

Appendix

Table A.1 Major Financial Contributors to Zhou Enlai in Japan

Name (Courtesy Name)	Amount (Yuan)*	Remarks
Zhang Difei	84	
Wang Pushan	78	
Yan Zhikai (Jichong)	70	Out of which 10 yuan was sent from China in March 1918
Tong Qiyao (Guanxian)	30 and (40)**	
Wu Hantao (Diqian)	46	
Wang Jialiang (Ziyu)	35	Out of which 10 yuan was lent to Pengxian
Gao Renshan	20	Sent from China in March and June 1918
Wang Xitian	10	
Zhang Ruifeng (Pengxian)	1 and (5)	Borrowed from someone for Zhou
Xia Shu (Boming)	(24)	4 yuan already repaid
Yang Dexun (Boan)	(16.2)	2 yuan already repaid
Chen Gang (Tieqing)	(15)	5 yuan already repaid
Zhang Honggao (Lunfei)	(5)	Borrowed from someone for Zhou

* 1 yuan roughly corresponds to ¥1. The amount depicts the total contributions, made in instalments.

** The amount in parentheses refers to amount borrowed, not given. However, except for the remarks above, there is no record of repaying these loans, in the expense column.

Source: Zhou Enlai, "Luri-riji" (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 313 and 405–408.

Table A.2 Twenty People Zhou Enlai Associated with Most Frequently in Japan

*	Name (Courtesy Name)	Age**	School Attended	Nankai Connection***
92	Wang Pushan	23	EAHPS****	classmate
79	Zhang Honggao (Lunfei)	21	Kensū-gakkan	classmate/roommate

Table A.2 (Continued)

*	Name (Courtesy Name)	Age**	School Attended	Nankai Connection***
66	Zhang Ruifeng (Pengxian)	23	Waseda University	classmate/ <i>Jingye</i> editor
50	Xia Shu (Boming)	19	Tokyo School of Fine Arts	
46	Yan Zhikai (Jichong)	24	Tokyo School of Fine Arts	council member
44	Wu Hantao (Diqian)	24	First Higher School	classmate/ deputy secretary-general
41	Zhang Difei	21	EAHPS	council member
38	Tong Qiyan (Guanxian)	24	Waseda University	secretary-general
37	“private tutor”/Master Matsumura/Matsumoto (Matsumoto Kamejirō)			
31	Wang Jialiang (Ziyu)	19	EAHPS	council member
25	Chen Gang (Tieqing)	25	EAHPS	<i>Xiaofeng</i> editor/ secretary
25	Ren Baitao			
24	Yang Dexun (Boan)	21	EAHPS	council member
18	Wang Xitian	22	First Higher School	
17	Liu Qi (Dongmei)	21	EAHPS	secretary
15	Gao Renshan	24	Waseda University	general affairs officer
14	Lu Kaiyun	19	EAHPS	
11	Xie Jiemei			
9	Chen Ruhe (Tianchi)	19	EAHPS	council member
9	Yasuda Jūemon	26	Tokyo School of Fine Arts graduate	

* The minimal number of citations of Zhou actually being together with them (excluding “he” and “they” even if it was obvious who “he” and “they” referred to) in Zhou’s Diary. This excludes the citing of their names in Correspondence columns.

** Age is as on March 1918.

*** Relation with Zhou at Nankai Middle School and Position in Nankai Alumni Association, Japan.

**** EAHPS refers to Nikka-dōjin East Asian Higher Preparatory School.

Source: Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 306–404.

Notes

Chapter 1

1. Li Tien-min, *Chou En-lai*, Taipei: Institute of International Relations, 1970, 22 and 24.
2. Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989.
3. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji (Jielu)” (Diary of Travel to Japan [Excerpt]), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Liu Yan, Tianjin: Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1993, Vol. 1, 266–297.
4. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1; Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai luri-riji* (Diary of Travel to Japan of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming-bowuguan, Beijing: Xianzhuang-shuju, 2 vols., 1997.
5. Huai En, *Zhou-zongli de qingshaonian-shidai* (Youthful Period of Premier Zhou), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin-chubanshe and Sichuan-sheng xinhua-shudian, 1979.
6. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan 1898–1949* (Biography of Zhou Enlai 1898–1949), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Renmin-chubanshe and Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1989; Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 30.
7. Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Shū Onrai to Nihon: Kunō kara hishō eno seishun* (Zhou Enlai and Japan: Youth from Anguish to Flight), translated by Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao Study Society, Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2002, 384.

8. Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, New York: Viking, 1984, 308.
9. Kai-yu Hsu, *Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968, 267–269.
10. Wilson, 308 and 310–336.
11. Han Suyin, *Eldest Son: Zhou Enlai and the Making of Modern China, 1898–1976*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994, 419; Margalit Fox, “Han Suyin Dies; Wrote Sweeping Fiction,” *New York Times*, November 6, 2012.
12. Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 107 and 75–117.
13. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999, 16, 153, 217, and 228.
14. Yabuki Susumu, “Nitchū yūkō no genten: Shū Onrai ‘19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki’ ni omou” (To Think about *Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen* of Zhou Enlai: The Origin of Sino-Japanese Friendship), *Komei Shimbun*, October 21, 1999.

Chapter 2

1. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 1–2; Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 6.
2. Jin, 1–2; Lee, 7 and 180n7; Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 12. The years of birth and ages at death of Zhou’s father and uncles vary depending on sources.
3. Jin, 2–3; Lee, 7–9.
4. Jin, 3; Lee, 11–12.
5. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan, “Luri-riji” hereafter), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“*Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*” hereafter), 388 and 404; Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989 (“*Zhou Enlai nianpu*” hereafter), 8; Jin, 3–4; Lee, 12.
6. Jin, 4–5; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 7–8; Lee, 14–15.
7. Jin, 5–6; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 8; Lee, 15–16; “Luri-riji,” 333.
8. Jin, 6–8; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 9; Lee, 21.
9. Lee, 19–21; Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, New York: Viking, 1984, 27–28.
10. Jin, 8–11; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 9; Lee, 20–24.

11. Jin, 8–10; Lee, 25–26.
12. Jin, 10–11; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 9–10; Lee, 25–29; *Tokyo Diary*, 49. Many sources refer to Gao Yiwu as Gao Gewu, but his real name was Gao Yiwu. See “Gao Yiwu,” <http://www.baike.com/wiki/gao.yiwu>, accessed February 5, 2014.
13. Jin, 10–11; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 9–10; Lee, 25–29.
14. Jin, 11–13; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 11.
15. Jin, 14–15; *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 12; Lee, 31–34.
16. Jin, 14–15; Lee, 36–43; Yan Xiu, *Yan Xiu dongyou-riji* (Diary of Travel in Japan of Yan Xiu), Nankai riben-yanjiu congshu, Tianjin: Tianjin-shi renmin-chubanshe, 1995, 3–247; Yamane Yukio, “Gen Shū no ‘Tōyū-nikki’” (Diary of Travel in Japan of Yan Xiu), *Kyūko*, No. 30, November 1996, 52–57.
17. Jin, 14–15; Lee, 36–45 and 49–51; Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army), No. 37–32, December 31, 2009, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-date200912.html>.
18. Jin, 20; Lee, 55–56; “Luri-riji,” 334; *Tokyo Diary*, 90 and 156.
19. Jin, 16–20, Lee, 51–55 and 63–64.
20. Jin, 20–21; Lee, 58–61; *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 136–137.
21. Jin, 21; Lee, 55–57 and 64–67; *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 88–105; Ogura Kazuo, *Pari no Shū Onrai: Chūgoku-kakumeika no Seiō-taikens* (Zhou Enlai in Paris: A Chinese Revolutionary’s Experiences in Western Europe), Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992, 26–27; Suzuki Naoko, “Goshi-jiki no gakusei engeki: Tenshin-Nankai Shingeki-dan to Pekin-daigaku shingeki-dan” (Student Drama during the May Fourth Period: Tianjin Nankai Shigeki Theater and Peking University Shingeki Theater), *Ochanomizu joshi-daigaku Chūgoku-bungaku kaihō*, No. 27, April 2008, 49–66.
22. Jin, 21–23.
23. Hsu, 11–12 and 267; Wilson, 29–30.
24. Wilson, 30; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 64–74.
25. Jin, 17 and 21–22.
26. Jin, 25–26; Lee, 72–74.

Chapter 3

1. Mizuma Masanori, *Imakoso Nihonjin ga shitteokubeki “rōyōdo mondai” no shinjitsu* (Truth about the “Territorial Issues” that Japanese Must Know Now), e-book, Tokyo: PHP kenkyūjo, February 8, 2011, 85.
2. For details, see Yukie Yoshikawa, *Japan’s Asianism, 1868–1945: Dilemmas of Japanese Modernization*, Asia-Pacific Policy Papers Series, No. 8, Washington, DC: Johns Hopkins University–SAIS, 2009.
3. For details, see Richard J. Samuels, *“Rich Nation, Strong Army”: National Security and the Technological Transformation of Japan*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University

