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The Causes and Effects of the Chinese Civil War, 1927-1949

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THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS
OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR,
1927-1949

BY
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B.A., PACE UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK CITY, 1997

A THESIS
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN THE DEPARTMENT
OF ASIAN STUDIES AT SETON HALL UNIVERSITY

SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY
2002

THE CAUSES AND EFFECTS OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR, 1927-1949

THESIS TITLE

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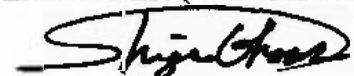
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THIS THESIS IS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE AS SPECIFIED FOR MAJORS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ASIAN STUDIES AT SETON HALL UNIVERSITY, SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY.

Contents

1	Preface	ii
2	Introduction	1
3	Chapter 1-The Three Fathers of Modern China	4
	Dr. Sun Yat-sen	5
	Chiang Kai-shek	9
	Mao Tse-tung	12
	The Endless Dedication of the Great Revolutionaries	15
	Summary	17
4	Chapter 2- The Chinese Civil War	19
	China After the Collapse of Imperialism	22
	The "Presidency" of Yuan Shih-kai and the Warlord Era	23
	Chiang Kai-shek and the Establishment of the Nationalist Government in China	28
	The History of Conflict Between the KMT and the CCP	29
	Summary	34
5	Chapter 3- The Power Struggle Between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung	37
	Chiang Kai-shek's Rise to Power	38
	Mao Tse-tung in the Early Days of the CCP	40
	Chiang Kai-shek and the Young Marshal	42
	The Sian Incident	44
	U.S. Intervention	47
	Mao's Revolution	49
	Where Chiang Went Wrong	51
	Summary	53
6	Chapter 4- The Second Sino-Japanese War	55
	The United States and Asia During WWII	56
	The Devastating Results of the Japanese Invasion on China	60
	Japanese Reaction to their War Crimes	62

The KMT and the CCP During the War	64
The Communist Growth During the War	66
Summary	69
7 Conclusion	72
8 Bibliography	75

Preface

This thesis is a study of China's civil war between the Kuomintang (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and its effects on the country and its people. This was a turning point in Chinese history, which resulted in the establishment of Communism in China. General Chiang Kai-shek's dedication to this civil war cost him the respect of the Chinese people and helped lead to his exile to Taiwan. The Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), however, was the main factor in Chiang's defeat, for while Chiang Kai-shek's army was busy fighting the Japanese, the Chinese Communist Party was building in strength and popularity.

In this thesis, I intend to:

- (1) Present a background of China after the collapse of the imperial system.
- (2) Objectively present the events of the Chinese Civil War as they occurred.
- (3) Discuss the events leading up to the downfall of the Kuomintang, as well as the reasons for the Chinese Communist Party's success in China.

The research methods that I used include literary sources such as biographies, autobiographical accounts and periodicals.

This thesis is divided into chapters, and intends to be in a mini-textbook format.

Chapter 1 discusses the three men who are ultimately responsible for China's political system of today, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. While Dr. Sun wished to instill democracy into China, he did not have a strong enough military backing and was kept out of power by the warlords. He did, however, open the door for the later

forms of government that will follow in China, such as nationalism and communism.

Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for bringing nationalism and order into China, but was later defeated by Mao Tse-tung who was responsible for instituting the communist government in China.

Chapter 2 deals with China after the collapse of imperialism, including the invasion of the warlords and the brief presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai. It also discusses the history of the tension between the KMT and the CCP, which will be covered in further detail in Chapter 3.

The final chapter discusses the Sino-Japanese War and its effects on China's political system focusing on Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT's downfall.

I would like to extend my gratitude to those who helped make this work possible. I would like to thank my husband Timothy Mount, as well as my parents, stepparents and grandparents for their help and support and especially my daughter Drew for her patience. I would like to thank Dr. Shigueru Osuka for his support and for believing in me and I also thank Dr. Marcelline Jenny for being an inspiration to me. Finally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to my mentor Dr. Edwin Pak-wah Leung for having faith in me and for his tremendous assistance in this project. He is the reason I took such a vast interest in the topic. I sincerely appreciate the time and effort that he put into reading this work and the end results would not have been the same without his help.

