may request the People’s Government to reduce or exempt taxes or preferential treatment. The sixth chapter further stipulated that “The constitution shall be submitted to the National People’s Government office for approval

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui huizhang 中国红十字会会章 [The Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Renmin ribao* 人民日报, October 24, 1950.

after its approval by the National Representative Meeting.”¹ This shows that the RCSC was still a government organization under the leadership of the People’s government.

At the reorganization meeting, the Board of Directors of the RCSC, the highest governing body of the Red Cross, was elected (see Table 1). On August 5 and 28, 1950, the board held two meetings, President, Vice president, and managing director, and determining suitable persons for the general secretary and deputy general secretary.² In fact, the board members and relevant responsible persons were determined after several negotiations and adjustments under the leadership of the central government. For example, Zhou Enlai specifically convened meetings to discuss matters uncovered during reorganization, adjusted one vice chairman, and made suggestions on five pending directors on August 12.³ Then on August 21, Wu Yunfu, on behalf of the presidium, submitted to the Government Administration Council a reorganization

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Zhongguo hongshizihui huizhang 中国红十字会会章 [The Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1950-2004) 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1950-2004) [Selection of Historical Materials of Chinese Red Cross Society (1950-2004)]* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2005), 3-5.

² Candidates for Secretary General and Vice Secretary General were proposed by the Chairman for the approval of the Board. The office of Secretary General was assumed by the then vice chairman Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), while Lin Shixiao (林士笑) (vice director of General Office under the Ministry of Health) and Ni Feijun (倪斐君) (vice secretary general of the Association) served as Vice Secretary General. *Organizational Rules of Red Cross Society at Head office (中国红十字会总会组织规则 Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui zuzhi guize)* (August 28, 1950) provided that the Secretary General and Vice Secretary General are members of the Board of Directors, but enjoy no rights to vote. See Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1950-2004) 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1950-2004)*, 6-7.

³ "Chengbao hongshizihui huizhang ji lishi mingdan 呈报红十字会会长及理事名单 [Submittal of List of Chairman and Directors]," August 29, 1950.

report, the Constitution of RCSC, and a list of directors, which were approved on September 9.¹ Finally, the reorganization of the Red Cross Society led by the central government was concluded.

The reorganization involved relevant government authorities and social organizations. The Preparatory Committee for Reorganization (改组筹备委员会 *gaizu choubei weiyuanhui*) and the National Transitional Council of the Red Cross Society (红十字过渡委员会 *hongshizi guodu weiyuanhui*) were developed in the preliminary stage of reorganization. The preparatory committee was responsible for drafting the list of attendees for the reorganization meeting, the organizational practices of the meeting, and the meeting budget, while the transitional council, as the highest leading organization, dealt with internal affairs before the establishment of the new Red Cross Society. It took charge of drafting documents like the Constitution, work policies, and missions, and built connections with the ICRC upon approval of the central government.²

Along with members of the Red Cross Society, the preparatory committee and transitional council included representatives from government authorities like the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ethnic Affairs Commission (民族事务委员会 *minzu shiwu weiyuanhui*), the Overseas

¹ "Guanyu pinren honghui huizhang he lishi de baogao ji pishi 关于聘任红会会长和理事的报告及批示 [Report and Instructions on the Employment of Chairman and Directors]," September 12, 1950.

² "Jiansong gaizu gezhong fang'an 检送改组各种方案 [Review of Reorganization Proposals]," July 20, 1950. "Guanyu guodu weiyuanhui zuzhi tiaoli 关于过渡委员会组织条例 [Regulations of Transitional Committee Organization]," July, 1950.

Chinese Affairs Commission (华侨事务委员会 *huaqiao shiwu weiyuanhui*), and the Health Department of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission (人民革命军事委员会卫生部 *renmin geming junshi weiyuanhui weishengbu*), along with relevant social organizations such as the People's Relief Association of China (中国人民救济总会 *zhongguo renmin jiuji zonghui*), the Federation of Labor of China (中华全国总工会 *zhonghua quanguo zong gonghui*), the Women's Federation of China (中华全国民主妇女联合会 *zhonghua quanguo minzhu funv lianhehui*), the Youth Federation of China (中华全国民主青年联合会 *zhonghua quanguo minzhu qingnian lianhehui*), and the Federation of Literary and Art Circles of China (中华全国文学艺术工作者联合会 *zhonghua quanguo wenxue yishu gongzuozhe lianhehui*).¹ At the same time, delegates of these authorities and organizations, representatives of the People's Government of Beijing Municipality, and representatives of directors and staff in the old RCSC were present at the reorganization meeting.² Members of the first Board of Directors voted in during the reorganization meeting were mostly chosen from these organizations. These government authorities and social organizations were not only

¹ The Federation of Labor (总工会), the Women's Federation (妇联), the Youth Federation (青联), and the Federation of Literary and Art Circles (文联) are all social groups who had been involved in the state operations since the founding of the PRC, and were governed by the CCP and the Central People's Government.

² The representatives from government authorities included Li Dequan (李德全), Su Jingguan (苏井观), Gong Pusheng (龚普生), Tan Xisan (谭锡三), Gao Boyu (高伯玉), Wang Shifang (王士方), Fu Lianzhang (傅连璋) and Ding Zhizhong (丁执中). Representatives of social groups included Wu Yunfu (伍云甫), Lin Zhong (林仲), Zhu Xufan (朱学范), Zhang Yuan (张元), Huang Zhensheng (黄振声), Chen Qixia (陈企霞); former directors of the old Red Cross Society like Liu Hongsheng (刘鸿生), Wu Youxun (吴有训), Jin Baoshao (金宝善), Xu Guomao (徐国懋), Xu Jiqing (徐寄廌), and Wang Xiaolei (王晓来); and workers' representatives Hu Lansheng (胡兰生), Zhu Zikui (朱子会) and Fu Kuanglin (付况麟). "Zhongguo hongshizihui gaizu - zonghui xin lishihui chengli 中国红十字会改组-总会新理事会成立 [The Reorganization of Red Cross Society of China—Establishment of Head Office & Board of Directors]," *Renmin ribao* 人民日报, September 10, 1950.

involved in the reorganization but provided the “blood supply” of the directors for the new Red Cross Society.

Table 1 The First Board of Directors of Red Cross Society of China

Title	Name	Position	Title	Name	Position
President	Li Dequan 李德全	Minister (Ministry of Health)	Director	Zhu Zikui 朱子会	Organizational Director (Head office)
Vice President	Peng Zemin 彭泽民	Vice President (China Politics and Law Committee) ¹		Fu Kuanglin 傅况麟	Promotional Director (Head office)
	Liu Hongsheng 刘鸿生	Director (East China Military and Administrative Committee)		Xu Jiqing 徐寄庾	President (The National Commercial Bank Limited)
	Xiong Jinding 熊瑾玎	Vice Director (Supervisory Committee of People's Relief Association)		Fu Lianzhang 傅连璋	Vice Director (Ministry of Health)
	Hu Lansheng 胡兰生	Secretary General (old RCSC)		Yang Jingren 杨静仁	Director (General Office of Ethnic Affairs Commission)
Managing Director	Jin Baoshan 金善宝	Technical Director (Ministry of Health)	Zhu Xuefan 朱学范	Vice President (Federation of Trade Unions)/Minister (Ministry of Posts and Communications)	
	Su Jingguan 苏井观	Vice Minister (Ministry of Health)	Cao Mengjun 曹孟君	Director (Women Department of ACWF)	
	Chen Qiyuan 陈其瑗	Vice Minister (Ministry of Internal Affairs)	Wu Han 吴晗	Secretary General (ACYF)/Deputy Mayor of Beijing	
	Gong Pusheng 龚普生	Director General (Department of International Organizations and Conferences of Ministry of Foreign Offices)	Mei Lanfang 梅兰芳	Individual from Literature and Art Circles	
	Wu Yunfu 伍云甫	Secretary General (All-China People's Relief Association)	Kang Keqing 康克清	Minister (Ministry of Health and Child Welfare of ACWF)	
	Lin Zhong 林仲	Deputy Secretary General (People's Relief Association)	Zhou Gengsheng 朱鯁生	Consultant (Ministry of Foreign Affairs)	
Director	Wu Youxun 吴有训	East China education minister/principal of NCTU	Xie Xuehong 谢雪红	Member (China Politics and Law Committee)/President (Taiwan Democratic Self-	

¹ The China Politics and Law Committee (政法委员会) guides the operation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (内务部), the Ministry of Public Security (公安部), the Ministry of Justice (司法部), the Commission of Legislative Affairs (法制委员会), and the Ethnic Affairs Commission (民族事务委员会). Zhongyang renmin zhengfu fazhi weiyuanhui bian 中央人民政府法制委员会编 Commission of Legislative Affairs of the Central People's Government, *Zhongyang renmin zhengfu fazhi huilian huibian (1949-1950)* 中央人民政府法制会令汇编 (1949-1950), 4-6.

				Government League)
	Xu Guomao 徐国懋	General Manager (Jincheng Bank)		Deng Yuzhi 邓裕志
	Wang Xiaolei 王晓来	Individual (business circle)		Secretary General (Young Women's Christian Association)

Data source:

“Zhongguo hongshizihui gaizu - zonghui xin lishihui chengli 中国红十字会改组-总会新理事会成立 [The Reorganization of Red Cross Society of China—Establishment of Head office & Board of Directors].” *Renmin ribao* 人民日报, September 10, 1950; *School of Sociology in Suzhou University* 苏州大学社会学院 and *Suzhou Red Cross Society* 苏州市红十字会 (2005). *Zhongguo hongshizi lishi biannian (1904-2004)* 中国红十字历史编年 (1904-2004) [Chronicles of the Red Cross (1904-2004)]. (Hefei: Anhui Renmin chubanshe), 2005, 122-123; “Guanyu pinren honghui huizhang he lishi de baogao ji pishi 关于聘任红会会长和理事的报告及批示 [Report and Instructions on the Employment of Chairman and Directors].” September 12, 1950.

The first Board of Directors was comprised of 27 persons, including one president, four vice presidents, six managing directors, and 16 regular directors. From Table 1, it is worth noting that more than half the directors were government officials, which was a part of the government, not of civil society, showing that the Red Cross Society was government-driven. At the same time, some social celebrities were also absorbed. In this way, a Board was formed with old and new directors from different fields and classes. The major characteristics of the first Board of Directors¹ were broad representation with features of a patriotic united front. Thus, the Red Cross Society built an extensive network of relationships and accumulated rich administrative and social resources, with which it realized timely “trans-department” communication and

¹ The following board inherited and developed the tradition, with increasing directors from more extensive backgrounds. When necessary, the Red Cross Society would also employ an honorary director and chairman. For example, the 8th Board of Directors had up to 163 directors. From the 6th National Congress of CCP, the Red Cross Society of China started inviting the state president as honorary chairman.

external horizontal coordination, to effectively pool social strength and an expanding mass base. The operating mechanisms of Board of Directors were as follows.

Meetings of the Board of Directors were convened by the president, or by a vice president when the president was unable to perform this duty. The meetings were presided over by the president, or by a vice president when the president was absent. The Board of Directors was mandated to convene a meeting every six months but could convene a provisional meeting at any time if necessary. Matters discussed at a meeting of the Board of Directors included matters transferred from the National Members' Congress (or the consultative conference prior to convening the National Members' Congress), major rules of the Congress, preparation of meeting plans, preparation and review of the budget and final accounting of the Congress, appointment and dismissal of the secretary general and deputy secretary general, and other matters up for review.

The Board of Directors had a secretary general and two deputy secretary generals, who were nominated to the Board of Directors by the president for appointment. The secretary general was authorized by the president and vice president to be in general charge of the internal affairs of the RCSC, while the deputy secretary generals were responsible for assisting the secretary general in handling internal affairs. The secretary general and deputy secretary generals were required to be present at meetings of the Board of Directors, as non-voting delegates.

Subordinate to the secretary general were a secretary division, an organization division, a publicity division, and a liaison division. The secretary division was responsible for human resources, clerical work, accounting, and general affairs of the Head office; the organization division was responsible for organization of branch offices, absorption and registration of members, youth education in the Red Cross organization, and officer training; the business division was responsible for medical and health relief and benefits, and for management of materials; the publicity division was responsible for investigation, research, data collation, publicity, and education; and the liaison division was responsible for international communication and liaisons, as well as communications between relevant domestic organs and organizations. Each division had one director authorized by the secretary general and deputy secretary generals to oversee matters relating to all divisions, one to two deputy directors to assist the director, one to two secretaries, and several other staff to undertake specific tasks. All staff were appointed by the president and vice president. The president and vice president of each division could attend meetings of the Board of Directors as non-voting delegates.

A corresponding relationship was established between the Red Cross Society and its directors. The Red Cross Society, by nature “a relief group for people’s health under the leadership of the central people’s government of China”, aimed to “publicize and promote epidemic prevention, healthcare, pharmaceuticals and public welfare to the public by assisting the governments at all levels”.¹ The prime minister's office of the

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui huizhang 中国红十字会会章 [The Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]." Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Zhongyang renmin zhengfu neiwubu,

Government Administration Office decreed that “The People's Relief Association of China (中国人民救济总会 *zhongguo renmin jiuji zonghui*) and the RCSC are led by the Political and Legal Affairs Committee (政法委员会 *zhengfa weiyuanhui*) (or by the Political and Administrative Committee entrusted to the Central Ministry of the Interior); the Relief Association and the Red Cross related to the health sector, supervised by the Central Ministry of Health; diplomatic matters, supervised by the Central Ministry of Foreign Affairs”.¹ Similarly, the directors of the Red Cross Society, especially the president, vice president, and secretary general,² were mostly from government health departments and the Association. For example, the role of president of the RCSC was assumed by the Health Minister,³ and four of the six managing directors were chosen from government health departments and the Association. This

zhongyang renmin zhengfu weishengbu lianhe tongling 中央人民政府内务部、中央人民政府卫生部联合通令 [The General Order Jointly Issued by the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Central People's Government and the Ministry of Health of the Central People's Government], October 16, weishezi 卫社字 no.1 (1950).

¹ The Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Ministry of Health, Short *guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui ji zhongguo renmin jiuji zonghui shuyu zhengwuyuan zhengfa weiyuanhui lingdao de tongbao* 关于中国红十字会总会及中国人民救济总会属于政务院政法委员会领导的通报 [Notice of the Leadership of the General Committee of the Red Cross Society of China and the Chinese People's National Relief Association, which is the head of the Political and Administrative Committee of the Political Affairs Department), January 24, 1951.

² It is worth noting that, except for Secretary General Hu Lansheng, who continued his position full-time, all the directors worked part-time. This demonstrates the functional division of the Red Cross Society: the honorary chairman and vice chairman remained in name only, while the full-time vice chairman had specific duties and the secretary general took charge of all daily affairs.

³ Despite changes in the nature of the Red Cross Society of China, the practice of the health minister serving as chairman of the Red Cross Society continued to 1994, when the 6th National Congress of CCP was held. See Xu Guopu 徐国普 and Chi Zihua 池子华, "Xin Zhongguo chengli hou zhongguo hongshizihui fazhan de lishi guiji 新中国成立后中国红十字会发展的历史轨迹" [Historical Development of the Red Cross Society of China after 1949.] *Jiangxi shehui kexue* 江西社会科学, no. 9 (2009).

relationship reflected a structural management favourable to work development and ensured a vertical connection between the Red Cross Society and relevant government organizations and social organizations, thus improving the operational capacity and management of the Red Cross Society.

The reorganization was carried out simultaneously with the restoration of China's seat on the ICRC. As mentioned above, the RCSC was once a member of the ICRC until the collapse of the KMT. The ICRC adhered to the principle of unity, namely that any member country executing the Geneva Convention can only have one nationwide Red Cross Society or Red Crescent Society approved by the government. Upon the founding of the PRC, the topic of which party should assume the legal seat on the ICRC emerged. As per the principle of government succession provided in International Law, the government of the PRC had the legal right to take over the representative rights of the Republic of China on the ICRC. For this reason, the Chinese government and the RCSC submitted a request to restore China's seat on the ICRC when reorganization was initiated.

On April 28, 1950, when the central government decided to reorganize the Red Cross Society, Zhou Enlai telegraphed the ICRC, solemnly stating that the Central People's Government of the PRC was the "sole legitimate government of China", officially denying that the so-called representatives of KMT were eligible to join the ICRC and attend relevant meetings, and requesting that the ICRC "expel them". On the same day, Hu Lansheng also telegraphed the ICRC, stating that "the RCSC is under reorganization,

and will send delegates to join the ICRC to attend meetings of these two organizations upon the completion of reorganization.”¹

On July 31, 1950 the central government decided that, upon completion of reorganization, China would notify the ICRC and send delegates for the International Red Cross Conference. On August 5, the first Board of Directors of the RCSC decided to send delegates to the 21st Board of Directors meeting of the ICRC, to be held in Monaco in October,² and drafted a list of delegates under the leadership of Zhou Enlai on August 12.³ On September 5 the central government officially telegraphed the ICRC stating that China would attend the 21st Board of Directors meeting.⁴ On October 16, the RCSC sent delegates to the meeting and was chosen as a member of the executive committee, as the position assumed by Jiang Menglin as vice president of the board in 1945 was annulled.⁵ This marked a significant step in restoring the RCSC’s prior international standing.

According to international practices, any member country seeking to restore its seat on the ICRC must obtain approval of the International Red Cross Conference, the highest

¹ "Dian xiehui yaoqiu quzhu jiang bang 电协会要求驱逐蒋帮 [Telegraph to IRRC to Expel the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China]," April 28, 1950.

² "Guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui xieshang gaizu de jingguo 关于中国红十字会协商改组的经过 [Negotiation Process of Reorganization of the Red Cross Society of China]," August 29, 1950.

³ "Chengbao hongshizihui huizhang ji lishi mingdan 呈报红十字会会长及理事名单 [Submittal of List of Chairman and Directors]."

⁴ "Tongzhi benhui gaizu bing jue ding pai daibiao chuxi huiyi 通知本会改组并决定派代表出席会议 [Notice on Reorganization and Attendance of the Meeting]," September 5, 1950.

⁵ "Zhongguo hongshizihui daibiaotuan canjia hongshizi guoji xiehui di 21 jie lishihui baogao 中国红十字会代表团参加红十字国际协会第 21 届理事会报告 [Report on Chinese Delegation on the 21st Council Meeting of the International Committee of the Red Cross]," December 26, 1950.

review organ of the ICRC, which includes representatives from signatory countries of the Geneva Convention, the ICRC, and the Red Cross Society of all member countries. For this reason, Zhou Enlai made a statement on July 13, 1952 that the Chinese government recognized the Geneva Convention, laying the foundation for the readmission of China into the ICRC. On July 26, 1952, delegates from the Chinese government and the RCSC attended the 18th International Red Cross Conference in Toronto. Despite repeated attempts by a few countries, including the United States, to make Taiwan a legitimate delegate source, Taiwan's delegates were expelled from the ICRC.¹ Thus, the RCSC was admitted as the sole legitimate representative of the PRC on the ICRC, and the legal international standing of the RCSC was restored.

5.4 Restructuring of Local Red Cross Offices

Restructuring of the Head office of the RCSC occurred while local offices were being simultaneously restructured and improved. The Head office provided instructions for restructuring local Red Cross offices by determining “principles for key items subject to restructuring based on a general survey”, and by providing an institutional guarantee, official base, and supporting conditions for restructuring. On August 28, 1950, the Head office issued *Provisional Measures for Restructuring of Local Red Cross Offices*² (*中国红十字会各地分会整理暂行办法 zhongguo hongshizihui gedi fenhui zhengli*

¹ "Canjia di shiba jie guoji hongshizi dahui shengli guilai 参加第十八届国际红十字大会胜利归来", [Success in Attending the 18th International Red Cross Conference.] *Xin Zhongguo hongshizi 新中国红十字*, no. 12 (1952): 5-9.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Zhongguo hongshizihui gedi fenhui zhengli zanxing banfa 中国红十字会各地分会整理暂行办法 [The Head Office issued Provisional Measures for Restructuring of Local Red Cross Offices], August 28 (1950).

zanxing banfa) (hereafter referred to as “*Provisional Measures*”) and *Provisional General Rules for Organization of Local Red Cross Offices in China*¹ (中国红十字会分会暂行组织通则 *zhongguo hongshizihui fenhui zanxing zuzhi tongze*) (hereafter referred to as “*General Rules for Organization*”) to guide the restructuring of local Red Cross offices. The *Provisional Measures* provided that restructuring of local Red Cross offices must be conducted based on the conditions of the Constitution, clarified the restructuring mode and procedures, and pointed out that any local Red Cross office could, at any time, apply to the Head office for assistance or guidance.