- Press, 1994. *Dongqing-tielu* generally translated as “Chinese Eastern Railway,” but “East China Railway” is a more correct translation.
4. Sakurai Izumi, “Tōgō ga katta! Ajia ni yume tsukanoma” (Tōgō Won!: A Brief Dream for Asia), <http://www.asahi.com/international/history/chapter03/01.html>, accessed November 30, 2011; Yoshikawa, 28.
 5. Sakurai; Yoshikawa, 24–27.
 6. Sanetō Keishū, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgakushi-kō* (Manuscript of the History of Chinese Studying in Japan), edited by Ogawa Hiroshi, Tokyo: Fuji-shuppan, 1993, 49–50.
 7. Ibid.
 8. Sakurai.
 9. Matsumoto Kamejirō, *Chūka 50-nichi yūki fu Chūka ryūgakusei kyōiku-shōshi Chūka kyōiku-shisatsu kiyō* (Journal of 50-Day Trip to China with Brief History of Education of Chinese Students in Japan and Journal of Education Study Tour in China), Tokyo: Tōa-shobō, 1931, 7–9.
 10. Ibid., 8–9; Sanetō, 189–191; Takeda Katsuhiko, *Matsumoto Kamejirō no shōgai: Shū Onrai · Rojin no shi* (Life of Matsumoto Kamejirō: Teacher of Zhou Enlai and Lu Xun), Tokyo: Waseda daigaku-shuppanbu, 1995, 135–141.
 11. Matsumoto, 11–20; Takeda, 145–149; “Yokohama-Yamate Chūka-gakuen” (Yokohama-Yamate Chinese Academy), March 30, 2015, <http://www.yokohamayamate-chineseschool.ed.jp/chn/school/history.html>.
 12. Matsumoto, 5 and 21; Sanetō, 191; Takeda, 138–141.
 13. “1905-nen 11-gatsu 3-kka Shinkokujin gakkō kitei” (November 3, 1905 Schools Regulation on Chinese), <http://www.h3.dion.ne.jp/~maxim/19051103.htm>, accessed December 30, 2011.
 14. Saneō, 80–82; Takeda, 141.
 15. Harumi Yuriko, “Chin Tenka no denki” (Biography of Chen Tianhua), <http://www.h3.dion.ne.jp/~maxim/xingtai.htm>, accessed September 24, 2011.
 16. Ibid.
 17. Ibid.
 18. Matsumoto, 21–25.
 19. Ibid., 25–26; Sanetō, 120.
 20. Matsumoto, 27–28, 53–57 and 64; Takeda, 151–156.
 21. Matsumoto, 30–31; Sanetō, 191–192.
 22. Sanetō, 192; Matsumoto, 32–34; Takeda, 198–209. This book refers to Matsumoto as president because he was both the founder and the principal of the school.
 23. Matsumoto, 73–78 and 80.
 24. Ibid., 34–35; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 35–37.
 25. Matsumoto, 36.
 26. Sanetō, 139 and 192–193.
 27. Matsumoto, 50–57 and 66–67; Takeda, 232–240; Sanetō, 194–195.

28. Takeda, 204, 226–228, 250–254 and 259–261; Wang and Takahashi, 34 and 41–43.
29. Takeda, 255–257.
30. Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 69–70 and 76–77; Sanetō, 120.
31. Matsumoto, 86–88; Wang and Takahashi, 26 and 45–46; Yan Xiu, *Yan Xiu dongyou-riji* (Diary of Travel in Japan of Yan Xiu), Nankai riben-yanjiu congshu, Tianjin: Tianjin-shi renmin-chubanshe, 1995, 4 and 145. Yan had five sons including Zhichong, Zhiqia (1882–1935), Zhizhong (1889–1974), and Zhikai, and a daughter, Zhian, who was the youngest.
32. Wang and Takahashi, 68; Nobuko Hamaguchi, “On the Diary of Ma Qianli,” *Journal of the University of the Air*, No. 24, 2006, 47 and 54n9.
33. Kai-yu Hsu, *Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968, 17, 236n5, and 267.
34. Lee, 86 and 195n34; Sanetō, 120 and 193; Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan, “Luri-riji” hereafter), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 405–408.
35. Wilson, 37; “Luri-riji,” 405–408.
36. Hsu, 16–18.

Chapter 4

1. Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 1.
2. Jin Chongji, ed. (principal editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 27; Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989 (“*Zhou Enlai nianpu*” hereafter), 22.
3. Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 77–79. Reference numbers in Lee’s own quotations were eliminated because they interfere with those for this book. Zhou’s childhood friend, Guo Sining, is misspelled in Lee.
4. Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai luri-riji* (Diary of Travel to Japan of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming-bowuguan, Beijing: Xianzhuang-shuju, 1997, Vol. 1, unnumbered page after preface.
5. *Ibid.*; Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang

- wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“*Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*” hereafter), 300 and 411.
6. Ibid. (both).
 7. *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 300.
 8. Ibid., 301.
 9. Ibid.
 10. Ibid., 297.
 11. Huai En, *Zhou-zongli de qingshaonian-shidai* (Youthful Period of Premier Zhou), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin-chubanshe and Sichuan-sheng xinhua-shudian, 1979, 61.
 12. Jin, 27.
 13. *Zhou Enlai nianpu*, 22.
 14. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 54, 292–294, and 300.
 15. Kai-yu Hsu, *Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968, 16–17.
 16. Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, New York: Viking, 1984, 38.
 17. Ibid., 309.
 18. Han Suyin, *Eldest Son: Zhou Enlai and the Making of Modern China, 1898–1976*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994, 32.
 19. Lee, 79.
 20. Ibid., 79 and 193n13.
 21. *Tokyo Diary*, 300–301.
 22. Jin, 27–28.
 23. Ibid., 40–41; Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 334.
 24. Wilson, 38.
 25. Ibid., 39.
 26. Han, 32.
 27. Lee, 79–80.
 28. *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 304–305.
 29. Ibid., 299; Lee, 74, 80 and 194n17; “Juewushe chengyuan de shengping Xue Hanyue” (Biography of Awakening Society Member Xue Hanyue), http://blog.sina.cn/dpool/blog/s/blog_4609f84b0101buss.html, accessed January 5, 2014.
 30. *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 302–305; “Luri-riji,” 318.
 31. Lee, 87 and 195n39; *Tokyo Diary*, 9. Yamabuki-chō and Misaki-chō are misspelled in Lee. Yamabuki-chō is misspelled in *Tokyo Diary*.
 32. Takeda Katsuhiko, *Matsumoto Kamejirō no shōgai: Shū Onrai · Rojin no shi* (Life of Matsumoto Kamejirō: Teacher of Zhou Enlai and Lu Xun), Tokyo: Waseda daigaku-shuppanbu, 1995, 214.

33. Ibid., 215.
34. Ibid., 214–215. Nagashima Yoshio is misspelled in Lee (p. 87, 227, and 236).
35. Wang and Takahashi, 85.
36. Ibid., 85–86.
37. Ibid., 86–87; “Luri-riji,” 318.
38. Wang and Takahashi, 92–94.
39. Ibid.
40. Ochiai Kanji, “Shū Onrai to Ō Kiten no nazo” (Mystery of Zhou Enlai and Wang Xitian), “Gishi” (Secret History), No. 10, June 23, 2008, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-entry-517.html>. From the content and the sequence of articles, “Wang Xitian” in the title appears to be a typo for “Wu Dage.”
41. Ibid.
42. Ochiai Kanji, “Yoshisono Shūzō to Saeki Yūzō no deai” (How Yoshisono Shūzō Met Saeki Yūzō), September 16, 2011, <http://kishu-bunka.org/saeki.html>.
43. Ochiai Kanji, “‘Yoshisono Shūzō shuki’ tonon deai” (How I Found “Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō”), January 28, 2013, <http://kishu-bunka.org/yoshisono/yoshisono.html>.
44. Ochiai Kanji, “Yoshisono Shūzō,” January 28, 2013, <http://kishubunka.org/yoshisono.html>; Ochiai Kanji, “‘Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki’ ni mieta Shū Onrai (1)” (Zhou Enlai in the “Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō,” No. 1), January 28, 2013, <http://kishubunka.org/yoshisono/ZhouEnlai.html>.
45. Ibid. (both); Ochiai, “Gishi,” No. 10.
46. Ochiai, “Yoshisono Shūzō”; Ochiai, “‘Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki’ ni mieta Shū Onrai (1)” (1); Maruyama Ōkyo (Maruyama Ōkyo), *Chūnichichi (Tokyo) Shimbun*, February 27, 2013.
47. Ochiai, “‘Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki’ ni mieta Shū Onrai (1)” (1); Ochiai, “Gishi,” No. 10.
48. Ochiai, “Gishi,” No. 10; Ochiai Kanji, “Shū Onrai to Go Tatsukaku no nazo” (Mystery of Zhou Enlai and Wu Dage), “Gishi” (Secret History), No. 8, June 23, 2008, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-entry-515.html>.
49. Ibid. (both); Ochiai Kanji, email to author, June 3, 2015.
50. Ochiai, “Gishi,” No. 10. Ishimitsu’s works include *Jōka no hito* (Man in the Castle Town), Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1978.
51. Ibid.
52. Ochiai, “Gishi,” No. 9.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.

Chapter 5

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 307.