Introduction

The Civil War in China from 1927 to 1949 was a result of the fall of the monarchical system in 1912. Without a structured form of government, the country was in chaos. Warlords, military men who controlled specific regions of China, were vying for power and had taken over the country. Obviously the lack of structure caused economic problems in China as well as distress among the Chinese people. While Dr. Sun Yat-sen, an essential figure in the fall of the Imperial government, strove to find a solution to this growing problem, he did not have the military power to back up any of his plans. His plan was to instill democracy into China, yet he died before he could accomplish this. After his death, one of his followers and head of the Whampoa Military Academy which Dr. Sun had opened, General Chiang Kai-shek, decided to continue carrying out his plans to institute nationalism into China. By this time, an opposing political party had started gaining popularity in China: communism. Chiang had witnessed a Communist form of government when he had trained in the Soviet Union and did not agree with it, his mission became keeping it out of China. Chiang's persistence towards fighting the Communists certainly did not make him popular with the Chinese people. They had just witnessed twelve years of fighting among the warlords and a provisional president who had tried to turn the country back to a monarchy and now they were ready for peace and structure. Although Dr. Sun had formed a United Front between the two parties in

August 1922, Chiang still did not trust the Communists and felt if he did not stop them, they would grow and take over China. Thus, in 1927, he attempted to purge all the Chinese Communists and was successful in murdering many. However, the future head of China, Mao Tse-tung, survived these attacks and became instrumental in the Chinese Communist Party (CCP). He would eventually win control and institute a Communist government in China.

There are many factors as to why Chiang Kai-shek lost control of China. The main factor was the Japanese invasion of China beginning in 1937, known as the second Sino-Japanese War. From this stemmed many additional factors, such as a poor economy, rising inflation, and decreasing confidence in their leader among the Chinese people. Chiang also failed to address many issues during his rule such as land and other necessary reforms. Part of this was due to his focus on fighting the Communists. This focus also led the Chinese people to start losing interest in Chiang, saying that he should be fighting the Japanese instead of the Communists. However, historical hindsight proves that Chiang was correct in fearing the Communist takeover, although it is not unlikely that his preoccupation with this did cloud his judgment when fighting the Japanese, leading to great atrocities such as the Nanking Massacre. Earlier intervention by the United States and the Soviet Union during the war, however, may have prevented some of the devastation caused by the war as well. One question remains whether or not the Communists would have taken over when they did if the war had not occurred. It is not probable, for while the war was occurring they had the opportunity to grow, which they most likely would not have been able to do under different circumstances. Another question is whether or not China would have been better off under Chiang Kai-shek's and

the KMT's rule than Mao and the CCP. While Mao formed not a true Communist government, but more of a totalitarian dictatorship, Chiang ordered innocent people, women and children, to be executed during the Communist purge. If he had not been focusing on keeping the Communists out of power than perhaps there would have been more of an indication of what he was capable of, whether it be good or evil, yet his paranoia, although not completely unwarranted, seemed to lead to his downfall.

While all three men seemed went about it in different ways, each of them wanted to work towards bettering China's future. While Dr. Sun did it purely out of patriotism for his country, Chiang and Mao seemed to have their own interests in mind as well.

Chapter 1

The Three Fathers of Modern China

Three men are primarily responsible for modern China. One worked towards freeing China of imperial rule, one tried to instill democracy into China and the other began the Communist form of government that is still prevalent in China today. In 1911, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who headed the Republican Revolution, overthrew the monarchy. He struggled unsuccessfully to bring a full-fledged democracy into China until his death in 1925. In 1926 General Chiang Kai-shek took it upon himself to instill nationalism into China and attempted to destroy communism. By 1949, Chiang was overthrown by Mao Tse-tung, who brought communism into China along with numerous reforms. These three men were all drawn by a common goal—they all struggled to do what they felt was best for China's future. Their lives became dedicated to China. Dr. Sun was a medical doctor who ended up dedicating his life to fighting for democracy in China. Chiang fought for China so that communism would not be dominant in the country. Mao was a Communist who had been brought up reading the Confucian Classics. Once in power he ruled China by the strict ideology of communism—although it was not full-fledged communism. Each of these men felt that they were certain what was right for China—and also what was the wrong political ideology for the nation. They were all struggling to become great leaders of China. They were not only struggling to bring ideologies into China, but also to rid China of its current policies. The main thing that all of these men had in common, is whether or not they were Communist, democratic, or Nationalist, they all had a

Nationalist sentiment, for they were fighting for the best interest of China. To get a better idea of what the three men had in common, it is important to look at the ways they all took control of the Chinese government and some of the major steps that they took while in power.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen

Sun Yat-sen was born in 1866 to a well-off peasant family in Tsui-heng Yillage. As a young boy Sun studied the Confucian classics and helped on his parents' farm.¹ By age eleven, Sun wanted to join his brother where he was working in Hawaii, but his parents felt this was too young. One year later, in 1879, Sun went to Hawaii to be with his brother and began to study at the Iolani College. It was there that Sun began to take an interest in Christianity. In 1883 Sun's brother Sun Mei sent him back to China, fearful that the West was corrupting him with it's religious teachings². Soon after he returned to China, in 1884, Sun's parents arranged a marriage for him to a girl named Lu Szu.³ He would later have three children with Lu, but was not home often, for he soon became embroiled in revolutionary activity. China was still under the monarchical system of the Chi'ing Dynasty and Sun felt that the Imperial system was no longer right for China. This was after several revolts against the government in the last century China, including the White Lotus Rebellion and the Boxer Rebellion. Dr. Sun was deeply influenced by Western democracy and felt it would be the right political policy for China. Sun

¹ Jeffrey Barlow, *Sun Yat-sen*, (New York: Chelsea House 1987), 27.

² Ibid. 33.

³ Ibid. 35.

graduated from medical school in Hong Kong in 1893, but his concern over China's fate took precedence over his career.

Dr. Sun began his revolutionary actions in 1894. This is the year that the Revival of China Society was formed---Dr. Sun was often given credit as being the founder, however it has been written that Yang Ch'u-yun was the organization's true founder and party head for approximately five years.⁴ The purpose of this society was to overthrow the Manchus, who controlled the government, because they were unable to protect China from foreigner invaders such as the Japanese⁵. This was proven by China's loss of territory to Japan in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. In fact an oath was taken by the twenty members which said:

I, so-and-so, of such-and-such a province and district,
swear to overthrow the Tartar slaves (Manchus), restore
China to the Chinese, and establish a democratic government.
If I am double-minded, may God examine and judge me! ⁶

In January of 1885, the Revival of China Society set up their headquarters in Hong Kong. Unfortunately this initial revolution was unsuccessful and resulted in the death of Sun's longtime friend, Lu Hao-tung. Lu was the man who had designed the national flag of the Republic of China and Sun later remarked sadly that he was "the first man in the history to die for the Republican cause".⁷

After his first revolt failed Dr. Sun was exiled. After ending up in London, trying to escape from danger, Dr. Sun was kidnapped by officials of the Ch'ing Embassy in

⁴ Chun-tu Hsueh, *Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 102.

⁵ Edwin Pak-wah Leung ed., *Historical Dictionary of Revolutionary China, 1839-1976*, (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992) 368-9.

⁶ John C.H. Wu, *Sun Yat-sen: The Man and His Ideas* (Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press, 1971), 84.

⁷ Ibid. 86.

London for plotting against the monarchy.⁸ He was held for twelve days before being released on October 23, 1896. While he was being held captive Dr. Sun devised the Three Principles of the People.⁹ This was the ideology which China's revolution was based on and the principles were nationalism, democracy (or people's rights) and socialism (or people's livelihood).¹⁰ Dr. Sun was released when a friend received an anonymous note from a servant in the house where Dr. Sun was being held.¹¹ When the friend, Sun's old teacher Dr. James Cantlie, could not convince the British government to release Sun, he brought the story to the London newspaper *The Globe*. They printed the story with the headline "Chinese Revolutionary Kidnapped in London" and as a result Dr. Sun was released on October 23, 1896.¹² This article was an embarrassment to the British government, whose Chinese Embassy had kidnapped a medical doctor from China. The kidnapping worked towards Sun's advantage in that he became popular overnight from the newspaper article and people pitied him for his ordeal.

Dr. Sun continued his revolutionary activities throughout 1911 when the Republican Revolution which caused the downfall of the imperial system occurred.¹³ The revolution was said to be divided into three major stages: the first was from 1894-1900 and included Sun's implementation of the Revive China Society in Honolulu in 1894 and in Hong Kong in 1895; the second stage was from 1901-1905 and included the establishment of the Chinese United League by Sun Yat-sen and Huang Hsing; and the third stage was the militant stage led by Huang Hsing.¹⁴ In October of 1911 the Ch'ing emperor ordered a

⁸ Leung, 500.

⁹ Barlow, v.

¹⁰ Leung, 412-413.

¹¹ Barlow, 50.

¹² Ibid. 50.

¹³ John King Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985*, (New York: Harper & Row, 1987), 141.