The *General Rules for Organization* provided the establishment and designation of local Red Cross office counties and specified organizational and preparatory procedures for local Red Cross offices. In the meantime, the RCSC prepared a list of names, addresses, and principals of local Red Cross offices, which was sent to the Ministry of Health, the Department of Internal Affairs, and the Relief Administration. On October 16, 1950 the RCSC wrote to the Ministry of Health and the Department of Internal Affairs requesting a jointly issued general order, requiring provincial and municipal departments of civil affairs and health departments to render assistance, guidance, and cooperation in restructuring of local Red Cross offices.² The Relief Administration also

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Zhongguo hongshizihui fenhui zanxing zuzhi tongze 中国红十字会分会暂行组织通则 [The Provisional General Rules for Organization of Local Red Cross Offices in China], August 28 (1950).

² "Chuanda zhongyang neiwubu, weishengbu lianhe tongling 传达中央内务部、卫生部联合通令 [Circular on the General Order Jointly Issued by the Ministry of Health and the Department of Internal Affairs]," October 16, 1950.

released similar instructions to local relief administrations.

From early November 1950, 51 officers from 30 local Red Cross offices, who were restructuring pioneers in major administrative regions or provincial capitals, had participated in learning conferences held by the Head office in Beijing. After participating in these conferences, the officers went back to their respective local Red Cross offices to initiate restructuring and assist neighbouring local Red Cross offices in restructuring or working vigorously to build new local Red Cross offices. Thus, these officials were the “backbones” in restructuring local Red Cross offices and leaders of the new local Red Cross offices.¹ In late December, the Head office allocated 150 million Yuan (in former RMB) to subsidize 33 local Red Cross offices, to enrich their business and consolidate restructuring bases.

Local Red Cross offices that restructured in adherence to the *Provisional Measures* and the respective conditions were generally in the following circumstances:

First, local Red Cross offices whose chairmen and vice-chairmen remained in office and whose council was not dissolved requested local governments, departments of health and civil affairs, relief administrations, trade unions, youth federations, women’s federations (plus farmers’ association in rural areas), and other mass organizations and reputed democratic personages of the relief and welfare undertakings to jointly organize consultative conferences for restructuring. Second, local Red Cross offices whose chairmen and vice-chairmen had left office and whose councils could not be convened, but where businesses (such as hospitals, clinics, etc.) were still in operation under the leadership of acting principals, requested local governments, departments of health and civil affairs, and relief administrations to organize consultative conferences for restructuring. Third, local Red Cross offices whose general affairs were not under the

¹ "Xuexi zongjie baogao 学习总结报告 [Final Report on Learning Conferences]," September 4, 1950.

charge of anyone in particular had business suspended, but with the continuing presence of the organizations. For these offices, the Head office wrote to local governments requesting them to designate relevant departments to investigate staffing conditions, convene former council members or responsible persons, instruct data collation, and invite relevant authorities, groups, and individuals to organize consultative conferences or restructure the council. Fourth, for local Red Cross offices suspended after liberation which had lost contact with the Head office, the Head office wrote to relevant local government departments requesting them to assist by investigating actual conditions and consulting regarding the restoration of these offices. Fifth, for local Red Cross offices taken over by the PLA or people's governments after liberation, the Head office wrote to the controlling organizations requesting that they convene consultative conferences for restructuring of these offices.¹

Local Red Cross offices underwent restructuring by following the procedures outlined below. First, local Red Cross offices completed and submitted investigation forms prepared and released by the Head office, worked together with local departments of health and civil affairs to draft restructuring plans and consult about organizational modes of consultative conferences, reported their plans and organizational modes to the Head office for approval, and convened consultative conferences as per the approved plans and organizational modes. Second, at consultative conferences, regulations for local Red Cross offices were formulated and council members were elected. Third, following consultative conferences the presidiums or chairmen reported to the Head office on the restructuring process, regulations of the respective offices, lists of council members, and chairmen, vice-chairman, and standing council members for approval. These reports were also lodged with local governments. Fourth, after the restructuring

¹ "Chuanda zhongyang neiwubu, weishengbu lianhe tongling 传达中央内务部、卫生部联合通令 [Circular on the General Order Jointly Issued by the Ministry of Health and the Department of Internal Affairs]."

of leading organs was complete, the new leaders of local offices adjusted and rearranged internal personnel and subsidiaries following the working plans approved or recorded by the Head office and recorded the results with the local governments.

For example, the Beijing Red Cross Office, which restructured in December 1950, first gained support from leaders in the municipal government. Then, through preparations by multiple parties' representatives, new council members and leaders were determined. Afterwards, representatives from relevant social groups, democratic personages, former council members, and workers' representatives were invited to participate in the consultative conference for restructuring. At the consultative conference, instead of a holding members' congress, the Organizational Rules for the Beijing Branch of the RCSC (中国红十字会北京分会组织规则 *zhongguo hongshizihui Beijing fenhui zuzhi guize*) were passed and members were elected to form a new council. After the conference, the Beijing Red Cross Office reported to the Head office and the municipal government regarding the restructuring process, together with the Organizational Rules and a list of the council members, which were then approved by the Head office.¹ After restructuring, the local Red Cross offices became local people's health care organizations, while most chairmen positions at local offices were filled by principals of health departments or hospitals: "Leaders of local Red Cross Offices such as presidents, vice presidents, and directors-general served as heads of Public health

¹ Sun Jingmin 孙敬敏, *Beijing hongshizihui de liushiwu nian (1928-1993)* 北京市红十字会的六十五年 (1928-1993) [Sixty-five Years of Beijing Red Cross Office (1928-1993)] (Wenjin chubanshe 文津出版社, 1995), 35-37.

departments.”¹ For the restructuring times and presidents of local Red Cross offices in China, see Table 2.

Table 2. Restructuring times and chairmen of partial local Red Cross offices in China

Red Cross Office	Time	Chairman	Current Position
Beijing Red Cross Office	December 28, 1950	Yan Jingqing 严镜清	Director of the Bureau of Public Health
Wuhan Red Cross Office	January 8, 1951	Lu Jingcheng 严镜澄	Director of the Bureau of Health
Neijiang Red Cross Office	January 10, 1951	Yao Wenzao 尧文藻	Principal of the County Middle School
Wanxian Red Cross Office	January 16, 1951	Cao Deding 曹德鼎	Director of the Bureau of Health
Xi'an Red Cross Office	January 21, 1951	Zhang Fengbo 张锋伯	Deputy Mayor
Changnan Red Cross Office	January 25, 1951	Zhao Jianhua 赵建华	Chief of the Division of Civil Affairs
Nanning Red Cross Office	January 26, 1951	Chen Lunan 陈麓南	Former Chairman of the Office
Guangde Red Cross Office	January 26, 1951	Chen Hongtu 陈宏图	Director of the Bureau of Health, Former Chairman of the Office
Wenzhou Red Cross Office	February 3, 1951	Ge Linzong 葛林宗	Deputy Director of the Bureau of Health
Wuxi Red Cross Office	February 11, 1951	Li De 李德	Director of the Bureau of Health
Qingpu Red Cross Office	February 11, 1951	Xu Xuchun 徐煦春	Former Chairman of the Office
Xiayi Red Cross Office	February 18, 1951	Ding Zhanzhi 丁湛之	Chief of the Division of Civil Affairs
Changing (Jiangyin) Red Cross Office	February 20, 1951	Zhao Yuan 赵元	President of the Health Center
Zhenjiang Red Cross Office	March 1, 1951	Yang Gongya 杨公崖	Chairman of Social Welfare Committee
Wuzhou Red Cross Office	March 16, 1951	Huang Xulun 黄叙伦	Former Chairman of the Office
Tianjin Red Cross Office	March 30, 1951	Li Yunke 李允恪	Director of the Bureau of Health
Fuzhou Red Cross Office	March 30, 1951	Chen Haifeng 陈海峰	Director of the Bureau of Health
Luoyang Red Cross Office	April 11, 1951	Jiang Ling 江玲	Chief of the Health Division
Kaifeng Red Cross Office	April 12, 1951	Han Xizan 韩锡瓚	Director of the Bureau of Health
Hangzhou Red Cross Office	April 13, 1951	Chen Lijie 陈礼节	Director of the Bureau of Health
Wuhu Red Cross Office	April 16, 1951	Wang Xiukai 王修培	Director of the Bureau of Health
Chongqing Red Cross Office	April 16, 1951	Zhou Hongsheng	Director of the Bureau of Health

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Guanyu gaizu fenhui yixie ying zhuyi de wenti 关于改组分会一些应注意的问题 [Some Questions to Be Paid Attention to in Restructuring branches of Red Cross Society of China], April 10 (1951).

		周洪生	
Ganzhou Red Cross Office	April 26, 1951	Jin Jichi 金级墀	Former Chairman of the Office
Lingling Red Cross Office	May 6, 1951	Tang Zuolin 唐作霖	President of Hospital
Linying Red Cross Office	May 12, 1951	Wei Xin 魏欣	Chief of Division of Civil Affairs
Quxian Red Cross Office	May 20, 1951	Liu Zhenjiang 刘振江	Chief of Health Division
Changzhou Red Cross Office	May 27, 1951	Wu Bofang 吴伯芳	Chief of Health Division
Guangzhou Red Cross Office	June 15, 1951	Liang Guang 梁广	Deputy Mayor
Suining Red Cross Office	June 16, 1951	Du Shunfu 杜顺福	President of Chuanbei Third Hospital
Shanghai Red Cross Office	July 4, 1951	Liu Hongsheng 刘鸿生	Vice Chairman of the Head office
Dangtu Red Cross Office	July 24, 1951	Zhang Zishe 张子射	Member of the People's Supervisory Committee of the County
Nanchang Red Cross Office	August 12, 1951	Li Shanyuan 李善元	Deputy Mayor
Luzhou Red Cross Office	August 20, 1951	Hu Junde 胡俊德	Deputy Mayor
Anyue Red Cross Office	November 3, 1951	Shen Xuezheng 申学忠	Mayor of the 4th District of the County
Jining Red Cross Office	November 4, 1951	Guo Caixuan 国彩轩	Chief of the health division
Taiyuan Red Cross Office	November 12, 1951	Ji Gongquan 冀贡泉	Chairman of the Provincial Cultural and Sports Committee
Anqing Red Cross Office	November 3, 1952	Chen Zhixiang 陈治祥	Mayor

Data Source:

Xin Zhongguo hongshizi 新中国红十字 [Red Cross of the People's Republic of China], September 1950 to December 1952; the Red Cross offices are listed in a chronological order based on the restructuring times.

38 local Red Cross offices completed restructuring in September 1951. However, by September 1952, only 51 local Red Cross offices had completed restructuring¹ and not all of the 89 local Red Cross offices requiring restructuring had been restructured. Restructuring of local Red Cross offices was unbalanced in terms of completion time and geographical locations. As shown in Table 2, most local Red Cross offices

¹ Li Dequan 李德全, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui gaizu liangnian lai de gongzuo 中国红十字会总会改组两年来的工作 [Work of the Red Cross Society of China during the Past Two Years' Restructuring]," *Renmin ribao 人民日报*, September 8, 1952.

completed restructuring in 1951. Offices located near the Head office and provincial capitals completed restructuring early; among the provincial Red Cross offices, the Jiangsu Red Cross Office led the restructuring progress across the country.¹ This could be attributed to the original condition of the local offices, social stability at the time, land reform, the Korean War, and the counterrevolutionary suppression campaign. For example, in January 1951 when the Changjing (长泾) Red Cross Office (江苏 *Jiangsu*) was discussing restructuring, land reform emerged, which postponed restructuring until after land reform was completed.²

The Second National Members Representative Conference

Since the founding of the PRC in 1949, the biggest change in the RCSC has been the restructuring of organizations and the reform of management systems. Through reorganized and rationalized management systems and operational mechanisms in 1950, the Ministry of Health led the RCSC and the head office of the RCSC directly led the provincial, city, and county branches. The provincial Red Cross managed the municipal, county, and grassroots Red Cross societies. All local Red Cross Society offices were under the leadership of local party, government, and health departments. During this period, in July 1952, the RCSC issued a notice in conjunction with the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of the Interior, requesting local branches and health

¹ For restructuring conditions of Jiangsu Red Cross Office, see Xu Guopu 徐国普, *Huihuang shiwu nian (1950-1965) 辉煌十五年 (1950-1965)* 9-13.

² "Changjing fenhui 1951 nian 1 yuefen gongzuo jianbao 长泾分会 1951 年 1 月份工作简报", [Report of Changjing Red Cross Office in January 1951.] *Xinzhongguo hongshizi 新中国红十字* February, no. 6 (1951): 30.

departments to co-operate. In December 1960, a Ministry of Health office meeting decided that the RCSC and the Ministry of Health would co-operate.¹ Consequently, the RCSC had changed its organizational structure and working conditions, in fact, it had become an affiliate of the health department.

From October 23 to October 27, 1961, the Second National Members Representative Conference of the RCSC was held in Beijing. The General Assembly adopted the new *Constitution of the RCSC*. The first chapter stipulated that “the RCSC is a mass health care organization that was organized by the Chinese people.”² The difference with the constitutions set by the First National Members Representative Conference of the RCSC was that the main body of the RCSC was organized by the people instead of the central government. On the other side, the Second Board of Directors of the RCSC was established (Table 3):

Table 3. The Second Board of Directors of the Red Cross Society of China

Name	Position
Ding Xilin 丁西林	Deputy Director of the Foreign Cultural Liaison Committee of the PRC (中华人民共和国对外文化联络委员会副主任), Vice President of the Chinese People's Association for Foreign Culture (中国人民对外文化协会副会长)
Wang Yuxian 王聿先	Director of Shanghai Health Bureau (上海市卫生局局长), Vice President of Shanghai Red Cross Society(上海市红十字会副会长)
Wang Kunlun 王昆仑	Deputy Mayor of Beijing (北京市副市长)
Wang Xiaolei 王晓耒	Directors of Industry and Business and the RCSC (工商界、中国红十字会总会理事)
Lan Qiao 兰 侨	Vice Minister of Mobilization of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (中国人民解放军总参谋部动员部副部长)

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian 中国红十字会的九十年*, 156-57.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, "Zhongguo hongshizihui zhangcheng 中国红十字会章程 [Constitution of the Red Cross Society of China]," in *Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1950-2004) 中国红十字会历史资料选编(1950-2004) [Selection of Historical Materials of Red Cross Society of China (1950-2004)]* (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2005).

Deng Yuzhi 邓裕志	(female) Director-General of China National Committee for Young Women in Christianity (中华基督教女青年会全国委员会总干事)
Zhu Xuefan 朱学范	Vice President of National Labor Union of the PRC (中华全国总工会副主席), Minister of Posts and Telecommunications of the PRC (中华人民共和国邮电部部长), Member of the Chinese People's Defence Committee for World Peace (中国人民保卫世界和平委员会委员)
Zhu Jiarui 朱家瑞	(female) Consultant of the Chinese People's Relief Association (中国人民救济总会顾问), Consultant of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会顾问)
Wu Yunfu 伍云甫	Deputy Minister of Health Department of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部副部长), Secretary General of the Chinese People's Relief Association (中国人民救济总会秘书长)
Sun Yizhi 孙仪之	Minister of Health and General Rear Service of Chinese People's Liberation Army (中国人民解放军总后方勤务部卫生部部长)
Liu Qingyang 刘清扬	(female) Vice President of National Association of Women of the PRC (中华人民共和国全国妇女联合会副主席), Deputy Secretary-General of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会副秘书长)
Wu Youxun 吴有训	Vice President of Chinese Academy of Sciences (中国科学院副院长)
Wu Yingkai 吴英恺	President of Fuwai Hospital, Chinese Academy of Medical Sciences (中国医学科学院阜外医院院长)
Wu Maosun 吴茂荪	Deputy Secretary-General of the Chinese People's Defence Committee for World Peace (中国人民保卫世界和平委员会副秘书长), Secretary-General of Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (中国人民外交学会秘书长)
Su Jingguan 苏井观	Deputy Minister of Health Department of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部副部长)
Yang Zhenya 杨振亚	Deputy Mayor of Tianjin (天津市副市长), President of the Tianjin Red Cross Society (天津市红十字会会长)
Li Qitao 李琦涛	Director of Secretariat Department of Central Committee of Chinese Communist Youth League (中国共产主义青年团中央委员会书记处书记)
Li Dequan 李德全	(female) Minister of Health Department of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部部长), Vice President of National Association of Women of the PRC (中华人民共和国全国妇女联合会副主席), President of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会会长)
Yan Jingqing 严镜清	Director of Beijing Public Health Bureau (北京市公共卫生局局长), President of the Beijing Red Cross (北京市红十字会会长)
Lin Shixiao 林士笑	Director of Central Patriotic Health Campaign Committee (中央爱国卫生运动委员会办公室主任), Deputy Secretary-General of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会副秘书长)
Ouyang Jing 欧阳竞	Director of the Office of the Ministry of Health of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部办公厅主任)
Chen Qiyuan 陈其璦	Deputy Minister of the Interior of the PRC (中华人民共和国内务部副部长), Member of the Supervisory Committee of the Chinese People's Relief Society (中国人民救济总会监察委员会主任委员)
Zhou Gengsheng 周鲠生	Vice President of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (中国人民外交学会副会长)
Zhao Puchu 赵朴初	Vice President of China Buddhist Association (中国佛教协会副会长)
Xu Guomao 徐国懋	Industry and Business 工商界人士
Xu Jigu 徐寄顾	Industry and Business 工商界人士
Pu Huaren 浦化人	President of the Supervisory Committee of the Chinese People's Relief Society (中国人民救济总会监察委员会办公室主任)
Ni Feijun 倪斐君	(female) Deputy Secretary General of the Chinese People's Relief Association (中国人民救济总会副秘书长), Deputy Secretary General of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会副秘书长)
Gong Zhixian 龚志贤	Consultant of Chinese Medicine in Beijing Hospital (北京医院中医顾问)
Gong Pusheng 龚普生	(female) Director of the International Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC (中华人民共和国外交部国际司司长)
Qian Xinzong 钱欣宗	Deputy Minister of Health Department of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部副部长)

钱信忠	
Cao Mengjun 曹孟君	(female) Director of Secretariat Department of National Association of Women of the PRC (中华人民共和国全国妇女联合会书记处书记)
Fu Lianzhang 傅连障	President of Chinese Medical Association (中华医学会会长)
Peng Yan 彭炎	Deputy Director of the Office of the Ministry of Health of the PRC (中华人民共和国卫生部办公厅副主任), Deputy Secretary General of the RCSC (总会副秘书长)
Xiong Jingding 熊瑾玎	Deputy Director Member of the Supervisory Committee of the Chinese People's Relief Society 中国人民救济总会监察委员会副主任委员、Vice President of the RCSC (中国红十字会总会副会长)

Data source:

Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Zhongguo hongshizihui dierjie lishihui lishi mingdan 中国红十字会第二届理事会理事名单 [The Second Board of Directors of Red Cross Society of China], October 27, 1961, in Zhongguo hongshizihui lishi ziliao xuanbian (1950-2004) 中国红十字会历史资料选编 (1950-2004) [Selection of Historical Materials of the Red Cross Society of China (1950-2004)] (Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2005), 71-2.

Amongst these 35 Directors, there were 21 officials, two businessmen, one scholar, and the others were from the RCSC and other associations. Most Directors in the Second Board of Directors of the RCSC were officials who came from central government departments such as the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the Health Department of the PRC, the Office of the Ministry of Health of the PRC, the Interior of the PRC, the International Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the PRC, Beijing and Tianjin City Hall, Beijing Public Health Bureau ,Shanghai Health Bureau, Posts and Telecommunications of the PRC, Department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League, and the Supervisory Committee of the Chinese People's Relief Society.