2. *Ibid.*, 306.
3. *Ibid.*, 306–307.
4. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 16 and 18–19. “Runze” is omitted for the entry for January 1, 1918 in *Tokyo Diary*.
5. “Luri-riji,” 307.
6. *Ibid.*, 307–308.
7. *Tokyo Diary*, 13 and 18.
8. “Luri-riji,” 308.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 308 and 336.
11. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 27; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 24 and 73; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Shū Onrai to Nihon: Kunō kara hishō eno seishun* (Zhou Enlai and Japan: Youth from Anguish to Flight), translated by Zhou Enlai and Deng Yingchao Study Society, Tokyo: Hakuteisha, 2002, 66; “Luri-riji,” 309 and 406. Deng Jiemin is misspelled in Wang and Takahashi (2002). Some sources give Yang Dexun as Yang Deyun. This book considers “Dexun” to be his correct name, as shown in Wang and Takahashi (2001), (lower) unnumbered photograph on fifth page before the text.
12. “Luri-riji,” 310.
13. *Ibid.*, 308–325.
14. *Ibid.*, 308; *Tokyo Diary*, 8–91.
15. *Tokyo Diary*, 38–39; Wang and Takahashi (2001), 95–96.
16. Wang Min, *Nitchū 2,000-nen no furikai* (2,000 Years of Misunderstanding between China and Japan) Tokyo: Asahi-shimbunsha, 2006, 65–66.
17. *Tokyo Diary*, 38–39.
18. *Ibid.*, 203; Wang and Takahashi (2001), 97.
19. *Tokyo Diary*, 246–247; “Luri-riji,” 307, 309–310, and 315.
20. “Luri-riji,” 317.
21. *Ibid.*, 318.
22. *Ibid.*, 318–319; *Tokyo Diary*, 56–57.
23. *Tokyo Diary*, 34; “Luri-riji,” 309.
24. “Luri-riji,” 310.
25. *Ibid.*, 311–312.
26. *Ibid.*, 312–313.
27. *Ibid.*, 312 and 405–406; *Tokyo Diary*, 30 and 35.
28. “Luri-riji,” 314–315.
29. *Ibid.*, 317.

30. “Luri-riji,” 311; Jin, 30; Wang and Takahashi (2001), 61; Wang and Takahashi (2002), 386–387.
31. “Luri-riji,” 311–312.
32. *Ibid.*, 312.
33. Wang and Takahashi (2001), 61–63; *Tokyo Diary*, 13.
34. “Luri-riji,” 313–314.
35. *Ibid.*, 315.
36. *Ibid.*, 311 and 316.
37. *Ibid.*, 306–325; Wang and Takahashi (2001), 59.
38. Wang and Takahashi (2001), 35–37.
39. “Luri-riji,” 311, 315, 317, 343–348 and 378.
40. Wang and Takahashi (2001), 41–42.
41. “Rojin, Shūkin, Shū Onrai no nihongo kyōshi, Matsumoto Kamejirō” (Japanese Teacher of Lu Xun, Qiu Jin, and Zhou Enlai: Matsumoto Kamejirō), Hekiyōkai: Tokyo Gakugei-daigaku zenkoku-dōsōkai, October 24, 2010, <http://www.u.gakugei.ac.jp/~dousou/1/contents/kaichou/17.html>.
42. *Tokyo Diary*, 86–89 and 156–157.
43. “Luri-riji,” 320.
44. *Ibid.*
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Tokyo Diary*, 87–91 and 156–159.
47. “Luri-riji,” 321.
48. *Ibid.*, 321–322.
49. *Ibid.*, 324.

Chapter 6

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan, “Luri-riji” hereafter), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“*Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*” hereafter), 323.
2. *Ibid.*, 323–324.
3. *Ibid.*, 325.
4. *Ibid.*, 323.
5. *Ibid.*, 325.
6. *Ibid.*, 326. The caption of the same photograph in Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, unnumbered photograph page after p. 150, identifies Wu Hantao and Zhang Ruifeng as among the five students in the photograph, but Zhou’s Diary clarifies that Wu and Zhang were not in photograph.
7. *Ibid.*, 406.
8. *Ibid.*, 326–327.

9. Ibid., 334 and 405–406; Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 94.
10. *Tokyo Diary*, 112–115.
11. “Luri-riji,” 326, 328, and 329.
12. *Tokyo Diary*, 114.
13. Ibid., 99.
14. Ibid., 114–115.
15. Yabuki Susumu, “Nitchū yūkō no genten: Shū Onrai ‘19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki’ ni omou” (To Think about *Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen* of Zhou Enlai: The Origin of Sino-Japanese Friendship), *Komei Shimbun*, October 21, 1999.
16. *Tokyo Diary*, 114–155; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 77.
17. *Tokyo Diary*, 101; “Luri-riji,” 329.
18. “Luri-riji,” 327.
19. Ibid., 327–328.
20. Ibid., 328.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., 329.
23. Ibid., 330.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid., 331.
26. Ibid., 332.
27. Ibid., 331–332.
28. Ibid., 334.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., 318–319 and 405–408; *Tokyo Diary*, 64; Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai luri-riji* (Diary of Travel to Japan of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming-bowuguan, Beijing: Xianzhuang-shuju, 1997, Vol. 1, 2 and 21–22.
31. “Luri-riji,” 308, 330, and 334.
32. Ibid., 335.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., 336–337.
35. Ibid., 337.
36. Ibid., 337–338.
37. Ibid., 339.
38. Ibid., 340–341 and 406.
39. Ibid., 341; *Tokyo Diary*, 140.
40. “Luri-riji,” 339.
41. Ibid., 340–341.
42. Ibid., 335–336.
43. Ibid., 341–342.