¹⁴ Leung, 346-347.

military man by the name of Yuan Shih-k'ai to overthrow Dr. Sun and the revolution. Yuan then told Dr. Sun that he would support the revolution and not squelch it, but only if he were given the presidency.¹⁵ Thus on March 10, 1912, after Dr. Sun had only presided over the Republic for six months, Yuan Shih-kai was named the president of the republic.¹⁶ For the remainder Yuan's rule until his death in 1916, Dr. Sun remained politically ineffective, for his attempts would be stifled by Yuan.

After Yuan died, Dr. Sun continued to try to turn China into a true democracy. In October of 1919 Dr. Sun converted the Chinese Revolutionary Party into the Kuomintang, (KMT), also known as the Nationalist party.¹⁷ On January 26, 1923, Dr. Sun signed the Sun-Joffe Manifesto with Adolf Joffe of the Soviet Union which outlined Sino-Soviet relations:

- 1- It is not possible to carry out Communism or the Soviet system in China at the present.
- 2- The Soviet government reaffirms it's earlier announcement of September 27, 1920, regarding the renouncement of special rights and privileges in China.
- 3- A mutual understanding is reached with regard to the future administration and reorganization of the Chinese Eastern Railway.
- 4- The Soviets disavow any imperialistic intentions or policies in Outer Mongolia.¹⁸

¹⁵ Fairbank, 162.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Immanuel C.Y. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China 6th ed.*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000), 485.

¹⁸ Ibid. 521.

Dr. Sun also received aid from the Soviet Union as the result of this treaty, and they sent out an advisor to help reorganize the KMT. This is also the time period that Chiang Kai-shek was sent to the USSR for three months to undergo military training.¹⁹ Although Dr. Sun made many important changes in China, he never truly presided over China for after the death of Yuan Shih-k'ai because the warlords overran China. Dr. Sun had no military power until the reconstruction of the KMT. He then planned the Northern Expedition, which was a military strategy to gain China back from the warlords. Dr. Sun never got to see his plan in action. He died before the Expedition in 1925.²⁰ His dream was left unfulfilled.

Chiang Kai-shek

When Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, the dream of having a democratic government seemed to die with him. Dr. Sun had died a broken man who had worked his entire life for a dream that was not fulfilled. The Communist Party arose in 1921. This meant that there was now political competition in China, and even though Nationalism was still preferred without a leader, it was very possible for things to lean towards Communism or towards warlordism since the country had been ridden with warlords since the death of provisional president Yuan Shih-kai in 1916. One person who did not want to see Communism prevail was General Chiang Kai-shek—the man who Dr. Sun had placed in charge of the Whampoa Military Academy which he had founded in 1924. Chiang had spent three months training in the Soviet Union and did not believe that Communism was

¹⁹ Ibid. 521.

²⁰ Ibid. 523.

appropriate for China. Chiang had an advantage over Dr. Sun in that not only did he have an ideology for the state, thanks to Dr. Sun, but he also had the military force to back it up. Chiang implemented Dr. Sun's Northern Expedition—a strategy to remove the warlords from power and gain control of China. This was to be launched in July of 1926.²¹ Chiang was successful in ridding most of the warlords from China, but some refused to leave, thus Chiang left them in power to avoid problems. Chiang was probably unsuccessful in getting rid of all of the warlords because he developed and utilized his plan too quickly. There was no time for planning a strategy, he simply used his military power to take the whole of China back from the warlords regardless of whether or not some had to be left in place.²²

By 1927, Chiang not only saw the warlords as a threat to China, but also began to question the actions of the Communists. Under the precept that if the Communists were not destroyed, they would destroy the Nationalists, Chiang ordered a Communist purge on April 12, 1927. The purge began in Shanghai, then spread to Nanking, Hangchow, Foochow, and Canton among other places.²³ This purge of the Communists marks Chiang's fear of other ideologies gaining dominance in China. The result of this purge was the end of the KMT-CCP United Front.

By October 1928, Chiang Kai-shek became the president of the Nationalist government in Nanking.²⁴ Chiang spent the next twenty-one years trying to keep Communism out of China. His actions started with the purge of 1927 and lasted until the end of his rule in 1949. He had seen communism in the Soviet Union and knew that it

²¹ Ibid. 525.

²² James Sheridan, *China in Disintegration: The Republican Era in Chinese History 1912-1949*, (New York: The Free Press, 1975), 205.

²³ Hsu, 528.

was not right for China—perhaps he knew it could mean the end of traditional Confucian values.