Based on research conducted by the RCSC, the Ministry of Health, and the State Council's Preparatory Committee about the staff structure of local organizations, the RCSC made the following decisions:

The staff structure of the Red Cross Societies of all provinces, cities, and counties has been approved by the State Council's Preparatory Committee. These preparations were all included in the partisan group system.¹

However, this was opposed to the Red Cross as an NGO. The operation and staff structure of the Red Cross Society were under the control of the CCP. Without the documents issued by the central government, the Red Cross could not operate completely independently in society. This was reflected in another government document:

The RCSC is a mass health care organization. The preparation of the Red Cross should be included in the administrative establishment of the various regions and be part of the CCP. The compilation of some local Red Cross societies belongs to the health administration and public health undertakings, and should be approved by the preparation committees of provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government. After the establishment of staff structure, they will be formally converted into an organization under the leadership of CCP.²

5.5 The Cultural Revolution Period: 1966-1977

The Culture Revolution emerged in May 1966, having a great impact on the work of the RCSC and its organizations. At the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, in

¹ China Ministry of Health and Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui. Guanyu difang hongshizihui bianzhi de lianhe tongzhi 关于地方红十字会编制的联合通知 [Notice on the Preparation of Local Red Cross Societies]. May 28, 1963, weitingzi 卫厅字 no.102. Ministry of Health and Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui, Guanyu difang hongshizihui bianzhi de lianhe tongzhi 关于地方红十字会编制的联合通知 [Notice on the Preparation of Local Red Cross Societies], (1963).

² China. Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Health, National Preparatory Committee, Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, Guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui ren yuan bianzhi he jingfei wenti de jixiang guiding 关于中国红十字会人员编制和经费问题的几项规定 [Several Regulations on Staffing and Expenses of the Red Cross Society of China]. February 8, 1964, caiwenzi 财文字 no.116, weijizi 卫计字 no.30, guobianzi 国编字 no. 11, hongzuzi 红组字 no.8.

accordance with the original plan, an exchange meeting on water rescue training was held in Nanning (南宁), Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. 154 people from all provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions attended the meeting. After the meeting, water rescue operations were organized in Guangxi, Jiangsu, and Shandong, but they stopped shortly after the Cultural Revolution.¹ Starting then, the RCSC's work in various parts of the country was not able to proceed. From Beijing to all parts of the country and from the Head office of the RCSC to the local Red Cross societies, there were "combats and criticisms" everywhere, cadres devolved, a large number of Red Cross staff and ordinary members were persecuted, and all domestic operations were paralysed, such that local organizations were eventually disbanded.² The RCSC and its humanitarian cause experienced disasters and setbacks during this unprecedented calamity. Against the political background of the Cultural Revolution, the RCSC, as an international non-governmental organization, was so seriously affected by political influence that it could not exist as a non-governmental organization.

The international exchanges of the RCSC, however, continued during the Cultural Revolution and never ceased. For example, the 21st International Red Cross Conference was held in Turkey from September 6 to 13, 1969. Due to the manipulation of United States, the Taiwan Red Cross Society was invited to attend the conference. The RCSC was overwhelmed with indignation and lodged a resolute struggle against the creation

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian 中国红十字会的九十年*, 181-82.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian 中国红十字会的九十年*.

of “two Chinas”. The Chinese delegation refused to participate in the conference and announced that China had binding responsibilities to implement resolutions adopted at the conference.¹

From 1966 to 1975, Red Cross Delegations from Japan, Congo, Sweden, Algeria, Turkey, and Romania came to China. The President of the ICRC and his wife were also invited to visit China from September 14 to 25, 1971. They visited factories, schools, and countryside areas in Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Wuxi, and other places. Vice-premier Li Xiannian (李先念) met the visitors. In the same period, the RCSC visited several African countries, Romania, Turkey, and other countries, and was received in a friendly manner by the Red Cross Societies of these countries. From November 2 to 7 and November 8 to 15 of 1973, the 32nd Red Cross Council Meeting and the 22nd International Red Cross Conference were held in Iran. A total of 650 participants in 179 Red Cross delegations from 109 countries attended the meetings. China sent a government delegation of seven people headed by Chen Xinren (陈辛仁), Ambassador to Iran. The RCSC also sent a Red Cross delegation of five people headed by Ouyang Jing (欧阳竞), Executive Councillor of RCSC, and assisted by Wang Min (王敏), the Secretary General of the RCSC. Thus, the Chinese delegation appeared at the International Meeting of the Red Cross Society after a several-year absence. This immediately attracted great attention and warm welcomes from the parties concerned.

¹ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* [100-year Chronicle of Red Cross Society of China], vol. 1 (Beijing: Xinhua Chubanshe 新华出版社, 2004), 139.

The Chinese delegates took an active role by stating their opinions and positions on various topics. In the election of leaders of the 32nd council meeting, the RCSC was chosen as an executive member.¹

The 90th Executive Committee of the Red Cross Society held its meeting in Geneva from October 24 to 26, 1974. The RCSC sent its delegation, headed by Wang Min, to the meeting. He presented a clear message regarding the principles of commencing the peace conference. The 33rd Red Cross Society Council also held its meeting in Geneva, from October 28 to November 1, 1975. There were 300 participants from 96 countries attending the meeting. The RCSC delegation headed by Ouyang Jing delivered a speech regarding relevant topics.² In the 1960s and 1970s, natural calamities occurred frequently across the world, especially in third-world countries. Wars occurred in some places with much human suffering. The RCSC extended its assistance to people living in disaster-stricken regions. From 1966 to 1977, the RCSC offered support on 169 occasions to 138 countries. The total amount of relief funds and materials, provided to recipients from all over the world, totalled about 100 million yuan.³ Through this assistance, friendship between countries was strengthened.

¹ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 140.

² Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1.

³ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 141.

5.6 Summary

With the emergence of the new State and the reorganization of the RCSC, there was a change in the social and political dynamic, as the government controlled the social organization more directly. However, the RCSC apparently benefited from the reorganization, as the government intervention helped provide the requisite stability to the organization. It is controversial whether government intervention was ultimately successful in promoting the Red Cross's agenda, which was basically serving people who suffer in natural disasters. The evolution of the RCSC was notably a result of the political environment, precipitated by the political and social elements linked to the government and the renewed class consciousness. So, with government intervention, the philosophy and principles of the Red Cross were somehow undermined to serve a political agenda. The benefits of this transformation to the RCSC are debatable, although it was one of the political successes of the communist government, as the Society came under government control and was later run by the Ministry of Health. It is also arguable whether the RCSC became fully part of the PRC government and uncritically followed the same agenda.

The Red Cross expanded further due to the positive relation linked to its social functioning. The interactions between the state and society, which increased government control, were integral to the changes and reorganization of this social organization, despite being controversial. These measures, as captured in "The Common Program," sought to protect the rights of Chinese citizens, although against

the background of these demands the RCSC had to conform to thrive and operate in the new government. It is unclear whether the change of power and social functions of the organization, following the control of the organization by the CCP, helped in expanding the RCSC's local network or enhanced its credibility and neutrality as a primarily social organization. It can be concluded, however, that after the 1950s and throughout the Mao era, the RCSC was increasingly functioning in accordance with the communist government agenda, making its political or social neutrality highly questionable. This chapter has analysed the over-arching influences of the CCP on the operation of the RCSC. However, the CCP has also had a positive influence on the RCSC, the fact of CCP supports the RCSC is because it uses the RCSC as an INGO for its national objective to be recognized on the international stage.

Chapter 6 The Red Cross Society in the Post-Mao Era: 1977-1999

6.1 Introduction

The RCSC experienced radical changes in its operational framework in the late twentieth century, associated with the dynamic policies and ideologies that emerged after Mao's death. The PRC in the post-Mao era followed in the footsteps of previous governments and recognized the RCSC's central role in episodes of civil strife, national disasters, and epidemics.¹

China was moving toward a somewhat different political system, with most of Mao's successors opting to focus on rebuilding China as well as on embracing global geopolitics. Despite the existence of some Mao loyalists, his successors managed to bring new leadership styles into the picture.² Their success was reflected in the growth of Chinese civil society in general, and particularly the RCSC: after 1976, the Red Cross managed to grow into a democratic body with a complementary role to the Chinese government.³ The RCSC in the post-Mao era focused on abiding by the International Red Cross Society's terms for various national chapters. These changes were prompted

¹ C. McIlwaine, "Civil Society," in *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, ed. Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift (Oxford: Elsevier, 2009), 136-41.

² Chen Kuide, "The Misleading Conception of Clan Society and the Reconstruction of Civil Society in China," 23-30.

³ Benjamin R Barber, "Searching for civil society," *National Civic Review* 84, no. 2 (1995): 114-18.

by the inclination of the Deng Xiaoping administration to restore relationships with various international players such as the UK, US, and France.¹

The post-Mao era presented various reforms touching on the political, social, and economic spheres. These reforms were informed by market economy turn and the ‘opening up’ of China to the world, exemplified by entering the World Trade Organization but retaining the socialist historical foundations of the ruling CCP. The country’s first leader after Mao was Hua Guofeng, who subscribed to the revolutionary Mao school of thought.² To avoid appearing disloyal to Mao’s leadership perspectives, Hua carefully distance himself from the Cultural Revolution that had led to economic deterioration.³ Hua’s leadership mirrored Mao in all dimensions, including the continuation of a diminished public sphere and enhanced state control in civil society organizations.⁴ However, Deng later embraced an “economic rationalist” or market-reform outlook, critical to promoting the growth of the public sphere and civil society.

The CCP was a political organization with a strong class feature, while the Red Cross was a social assistance group that did not involve itself in the politics among the humanitarian aid groups. This contrast raised several important questions. Would the Red Cross carry out its work under the leadership of the CCP? Would the leadership of

¹ Brook and Frolic, *Civil society in China*, 3.

² Chen Kuide, "The Misleading Conception of Clan Society and the Reconstruction of Civil Society in China," 23-30.

³ Shen Yue 沈越, "Zichan jieji quanli" ying yiwei "shimin quanli" "资产阶级权利"应译为“市民权利”," 29-34.

⁴ Xia Weizhong 夏维中, "Shimin shehui: zhongguo jinqi nanyuan de meng 市民社会：中国近期难圆的梦," 176-82.

the CCP influence the running of the Red Cross? Most importantly, would the Red Cross continue to carry out its work using the neutral and independent principle? These questions created a sensitive relationship between the Red Cross and the post-Mao Government. Even though China was still a one-party state, some space was given to NGOs to functions in areas that the state chose not to take up responsibility for. This chapter focuses on the changes in the politico-socio-economic sphere after Mao, and how they directly affected the RCSC. It delves into the relationship between the PRC and the public sphere through the lens of civil society,¹ and also evaluates the strides made by the RCSC in being internationally recognized and resuscitating its grassroots networks between 1977-1999.

6.2 Reform and Opening for the PRC

On October 6, 1976, the Party Central Committee smashed the “Gang of Four” (四人帮 *siren bang*) and declared the end of the decade of Cultural Revolution. The assumption of power by Deng Xiaoping in 1977 introduced a new (state) capitalist and international outlook.² In his speech “Emancipate the mind, seek truth from facts and unite as one in looking to the future,”³ Deng abandoned Mao’s ideologies as impractical

¹ Frederic Wakeman, "The civil society and public sphere debate: Western reflections on Chinese political culture," *Modern China* 19, no. 2 (1993): 108-38.

² Deng Xiaoping, "Deng Xiaoping: Mao in Short," *Chinese Sociology & Anthropology* 28, no. 1 (1995): 36.

³ Deng Xiaoping, "Emancipate the mind, seek truth from facts and unite as one in looking to the future," in *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping (1975-1982)*, ed. Lenin Bureau for the Compilation and Translation of Works of Marx, Engels and Stalin under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (China Books & Periodicals, 1978), 151-65.

in the quest to attain progress.¹ Deng showed by action that he was keen on expanding the democratic space as well as the public sphere in China.² With the “four modernizations”, Deng was keen on ensuring that China took off economically.³ These reforms had a profound impact on the political and social environment in China.

After 1979, the PRC administration became more rightist through the expansion of the political space. Pragmatism took center stage, with the CCP encouraging the emerging public sphere.⁴ For the first time, Chinese writers, artists, and journalists employed a critical, informative, and transformative approach in their works. The “Democracy Wall”, for instance, was used to disseminate critiques of the leftist ideologies which had affected the country negatively in the Mao era.⁵ This signaled an opening up process which embraced tolerance and enhanced civil society activity.⁶ However, political liberation and market reforms faced hurdles, creating economic divisions and raising political expectation that bubbled over in the ‘Tiananmen Square Incident’, exposing the conflict between the old order in the CCP one-party rule and a public keen

¹ Deng Xiaoping, "Emancipate the mind, seek truth from facts and unite as one in looking to the future," 151-65.

² Angela Harutyunyan, Kathrin H rschelmann, and Malcolm Miles, *Public spheres after socialism* (Intellect Books, 2009), 195.

³ Lu Yue, "The weakening tendency of the state's political and economic functions: from the angle of the relationship between the state and society," *Philosophical Studies*, no. 2 (1987).

⁴ Angela Harutyunyan, Kathrin H rschelmann, and Malcolm Miles, *Public spheres after socialism* (Intellect Books, 2009), 196-200.

⁵ John Keane, *Democracy and civil society: on the predicaments of European socialism, the prospects for democracy, and the problem of controlling social and political power* (London; New York: Verso, 1988).

⁶ Virginia A. Hodgkinson and Michael W. Foley, *The Civil Society Reader, Civil Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, (Medford: Tufts University Press, 2003), 82.

on enhanced reforms and fighting against corruption.¹ Dubbing it the fifth reform, the country was seeking a political reform which would signal China's shift in political ideology towards a more realist school of thought.

Deng did not endorse the idea of democratizing China. For him, democracy would cause social discord that would be more destructive to China than the Cultural Revolution, as much of the Chinese rural population was poorly educated and the country's vastness would be hard to control.² However, Deng was deemed by many as cogent enough to entertain an expanded public sphere.³ He believed political reforms were vital since authoritarianism was a hindrance to any meaningful economic reforms that would give space for private enterprises to perform. Despite not democratizing China, Deng initially decentralized political power and provided for the expansion of economic freedoms but after 1989 political control was reasserted.

The continued authoritarian rule of the CCP, however, generated a somewhat limited momentum towards a more liberal government. The limited democratization brought about by Deng's reforms was observed in three pivotal institutional changes. The first was observed through the establishment of self-government at the local level, through

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"*, 218.

² Tsou Tang, *Marxism, the Leninist Party, the Masses, and the Citizens in the Rebuilding of the Chinese state*, ed. Stuart S. Schram, *Foundations and Limits of State Power in China*, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1987), 257.

³ Frederic Wakeman, "The civil society and public sphere debate: Western reflections on Chinese political culture," 108-38.

the launching of village elections.¹ The growth and establishment of self-government in rural China brought about the growth of grassroots organizations in the countryside. The second political reform that positively affected the public sphere targeted legal institutions to enhance the rule of law. The Deng administration resuscitated institutions such as courts of law and police departments.² The third major reform was introduced to separate the NPC from Party administration. This was fundamental in reducing unnecessary bureaucracies and rent-seeking tendencies.

Civil society organizations such as the RCSC grew and activated much of their networks³ through enhanced grassroots mobilization and election of officials, and through input from RCSC government officials. In light of these changes, the RCSC thrived in the comfort of a reformist leadership keen on promoting it, especially after its negative standing following the Cultural Revolution.⁴ The reality of the relations between the RCSC and the Chinese government was reflected in the 1978 Ministry of Health and Ministry of Foreign Affairs report “The Restoration of the Red Cross Work” (卫生部、外交部关于恢复红十字会国内工作的报告 *weishengbu, waijiaobu*

¹ Liu Pan 刘畔, "cong shimin shehui shijue kan hongshizhui weiji de jiejie zhidao 从市民社会视角看“红十字会危机”的解决之道," [A Solution to the Red Cross Crisis from the Perspective of Civil Society.] *Journal of Hunan Police Academy 湖南警察学院学报* 23, no. 5 (2011): 65-67.

² Frederic Wakeman, "The civil society and public sphere debate: Western reflections on Chinese political culture," 108-38.

³ Xia Weizhong 夏维中, "Shimin shehui: zhongguo jinqi nanyuan de meng 市民社会：中国近期难圆的梦," 176-82.

⁴ Liu Pan 刘畔, "cong shimin shehui shijue kan hongshizhui weiji de jiejie zhidao 从市民社会视角看“红十字会危机”的解决之道," 65-67.

guanyu huifu hongshizihui guonei gongzuo de baogao) ,¹ which stipulated the relations between government and the body in a quest to provide unified leadership.

6.3 Changes in the RCSC's Organizational Structure

Due to the persecution of its work during the Cultural Revolution, the restoration of work was a top priority for the RCSC. On January 27, 1978, the RCSC submitted a report to the Ministry of Health, *Proposal on Domestic Work and System of the RCSC* (*关于国内工作和体制问题的意见 guanyu guonei gongzuo he tizhi wenti de yijian*), which proposed recovering the work of the RCSC in mainland China.² The head office of the RCSC submitted this report many times and finally got the attention of the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On March 29, 1978, these ministries submitted *The Report on the Restoration of the Red Cross Work* (*关于恢复红十字会国内工作的报告 guanyu huifu hongshizihui guonei gongzuo de baogao*) to the State Council. In turn, this report was approved and forwarded to the Revolutionary Committees in all provinces, cities, and autonomous regions around China, to show “the State Council approves the Restoration of the Red Cross Work, and now forwards it to you all, please carry it out.” The report pointed that “the specific responsibility of the RCSC is to assist the Health Department under the unified leadership of the local

¹ China. The State Council 国务院, Guowuyuan pizhuan guanyu huifu hongshizihui guonei gongzuo de baogao 国务院批转关于恢复红十字会国内工作的报告 [The State Council forwards a report on Restoration of the Red Cross Work] 63, April 1, no.63 (1978).

² China. The State Council 国务院, guanyu guonei gongzuo he tizhi wenti de yijian 关于国内工作和体制问题的意见 [Proposal on Domestic Work and System of the Red Cross Society of China], January 27, no.63 (1978).

party committee to conduct patriotic health campaigns, blood transfusions, and combat readiness training, including secondary school youth training. The first step is to recover the work of the RCSC in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Nanjing, Hangzhou, Guangzhou, Changsha, Wuhan, Xi'an, and Shenyang.”¹ The RCSC quickly implemented the State Council's instructions, immediately restored domestic working organizations, deployed cadres, and sent personnel to some areas to investigate local work conditions.

By the end of April in 1978, Wu Richeng (吴日承), the secretary-general of the RCSC, made an initial investigation of three grassroots offices in Beijing to gather their ideas for recovering the RCSC. He submitted an Investigation Report to Chen Muhua (陈慕华), the vice premier of the State Council, and to the Ministry of Health and Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the middle of May, the vice Premier Chen issued Document No. 63 to promote the recovery of the RCSC. After that, the Guangzhou Red Cross Society was re-established and became the first recovering RCSC branch in China. Successively, the RCSC recovered other branch offices in Changsha, Tianjin, Beijing, Shanghai, Hangzhou, Wuhan, Nanjing, Shenyang, and Xi'an. The council was established as well, including the president and vice president, the secretary general, and other personnel. During the National Conference on Medicine and Health Science and Technology (全国医药卫生科技大会 *quanguo yiyao weisheng keji dahui*) in the

¹ China. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *guanyu huifu hongshizihui guonei gongzuo de baogao* 关于恢复红十字会国内工作的报告 [The Report on Recovering the Work of Red Cross Society of China at Mainland of China], March 29, no. 63 (1978).

middle of June, the leaders of the RCSC invited ten city leaders and provincial health bureaus to discuss the issue of the Red Cross's recovery on the mainland. At the end of June, the RCSC and the Ministry of Health issued a notice requiring all localities to report on the Red Cross's recovery. By the end of 1978, 11 provincial capital cities had rebuilt their branches of Red Cross.¹

The Third National Members Representative Conference

The RCSC and local Red Cross Society branches successively recovered their institutional framework and operational actions. From February 20 to 24, 1979, the Third National Members Representatives Conference of the RCSC was held in Beijing, where the Constitution was approved. The conference featured the related departments of the State Council, the parties, the people's organizations, the three departments of the liberation army, and 65 representatives of the RCSC from 11 provinces and cities that had finished the organizational recovery. Qian Xinzong (钱信忠), the Minister of Health of the Central People's Government, wrote a report entitled *Striving for People's Health Care Undertakings in the New Period* (为新时期的人民卫生救护事业努力奋斗 *wei xinshiqi de renmin weisheng jiuhu shiye nuli fendou*). The report criticized:

Lin Biao (林彪) and the 'Gang of Four' extreme left line for their interference with the RCSC. The slanders of the RCSC and some of the disruptive ideas by the 'Gang of Four' must be set aside. As for the slanders on the Red Cross, they must all be toppled. Comrades who have been framed by the 'Gang of Four' for their work in the RCSC, including the masses and activists, must be rehabilitated. Since the reorganization, the RCSC has followed the revolutionary line of Chairman

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian 中国红十字会的九十年*, 188-89.