44. Ibid., 342.
45. Ibid., 343.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., 343–344.
48. Ibid., 344.
49. Ibid., 345.
50. *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji*, 299 and 409.
51. Wang and Takahashi, 60 and 98; “Luri-riji,” 309, 342, and 345–346, and 349.
52. “Luri-riji,” 345–348.
53. Ibid., 345–346 and 405.
54. Ibid., 338.
55. Ibid., 346.
56. Ibid., 347.
57. Ibid., 348; Wang and Takahashi, 73.

Chapter 7

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 350.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 350–351.
4. Ibid., 405.
5. Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989, 28; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 65.
6. “Luri-riji,” 349–350.
7. Ibid., 351 and 354.
8. Ibid., 352; Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 40.
9. “Luri-riji,” 352–353.
10. Ibid., 353; Wang and Takahashi, 72.
11. Wang and Takahashi, 72–73; “Luri-riji,” 354.
12. “Luri-riji,” 353–354.
13. Ibid., 354 and 356–357.
14. Ibid., 354–356.
15. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 182 and 186–189.

16. “Luri-riji,” 357–358.
17. Mizuma Masanori, *Imakoso Nihonjin ga shitteokubeki “rōyodo mondai” no shinjitsu* (Truth about the “Territorial Issues” that Japanese Must Know Now), e-book, Tokyo: PHP kenkyūjo, February 8, 2011, 82–85.
18. “Luri-riji,” 358–359.
19. Wang and Takahashi, 107–111.
20. *Ibid.*, 111; *Tokyo Diary*, 212–213.
21. Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 67 and 83; Wang and Takahashi, 119.
22. “Luri-riji,” 359; Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai luri-riji* (Diary of Travel to Japan of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming-bowuguan, Beijing: Xianzhuang-shuju, 1997, Vol. 1, 104. *Tokyo Diary* missed “Seijō” although it states that it used both the Printed Version and the Facsimile Version of Zhou’s Diary as the text (p. 16).
23. “Luri-riji,” 359.
24. *Ibid.*, 359–360.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 361.
27. Jin, 37–38; *Tokyo Diary*, 41, 203, and 229–231.
28. Jin, 38; “Luri-riji,” 361; Lee, 98.
29. “Luri-riji,” 361.
30. *Ibid.*; Wang and Takahashi, 104–105.
31. *Tokyo Diary*, 204 and 231.
32. “Luri-riji,” 361–362.
33. *Ibid.*, 362.
34. *Ibid.*, 363.
35. *Tokyo Diary*, 208; Wang and Takahashi, 37; “Luri-riji,” 363–364.
36. “Luri-riji,” 364.
37. *Ibid.* “Botao” appears to be a misspelling of “Baitao” (*lit.* “white waves”). Zhou uses the two names in the diary. This book regards “Botao” as “Ren Baitao.”
38. *Tokyo Diary*, 181 and 212.
39. “Luri-riji,” 364.
40. *Ibid.*, 365.
41. *Ibid.*, 365–366.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Wang and Takahashi, 121–150 and 166.
44. Lee, 98–99.

Chapter 8

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 367.

2. Ibid., 368.
3. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 221.
4. “Luri-riji,” 368–370.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., 361–387 and 394–397.
7. Ibid., 371 and 373–374.
8. Ibid., 374–375.
9. Ibid., 362–365; *Tokyo Diary*, 45; Sanetō Keishū, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgakushi-kō* (Manuscript of the History of Chinese Studying in Japan), edited by Ogawa Hiroshi, Tokyo: Fuji-shuppan, 1993, 139 and 191–193.
10. Sanetō, 145–146.
11. Ibid., 145.
12. Ibid., 146.
13. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 38; *Tokyo Diary*, 231.
14. Jin, 38–40; Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 79–80.
15. Jin 39–40; Wang and Takahashi, 81 and 99–103; “Luri-riji,” 406–408.
16. “Luri-riji,” 346.
17. Ibid., 366–367.
18. Ibid., 367.
19. Jin, 39–40.
20. “Luri-riji,” 371 and 374.
21. Ibid., 370–371.
22. Ibid., 371.
23. Ibid., 372–373; *Tokyo Diary*, 233.
24. “Luri-riji,” 373; *Tokyo Diary*, 241; Sanetō, 148–152.
25. “Luri-riji,” 373; *Tokyo Diary*, 242.
26. “Luri-riji,” 374–375.
27. Ibid., 375.
28. Ibid., 374–376.
29. Ibid., 375.
30. Ibid., 375–376.
31. Ibid., 376–377.
32. Ibid., 377–378.
33. Ibid., 378.
34. Ibid., 377–379.
35. *Tokyo Diary*, 231 and 262–264; Wang and Takahashi, 167–170 and 178–186.
36. “Luri-riji,” 379 and 383; Wang and Takahashi, 179.
37. “Luri-riji,” 379.
38. Ibid., 380–381.