Chiang Kai-shek was born on October 31, 1887 in Chikow, into a peasant family and his father died when he was only 9 years old, so Chiang was raised by his mother.²⁵ His mother taught him to devote himself to the nation: "She impressed upon my mind that to be merely a dutiful son does not fulfill the exacting conditions of the principle of filial piety; the principle demands also an unflinching devotion to the cause of the nation."²⁶ This directly follows the Confucian belief that the family structure was directly related to national leadership.²⁷

Chiang was brought up believing Confucian values. He finished reading the Confucian Canons by the time he was only nine years old.²⁸ He would eventually try to bring the old system of Confucian values back into China during his rule. In 1934 Chiang began the New Life Movement which was represented by the slogan "*li-yi-lien-ch'ih*".²⁹ These were the principles of behavior which were taught by Confucius and they meant "propriety, justice, honesty, and sense of self respect".³⁰ The New Life Movement included a set of guidelines for the people to follow which were called the eight principles:

- 1- Regard yesterday as a period of death, today as a period of life. Let us rid ourselves of old abuses and build up a new nation.
- 2- Let us accept the heavy responsibilities of reviving the nation.

²⁴ Leung 508.

²⁵ Keiji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times*, (New York: St. John's University Press, 1981) 3.

²⁶ Ibid. 6.

²⁷ Charles O. Hucker, *China's Imperial Past: an Introduction to Chinese History and Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 57.

²⁸ Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 33.

²⁹ Ibid. 165.

- 3- We must observe rules and have faith, honesty and shame.
- 4- Our clothing, eating, living and traveling must be simple, orderly, plain and clean.
- 5- We must willingly face hardships. We must strive for frugality.
- 6- We must have adequate knowledge and moral integrity as citizens.
- 7- Our actions must be courageous and rapid.
- 8- We must act on our promises, or even act without promising³¹.

These principles were profoundly Confucian in content. Chiang wished to bring old virtues into the new system. By 1949 Chiang was forced into exile in Taiwan to make way for a new system that would eventually condemn Confucian values.

Mao Tse-tung

Mao was born in Shao Shan to a peasant family in 1893.³² As a youth Mao often helped with the farm and kept up with his Confucian studies.³³ He did not like reading the classics, however, and soon dropped out of school³⁴. He was influenced as a young child by a primary school teacher. This teacher was considered radical because he did not believe in Buddhism and wanted to convert temples into schools and bring China out of the past—Mao respected this man and agreed with his ideas.³⁵ As an older youth Mao witnessed the struggles of the peasant class under the imperial system. In fact, in the

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid. 166.

³² Hsueh 395.

³³ Edgar Snow, *Red Star Over China* (New York: Random House, 1968), 134.

early 1900's there was a flood in Changsha which resulted in a famine. This caused the peasants to complain to the government. The result was the decapitation of many peasants—often their heads were put on poles in the middle of the town as an example to others.³⁶ Mao witnessed this and stated that "I felt that there with the rebels were ordinary people like my own family and I deeply resented the injustice of the treatment given to them."³⁷ By this time Mao was not yet opposed to the imperial system in China.³⁸ It was not until 1911 that Mao began to rebel against the Manchu government for its poor treatment of the peasants.³⁹

In 1911, Mao moved to Changsha and enrolled in the Hunan First Normal School.⁴⁰ After graduating in 1918, Mao was a library assistant to Li Ta-chao, a founding member of the CCP.⁴¹ By 1919 Mao had taken an interest in Communist Russia and had read Communist literature while he was in Peking.⁴² Mao attended the first meeting of the CCP in 1921. He was also one of the Communists who survived Chiang Kai-shek's purge of 1927. Until 1949 Mao spent his time devoted to building up the Communist Party. During the Sino-Japanese Invasion of 1937 Mao got the opportunity to expand the CCP. While Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists were fighting the Japanese, Mao built up the CCP at their base in Yenan. He had already orchestrated the Long March from October of 1934 to October of 1935 to raise Communist esteem and prestige.⁴³ By the

³⁴ Ibid. 134.

³⁵ Ibid. 136.

³⁶ Stanley Karnow, *Mao and China: A Legacy of Turmoil* (New York: Penguin Books, 1990), 29.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid. 30.

³⁹ Snow 146.

⁴⁰ Leung 248.

⁴¹ Ibid. 214.

⁴² Snow, 155.

⁴³ Leung, 236.

end of the Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945) Mao had built up the CCP enough to overtake the KMT.