Mao and carried out work according to the principles and policies of the Party and the country.¹

The meeting also summarized the Red Cross's previous work:

Stressing the guiding principles of international activities, "Adhering humanitarianism, healing the wounded and rescuing the dying". The RCSC serves as a diplomatic channel in international relationship. The RCSC was an important tool, assisting the health department in public health care and rescue activities. Motivate and mobilize the local people to set up Health Stations and First Aid Teams. Progress achieved so far was due to the leadership of the Party and the government, the support from all walks of life, and the enthusiasm of Red Cross Society staff.²

As the working report exposed the destruction and interruption of the RCSC by the Cultural Revolution, it recommended that the RCSC should continue to play a role in diplomatic relationships and strengthen international exchanges with foreign countries. Likewise, it should continue to assist Public Health Departments to promote blood transfusion, mobilization and organization, carrying out first aid and public health care training, as well as Red Cross Youth activities in primary schools and middle schools.³

In terms of the modification of RCSC Statutes, emphasis was placed on contributions to the socialist construction. As for organizational development, it stressed the restoration of the General Headquarters of the RCSC, clarification of the instructional position of the General Headquarters towards local branches, and the leadership position of local governments towards local branches. The third session of the Board Meeting was set up during the National Members Representative Conference. Board

¹ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 350.

² Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 146-47.

³ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 146.

members were elected at the meeting; Qian Xinzong was chosen as the President. State leaders Liao Chengzhi (廖承志), and Chen Muhua also met with the representatives of the conference.

This conference amended the *Constitution of the RCSC* and elected the third council. Qian Xinzong, the minister of the Health Department, acted as the president of the RCSC. This conference proposed that the main responsibility of the RCSC was to serve the socialist construction based on “healing the wounded and rescuing the dying, carrying out the revolutionary humanitarianism” put forward by Chairman Mao. In consideration of the “Left” ideology that had not been eliminated fully, putting “revolutionary” before “humanitarianism” sought to distinguish it from the humanism of the bourgeoisie.¹ According to the purpose of the Third National Members Representative Conference, the mission of the RCSC was to play a role in people’s diplomacy and rescue careers under the requirements of the party and government, to enhance international relationships and promote international communication.² Because the mainland work of the RCSC had stopped for decades, so it was difficult to recover its organization and develop its business. Based on the initial recovery of the Red Cross in ten cities, the RCSC was enlarged and recovered in provinces, cities, and at the ground level.

¹ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 352.

² Qian Xinzong 钱信忠, "Wei xinshiqi de renmin weisheng jiuhu shiye nuli fendou - zhongguo hongshizihui di san ci daibiao huiyi shang de gongzuo baogao 为新时期的人民卫生救护事业努力奋斗——在中国红十字会第三次代表会议上的工作报告 [Striving for the People’s Health Rescue Cause in New Era--The Working Report in the 3rd Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Internal Publications* 1979, 10-11.

By the end of 1979, the convening of the third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the CCP (中国共产党第十一届三中全会 *zhongguo gongchandang dishiyi jie sanzong quanhui*), clearly put forward the guiding ideology of the CCP and proposed a political line centred on the economic construction. As a reformer, Deng Xiaoping himself led the movement putting forth rights in science, education, and culture, which created another new epoch in the history of the PRC.¹ The RCSC also gained a new chance as well: the RCSC working meeting was held in Shanghai with participants from Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin, Guangxi, and Fujian, as well as other big cities. Their meeting summed up the progress that had been made since the Third National Members Representative Conference, praising both the Head office and local branches for their great efforts in their performance. But the development was unequal in local branches: some did quite a good job in terms of organizational development and routine operations, while others only made some progress in organizational development or didn't make any progress in either area. Overall, the meeting stressed the importance of party leadership and staff enthusiasm towards Red Cross work.²

Due to the long period of suspension in its mainland operations, public memory of the RCSC had become dim. In order to restore a correct understanding of its goals and its good reputation in society, the RCSC had to continue its tremendous routine operations while undertaking effective publicity efforts. Accordingly, the *RCSC* magazine

¹ Unknown, *Historical Documentary of the People's Republic of China--The Reform Sets Sail* (Red Flag Press, 1994), 35,59.

² Wang Lizhong 王立志, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 148.

resumed publication in July 1980.¹ The main contents were focused on promoting basic knowledge of the Red Cross Society and publicizing major international activities. Significant coverage was devoted to first aid knowledge, blood donations, and health care. It was not only an interesting magazine for Red Cross members at different levels, but also a good material for those who wanted to know more about the Red Cross movement and health care.

On February 28, 1981, the Central Propaganda Department, the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Health, and the Ministry of Public Security jointly issued a notice about civility and carrying out the *Five Stresses* (五讲 *wujiang*) movement (including civility, polite, order and morality) and the *Four Points of Beauty* (四美 *simei*) movement (including spiritual beauty, elegant words, exemplary behavior, and a clean environment), integrating them with the *Three Loves* (三爱 *san ai*) model (love country, love socialism, and love the communist party) in all regions. In 1982 the publication reached 29 provinces, cities, and autonomous regions nationwide. More than 100 Red Cross Societies of foreign countries had subscribed to it as a way of information exchange. In 1982 RCSC had its 100th issue. At the same time, the 12th Communist Party Congress stipulated that citizens should stress the construction of a socialist moral civilization while building a socialist material civilization. The construction activities most closely related to the operations of Red Cross included health care, blood

¹ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 154.

donations, first aid knowledge, welfare services, and assistance to the elderly and disabled.¹

In September 1982, the convening of the Party's Twelfth National Congress sought to enhance the construction of a socialist spiritual civilization as well as the construction of a socialist material civilization.² All activities undertaken by the RCSC complied with the requirements at the time for socialist spiritual civilization and formed the key content for the socialist spiritual civilization. All Red Cross Societies, from the general to the local, were told to actively create health and social welfare services with the characteristics of the RCSC. Therefore, within only six years of the RCSC recovering its organization, the Red Cross Society at various regions and at all levels created a new phase, under the leadership of the party and government. As of the end of 1984, there were 26 provinces, cities, municipalities, and direct-controlled municipalities that recovered and established branches of the Red Cross Society. At the city and county level there were 193 Red Cross Society organizations, along with 25868 grassroots groups. Likewise, there were more than 3000 community Red Cross Health Stations and a total membership of about 1.87 million people throughout China.³ This provided an organizational guarantee for the full development of the RCSC and shows that the

¹ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian* 中国红十字会百年 1, 159.

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui bian 中国红十字会总会编, *Zhongguo hongshizihui de jiushi nian* 中国红十字会的九十年, 203-04.

³ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi* 百年红十字, 353.

recovery of the RCSC developed quickly, under the guidance of the Central Committee of the CCP.

The Fourth National Members Representative Conference

During the six years after the third National Members Representative Conference, the RCSC gradually eliminated the influence of the past “Left” tendencies and moved forward in the right way. After the reform and opening-up, the RCSC still implemented the “revolutionary” tenets and finished the work assigned to it by the government.¹ The RCSC’s internal work was directed by the Ministry of Health, while its external work was guided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.² From May 31 to June 1, 1985, the Fourth National Members Representative Conference was held in Beijing and revised the RCSC *Constitution*. With the development of local and grassroots organizations, the 1985 *Constitution* initially made a clear stipulation that each “Local Red Cross Society”, “Grassroots Red Cross Society”, or “Member Group of the Red Cross Society” under the RCSC still operated under the leadership of the government. The Fourth conference was attended by 123 members from the Red Cross Society in 26 provinces, municipalities, and direct-controlled municipalities, as well as from the health department. Ji Pengfei (姬鹏飞), a committee member of the State Council, Zhu Xuefan (朱学范), the vice chairman of the Standing Committee of NPC, Zhao Puchu (赵朴初), the vice chairman of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, and other

¹ See *The Status of the Red Cross Society of China*, February 21, 1979.

² China. The Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Short guanyu huifu hongshizihui guonei gongzuo de baogao 关于恢复红十字会国内工作的报告 [The Report on Recovering the Work of Red Cross Society of China at Mainland of China], March 29, 1978, no.63.

state leaders personally met with the representatives present at the meeting. On behalf of the third session of the Council, President Qian Xinzong issued a work report stating that “the RCSC shall comply with the spirit of the third conference and overcome all kinds of difficulties and carry out many jobs in favor of the society and people.” In the meantime, there were some difficulties and problems with the guiding ideology, unclear mission, personnel, manning quota, and expenditures of the RCSC. President Qian pointed out the guiding ideology and mission of future work in the report: “carefully carrying out the resolution of the third plenary session of the twelfth of the party under the leadership of the party committee and the government; actively carrying out the opening-up policy with the spirit of the revolutionary, and making the RCSC with Chinese characteristics.”¹ With this understanding of the *Constitution of the RCSC*, the plenary session passed the *Constitution* and elected 64 members to a council forming the fourth session of the Council. Qian Xinzong acted as the honorary president and Cui Yueli (崔月犁) as the president.

One important result of the fourth National Members Representative Conference was the revision of the *Constitution of the RCSC*. Article 4 in the general rules clearly stipulated, “The RCSC carries out the purpose of the humanitarianism”.² After the founding of the PRC, the “proletariat” or the ‘socialist’ had always been put before

¹ Qian Xinzong 钱信忠, *Zhongguo hongshizihui di si ci quanguo daibiao dahui gongzuo baogao* 中国红十字会第四次全国代表大会工作报告 [Report of the Fourth National Members Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China], May 31, 1, 9 (Beijing: Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, 1985).

² Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi* 百年红十字, 371.

“humanitarianism”; otherwise it would become a “Right” ideology when setting the mission of the RCSC. This conference removed the constraint of the “Left” ideology and recovered what the RCSC should be, which was the first time accepting the content of the humanitarianism itself. At that time, the “Left” ideology was not fully eliminated, so people could not talk about the “humanitarianism”. In order to illuminate the connotation of “the purpose of the humanitarianism” proposed at the Fourth National Members Representative Conference, Xiong Shiqi(熊世琦), the minister of the propaganda department in general society, delivered *The Derivation of the Humanitarianism Ideology of the Red Cross Society and Its Development in China* (红十字人道主义思想的起源及其在我国的发展 *hongshizi rendao zhuyi sixiang de qiyuan jiqi zai woguo de fazhan*), which first mentioned the connotation of “the humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society” and was accepted by a vast majority of the workers in the Red Cross Society. In this article, he proposed, “with the start of healing the wounded and rescuing the dying and the charitable aid, the humanitarianism with the feature of the Red Cross Society was called narrow humanitarianism.”¹ This humanitarianism was the guiding ideology for the Red Cross Society, which was the theoretical foundation of the humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society mentioned in the Fourth National Members Representative Conference. Meanwhile, whether at home or abroad, the humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society existed in both the past and

¹ Xiong Shiqi 熊世琦, "Hongshizi rendao zhuyi sixiang de qiyuan jiqi zai woguo de fazhan 红十字人道主义思想的起源及其在我国的发展 [The Origin of the Humanitarian Thoughts of the Red Cross Society and Its Development in China]," *The Chinese Red Cross Newspaper 中国红十字报*, November 5, 1988.

present, and it was different from the distinctive character of other types of humanitarianism, providing objective evidence of “carrying out the humanitarian purpose of the ICRC”. The humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society was very clear: “Rescuing and relieving those who were in poor situations during the period of the war and natural disasters”, so accepting the humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society was to acknowledge both history and practical actions.¹

Additionally, in the International Conference of the Red Cross Society, the delegacy of the national government and the Red Cross Society jointly discussed the Seven Basic Principles (humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, and universality),² which fully reflected the humanitarianism of the Red Cross Society. Through the modification of *The Constitution*, the tenets of the RCSC matched the humanitarianism of the ICRC. At the First National Members Representative Conference, the nature of the RCSC was defined as the “People’s Health Care Organizations”, while the revised *Constitution* from the Fourth National Members Representative Conference stipulated: “the RCSC is the nationalized people’s health care organization and the social welfare organization”.³ *The Constitution* accepted at the Fourth National Members Representative Conference” also pointed out: “We shall actively set up more health and social welfare services complying with the tenets of the

¹ Xiong Shiqi 熊世琦, "Weishenme tichu hongshizi rendao zhuyi 为什么提出红十字人道主义 [Why Proposing the Humanitarian of the Red Cross Society]," *The Chinese Red Cross Newspaper 中国红十字报*, December 5, 1989.

² Jean S Pictet, *Red Cross Principles* (International Committee of the Red Cross, 1956), 152-53.

³ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 374.

Red Cross Society. “¹ All in all, no matter in theory or in practice, this proved the correctness of carrying out the humanitarian tenets of the Red Cross Society, as decided by the Fourth National Members Representative Conference, which laid an ideological foundation for the development of the RCSC.

After the Fourth National Members Representative Conference, the RCSC and its members made great strides in development: there were 30 provinces, autonomous regions, and direct-controlled municipalities where the business of the RCSC fully recovered by 1988. By the end of September 1989, the Red Cross Society around China was up to 1484 branches (vs. 109 in 1985), the Red Cross Society at the grassroots level was up to 87000 (vs. 25868 in 1985), and the membership of the Red Cross Society was up to 8.5 million (vs. 1.87 million in 1985).² At the same time, a large number of passionate volunteers emerged in the Red Cross Society. While developing the RCSC’s business at the grassroots level, the Red Cross Society was also set up in rural areas. Specifically, rural Red Cross Society branches were established in 12 counties and 35 villages located in Shandong, Shanxi, Inner Mongolia, Heilongjiang, etc.³

The Fifth National Members Representative Conference

From February 15 to 17, 1990, the Fifth National Members Representative Conference of the RCSC approved a new *Constitution*. There were 231 delegates who participated

¹ Qian Xinzong 钱信忠, Short Zhongguo hongshizhui di si ci quanguo daibiao dahui gongzuo baogao 中国红十字会第四次全国代表大会工作报告 [Report of the Fourth National Members Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China], 12-13.

² Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 375.

³ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 376.

in this conference. On behalf of the Fourth Session Council, the vice chairman, Tan Yunhe (谭云鹤) delivered a working report, stating that:

[t]he most fundamental task was to carry out the ideological line established in the party's third plenary session conscientiously—seeking truth from facts, doing everything from the actual situation, and carrying out the opening-up policy carefully. As for the Red Cross Society, the humanitarianism and seven basic principles of the Red Cross Society shall be fallen together with the actual situation of the socialistic, with the instructive spirit of the State Council, with the central mission of the people around China, reforming the phenomena inadaptable to China's actual situation. In this way, the Red Cross Society shall have a vitality.¹

This conference elected Zhu Xuefan (朱学范), Zhao Puchu (赵朴初), Qian Xinzong (钱信忠), Cui Yueli (崔月犁) as the honorary president, invited Tan Yunhe as the counsellor, and elected Chen Minzhang (陈敏章) as the president. On the morning of February 17, state president Yang Shangkun (杨尚昆), the state councillor Li Tieying (李铁映), and the other leaders of the party and government met with all the representatives. The premier minister of the state council, Li Peng (李鹏), also sent a congratulations letter and highly praised the business of the Red Cross Society.²

Since the initial proposal of the Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristics at the Fourth National Members Representative Conference, the Fifth National Members Representative Conference had regarded it as a striving purpose, which was reflected through the topic of the working report given by the vice president Tan Yunhe, *Keeping*

¹ Tan Yunhe 谭云鹤, "Tan yunhe fu huizhang zai zhongguo hongshizihui diwuci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de jianghua 谭云鹤副会长在中国红十字会第五次全国代表大会上的讲话 [The Speech by Tan Yunhe Vice-chairman in the 5th National Members Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China]," *The Chinese Red Cross Newspaper 中国红十字报*, March 20, 1990.

² Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 377.

up the spirit, collecting wisdom and efforts, continuously pushing the business of the Red Cross Society with the Chinese characteristics forwards (振奋精神, 群策群力, 把建设有中国特色的红十字事业继续推向前进 Zhenfen jingshen, qunce qunli, bajianshe you zhongguo tese de hongshizi shiye jixu tuixiang qianjin). In the report, “continuously exploring the construction of the Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristics” was set as the “the basic instructive ideology for the future business of the Red Cross Society”.¹ Therefore, from the actual starting point of China’s being at the primary stage of socialism, building a Red Cross cause with Chinese characteristics was an integral part of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Even though there were many kinds of difficulties after the founding of the PRC, building up the Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristics was a new topic in its development. In the connotation and the construction of the Red Cross Society with these characteristics, the development of the RCSC first had to comply with the Seven Basic Principles of the ICRC: humanity, impartiality, neutrality, independence, voluntary service, unity, and universality. At the same time, it had to combine the experiences of other countries in carrying out the work of the Red Cross Society with the reality of China’s socialist construction, and to create a Red Cross cause with Chinese characteristics in practice. Second, the RCSC was a mass social welfare organization that set up a bridge between the government and the masses and played

¹ Qian Xinzong, the president of the RCSC, set a pointed goal, “striving for several years to develop the Chinese Red Cross Society to be a Socialist Red Cross Society with the Chinese character” in *The Working Report in the 4th National Members Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society of China*.

the role of the Red Cross's government assistant. Third, the presidents of the Red Cross societies at all levels in China were administrative leaders. Under the socialist system, the RCSC had become an aide to the government.

Fourth, the RCSC required all levels of Red Cross organizations to actively participate in the country's socialist spiritual civilization. The socialist system regarded humanitarianism as an integral part of the building of spiritual civilization, and socialist humanitarianism emphasized the interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Finally, the Red Cross Youth was intended to combine with the moral education and develop Red Cross organizations in universities, secondary schools, and primary schools, combined with moral education in schools to strengthen the content of students' moral education.¹ The Fifth Session of the Council added the service work of Taiwanese affairs to the nature of the RCSC, which was the first time to list Taiwanese affairs in the Constitution of the Red Cross Society.² Though the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China moved to Taiwan in 1949, there was no connection till 1990, representing a cold war period between the Red Cross Society of the CCP and the Red Cross Society of the KMT.

During the 1990s, China entered an era of reform and opening-up and the construction of modernization, which provided a new opportunity for the development of the Red Cross Society. What kind of path would the RCSC follow? What strategic targets would

¹ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 378-80.

² Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian 中国红十字会百年* 1, 173.

the RCSC carry out in the 1990s? In May 1992, the Red Cross Society and the 29th Executive Council of the Red Crescent adopted *the Strategic Working Plan in the 1990s* (九十年代战略工作计划 *jiushi niandai zhanlve gongzuo jihua*), and formulated *The Working Outline of the RCSC in the 1990s* (中国红十字会九十年代工作纲要 *zhongguo hongshizihui jiushi niandai gongzuo gangyao*) at the beginning of 1993.¹ The Outline proposed transferring the governmental function and building up the organizational network of the Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristics. In accordance with this strategic target, the RCSC made reform and development an important priority, gradually established the legal and regulatory system of the RCSC and stood in the way of the legal construction to protect its legal interest and implement its function by the law.

After of the Fifth National Members Representative Conference, the Head office continuously stressed enhancing the self-construction of the RCSC. In 1991, the Head office delivered *A Proposal on the Local Red Cross Society, Financial Source, and Office Facilities* (关于地方红会机构、编制、经费来源和办公设施设备的意见 *guanyu defang honghui jigou, bianzhi, jingfei lai yuan he bangong sheshi shebei de yijian*), and delivered *A Proposal on the Leadership Formation of the Red Cross Society in Province, Autonomous Region, and Direct-controlled Municipality* (关于对省、自治区、直辖市红十字会领导班子组成的意见 *guanyu dui sheng, zizhiqu, zhixiashi*

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui jiushi niandai gongzuo gangyao 中国红十字会九十年代工作纲要 [The working Outline of the Chinese Red Cross Society in 1990s]," *Chinese Red Cross Society Newspaper*, March 5, 1993.

hongshizihui lingdao banzi zucheng de yijian) in 1993. These documents clearly pointed out that there were 26 provinces, including autonomous regions and direct-controlled municipalities, whose present governmental leaders acted as presidents of the Red Cross Society offices around China.¹ The Head office required the presidents to sign letters of responsibility by integrating the local actual situation, to combine the work of the Red Cross Society with the council of the government functional department and motivated the leaders' enthusiasm toward the Red Cross Society.² This again demonstrated that the Red Cross Society couldn't break away from the government.