39. Ibid., 381–382; “US Federal Spending, 1918,” http://www.usgovernmentspending.com/fed_spending_1918USmn, accessed July 20, 2013.
40. “Luri-riji,” 362–365 and 381–382; *Tokyo Diary*, 181.
41. “Luri-riji,” 382–383; Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai luri-riji* (Diary of Travel to Japan of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Zhongguo geming-bowuguan, Beijing: Xianzhuang-shuju, 1997, Vol. 2 (“*Zhou Enlai luri-riji*” hereafter), 151–152.
42. “Luri-riji,” 383.
43. Ibid., 383–384.
44. Ibid., 384; *Zhou Enlai luri-riji*, 157. The Printed Version transcribed “Ōtemachi” incorrectly, but the Facsimile Version shows that Zhou spelled it correctly.
45. “Luri-riji,” 384–385.
46. Ibid., 385.
47. Jin, 36; Wang and Takahashi, 66–67.
48. “Luri-riji,” 385–386.
49. *Tokyo Diary*, 282.
50. “Luri-riji,” 386 and 406.
51. Ibid., 387.
52. Ibid., 388; *Tokyo Diary*, 287.
53. “Luri-riji,” 388–389.

Chapter 9

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 389.
2. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 292.
3. “Motoki Shōgo,” http://www.city.hakodate.hokkaido.jp/soumu/hensan/jimbutsu_ver1.0/b_jimbutsu/motoki_syo.htm, accessed December 4, 2012.
4. Ibid.; *Tokyo Diary*, 292–293.
5. “Motoki Shōgo.”
6. Huai En, *Zhou-zongli de qingshaonian-shidai* (Youthful Period of Premier Zhou), Chengdu: Sichuan renmin-chubanshe and Sichuan-sheng xinhua-shudian, 1979, 67.
7. Han Suyin, *Eldest Son: Zhou Enlai and the Making of Modern China, 1898–1976*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1994, 38 and 387.
8. Ibid., 38 and 387; “Motoki Shōgo”; Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 100.
9. “Luri-riji,” 389–390.
10. Ibid., 390. Pan Shilun’s courtesy name, Shuan, is misspelled in Lee (p. 227).

11. *Ibid.*, 390–391.
12. *Ibid.*, 391–392.
13. *Ibid.*, 392.
14. *Ibid.*, 392–393 and 315; *Tokyo Diary*, 49. Gao Yiwu is often referred to as Gao Gewu, but his real name was Gao Yiwu.
15. “Luri-riji,” 392–393. The “University” most likely refers to Peking University, because Gao was a student at Peking University.
16. *Ibid.*, 394–395.
17. *Ibid.*, 395.
18. *Ibid.*, 396.
19. *Ibid.*, 397.
20. *Ibid.*, 397–398.
21. *Ibid.*, 395–396.
22. *Ibid.*, 398.
23. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 63–64.
24. “Luri-riji,” 398.
25. *Ibid.*

Chapter 10

1. Zhou Enlai, “Luri-riji” (Diary of Travel to Japan), in Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai zaoqi wenji 1912.10–1924.6* (Early Writings of Zhou Enlai 1912.10–1924.6), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi and Nankai-daxue, Tianjin: Zhonggyang wenxian-chubanshe and Nankai-daxue chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1 (“Luri-riji” hereafter), 399–400. Only the names of Zhou’s friends and family members that were mentioned earlier in this current book are listed here, in order not to overwhelm the reader with many unfamiliar names.
2. Zhou Enlai, *19-sai no Tōkyō-nikki* (Tokyo Diary at Age Nineteen), edited by Yabuki Susumu and translated by Suzuki Hiroshi, Tokyo: Shōgakukan-bunko, 1999 (“*Tokyo Diary*” hereafter), 336, 340, and 356.
3. “Luri-riji,” 399–400.
4. *Ibid.*, 399–400 and 406–408.
5. *Ibid.*, 406–408; “Deng Jiemin,” http://www.sdsh54.com/news_show.asp?newsid=1189, accessed July 25, 2014.
6. Jin Chongji, ed. (Principal Editor), *Zhou Enlai zhuan* (Biography of Zhou Enlai), edited by Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 1998, Vol. 1, 27; Zhonggong-zhongyang wenxian-yanjiushi, ed., *Zhou Enlai nianpu 1898–1949* (Chronology of Zhou Enlai, 1898–1949), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe and Renmin-chubanshe, 1989, 41.
7. *Tokyo Diary*, 265; Takahashi Kōhachirō, ed., *Nihon kindaiishi yōsetsu* (Essence of Modern History of Japan), Tokyo: Tokyo-daigaku shuppankai, 1980, 301;

- Ogura Kazuo, *Pari no Shū Onrai: Chūgoku-kakumeika no Seiō-taiken* (Zhou Enlai in Paris: A Chinese Revolutionary's Experiences in Western Europe), Tokyo: Chūōkōronsha, 1992, 97. The data on the Rice Riot varies depending on the source.
8. Kai-yu Hsu, *Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence*, Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1968, 18.
 9. Dick Wilson, *Zhou Enlai: A Biography*, New York: Viking, 1984, 39–40.
 10. Chae-jin Lee, *Zhou Enlai: The Early Years*, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994, 101.
 11. “Luri-riji,” 400–403.
 12. *Ibid.*, 410.
 13. *Ibid.*, 402.
 14. Wang Yongxiang and Takahashi Tsuyoshi, eds., *Riben liuxue-shiqi de Zhou Enlai* (Zhou Enlai During his Study Period in Japan), Beijing: Zhongyang wenxian-chubanshe, 2001, 219–220; Lee, 63.
 15. “Luri-riji,” 408.
 16. *Ibid.*, 402.
 17. Ogura, 96.
 18. “Luri-riji,” 398.
 19. *Ibid.*, 408.
 20. *Ibid.*, 406–407.
 21. *Ibid.*, 406–408.
 22. Jin, 27 and 44–45.
 23. “Luri-riji,” 307–309 and 405–407.
 24. Lee, 194n28.
 25. *Ibid.*, 109 and 195n34.
 26. *Tokyo Diary*, 13.
 27. “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army), No. 36–1, December 7, 2009, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-entry-733.html>.
 28. *Ibid.*; Ochiai Kanji, “‘Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki’ ni mieta Shū Onrai (1)” (Zhou Enlai in the “Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō,” No. 1), January 28, 2013, <http://kishubunka.org/yoshisono/ZhouEnlai.html>.
 29. Liu Guomin, ed., *Zhongguo guomindang bainian renwu quanshu* (Complete Book of One Hundred People of the Chinese Nationalist Party), Beijing: Tuanjie-chubanshe, 2005, Vol. 1, 1071–1072; Xu Youchun, ed., *Minguo renwu dacidian* (Dictionary of People of the Republic [of China]), Shijiazhuang: Hebei renmin-chubanshe, 2007, 649.
 30. *Ibid.* (both).
 31. Wang and Takahashi, 23–24; Lee, 84; Zhang Xueliang, *Zhang Xueliang yigao: Youjin-qijian zishu · riji he xinhan* (Posthumous Manuscript of Zhang Xueliang: Oral Statements during House Arrest · Diary and Letters), edited by Dou Yingtai, Beijing: Zuoja-chubanshe, 2005, 290–293.
 32. Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army),

- No. 37, December 31, 2009, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-date-200912.html>.
33. Ochiai Kanji, “Shū Onrai to Ō Kiten no nazo” (Mystery of Zhou Enlai and Wang Xitian), “Gishi” (Secret History), No. 7, June 21, 2008, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-entry-514.html>.
 34. Ibid.
 35. Ibid.; Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 36–2, December 7, 2009, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/blog-entry-734.html>.
 36. Ibid.; Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 40–2, April 19, 2010, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/?mode=m&no=748>.
 37. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 36–2.
 38. Ibid.
 39. Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army), No. 40–1, April 18, 2010, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/?mode=m&no=747>.
 40. Ochiai Kanji, “Gyū-tansokin heiki no kigen” (Origin of Bovine *Bacillus Anthracis* Weapon), “Gishi” (Secret History), No. 17, July 5, 2008, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/category10-13.html>; Ochiai Kanji, “Tansokin kenkyū hiwa” (Secret Story of *Bacillus Anthracis* Study), “Gishi” (Secret History), No. 18, July 6, 2008, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/category10-13.html>.
 41. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 37; Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 37–2; Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army), No. 39, March 11, 2010, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/?mode=m&no=745>.
 42. Ochiai Kanji, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki” (Diary of Yoshisono Shūzō Who Witnessed the Backstage of the Army), No. 38–2, February 11, 2010, <http://2006530.blog69.fc2.com/?mode=m&no=743>.
 43. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 37 and No. 37–2.
 44. Ibid.; Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 36–2 and No. 37–2.
 45. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 40–1.
 46. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 36–2 and No. 37–2.
 47. Ochiai, “Rikugun no uragawa o mita Yoshisono Shūzō no shuki,” No. 37–2.
 48. “Luri-riji,” 403–404.
 49. Ibid., 407.
 50. Jin, 40.
 51. Journal of the New China Association, 1979, quoted in Wang and Takahashi, 81.
 52. Wang and Takahashi, 81–82.

53. “Luri-riji,” 407–408.
 54. *Ibid.*, 404.

Chapter 11

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