Through the decade of study, from the proposal of establishing the Red Cross Society with the Chinese characteristics at the Fourth National Members Representative Conference to the convening of the Sixth National Members Representative Conference in 1994, the RCSC formed a relatively complete theoretical system, mainly summarized as follows:

First, the RCSC was a social assistance group undertaking humanitarian work, adhering to carrying forward the humanitarian spirit, protecting the people's life and health, and promoting the cause of the peace and progress. Second, the RCSC should be established with Chinese characteristics by integrating the ICRC with the reality in China. Third, as for the relationship between the RCSC and the government, the RCSC should comply with the Chinese constitution and law, and play the role of a governmental assistant. The government should support finance to the RCSC, but the RCSC should accept the supervision from the government. Fourth, above the county level, the local Red Cross Society should be established by the administrative

¹ Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian* 中国红十字会百年 1, 179.

² Wang Lizhong 王立忠, Jiang Yiman 江亦曼, and Sun Longchun 孙隆椿, *Zhongguo hongshizihui bainian* 中国红十字会百年 1, 180.

region and the present executive leaders act as the presidents of each local Red Cross Society.¹

The construction of the RCSC with Chinese characteristics was still in a period of exploration and needed to be perfected in practical terms, which was a long-term mission.

The Law of the RCSC

Before the Fourth National Members Representative Conference, the RCSC had a legislative requirement, but its legislative work did not start until the convening of that conference. A Five-Year Plan for 1986 to 1990 was formulated in 1985, which proposed a drafting scheme for the Law of RCSC. On February 15, 1990, Tan Yunhe, the vice president of the RCSC, gave a working report at the Fifth Members Representative Conference: "Legislation must be used to make clear provisions on the status and role of the Red Cross in society, and the relationship with the government, as well as training of mass ambulances and the establishment of social welfare programs, so as to ensure the development of the RCSC",² which represented 30 Red Cross Societies at the provincial level, over 80000 grassroots organizations, and more than 8 million members. Over the years, the institution, the manning quota, the expenditure, and other issues in the Red Cross Society had been unresolved. For quite a long period of time, the RCSC was regarded as the people's health care organization, mainly doing

¹ Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 381.

² "Tan Yunhe fu huizhang zai zhongguo hongshizihui diwuci quanguo daibiao dahui shang de jianghua 谭云鹤副会长在中国红十字会第五次全国代表大会上的讲话 [The Speech by the Vice President Tan Yunhe in the Fifth National Congress of the Red Cross Society of China]," *Chinese Red Cross Society Newspaper*, March 20, 1990.

jobs related to health care, and was misunderstood as a direct department or a subordinate body of the health care department. To achieve the recognition of the state and society, the RCSC had to formulate the Law of Red Cross Society. This has been the voice of the RCSC since the Fifth Members Representative Conference.

In order to enhance the policy study, the Head office set up a policy and theory research centre in October 1990, which was mainly responsible for the legislative work under the legislative leadership. The research centre drafted the legislative file throughout the investigation, collecting material, consulting experts, performing overseas surveys, and so on. This program gained the support of the Ministry of Health, the State Council Legislative Affairs Bureau, and the Legislative Working Committee of the State Council, which was brought into the legislative regulation of “Eight-Five Plans” at the end of 1991. Its draft was coordinated and formulated by the State Council Legislative Affairs Bureau and reported to the Standing Committee of the NPC.

On June 11, 1993, the Fifth Executive Meeting of the State Council examined and in principle passed the Law of the Red Cross Society (Draft) of the PRC; after that, some of its items were modified after further examination and submitted to the Standing Committee of the NPC for consideration on August 2, 1993. On August 28 and 30, the 8th Standing Committee of the NPC initially reviewed the Law of the Red Cross Society (Draft) of the PRC. Gu Yingqi (顾英奇), the vice minister of the Health

Department and the standing vice chairman, presented the document.¹ During this period of review and discussion, the members of the Standing Committee generally thought:

[t]he RCSC is a social rescue group engaged in humanitarian work and assisting with the job of the government. And the nature, position, and duty of the RCSC shall be decided by the legislative form.²

In the meantime, the Law Committee of the NPC and the Legislative Affairs Committee of the NPC also delivered the Law of Red Cross Society (Draft) of the PRC to the People's Congress in all provinces, autonomous regions, and direct-controlled cities, and to the related departments of the Central Government for consultation, at the end of August. A forum was held among the departments of the Central Government. All the regions and the Central Government generally thought that the Draft had defined the target, nature, and mission of the RCSC. However, the relationship between the Central Government and the RCSC showed the cause of the RCSC with Chinese characteristics. Additionally, it was stipulated to carry out the international humanitarian duty and to integrate with the international humanitarian law, then submitted to the Standing Committee of the NPC for consideration and approval.

¹ Gu Yingqi, The Explanation on *The Red Cross Law of the People's Republic of China (Draft)*, 3rd Session of 8th Standing Committee of the National People's Congress on August 25, 1993, http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/gongbao/2000-12/28/content_5003040.htm

² "Hongshizihui fa (cao an) shen yi gongzuo jin zhan shun li, changwu weiyuanmen zhangcheng jinkuai tongguo 红十字会法（草案）审议工作进展顺利，常务委员们赞成尽快通过 [The Considerations of the Law of Red Cross Society of China Goes Well, The Standing Committee Members Approve and Pass It Soon]," *Chinese Red Cross Society Newspaper*, September 3, 1993.

On October 24 and 25, 1993, the 4th Meeting of the NPC discussed the modified manuscript. On October 31, the 4th Meeting of the 8th Standing Committee of the NPC approved it and Jiang Zemin (江泽民), the state chairman of the PRC, signed Prudential Decree No. 14:

[t]he Law of the Red Cross Society (Draft) of the PRC has been approved by the 4th Meeting of the 8th Standing Committee of the NPC on October 31, 1993 and is granted to be published and to be implemented as of the publication date.¹

The Law of the Red Cross Society regulated the target, nature, mission, and duty of the RCSC by the form of the national law and established its position and function in national life, marking a new milestone in the history of the RCSC.

On November 2, 1993, the Head office of the RCSC held a press conference in Beijing. Lei Jieqiong (雷洁琼) and Wu Jieping, the vice chairman of the NPC, along with Zhao Puchu, the vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, and other leaders participated in this congratulatory press conference. Journalists from the *Xinhua News Agency* (新华社 *Xinhua she*), the *People's Daily* (人民日报 *renmin ribao*) and a total of over 30 new units participated in the press conference. Qiao Xiaoyang (乔晓阳), the deputy director of the Law Working Committee of the NPC, and Cao Kangtai, the deputy director general of the State Council Legislative Affairs Bureau, respectively represented the State Legislative Institution and the Governmental Department. Regarding the formal publication of the

¹ China. Department of Policy and Regulation, "The Law of Red Cross Society of the People's Republic of China 'the state chairman of the People's Republic of China signed No.14 Prudential Decree'", see <http://www.nhfpc.gov.cn/mohzcfgs/pfl/200804/18254.shtml>

RCSC document, they stated that “the Law of Red Cross Society” was a law carrying out the full regulations on the social group, which demonstrated the stress on the cause of the RCSC by the party and the state.¹

The Sixth National Members Representative Conference

In April 1994, the Sixth National Members Representative Conference of the Red Cross Society, also known as the 90th Anniversary Conference for establishing the RCSC, was held in Beijing, to revise *The Constitution* in accordance with *the Law of Red Cross Society*. The State President Jiang Zemin, the vice-president Rong Yiren (荣毅仁), Qi Qichen (钱其琛), the vice-premier of the State Council, and other central leaders met with the members who participated in the conference. President Jiang delivered a speech:

The RCSC is a social rescue group working for the cause of international humanitarianism. According to the basic principle of the ICRC and the Red Crescent Movement, the RCSC has contributed a lot to development within its 90 years and has gained support from the broad masses. Since the implement of the reform and the opening-up policy, the RCSC launched its humanitarian work and created a new road to an RCSC with the Chinese character under the support of the party and government.

I hope the government and all sectors in society will actively support the work of the

¹ "Zhongguo hongshizihui juxing xinwen fabuhui, relie qingzhu 'zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizihui fa' zhengshi banbu 中国红十字会举行新闻发布会，热烈庆祝<中华人民共和国红十字会法>正式颁布 [The Red Cross Society of China held a press conference to celebrate the official promulgation of the "Law of Red Cross Society of the People's Republic of China"]," *Chinese Red Cross Newspaper*, November 5, 1993.

RCSC, which shall strive to propagandize and implement the Law of Red Cross Society of the PRC.¹

On the other side, Gu Yingqi (顾英奇), the Senior Vice Chairman, delivered a working report in Council and proposed several tasks for the next five years, including “the Law of Red Cross Society”, “the Working Outline of the Red Cross Society in 1990s”, and the “Beijing Declaration”. During the conference Qian Zhengying, the chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, was elected as the president of the RCSC. Jiang Zeming, Chairman of the PRC, acted as the honorary chairman,² which was the first time that the head of the state acted as an honorary chairman since the founding of the PRC. It can be seen that the party and government attached great importance to the RCSC.

The Head office and the RCSC, including all branches, were instructed to assist the Central Government to carry out the activities related to its obligations, under the support, aid, and supervision of the Central and Local Government.³ Since the reorganization of the RCSC in 1950, the presidency had been filled by the minister of the Ministry of Health. The RCSC was supervised by the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the MCA, the Ministry of Education, and other

¹ "Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhuxi, zhongguo hongshizihui mingyu huizhang Jiang Zemin huijian zhongguo hongshizihui diliuci huiyuan daibiao dahui bing fabiao zhongyao jianghua 中华人民共和国主席、中国红十字会名誉会长江泽民会见中国红十字会第六次会员代表大会并发表重要讲话 [Jiang Zemin, President of PRC and the Honorary President of the RCSC, Participated in the sixth Members Representative Conference of the RCSC and Gived a Keynote Speech]," *Bo Ai 博爱*, 1994, 1.

² Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi 百年红十字*, 414.

³ See *the Status of Red Cross Society of China*, April 25, 1994.

governmental sectors. This was mainly done by the management of the Ministry of Health; additionally, the honorary chairman of the RCSC was the State President, which showed that the intervention of the government prevented the RCSC from being a purely non-governmental organization.

As mentioned above, the State Council Legislative Affairs Bureau and the RCSC together compiled and published *The User Manual of the Red Cross Society of the PRC* (《中华人民共和国红十字会法使用手册 zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizihui fa shiyong shouce》). It is worth noting that it was different from the legislative explanation given by the authorities, and different from the judicial interpretation of the judiciary authorities. The connotations of the Law of Red Cross Society were as follows. First, the Law stipulated “the target of protecting the people’s health and life, carrying forward the humanitarian spirit, and promoting the cause of the peace and progress”, and made clear that protecting the people’s life and health was one of the legislative goals. Second, the Law stipulated that “the RCSC is the unified Red Cross of the PRC and the social aid group engaged in the humanitarian work”. The former demonstrated the unity and uniqueness of the RCSC. The latter reflected that the Red Cross would not be limited to work on health rescues and social welfare. Third, the Law stipulated that “the main responsibility of the RCSC in China was to comply with the Constitution, the law, and the state policy”, and to assist the government to organize the masses for independent work in the field of humanitarianism. The Law also pointed out that “the RCSC was a social assistance group, not an administrative department of the government”, and that its work was entrusted by the government. The relationship

between the government and the RCSC is in the delegation. Fourth, the Law stipulated that “the RCSC uses the red cross sign with the white ground.”¹

Due to the emergence of abuse of the Red Cross symbol by other social organizations, and in order to maintain the seriousness of the Red Cross symbol, on January 29, 1996, Premier Li Peng and Chairman of the Central Military Commission Jiang Zemin issued the *Measures for the Use of the PRC Red Cross Symbol* (*中华人民共和国红十字标志使用办法 zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizi biaozi shiyong banfa*) with decree No. 194, which laid down specific provisions for the protected and marked use of the Red Cross symbol. *Measures for the Use* stipulated that:

[t]he Red Cross symbol is a symbol of international humanitarian protection. It is a specific sign of the medical organization of the armed forces and a special sign of the Red Cross. Any organization or individual is prohibited from using the Red Cross symbol except as provided in these Measures.²

After the promulgation of the Law of Red Cross Society, the Red Cross cause was legally regulated from the central government to the local government. On March 25, 1995, the State Commission Office of Public Sectors Reform issued *The Reform Program of the RCSC* (*关于印发中国红十字会机构改革方案 guanyu yinfa zhongguo hongshizihui jigou gaige fang'an*), which stated that the Reform Program of the RCSC

¹ *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizihui fa / zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizi biaozi shiyong banfa* 中华人民共和国红十字会法/中华人民共和国红十字标志使用办法[*The Law of Red Cross Society / Usage of the Red Cross Symbol of the People's Republic of China*], (Beijing: Falv chubanshe 法律出版社, 2003), 3-7.

² China. The State Council and the Central Military Commission, "Measures for the Use of the Red Cross Symbols of the People's Republic of China", the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, promulgated and implemented on January 29, 1996.
http://www.gov.cn/banshi/2005-08/01/content_19124.htm

should fully implement the *Law of the RCSC of the PRC* and carry out work in accordance with the *Constitution of the RCSC* to build a Red Cross Society with Chinese characteristics. “There are four offices including the first of domestic work, the second of domestic work, the liaison office, and the party committee of the government agencies.”¹ It can thus be fully demonstrated that the RCSC was not a non-governmental organization, but belonged to a government unit.²

This Reform Program was organized by Wang Lizhong (王立忠), a newly appointed Senior Vice Chairman and Secretary of the Party Committee, in March 1996, and was formally carried out in April 1996. The notice was delivered by the organizing department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Personnel Board on November 7, 1996: “The RCSC refers to the implementation plan of the *Provisional Regulations of the National Civil Service*’ (中国红十字会总会机关参照<国家公务员暂行条例>管理的实施方案 zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiguan canzao ‘guojia gongwuyuan zanxing tiaoli’ guanli de shishi fang’an) and the RCSC should be managed according to *Temporary Regulation of Civil Servants* (国家公务员暂行条例 guojia gongwuyuan zanxing tiaoli)”.³ After that, the Red Cross

¹ China. The Red Cross Society of China, *State Commission Office of Public Sectors Reform issued “the Reform Program of the Red Cross Society of China, March 25, 1995,*
http://www.redcross.org.cn/hhzh/zh/hsigk/zcfg/200806/t20080620_944.html

² China. The Red Cross Society of China, *State Commission Office of Public Sectors Reform issued “the Reform Program of the Red Cross Society of China, March 25, 1995,*
http://www.redcross.org.cn/hhzh/zh/hsigk/zcfg/200806/t20080620_944.html

³ China. The organizing department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, *The RCSC refers to the implementation plan of ‘the Provisional Regulations of the National Civil Service’,* November 7, 1996.
<http://laws.66law.cn/law-103649.aspx>

Societies in all provinces also operated by this pattern. Before the legislation of the Red Cross Society, there were about 800 full-time staff of the Red Cross Society around China, a figure that rose to about 4000 by the end of 1998.¹ As the full-time staff of the RCSC were managed by referring to the *Temporary Regulation of Civil Servants*, the full-time staff of the RCSC had the same personnel system as the officers of other government offices. That is to say, the RCSC was not a non-governmental organization.

6.4 The organizational reform of the RCSC

Many of the funding issues were streamlined with the government's oversight, as noted in the August 16, 1978 *Notice of the Preparation and Funding of the RCSC, Ministry Of Health* (卫生部、中国红十字会关于各地红十字会人员编制和经费问题的通知 *weishengbu, hongshizihui guanyu gedi gongshizihui renyuan bianzhi he jingfei wenti de tongzhi*) by the Ministry of Health and the RCSC.² Through the aid of the government, the RCSC established the Red Cross Health Station, which was to be run under the enterprise unit. According to *Several Provisions on the staffing and Funding of the RCSC* (关于中国红十字会和经费问题的几项规定 *guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui he jingfei wenti de jixiang guiding*) by the Ministry of Finance, Ministry

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, *Yifa xinghui wubainian jubian – jinian 'Zhonghua renmin gongheguo hongshizihui fa' banbu wu zhounian 依法兴会五年巨变——纪念<中华人民共和国红十字会法>颁布五周年*[Five-year Great Change in Development the Red Cross Society by Law --Commemoration on the 5th Issuing Anniversary of the Red Cross Law of the People's Republic of China].

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会 China. Ministry Of Health, *guanyu gedi hongshizihui renyuan bianzhi he jingfei wenti de tongzhi 关于各地红十字会人员编制和经费问题的通知* [Notice of the Preparation and Funding of the Red Cross Society of China], August 16, wei zi 卫字 no.1023 (1978).

of Health, National Compilation Committee, and the RCSC, this unit would have a special fund classified as the enterprise management fee.¹ The health facility would be key in complementing the existing hospitals in China. The government's intervention was also present in accountability issues at the RCSC, through adherence to strict accounting policies.² The government required that the Red Cross report its income and expenditures to the relevant departments at the beginning of the year, following the pertinent provisions. This accountability would be enhanced through the joint efforts of local governments, health departments, and the Red Cross.³

The government also clarified that RCSC initiatives had to be sanctioned by the NPC, and that the Municipal Red Cross Society elected by the municipal council should incorporate at least one member of the Red Cross Society.⁴ The government also intervened in the RCSC's collection of donations across China. The constitution was clear on the need to create a disaster relief fund, as well as to collect social donations. The RCSC was tasked with the role of mobilizing donations and social contributions. Donations were closely monitored by the Deng administration, with the intent of

¹ Ministry of Health China. The Ministry of Finance, National Compilation Committee, and the Red Cross Society of China,, *Guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui he jingfei wenti de jixiang guiding* 关于中国红十字会和经费问题的几项规定 [The Several Provisions on the staffing and Funding of the Red Cross Society of China], (1978).

² Tsou Tang, *Marxism, the Leninist Party, the Masses, and the Citizens in the Rebuilding of the Chinese state*, 257.

³ Shiping Hua, *Scientism and Humanism: Two Cultures in Post-Mao China (1978-1989)* (SUNY Press, 1993).

⁴ Liu Pan 刘畔, "cong shimin shehui shijue kan hongshizihui weiji de jieju zhidao 从市民社会视角看“红十字会危机”的解决之道," 65-67.

protecting public interest and accountability. Donation boxes were set up across China in hotels, airports, and exchange offices.¹

Through financial control, the government managed both the functions and structure of the Red Cross. The funding and finance model were the same as that under Mao.

The Interim Measures for the Administration and Fund of the RCSC (中国红十字基金暂行管理办法 *zhongguo hongshizi jijin zanxing guanli banfa*), released on October 30, 1987, provided an outlook on how the funds ought to be sourced and managed.

The entity's key funding sources were membership fees, bank securities, and Red Cross business activities. The model categorized its expenses making it more cost-effective. For example, it clarified that miscellaneous expenditures associated with fundraising activities should not exceed 5% of the total funds raised, while “management expenditure shall not exceed 3% of the year's value-added income.” In addition, donors could stipulate how their donations ought to be spent.²

The structural reorganization of the Red Cross Society was also discussed in *Ideas on Organizational Reform of the Red Cross Society of China* (关于中国红十字会体制改革设想 *guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui tizhi gaige shexiang*), published on

¹ China. The Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Health, National Compilation Committee, and the Red Cross Society of China, *Guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui he jingfei wenti de jixiang guiding* 关于中国红十字会和经费问题的几项规定 [The Several Provisions on the staffing and Funding of the Red Cross Society of China], 1978

² Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, *Zhongguo hongshizihui jijin zanxing guanli banfa* 中国红十字基金暂行管理办法 [Interim Measures for the Administration and Fund of the Red Cross Society of China], October 30, hongfufa 红福发 no.15 (1987).

December 2, 1988.¹ This report sought to give the RCSC a clear ideology, status, and national and international operational framework. It also led to the establishment of the Red Cross Law, which legalized the organization's autonomous nature within Chinese civil society. It was also in this era that the Red Cross Society of the Republic of China absorbed the Hong Kong and Macau Red Cross chapters as autonomous entities, in 1997 and 1999, respectively.²

The government played a pivotal role in the establishment of the Red Cross Service Company, an independent accounting, self-financing, and collective ownership entity whose task was to evaluate the Red Cross's functions. Through a letter titled *Request for the Organizational Reform of RCSC* (关于中国红十字会体制改革的请示 *guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui tizhi gaige de qingshi*) sent on April 7, 1989, the RC Service Company asked the national leadership to allow it to structure itself using standards befitting international levels.³ The RCSC at this time sought independence through systematic reforms. This request came at a time when the Red Cross felt it had established the necessary structures and frameworks to meet international standards.

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, *Guanyu zhongguo hongshizihui tizhi gaige shexiang* 关于中国红十字会体制改革设想 [Ideas on Organizational Reform of the Red Cross Society of China], 008, December 2, hongzongfa 红总发 no.008 (1988).

² Jeffrey C Kinkley, *After Mao: Chinese literature and society, 1978-1981*, vol. 1 (Harvard Univ Council on East Asian, 1985).

³ *guanyu qing guojia lingdaoren danren wohui zhuyao lingdao de qingkuang baogao (zhaiyao)* 关于请国家领导人担任我会主要领导的情况报告 (摘要) [Report on the Requesting State Leaders to Be the Leader of RCSC (Abstract)], 092, October 7, hongzi 红字 no.092 (1989).

According to *Opinions on the composition of the Red Cross leadership in the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government*¹ (关于对省、自治区、直辖市红十字会领导班子组成的意见 *guanyu dui sheng zizhiqu zhixiashi hongshizihui lingdao banzi zucheng de yijian*) from August 7, 1993, the president of the Red Cross Society of each province, autonomous region, or municipality was expected to serve directly under the Central Government and was normally considered as the current provincial leading cadre, while the executive Vice President was considered the leading cadre of the office (bureaucratic) level. Both positions were highly bureaucratic government jobs. Even during the post-Mao era, the communist government's control of the Red Cross continued. However, the Red Cross started to separate itself and became an independent entity, even though it was funded by the government and its internal management and other functions were also controlled by the post-Mao communist government. According to *Red Cross Law of the PRC (No. 14)* (中华人民共和国主席令 *zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhuxi ling*),² signed by the President of the PRC on October 31, 1993, the Red Cross regained some authority. Red Cross law settled disputes and ensured that there were financial and social reforms, and that the Red Cross stayed independent.

¹ *Guanyu dui sheng zizhiqu zhixiashi hongshizihui lingdao banzi zucheng de yijian* 关于对省、自治区、直辖市红十字会领导班子组成的意见 [Opinions on the composition of the Red Cross leadership in the provinces, autonomous regions, and municipalities directly under the Central Government] 158, August 7, hongzu qingzi 红组青字 no.158 (1993).

² *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo zhuxi ling* 中华人民共和国主席令 [Presidential Decree of the People's Republic of China], 14, October 31, no.14 (1993).

The Red Cross of the Armed Police Force Health System (关于成立武警部队卫生系统红十字会的通知 *guanyu chengli wujing budui weisheng xitong hongshizihui de tongzhi*) came into force on December 18, 1993 as part of the RCSC.¹ The location of the entity was the Armed Police Headquarters in China, and the members of armed police units within the medical units did not need to apply as individual members of the Red Cross. The RCSC chapters associated with the autonomous regions, provinces, and municipalities were also expected to stay in contact with the local Armed Police Force Health Service under the auspices of the central government. According to the *China Red Cross Society Reform Program* (中国红十字会总会机构改革方案 *zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jigou gaige fang'an*) enacted on April 19, 1995, the Chinese Red Cross Society program was monitored, organized, and hosted by the Government of China. Its reform program focused on creating new jobs within the Red Cross and developing an intervention plan that would allow the government to financially manage the accounting and financial activities of the Society.²

This section deals with the *Association and General Administration of RCSC and the 'Provisional Regulations on Civil Servants' management of the implementation of the program* (中国红十字会总会机关参照<国家公务员暂行条例>管理的实施方案

¹ Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会 and Department of Chinese People's Armed Police Force Logistics 中国人民武装警察部队后勤部, *guanyu chengli wujing budui weisheng xitong hongshizihui de tongzhi* 关于成立武警部队卫生系统红十字会的通知 [The Red Cross of the Armed Police Force Health System] 098, March 29, hongzi 红字 no.98 (Beijing: Zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui 中国红十字会总会, 1994).

² zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jigou gaige fang'an 中国红十字会总会机构改革方案 [The Reform Program of the Red Cross Society of China] 62, April 19, hongzi 红字 no.62 (1995).

zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiguan canzhao 'guojia gongwuyuan zanxing tiaoli' guanli de shishi fang'an) from November 15, 1996.¹ There were significant restrictions on civil servants and many Red Cross society members, employees, and volunteers were drawn from the civil service. In 1996, further reforms were made by the PRC to the RCSC, which meant that its employees would be treated as government employees.

In order to enhance the strength of the implementation of the Red Cross Society Law, the Standing Committee of the National Congress in all provinces and cities was assigned to carry out the examination of law enforcement and promote the implementation of the Red Cross Society Law. As of the end of 1998, there was a Standing Committee of the National Congress in 17 provinces, autonomous regions, and direct-controlled municipalities that had launched the methods or the provisions to carry out the Red Cross Society Law locally.² With the return of Hong Kong to mainland China in 1997 and the return of Macao to mainland China in 1999, the Red Cross Society in Hongkong and Macao became local branches of the Chinese Red Cross Society with a high degree of autonomy, in accordance with the relevant regulations of the seven basic principles of the Red Cross Society Law and the International Red Cross Society Movement. Hong Kong was forced to do away with the British Red Cross and join the Chinese Red Cross Society. However, the Hong Kong Red Cross still operates

¹ *zhongguo hongshizihui zonghui jiguan canzhao 'guojia gongwuyuan zanxing tiaoli' guanli de shishi fang'an* 中国红十字会总会机关参照<国家公务员暂行条例>管理的实施方案 [Association General Administration of RCSC and the 'Provisional Regulations on Civil Servants' management of the implementation of the program] 163, December 3, hongbanzi 红办字 no.163 (1996).

² Sun Boqiu 孙柏秋 and Chi Zihua 池子华, *Bainian hongshizi* 百年红十字, 418.

with a high degree of autonomy, and thus general departments were not allowed to interfere with its internal operations. According to *Notice of the Macau Red Cross to join the RCSC* (关于澳门红十字会加入中国红十字会的公告 *guanyu aomen hongshizihui jiaru zhongguo hongshizihui de gonggao*) from October 13, 1999, the Macau Red Cross also joined the RCSC on comparatively autonomous terms. In summary, under post-Mao systems the relationship between the RCSC and the government was based on pragmatism, as exemplified by the decreased government control between 1977 and 1999.¹

Since 1999, the staff of the RCSC has been managed by the law and regulations of the national civil servants,² whose salaries were allocated by the corresponding financial departments, which demonstrated that the staff of the RCSC were still managed according to the management system of the governmental civil servants, and not according to that of the non-governmental staff. The relationship between the RCSC and the government was changed from government leadership to government support, aid, and supervision. In October 1999, the Seventh National Members Representative Conference of the RCSC passed a new *Constitution*: except for Beijing as the conference site, the RCSC accepted the management of the State Council and the corresponding Local People's Government, and the conference site of the Local Red

¹ *guanyu aomen hongshizihui jiaru zhongguo hongshizihui de gonggao* 关于澳门红十字会加入中国红十字会的公告 [Notice of the Macau Red Cross to join the Red Cross Society of China], October 13 (1999).

² See *The Status of Red Cross Society of China*, October 13, 1999.

Cross Society was located at the corresponding place of the local government, with its working institution separate.

6.5 Summary

Between 1978 and 1999 the RCSC faced numerous changes, prompted by a new state focusing on market reforms through the incorporation of capitalistic measures beginning in the countryside and then spreading to the cities. Deng Xiaoping sought to do away with the retrogressive communist policies of the CCP administration. However, effecting these reforms proved a herculean task. The “Four Modernizations” in agriculture, industry, national defense, and science and technology were critical in reversing the fortunes of a country that was still reeling from the effects of the Cultural Revolution.¹ The Deng administration was further pragmatic in that initially it allowed intellectuals, journalists, students, and artists to criticize the government.² As a result, the government adopted new measures to enhance public participation in Party-state affairs but these were reversed following the 1989 incident.

The reformation of political space in China ensured that the public sphere and social organizations could grow. Despite government control in the 1980s, the RCSC managed to achieve major accomplishments under the Deng administration, such as resuscitating its major offices and grassroots network. The government was also pivotal

¹ Mary Backus Rankin, *Elite activism and political transformation in China: Zhejiang Province, 1865-1911* (Stanford University Press, 1986).

² David Kelly and He Baogang, "Emergent civil society and the intellectuals in China," *The Developments of Civil Society in Communist Systems* 24 (1992).

in key facets such as financial management, donations, and human resources. In 1993, the RCSC became a more autonomous foundation. This indicates that changes in civil society and the public sphere changes were accelerated in post-Mao systems.

Chapter 7 General Discussion: The Red Cross Society in China across Political Eras

7.1 Introduction

The RCSC is a significant case for the study of public sphere in China. Although both Western and Chinese scholars have exhibited an increasing interest in the RCSC,¹ literature on the RCSC in English language is still scarce. There is also a paucity of systematic and in-depth studies of these agencies, especially from a civil society perspective. The development of the RCSC is of profound importance since it portrays the changing nature of the relationships between social organizations and government styles. In spite of the ups and downs and in spite of Chinese state's control and interference there had been 'public welfare activism', Chinese philanthropists' and the 'rise of social welfare NGOs' as a result of the development of RCSC. However, this what can be seen as emergence of "public sphere" and "civil society" is not the major concern of this thesis.

Since the start of the twentieth century four political eras have governed China, and each one reflects a unique approach to collaboration between social organizations and the central government. These Chinese governments have been able to explore the nature of the NGOs and government partnerships differently in relation to their cultural and ancient environment as well as their development level. Moreover, the independent

¹ Yuanjun Cheng, "Between national mobilization and social responsibility: a case study of Red Cross Movement in China" (Ph.D The Hong Kong Polytechnic University, 2015), 18.

and fragmented nature of Chinese politics fosters these comparisons across the four differing governments. Despite these differences, the relationships display several noticeable similarities across the Imperial, Republican, Maoist, and post-Mao eras. These resemblances might assist in predicting future trends in Chinese civil society and philanthropy. As Munro contends, the increasing government-NGO partnerships over the political history of China showed that its public sphere continues to open space for the participation of interest groups and citizens.¹ However, the fact that these agencies shared common concerns with the government about state policies often resulted in a lack of clout to challenge the state and form strong networked coalitions. It followed that their political influence is contingent upon the selective privatisation of China's policy process since the NGOs did not wish to jeopardise the public support they enjoy by acting contrarily.

In this chapter I discuss the differences and similarities of the interaction between Chinese government and the Red Cross during the four discussed periods. Specifically, I argue that there is some space for NGOs in China, and that they fill roles in Chinese society, such as the provision of public goods, that the state cannot provide effectively. I then show how NGOs cooperate with the Chinese state, and that the state intervenes either directly or indirectly irrespective of its political nature. In other words, NGOs and the Chinese government are not mutually exclusive regardless of the nature of the state. Additionally, although western ideas of civil society and public sphere are hardly applicable in describing and analyzing the development of the Red Cross in China, over time they have gained acceptance by some elements of Chinese society.

¹ Neil Munro, "The Socio-political Bases of Willingness to Join Environmental NGOs 57 in China: A Study in Social Cohesion," 57-81.

7.2 The Space and Autonomy of NGOs in China

Similarities in Space and Autonomy of NGOs in China

There has been an invigoration of civil society in China, as proven by the rise of NGOs throughout the 20th century. Most of these NGOs have epitomized China's social progress owing to their outlook on the status quo.¹ In all four periods, either the financing or implementation of RCSC projects was largely dependent on input from the governments. That is, the government was the supreme party while the RCSC assumed the subordinate position, since it was still underdeveloped with little support from the public. Furthermore, the bureaucratic styles coupled with the top-down optimization of resources throughout the government structures characterized the RCSC projects, owing to the dominance of the state in such roles. In turn, the top-down structure of government weakened the RCSC's spirit of humanitarianism and philanthropy. It is also of note that the different governments used humanitarian and philanthropic efforts to boost the sovereignty of the state throughout the scope of the four eras. The RCSC extended its services and financial resources, albeit modestly. These humanitarian and philanthropic efforts were to the advantage of the government and its image. Simply put, the RCSC projects contributed immensely to the legitimacy of the state, since the public could not differentiate between the essential government functions of the provision of public goods and the projects achieved through the input of the RCSC.

As observed in the RCSC, NGOs have inculcated a tradition of philanthropy and humanitarian efforts in Chinese society over the years. For instance, the first notable operations of the RCSC occurred during the autocratic rule of the Qing dynasty during

¹ Cheong and Yang Aimei, "Chinese non-governmental organizations, media, and culture: communication perspectives, practices, and provocations," 1-11.

the early 1900s. The profound importance of the RCSC during this era was due to humanitarian crises such as rebellion and famine, which were beyond the government's control.¹ Admittedly, the RCSC played a critical role in the regulation of society during this period, through relief services and philanthropic efforts. In turn, community activities promoted the Qing Empire at a global scale based on the international exchanges and initiatives that the RCSC developed.

Similarly, the role of the RCSC during the Republic of China era mostly entailed humanitarian efforts. This role was particularly manifest during the Beiyang Government era of the Republic of China, from 1912-1927. Zhou classifies the agency's role into two distinct categories. The first category of humanitarian efforts covers activities related to war relief in conflicts such as the Second Revolution, the Anti-Yuan Campaign, and the War of Shandong.² The second category of humanitarian efforts sought to assist Chinese society in matters concerning natural disasters such as famines, floods, and earthquakes. It was also common for the organization to promote community health activities such as the donation of medicine and treatment of diseases. To that extent, the activities of the RCSC introduced the connotation that the

¹ Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

² During the 'second Revolution' and the ravages of war in Qingdao in 1913 and 1914, Yuan Shikai commanded the Treasury to donate 20,000 yuan to the RCSC. Provincial government and governors also donated a few million yuan to support the RCSC. As an international organisation, the RCSC was different to other charities established in China during other periods, as the RCSC had legal status. As the central government had approved legal status for the RCSC, government intervention in management of the RCSC was common. The role of the RCSC in the Second Revolution was more important than the work of government rescue or other organisations. Governments praised the relief works of RCSC. Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Minguo beijing zhengfu shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de cishan jiu hu yu zhenji huodong 民国北京政府时期中国红十字会的慈善救护与赈济活动," [The Philanthropic and Relief Activities of the Red Cross Society during the Beiyang Government Period of Republican China.] *Modern Chinese History Studies 近代史研究* 6 (2000): 107.

development and adjustment of society are contingent upon the availability of humanitarian efforts.

Notably, the recognition of international humanitarian efforts under the RCSC, which was still not popular during the Qing dynasty and Republic of China era, became manifest during the Mao era. In fact, Heins, Koddenbrock, and Unrau argued that it was during this period that the agency saw its activities transcend the national borders. For instance, the RCSC extended its humanitarian efforts to more than 140 countries in Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The organisation also provided valuable support in the repatriation of Japanese refugees stranded in China during the 1950s. Despite the increased international humanitarian support by the RCSC, the agency faced increased domestic constraints during this era.¹

During the post-Mao era, China became increasingly involved in humanitarian projects due to its shift from isolationism to a more pragmatic stance. The Chinese government and the CCP have increased their efforts to boost charity activities since the onset of the post-Mao era.² In October 1993, the Fourth Session of the Eighth NPC passed the Law of the RCSC. The congress had broad power to examine the role of the RCSC in the political system, ranging from the agency's role in social assistance to humanitarian services. It concluded that the RCSC's roles were to empower cohesion in society, protect the well-being of the citizens, and develop the spirit of humanitarianism in the

¹ Heins, Koddenbrock, and Unrau, *Humanitarianism and Challenges of Cooperation*, 172.

² Han Yun, "Research on voluntary services in China," *Asian Social Science* 5, no. 4 (2009): 86.

country. Therefore, its scope encompassed crisis relief, blood donations, and humanitarian relief efforts across China's borders.¹

While one might assume that the RCSC has been working independently to support its humanitarian efforts, civil society relations, and philanthropy in China and beyond, this has not always been the case. The four political power examined in this study have sought to intervene differently in the activities of the RCSC. For instance, Li observed that the work of the RCSC during the Qing dynasty reflected the similar interests of the imperial court and social elites, who sought to preserve their sovereignty in the region.² Furthermore, there have been conflicting accounts about the formation of the RCSC. However, all these debates seem to underline that the intervention of the government and other influential stakeholders had a significant role in its formation.

Correspondingly, ideological and socio-political changes had a significant influence on the function of the RCSC during the Mao era (1949-1976). The ushering in of the PRC by the CCP introduced a new level of social-political structures to the RCSC. The governmental and its socialist policies, which were predominant in the Mao era, were the principal forces regulating the RCSC. It follows that the CCP's emphasis on class binaries and overarching administrative power triggered a new socio-political environment. It was based on these State-Party changes that the RCSC was able to reflect the new socio-political environment in the post-Mao era. In other words, the restructuring and transformations in the agency were largely attributable to the interactions between the society and the state. For instance, the RCSC expanded its

¹ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 983-99.

² Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

grasp at the local level, owing to the CCP's move to devolve most of the national power and social functions to the local authorities at the grassroots level.¹ Indeed, the ideological shifts that occurred in the different governments led to considerable changes in the RCSC, as it sought to adapt to the changing societal needs.

Evidently, the status of the RCSC in the four eras has been that of non-spontaneity, non-autonomy, and non-voluntariness. It has been the bridge between the state and society and part of the vertical structure of state institutions in the different periods. The agency's role has been fundamentally constant throughout the four periods, as demonstrated by the analogous norms, governing ideologies, objectives, and responsibilities. The RCSC has also been acting on behalf of the state to administer important political and social functions in addition to its legal responsibilities. By doing so, the RCSC has been an extension of the state institutions throughout the four periods. Although the agency's role has been noticeable and efficient in several different realms of society, including the political, social, and ideological structures, its influence has weakened in four eras.

Differences in the Space and Autonomy of NGOs in China

In the four cases, either the finance or implementation of the agency's projects was largely dependent on the input from the local governments. That is, the collaboration throughout the four governments was in such a manner that the government was the supreme party while the RCSC assumed the submissive position since the latter was still underdeveloped with little support from the public whereas the former was influential in the social sphere. Further, the bureaucratic styles coupled by the top-down

¹ Han Yun, "Research on voluntary services in China," 86.

optimisation of resources throughout the government structures characterised the RCSC projects owing to the dominance of the state in such roles. In turn, the top-down structure of government weakened the voluntary spirit of humanitarianism and philanthropy. It is also of note that the different governments used the humanitarian and philanthropy efforts to boost the sovereignty of the state throughout the scope of the four governments. The RCSC extended the additional services and financial resources, albeit small. These humanitarian and philanthropic efforts were to the advantage of the government as it enhanced their image to the public image. Simply put, the RCSC projects contributed immensely to the legitimacy of the state since the public could not differentiate between the essential government functions of the provision of public goods and the projects achieved through the input of the RCSC.

The government's efforts to boost its legitimacy were critical in promoting the activities of the RCSC. That is, whilst the government maintained its benefits from humanitarian and philanthropic activities then the RCSC had space to conduct its activities. Furthermore, the conventional models of government-RCSC partnership remained popular even with the introduction of the new westernized models. To that extent, the interactions between the government and the RCSC were essential in shaping the landscape of Chinese philanthropy and humanitarianism. What remains unclear is whether the state-led humanitarian relationship would have led to the advancement of the Chinese civil society. Though it was also a way for the respective political systems to piggyback on the RCSC to achieve their objectives.

During the formation of the larger International Committee of the Red Cross in 1864 in Geneva, and the RCSC in the late Qing Government from 1904 to 1911, there were no

active NGOs in the Chinese public realm.¹ In fact, the medical services to Chinese victims of war were contingent upon the makeshift Red Cross Hospitals developed by western missionaries as well as the Japanese Red Cross. One might assume that the sparse recognition of the Red Cross during the late Qing dynasty was because of the reluctance of the state officials to allow the inclusion of civil society in the public realm. Although the RCSC's establishment was contingent upon western ideas, there was a high indigenization of the institution, including the removal of some its basic principles and the emblem of a red cross.² In fact, the spread of the RCSC into the Chinese public realm was opportunistic. One might assume that the role of NGOs during the late Qing was mostly humanitarian.

As Li observes, the Qing government used the RCSC as an instrument of security provision and to calm the domestic riots that targeted Christians and other foreigners. For instance, Yang Ru, the Court Painter during the era, expressed concerns that the RCSC's emblem raised suspicion of the government's and the agency's association with Christianity and foreigners.³ Thus, he proposed the replacement of the cross symbol with an emblem that resembled that of the Buddhism religion. The Court in the Qing dynasty sought to change the agency emblem. This move was another way of showing that China was enlightened in accordance to western standards, i.e. it showed an international trend of humanitarianism and philanthropy as embedded in the

¹ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, *Hongshizihui zai Zhongguo (1904-1927) 红十字会在中国(1904-1927)* [*The Red Cross Society in China (1904-1927)*], 4.

² Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

³ *Ibid.*

symbolic value of the Red Cross.¹ The international common law had also granted the RCSC considerable legitimacy. The government found such international recognition intriguing, since it could increase its bargaining power during cross-border conflicts and strengthen its diplomatic position by piggybacking on the legitimacy of the RCSC. By doing so, it would improve its territorial integrity and use the platform as a way of providing security to its citizens. Such recognition was imperative for China since the imperialist powers had tarnished the country's image.²

While the participation of NGOs in the public sphere during the late Qing era was primarily for humanitarian purposes, the Republic of China government allowed the operation of professional and political associations and socio-cultural groups. The significant level of government intervention in the public sphere during this period sought to introduce a corporatist model of governance, as demonstrated by the formation of professional associations such as lawyer groups. At this time government intervention was contingent upon the constitution endorsed in 1912, whereas the Qing dynasty had used Chinese law. In fact, the Republic of China era witnessed the growth of the legal profession in China, which had a significant influence on matters concerning participation in the civic environment.³ Therefore, one might assume that the RCSC's participation in the public sphere was partly attributable to the presence of a new legal environment, and partly to China's recognition of the agency's role that began in the late Qing period.

¹ Ibid.

² Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis."

³ Kathryn Bernhardt and Philip CC Huang, *Civil Law in Qing and Republican China* (Stanford University Press, 1994).

In contrast to the late Qing era and the Republic of China, where the public space was only limited to the state level. At the same time, the founding of the PRC in 1949 increased restrictions on the RCSC's activities at the state level. In fact, Wei suggests that the RCSC has not experienced any true freedom of association since the onset of Maoism, as the state considered most of the civil society organizations as unregistered.¹ Given the Cold War and the break with the USSR, the goal of the Mao political system was to increase its support for developing countries. Therefore, the RCSC faced significant government intervention as political leaders sought to support liberation efforts in other countries and acquire leadership of the communist bloc.²

To some extent, the RCSC of the Post-Mao era operated under political, economic, and regulatory environment compared to the Qing dynasty, the Republic of China, and the Mao era. Simply put, the Post-Mao era introduced a system of state control in which the RCSC was under the supervision of a government agency in the RCSC's functional area, and it had to register with the MCA in China as part of the legal framework. These regulations introduced a considerable degree of restriction and created entry barriers for any affiliates that would have been valuable in supplementing the roles of the agency.³

The status of the RCSC in the four eras suggests that the state's role in managing and utilizing social organizations became more adaptive and complex as the century progressed. Although state interventions were beneficial for the growth of the RCSC,

¹ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 983-99.

² Heins, Koddenbrock, and Unrau, *Humanitarianism and Challenges of Cooperation*.

³ Neil Munro, "The Socio-political Bases of Willingness to Join Environmental NGOs 57 in China: A Study in Social Cohesion," 57-81.

this growth came at the expense of the organization's autonomy. It follows that the perceived increase in the space of the RCSC does not necessarily translate into its independence. As the previous chapters demonstrated, government scrutiny and control are archetypical of the collaboration between the government and RCSC.

Thus, the case study of the RCSC during these four periods shows that the civil society in China has been subject to a complex set of legal and political forces, which have all been dependent on the different governments and historical context. Although there has been an increase in the participation of agencies in the public sphere, their growth has been in concert with an increased level of government intervention. The case study of the RCSC in this thesis supports the argument that a social space has begun to develop between the agency and the government attributable to the economic dynamics that have shaped the social changes in China. Equally important, the balance of power between the RCSC and government has changed significantly throughout the four eras. However, for most of the semi-reformed eras such as Republic of China and Mao eras, the state occupied the public space perceived to belong to the RCSC; thus, it retained most of the power that it had supposedly set aside for the social agency. Notably, the dominant influence occurred in a top-down manner. In turn, the increasing dualism of the Chinese society and economy became evident through the dualistic form of the RCSC, which typified a new kind of social organization that epitomized contradictory forces: some from within and some from the dominant external state influence. The four different eras exhibit a mix of contradictory elements. Although the RCSC reflected a given level of intermediary status and exercised a limited sphere of autonomy, it did not have an independent status throughout the four eras. The state's perception has been that an increased level of destatization would occur if the

government delegated power to the RCSC. In consequence, there would be a compromise between compliance and control in the context of dualism, which would eventually become counter-productive.

Furthermore, since the power was uni-directional, the RCSC did not qualify to be an interest group or a pressure group in any of the four eras. However, the RCSC did not form its decisions based entirely on the bureaucratic influence of the state and the subordinate role that it assumed. This trade-off shows that the RCSC had some power to change the state policy and state entities in terms of the issue at hand, such as humanitarianism. The RCSC often perceived that getting closer to state organs and other ruling factions would increase its independence. Instead, this study indicates that the RCSC would often intertwine its objectives with those of the state to the detriment of its autonomy. Therefore, its efforts to secure a significant space in Chinese civil society were hamstrung but made some achievements. It is not surprising that these efforts were sub-standard, since the phenomenon of intermediate social organizations did not become predominant until the 1980s, during the post-Mao era. Furthermore, the RCSC's contribution to Chinese civil society was still valuable throughout the century, even though its presence varied significantly.

In comparing the late Qing dynasty, the Republic of China era, the Mao political system, and the post-Mao era, there are many differences in the collaboration between the RCSC and the ruling states. Admittedly, the four systems exude different models of government-NGO partnerships involving different legal provisions, as well as variations in the scope of civil society and the extent of government intervention. In spite of certain differences in government intervention, however, there are some critical areas that remained constant throughout the decades. For instance, one can deduce that

government interference increased the efficiency of the RCSC under all four eras in terms of resource mobilization or project implementation. However, this efficiency came at the detriment of the RCSC, since the respective governments sought to maintain their supremacy during organizational operation and project implementation. In other words, the RCSC had to reflect the interests of the political elites and ruling factions of the four eras. Thus, the government disadvantaged the agency in its quest to address critical social issues. It is of note that these interventions were contrary to the perception that the RCSC would work autonomously. Furthermore, the government constrained the RCSC through the pattern of increased scrutiny, stricter regulations, and limited access to crucial resources.

However, since state intervention is imperative for the sustenance of civil society in China, government intervention is not merely a means of scrutiny and control. In fact, the ability of the RCSC to provide firm support to the social environment in terms of administrative access, finance, and resources, among other things, is contingent upon its access to substantial resource allocation and endowment. This support-drawing relationship acquired importance for both the state and the RCSC. For instance, state agencies might obtain significant benefits in terms of administrative assistance from the RCSC and similar NGOs if there is an environment conducive to the growth of civil societies. This situation might occur if the state has no ability to occupy such a space directly. Therefore, it is justifiable and warranted to delegate such powers to a civil society NGO such as the RCSC. It follows that total control and subordination of the RCSC comes at the detriment of the government's efficiency, since it is imperative for the agency to have full autonomy. This engendered the need for a greater degree of collaboration between the RCSC and the state, which created an interdependency

between the two. Maintaining the perceived socio-political and economic importance of the RCSC is subject to a varying level of direct cooperation between the agency and the government, as proven by its experience under the four eras.

7.3 Acceptance of Western Ideas of Civil Society and the Public Sphere

This understanding of the space for NGOs in China, particularly the RCSC, instigates a critical assessment of the broader practices in government-NGO interdependence, and a discussion of the tensions that these NGOs encounter when working under the western bureaucratic structures of the State. This thesis argues that although western ideas of civil society and public sphere are hardly applicable in describing and analyzing the development of the RCSC, however, public sectors of the Chinese society did eventually accept them. Often, the concepts of political independence and autonomy have been the focus of conventional views of the Chinese NGOs that employ a concept of civil society, including the RCSC. In turn, the western perspective is that the collaboration of NGOs with the Chinese authoritarian state has been an impediment to civil society.

According to Cheong and Yang, the western perspective of civil societies suggests that the social issues facing the NGOs prompt strong global alliances among these institutions.¹ In other words, the auto-communication processes of Chinese NGOs with others from the global arena, as well as the State-NGOs interactions, are imperative in strengthening their structures.

¹ Cheong and Yang Aimei, "Chinese non-governmental organizations, media, and culture: communication perspectives, practices, and provocations," 1-11.

The Perspective of Civil Society in China

Similarities with the Perspective of Civil Society in China

The case study of the RCSC reveals a relationship between the state and civil society in China, where the latter was under the control of the former. Therefore, social organizations in ancient China assumed secondary roles in the state-NGO relationship, rather than being the mediators of public values. To some extent, there were notable efforts by governments to establish a western-style bureaucracy to manage the activities of the RCSC. For instance, the founding of the RCSC during the late Qing dynasty is attributable to the integration of the western philanthropic cultures with those of the Chinese, although there are other conflicting accounts. The RCSC adopted a practical and integrated structure that would sustain its activities by relying on a group of local and foreign philanthropists, as well as on the Qing government. During its formation, there was a meeting in the Shanghai Municipal Council Hall on 10 March 1904, featuring representatives from Germany, the UK, France, and the US, as well as one diplomat from the Qing dynasty. The outcome of this meeting was the formation of the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross Organization. Whatever the specific origins of the RCSC were, it emerged at a time when the Qing Empire was on the decline and China was under the influence of westerners. It was during this period that the Chinese society experienced an increase in the number of independent state-driven organizations.¹

Therefore, as demonstrated in chapter 3, it is evident that the Chinese social reformers learned a lot from the activities of the Japanese and Western relief workers during the Qing dynasty. Similarly, the emergence of civil society emanated from the

¹ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 983-99.

modernization of Chinese society, contrary to the conventional paradigms whereby civil society was under the confines of state regulation. In other words, before the 20th century the self-governing professional organizations in China were social groups conducted in secrecy, owing to the nature of imperialism. However, with the collapse of the Qing Empire, civil organizations began active operations in the state based on western paradigms. For instance, Li suggests that it was during the late Qing dynasty that the government began to rely on input from modern NGOs and civil societies to address certain societal issues more efficiently. Influential social organizations such as the RCSC were able to increase their influence by leveraging their partnerships with western envoys and seeking legal support through the courts, as a way of circumventing bureaucratic interference. Still, their roles were secondary to the government despite their wide-ranging efforts to secure autonomy.¹

Differences from Perspectives of Civil Society in China

The conventional patriarchal society in China faced increased advancements in technology, science, states, education, and the market economy, which were largely attributable to the influence from the West. The dilemma here was to find a balance between western concepts of civil society and the preservation of Chinese beliefs. However, Li observes that this dilemma prompted one of the officials from the Qing dynasty to propose the use of western ideas for practical situations, and Chinese values for fundamental issues. The rationale was to overcome the reconciliation dilemma that marred the application of western values in Chinese civil society. It was from this motion that the mindset of social reforms and self-strengthening movements became

¹ Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

distinct in Chinese communities. Furthermore, the proposal was another way of aligning organized benevolent acts with the Chinese principles of philanthropy.¹

On the other hand, certain political and economic environments are imperative for the development of civic organizations, as demonstrated by the four Chinese political powers reviewed in this study. The idea of a civil organization operating outside a liberal political system is unimaginable. Inasmuch as the country experienced a change in economic systems, the state also underwent a considerable shift. As the case study of the RCSC shows, China's government underwent massive transformations in the judicial, executive, and legislative sectors, based on the representative democracies advocated by the westerners. A more consultative role was given to the minor parties during the Post Mao era, which became more definite in the Chinese political system. In turn, the tremendous changes that the Chinese political system experienced after the 1980s were valuable in transforming and promoting the growth of civil society in China.

It follows that the post-Mao era experienced a critical concept of civil society, from supplementary entities (*zhongjiantuanti*) and social organizations (*shehuituanti*) to people's organizations (*minjianzuzhi*).² In fact, it was during this era that Chinese society began to use the concept of NGOs owing to the prevalence of such entities, which encompasses the RCSC. Therefore, it is evident that civil society was subject to different meanings throughout the evolution of the different governments. In a broader sense, civil societies encompass the aspect of citizenship and the civic duties of the

¹ Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis."

² James Richter and Walter F Hatch, "Organizing civil society in Russia and China: A comparative approach," *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 26, no. 4 (2013): 323-47.

Chinese people in their communities. The fact that ancient Chinese society viewed citizens as mere people (*Renmin*) who lacked any legal protection makes the western discourse of the citizenry an important social virtue.¹ Furthermore, the extensive political struggles prevalent during the Cultural Revolution had discouraged those lobbying for the autonomy of civil society. To a certain extent, the western discourse of citizenship resonated well with the Chinese since they could express social obligations genuinely and demand proper protection of their civil rights. However, Chinese society still uses informal networks as an alternative structure through which they can participate in their civic duties, since NGOs such as the RCSC are still under a particular level of control by the state these informal networks remain strong.

Thus, the discourse of civil society in the context of the RCSC can carry two different meanings with common elements. First, civil society can mean a political society which uses the principles of representation, freedom, citizenship, and the rule of law to describe the relationship between the state and the RCSC. According to White, the perspective of civil society as political society bases its roots in the historical evolution of the liberal democracy in the US and parts of Europe, as well as the inferences of influential liberal political theorists such as Locke. In Chinese terms, this discourse translates to *gongminshehui*, which loosely translates as civil society.²

The second viewpoint of civil society equates the RCSC to an intermediate social association. To some extent, the RCSC exhibits the Hegelian perspective of civil society as a system of corporation, justice, and needs. Chinese civil society has used

¹ Richter and Hatch, "Organizing civil society in Russia and China: A comparative approach."

² Gordon White, "Prospects for civil society in China: A case study of Xiaoshan City," *The Australian Journal of Chinese Affairs*, no. 29 (1993): 63-87.

the intermediate perspective of social associations in three distinct ways, as shown to be by the case of the RCSC. The first Hegelian connotation likens a civil society to a social organization. This categorization encompasses all modern social entities including professional associations, civil rights groups, and trade unions. Accordingly, the RCSC has exhibited the features of a modern social organization throughout the twentieth century. White contends that the Hegelian connotation of civil societies as social organizations may also encompass uncivil associations such as kinship units, religious or nationalist entities, and the Mafia. Although these types of social organizations are beyond the scope of this dissertation, they have been predominant within Chinese society throughout the past century. In Chinese civilization, a *minjianshehui* is synonymous with a social organization.¹

The other concept of an intermediate social association compares civil society to the bourgeois society viewpoint. White observes that the idea of a bourgeois society was predominant during the growth of capitalism in the west. The resulting civilizations revolved around regulated and private property markets where economic activity enjoyed a level of independence. Thus, observers here used the pre-capitalist and kinship forms of primordial organization to contrast the institutions of civil society with other effective organizations. It follows that the concepts of modernity and capitalism work collaboratively to bind a civil society. Since the source of capitalism was a predominant in ancient towns, the notion of the “bourgeois” relates to the surroundings of cities and other civic municipalities. Therefore, the Chinese meaning of civil society (*shiminshehui*) may apply here.² Compared to the concept of social organization, the

¹ White, "Prospects for civil society in China: A case study of Xiaoshan City."

² White, "Prospects for civil society in China: A case study of Xiaoshan City."

bourgeois viewpoint of civil society focuses on capitalist modes of production and the market economy as the primary causes of social organization. In the context of the RCSC, the concept of bourgeois society might apply from the Republic of China onwards.

The final definition of intermediate social association equates a civil society to a mass organization whose mission is to oppose the oppressive rules of the ruling government. In fact, these associations occur more in a socialist context. Furthermore, such partnerships were predominant in Europe and the West in general, such as the Polish Solidarity group that sought to oppose the domination of the state. In the Chinese context, the role of the RCSC during the post-Mao era showed some characteristics of a mass organization. However, the Chinese nomenclature of mass organizations is broad and might include *lianhehui* (alliances), *tuan* (brigades), and *hui* (societies). In collective terms, it might include *shehuituanti* (social organizations), *gongmintuant* (citizen groups), and *qunzhongtuanti* (mass associations).¹

The Perspective of the Public Sphere in China

Similarities with the Perspective of Public Sphere in China

Admittedly, the adoption of western ideas and models of social organization was not only imperative for promoting the legitimacy of local civic groups, but also for conferring such legitimacy in a manner that the associations became part of an increasingly integrated social community. Before these ideas began to creep into Chinese society, public space and civil society would not allow the engagement of

¹ White, "Prospects for civil society in China: A case study of Xiaoshan City."

social organizations without state interference. In other words, the structure of civil society was strictly vertical: the government occupied the top level of administration and oversight, the middle level encompassed the registered NGOs such as the RCSC, and the bottom level covered all the other unregistered social groups. What followed was a situation whereby the lower levels of this structure began to expand, making state intervention more difficult.¹ *Differences from the Perspective of Public Sphere in China*

Although the Chinese have a long tradition of cultivating social relationships, the western idea of social organizations began to take root during the Mao and post-Mao systems, as demonstrated by the case study of the RCSC. Ancient Chinese culture had its version of social capital. However, this viewpoint mainly addressed aspects of individual social capital. Thus, it is argued that there has been a scarcity of western forms of collective social capital in Chinese society. In other words, the resource utilization concept of instrumental personal ties (*Guanxi*) in the Chinese social network was the only notable form of social capital.² However, Chinese society rarely acknowledged the aspect of social capital at the collective level before the intervention of western discourses.

On the other hand, there is ample evidence to support the notion that the development of the RCSC came at a time when the Chinese public sphere was opening up to the world. For instance, the late Qing dynasty experienced an increase in the participation of the RCSC on different societal levels, in a manner that allowed it to supply essential public goods and services to the locals. Perhaps this expansion in the public sphere was partly due to the decline of the dynasty and partly because the government would not

¹ Richter and Hatch, "Organizing civil society in Russia and China: A comparative approach," 323-47.

² Richter and Hatch, "Organizing civil society in Russia and China: A comparative approach."

sustain an adequate supply of public goods and services during the war. This increased presence would have been the result of the self-regulating professional associations that were popping up in the country after 1903. Wakeman notes that these unions included bankers' associations, chambers of commerce, and lawyers' unions, to mention a few.¹

Equally important is that the late Qing dynasty experienced a wave of modern developments. Before these developments, the scope of the state encompassed activities such as law enforcement, taxation, and military operations. The state bureaucracies did not extend to the lower levels of governance. It was during the post-Taiping reconstruction that the state began to extend its activities to essential societal activities, such as the control of water and humanitarianism. It is important to note that the scope of these activities would not go beyond the county seat.² However, the extent of these individual and collective manifestations of the public sphere activity could also cover private activities, owing to vague distinctions between the private (*Si*), official (*guan*), and the public (*gong*). This way, the western perspective of a public sphere as an association of persons free from state intervention does not hold. Furthermore, the reformists' claim to sovereignty in Chinese society became manifest after their participation in various movements of the 1911 Revolution.³

There is also notable evidence of the involvement of the RCSC in the public sphere during the Republic of China. For instance, Wakeman highlights various social activities that were common in Beijing's public space in the 1920s, such as meetings in

¹ Frederic Wakeman, "The civil society and public sphere debate: Western reflections on Chinese political culture," 108-38.

² *Ibid.*, 216-40.

³ *Ibid.*, 108-38.

restaurants, the spread of newspapers, and the presence of telephone technology.¹ However, participation in the public sphere in this era was for purposes of political engagement. The evidence from this study indicates that this led to a limited non-political public sphere during the Republic of China, owing to the increased collaboration between the RCSC's activities and the state. Accordingly, Chinese society experienced a radical polarization between society and state, in a manner that reflected the western viewpoint of the public sphere.

In contrast to the public domain in the late Qing era, the public scope in the Republic of China crept beyond the county seat to cover larger districts. The leadership of this era began to adopt a series of modern activities based on policies that came about during the Qing dynasty. For instance, they developed new infrastructural institutions such as schools, transportation, and legal establishments.² In light of this, the RCSC was able to enjoy a broadened public space. Although the expansion processes of the late Qing and the Republic of China eras did not match the underlying western concepts of the public sphere, they were useful in the integration of society, which expanded its third-tier activities such as the humanitarianism of the RCSC.

In contrast, the limited freedom of social association that Chinese citizens experienced during the Mao and the post-Mao eras prompted them to lobby for new forms of association that enjoyed autonomy from the state's influence, and ditched the paternalistic benevolence that had shaped the public sphere. During the final years of the Mao political system, the reaction to the abolition of the political system was the formation of different lobby groups and liberation factions which sought to restructure

¹ *Ibid.*, 108-38.

² *Ibid.*, 216-40.

the Chinese public sphere. In fact, it was clear that Maoist controls had cultivated a series of group activities and ‘mass-line’ thinking among different societal groups promoted during the Cultural Revolution. Integration of western pluralistic and radical ideas was evident in the case of some important societal demands, such as giving more room to interest groups and privatizing the economy during the Post-Mao era. Furthermore, it was during this period that an independent judiciary emerged to protect the rule of law so individuals and supposedly independent associations like the RCSC would be free from excessive government control.¹ These liberation efforts enabled the RCSC to regain its public presence.

Thus, it is apparent that the development of social associations and Chinese civil society in general, coupled with the integration of western ideologies, were essential in shaping the scope of the RCSC. While the need to conform to the western ideas of public sphere participation during the late Qing dynasty and the Republic of China era was external, the trigger effect for the increased engagement in the public sphere was mainly attributable to the internal resistance of different societal groups. Thus, even with the incompatibilities between western ideologies and Chinese culture, the former has been able to creep into the various sectors of civil society in China over the years, as proven by the development of the RCSC.

In retrospect, the case of the RCSC indicates various manifestations of civil society in the public sphere. Admittedly, NGOs are critical in performing the checks and balances necessary for streamlining the power and behavior of the state. The progression of civil society throughout the four eras portrays a situation whereby the Chinese government

¹ Gu Xin, "A civil society and public sphere in post-Mao China? An overview of western publications," *China Information* 8, no. 3 (1993): 38-52.

has become increasingly subject to external checks attributable to the increasing presence of public organizations. In other words, some social organizations have been able to resist the unwarranted monitoring from the government by forming lobby groups, or by whistleblowing on state agencies that were accustomed to misusing their powers to the detriment of civil society. In particular, the transition from the Mao era to the post-Mao era experienced an increase in the presence of social organizations. It follows that the influence on the state is less substantial whenever civil organizations are more powerful.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the late Qing dynasty period, the first Red Cross in China was established in the private realm as an NGO. In the Republic of China period, the RCSC was co-organised by officials and merchants as an NGO historically changed regarding its relationship with government bodies since its inception, and the relationship between the central government and the RCSC was supported by the government. In the era of Mao, the RCSC had rather limited social resources and capacity as a social organization. Therefore, long after the foundation of the PRC, the RCSC was supported, financed and supervised by the government, with an absence of social financing and social supervision. In the era of Post-Mao, the RCSC was affiliated to or subordinated to the health care sector as the people's health care organization. The RCSC is attached to the system of the health sector, so the understanding level and method of the health administrative leadership shall have a great influence on the business and development of the RCSC. The management of the RCSC has a new stage after the 21st century. The period after 1999 does not include in the scope of this research because the management of the RCSC is still changing at this stage.

By using the RCSC as a case study this thesis identified the similarities and differences in the public space in terms of civil society in China throughout the four eras of Chinese governance: the late Qing dynasty period, the Republic of China period, the Mao era, and the post-Mao eras. While the nature of the RCSC exhibits notable similarities throughout the four periods, there are significant differences in some aspects of the RCSC, including its functions, independence, and westernisation. It is worth noting that

the RCSC has demonstrated significant dynamism throughout all the Chinese eras of governance, attributable to the changing face of civil society. This chapter includes the conclusion of this study, academically implications, the main contribution, the limitation and future research.

The relief activities of the Japanese and western volunteers marked the earliest presence of the RCSC in China during the late Qing dynasty. The Chinese social elites were impressed by the outstanding work of the earliest manifestation of the RCSC. As such, there was a gradual indigenisation of the RCSC, with support from the Chinese private and public sectors, in a bid to strengthen the fragile nation in the years of internal turmoil. Qing officials also facilitated this process by appealing for the RCSC's legitimacy, as well as endorsing and patronising its activities. As Zhou (2000) observes, the RCSC was not only a product of the Western model of national humanitarian relief, but also a mark of the Chinese benevolence. Furthermore, the successful indigenisation of the RCSC created a platform for striking a balance between China's attempt to sustain its cultural identity, and the ethos of learning from westerners.¹

It is notable that the late Qing dynasty experienced various disagreements concerning the structure and roles of the RCSC. As a result, various autonomous groups emerged, all of which formed their own version of the Red Cross, such as the Shanghai Wanguo Red Cross, the Chinese Woman Red Cross, and ultimately the RCSC. Consequently, there were administration wrangles within the RCSC during the late Qing dynasty attributable to joined attempts by the private and public sectors to control the agency. Notably, the complexities that faced the RCSC during the Qing dynasty were partly due

¹ Zhou Qiuguang 周秋光, "Minguo beijing zhengfu shiqi zhongguo hongshizihui de cishan jiuhu yu zhenji huodong 民国北京政府时期中国红十字会的慈善救护与赈济活动," 107-09.

to the disoriented approach by the government, which attempted to use the RCSC as a way of reinforcing its sovereignty from a western point of view. However, the former became more distinct as the government sought to take legal advantage of the RCSC to reinforce its sovereignty. In the process, the Qing dynasty interfered with the affairs of the RCSC.¹

One could also argue that the Chinese traditions and the Western discourses of civil society nuanced the participation of the civil society organisations such as the RCSC during the Qing dynasty. To enumerate, the government piggybacked on the popularity that the RCSC had gained from its humanitarian activities that were valued in the Chinese culture to regain the confidence of the Chinese citizenry. At the same time, the Qing dynasty could not avoid the Western influence that specifically increased after the second Opium war, which left the empire vulnerable to Western Imperialists. In other words, the destabilisation of the Qing dynasty implied that China had to trade with the Westerners to sustain the Empire and its citizenry. Therefore, one might argue that the RCSC bridged the relationship between the state and the westerners as well as the state and the citizenry. On one hand, this trinity created the perception that the state supported the Western discourse of civil society. On the other hand, it developed the idea that the state had a critical role in supporting the humanitarianism that was valued in the Chinese tradition. This way, the state appealed to the Westerners without tainting its image in the eyes of the Chinese citizenry.

The RCSC continued with its primary role administering humanitarian relief activities during the Republic of China period. However, there was an expectation that the RCSC

¹ Li Yannan, "Red Cross Society in Imperial China, 1904-1912: A Historical Analysis," 2274-91.

would enjoy a more relaxed civil society, since the imperial rule that prevailed during the late Qing dynasty had ended. The agency's popularity increased not only among the Chinese citizenry, but also within the international sphere. Furthermore, the onset of the Republic period implied that China would have to move from the law, and the Great Qing dynasty Code, to a new set of rules as prescribed in the Provisional Constitution of the Republic and local municipality regulations.¹ In spite of the promulgation of these new laws, the independence of the RCSC was still questionable since the laws implemented in China during the Republic period rarely considered any aspects of civil codes.

Furthermore, the disagreements that marred the RCSC during the late Qing dynasty were also present during the Republic period. In fact, the extent of these incongruities was such that they slowed the operation of the RCSC during the Beiyang and Nanjing Government of the Republic period. Consequently, this situation implied that the government would have to interfere in the affairs of the RCSC in a bid to iron out the conflicts. Similarly, the application of Confucianism during the Republic period implied that the government would have full control of the civil sphere; which in this case included the RCSC.² As a whole, the involvement of the KMT government in firing Shen Dunhe, one of the key founders of the RCSC, showed that the independence of the RCSC was in jeopardy as it was susceptible to state interference. In fact, the constant harassment to individuals that sought to voice their complaints against the government characterised the Republic of China period.

¹ Karla W Simon, *Civil Society in China: the Legal Framework from Ancient Times to the "New Reform Era"*, 2013, 233-35.

² "Background & History of Confucianism," 2016, <http://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/12459/3/12459.pdf>.

While the Mao government acknowledged the importance of the RCSC in disaster management and relief services, the RCSC experienced an increase in the level of restrictions during the Mao era. As Wei contends, the deregistration of civil society organisations during this period implied that the activities of the RCSC were subject to an increased level of government scrutiny.¹ Furthermore, the introduction of other foundational changes, such as the land reforms in China, meant that the functions and space of the RCSC in the civil sphere was subject to more limitations. The government was in control of the social, political, and economic spheres. Everything considered, the authoritarian rule enforced by the Mao political system suppressed the formation of any forms of social autonomy including the private economy, free association, and organisational autonomy. In fact, Zhang (1994) observes that the Mao government suppressed most elements of the civil society that the Qing dynasty and the Republic period had strived to establish. It follows that the Communist Revolution that commenced in 1949 created a public sphere whereby the structure of the civil society was dependent upon the state. In turn, the state became the supreme authority responsible for organising and administering the operations of the social organisations.²

Evidently, a trinity of party-state-society characterised the Mao political system of 1949-1976 in which there was minimal boundaries between the state and society nor a separation between state and political parties. To that extent, the trinity created a structure whereby the state was in control of the society and the political parties. As such, every popular involvement or public participation that took place outside the

¹ Wei Bingling, "A Changing Discourse on the Red Cross Society of China Beyond Civil Society," 998-99.

² Zhang Yuguo, "Civil Society in Post-Mao China" (Master of Arts Simon Fraser University: Burnaby, 1994).

state-controlled sphere was *prima facie* unlawful. There was no spontaneity or autonomy of public participation since the party-state mobilised every form of popular involvement. Therefore, the role of the mass movements of the Maoist Cultural Revolution period was to provide a politically defined platform for the civilians to articulate their interests or to influence the affairs of the state. Rather, these mass movements provided a tool for strengthening the party-state rule, where the CCP through politization sought to control the State.

Ironically, such increased levels of government interference in the civil society prompted the proliferation of grassroots group activities, which sought to reprimand the heavy restrictions in the public sphere. To some extent, these social groups utilised the Western ideas of pluralism and radicalism to lobby for the autonomy of civil society, despite the state's apparent agenda to eradicate all western influence on the country. As a result, the nature of the Mao period indicates that the evolution of the RCSC was the result of complex interactions between the political and social sphere of the country, as well as an increased class-consciousness among the Chinese citizenry. It follows that the increased government interference in the affairs of the RCSC would imply that its functions would evolve to a more predetermined set of political agendas, such as becoming an affiliate of the Ministry of Health. To that extent, it is evident that the Maoist political system lacked organisational and individual autonomy that occurred outside the state authority as well as any pluralist perceptions that negated the premise of communism. Thus, the politicised civil society created a situation whereby there was no room for a prevailing civil society owing to the state's overlapping nature with the society.

Finally, the role of the public space of the RCSC during the post-Mao era was one characterised by massive changes in the agency's function of citizen empowerment. As Zhang (1994) observes, the declining nature of Maoist totalitarianism rule triggered two situations that supported a thriving civil society. The first situation was the bottom-to-top factor that was characterised by the proliferation of civil society activities at the grass-root level. The Chinese citizenry began to acknowledge the important role of individuals in the Chinese society upon the decline of Maoism. The people developed the mentality that they were no longer the appendage of the state; rather, they realised that they had a right to participate in the public sphere. Additionally, the Chinese civil society, particularly the intellectuals, began to adopt the Western ideologies of civil society.¹ Therefore, the development of the Chinese civil society in the political sphere depended chiefly on the bottom-up-factor.

The second element that propelled the growth of the civil society participation in China during post-Maoism was the top-to-bottom factor. The staff members of state and other ruling elites increasingly realised the need for a less controlled civil society in a bid to regain the popular support of the citizenry. They sought to introduce considerable levels of autonomy in the Chinese social sphere. Accordingly, new policy changes by the ruling elites in the post-Mao era propelled a shift from the class struggles of the Maoist era to a socially modernised society, which considered the interests of the Chinese citizenry as both economic and political. It follows that the civil society inadvertently developed because of the reforms and opening up of the public sphere in post-Maoism. The most notable spheres of this growth were the social and economic realms. For instance, this political system witnessed the proliferation of the development of private

¹ Zhang Yuguo, "Civil Society in Post-Mao China."

businesses, the autonomy of the economic state factions, and the growth of unofficial social organisations and groups. Thus, the post-Maoist era encouraged the Chinese citizenry to play an active role in the civil society and the affairs of the state by undermining the legitimacy of the Maoist rules.

The development of China's civil society during the post-Mao era was mainly attributable to the changes in the country's political system.¹ As such, in addition to its humanitarian and relief roles, the RCSC became a critical player in the social changes that was becoming prevalent in the country. The engendered citizenry coupled with the modernisation of agriculture, technology, industry, and national defence, meant that there was a general space for criticism, notably from the intelligentsia, consequently, such mass mobilisation offered a critical platform for enhancing the public participation by civil entities such as the RCSC. As Kelly and He (1992) observe, the space of the civil society organisations and groups such as artists, students, intellectuals, and journalists became extensive during the Deng administration of the post-Mao era.² This participation was characterised by civil movements that were predominant in the post-Mao era including the Democratic movement of 1979, the student movement of 1986-1987, and the 1989 democratic movement -later to be suppressed.³ The government was more pragmatic compared to the preceding eras since it allowed these groups to criticise the actions of the Chinese administration up to 1989. The 'opening up' to the world and within China increased the ability of the RCSC to network at the grassroots level of the local municipalities; thus, increasing its clout and independence. While the

¹ Zhang Yuguo, "Civil Society in Post-Mao China."

² David Kelly and He Baogang, "Emergent civil society and the intellectuals in China," *The Development of Civil Society in Communist Systems*. Sydney, Allen and Unwin (1992).

³ Zhang Yuguo, "Civil Society in Post-Mao China."

participation of the grassroots in post-Mao era appears analogous to that of the Mao era, there is a clear delineation between the two in that the former allowed freedom of association in the civil society while in the latter they were illegal if they operated without the authority from the Maoist State. However, in spite of this increased autonomy, the RCSC relied on the government in some of its operations, in areas such as the management of its human resources, expediting donation activities, and financial management. As a result, it was clear that the RCSC was not entirely free from the government's control.

One thing that becomes apparent from the comparison of the four eras of governance in China, is that as an institution rooted in civil society, the RCSC endured progressively limited autonomy and widespread wrangles. This situation mirrors the fact that the civil society in China has been subject to limited freedom and constant government interference over the last century. On the other hand, the review of the RCSC case study also elucidates the commitment of the different Chinese political systems to use civil society organisations, such as the Red Cross, as a platform for striking a balance between the national identity and western ideas. As shown to be in the evolution of the RCSC, each political system sought to balance these two aspects differently. For some periods such as the late Qing dynasty, the government aimed to incorporate a more indigenised civil society as a way of reinforcing the country's sovereignty and appealing to the citizenry. Some other periods, however, attempted to modernise the RCSC, to appeal to the international community and gain acceptance from global bodies, such as the International Red Cross. Either way, this situation presents evidence that the RCSC has been used as a tool for achieving the respective agendas of each political system and has not functioned entirely as a humanitarian

organisation. Although initially formed for relief purposes, the different governments have crept into the management of the RCSC to promote their interests. Nonetheless, the unprecedented opening of public space in China during the post-Mao era indicates that civil society in China did to an extent become more liberal, compared to the situation during the previous late Qing, Republic, and Mao systems.

Resting on the case study of the RCSC, this thesis maintains that the application of the western perspective of the civil society and public sphere has been subject to management, and even existence jeopardy among the Chinese NGOs. The thesis also asserts that the significant changes in the different Chinese governance governments indicate that the Western notions of civil society and public sphere have become more relevant, particularly towards the end of the 20th century. Thus, there has been a complex but progressive application of the Western ideas of the civil society and public sphere among NGOs in China throughout the late Qing dynasty period, the Republic of China, Mao era, and the post-Mao eras.

Accordingly, the humanitarian organisations such as the RCSC and their respective activities provide a viable foothold for understanding the nature of the participation of the civil society in the Chinese public sphere throughout the four eras of Chinese governance. In the case study of the RCSC, the government intervention in NGOs was not only caused by the political system of the CCP, but also in the late Qing dynasty period and the Republic of China period, and the way of government intervention is similar. What this thesis argues is that the different Chinese governments extended particular levels of interference to the civil society, as proven by the case study of the RCSC, and that various intertwining factors have characterised this interference. Therefore, this case study concludes that government intervention in Chinese NGOs is

not just a matter of any particular type of the state but also that of the Chinese culture and China's response to Western influence that ensure it has its own form of civic society.

By using the case study of the RCSC in the four Chinese periods of governance, the thesis contributes to the existing body of literature in several ways. First, it outlines the history of the RCSC in the four periods of Chinese governance, namely, the late Qing dynasty period, the Republic of China period, the Mao era, and the post-Mao eras. Second, the thesis elucidates the similar nature of the RCSC throughout the four periods. This resemblance implies that the Chinese government interferes with the operation of the civil society regardless of the political system in place. To some extent, these similarities are attributable to the Chinese Political culture of top-down management. Third, the thesis shows the underlying distinctions between the different state and civil society associations throughout the four periods.

This thesis is analysed the differentiations of the RCSC in the late Qing dynasty period, the Republic of China period, the Mao era, and the post-Mao eras. Therefore, the Red Cross of the late Qing dynasty experienced internal wrangles among the different factions that purported to be the genuine representatives of the Chinese Red Cross. In particular, the public and private sector had different perspectives concerning the structures and role of the Red Cross in China. For instance, the Shanghai merchants formed a wing of the Chinese Red Cross with the assistance of foreign collaborators; a move which the Qing government was skeptical about. The latter believed that it was unnecessary for the Red Cross to operate under the international guidelines as stipulated by the Geneva Convention; instead, the government believed that the association should

operate under its authority. As such, there was an uncoordinated provision of relief services during the late Qing dynasty.

By and large, the government also had a significant influence on the leadership of the RCSC during the Republic of China particularly in the reign of the Beiyang Government. By operating as an affiliate of the Republic of China political system, the government assumed the mantle of selecting the RCSC management, which transcended the previous method of appointing the RCSC leaders through Congress in line with the Red Cross constitution. These changes ensured that the President of the Republic of China would undertake the responsibility of appointing the leadership of the RCSC particularly the president and vice-president of the agency. Further, the changes mandated the president of the RCSC to work in concert with other government agencies such as the Navy Department, Ministry of the Interior, and the Department of Army in case an emergency arose. Notably, the independence of the RCSC and by extension the civil society of China, during the Republic of China faced significant interference as characterized by the role of the President of the Republic of China in appointing the primary leadership positions of the agency.

The form of government involvement and interventions enjoined into the RCSC during the Mao era was slightly different compared to the other eras. For instance, the government of the Mao era exerted considerable influence on the civil society unlike in the Republic of China era whereby the government focused on specific aspects of the agency such as its leadership. During the Mao political system, the reorganization and transformation of the RCSC was all-sweeping in a manner that it could adjust to the requirements and structure of a central government that was beginning to shape to civil society in China. The government took over the majority of the civil society aspects as

demonstrated in the increased control that it exerted on the RCSC. To that extent, the Mao government used the RCSC to control a considerable part of the public sphere and the civil society. Further, the Mao attempted to reintroduce some aspects of the Chinese values such as authoritarianism and collectivism, unlike the Republic of China which had sought to do away with the majority of these values.

What differentiates the level of independence of the RCSC during the Post-Mao political system and the other eras is the fact that the government of the post-Mao particularly Deng's administration was able to inculcate a significant level of self-policing within the organization by strengthening aspects such as financing and human resources. Further, the endorsement of the RCSC Law ensured that the management of the agency would occur ethically and professionally. This way, the agency was in a position to provide its services to the public successful without the need for constant government involvement as in the previous governments.

A final caveat. While the research tested the hypothesis of NGO's role in China, using the Red Cross as a case study, various issues did limit the research. It is of note that majority of the literature on Chinese civil society seeks to analyse the public sphere in China from a Western political framework. The Western principle of a dichotomous relationship between the state and the civil society fails to consider the the state-led associations in China. Therefore, reliance on such literature might not give a clear perspective of the rationale behind the state-led associations throughout the different governance systems in China. Future studies should seek to address this aspect of the public sphere in China from the perspective of the Chinese political culture, it means that the operation of the Red Cross in China consistently faced government interference

irrespective of different political powers because of the legacy of Chinese political culture.

At this stage, evidence on the nature of the RCSC and the Chinese civil society in 20th century largely relies on translated information mostly from Chinese to English. While such translation was imperative for increasing the breadth of the body of literature, there was a possibility of excluding some of the subtle meanings of the information presented in such texts because of the differences in the social, political and historical settings. As such, future studies may include more detailed documentation and analysis of the emergence of civil society and public sphere.

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