Mao Tse-tung gained control of China in 1949. This began a new era in Chinese politics—the Communist era. The Chinese Civil War had exhausted the people of China and they had little faith left in nationalism, the KMT, or Chiang Kai-shek. The Sino-Japanese War had left the country in devastation—the economy was poor and many Chinese were left dead or homeless. With Mao and the Communist Party in charge, many reforms began to take shape. Mao began to implement a lean-to-one-side policy in China, which stressed importance on Sino-Soviet relations. Mao stated that this meant “The Chinese people must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. There can be no exception. There can be no sitting on the fence; there is no third path.”⁴⁴ Part of this policy was to appeal to the Soviet Union in order to get financial assistance. In 1950, Mao, after being denied assistance from the United States, requested financial aid from Russia, who granted China a \$300,000,000 loan.⁴⁵ This money was used for the reforms which were about to begin. In 1950, a marriage reform was put into place stating that married men were no longer allowed to keep concubines—this was the beginning of monogamous marriages in China. Mao started land reforms in 1950, which was his attempt to mobilize the peasants to work together. This land reform effort had three stages. The first stage was to take the lands back from the landlords and re-distribute it among the peasants. This ended in 1953 with the introduction of cooperatives, which is a piece of land owned and worked by a group of farmers who all reap the benefits. By 1958, Mao had instituted communes in China. These were farms

⁴⁴ Hsu, 661.

⁴⁵ Snow, 26.

that were state owned, but operated by a group of farmers, and at the head of a group was the commune leader who was a party official. This was also the beginning of the Great Leap Forward—Mao's plan to increase China's economy. The problem of The Great Leap Forward was that the peasants exaggerated their output numbers to please and impress the great chairman. The peasants did not keep their share of the food, as they had been required to do earlier, and as a result, a great famine ensued. For this, Mao was forced to step down as state chairman. These failures show Mao's eagerness to get rid of the traditionalism in China's culture and bring about a Communist society. Mao struggled to implement a true Communist system in China until his death in 1976.

The Endless Dedication of the Great Revolutionaries

Dr. Sun dedicated his entire life to dismantling the monarchy and attempting to instill democracy into China. Chiang worked to unify China from the warlords and to make sure that nationalism continued to prevail over communism. Mao strove to dismantle the KMT and bring communism into China. These three men were all driven by a common goal despite different affiliations—they all wished to do what they believed was best for China. The question still remains among historians regarding the legitimacy of whether or not these power struggles were done for the good of China. Dr. Sun was a medical doctor—an educated man who had seen first hand the workings of democracy and also the problems of the imperial system. But Chiang had only witnessed a Communist system for 3 months and in that short period of time he had formed a severe bias of communism. Chiang felt that Communism was so wrong for China that he attempted to

have all the Communists killed in 1927. Mao was born into a poor peasant family. He was brought up on the Confucian classics as were most Chinese at this time, however he stated that he did not enjoy them.⁴⁶ Mao began to neglect the classics and read other books which held his interest, such as Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*.⁴⁷ So although Mao was at the first meeting of the CCP in 1921, he was raised to follow the beliefs of Confucius, like most Chinese. Although Mao stated that he always disliked the Confucian classics, that is all historians today have to go by. While Mao says that he paid no attention to the classics, he followed the principle of "a good scholar will make an official" to an extent.⁴⁸ Even though he dropped out of First Middle School because he did not like the curriculum, he educated himself by reading works such as Darwin, Adam Smith, Mill, Rousseau, and Montesquieu on a daily basis.⁴⁹ This pattern of self-education continued into adulthood.

All three of these men were raised by Confucian ethics because of the time period they were living in. Although Mao later formed an attack on Confucianism, he started out by studying it. Sun read the classics as a boy and continued with a formal education. He however, strayed from strict Confucianism when he became a Christian in Hong Kong in 1885.⁵⁰ Soon after was when Sun made his decision to become a medical doctor. This was his way of serving his country after his revolt was unsuccessful. He then continued his quest to remove the monarchy from power with the motive that it was what was best for the people of China. Although Dr. Sun had converted into Christianity, Confucianism held a high precedence on doing what was the best for the people—especially within the

⁴⁶ Snow, 134.

⁴⁷ Ibid. 144.

⁴⁸ Tien-wei Wu, *Lin Biao and the Gang of Four: Contra-Confucianism in Historical and Intellectual Perspective* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983), 19.

government.⁵¹ Chiang also was brought up a Confucian, but later converted to Christianity when he married a Christian woman.⁵² Chiang was influenced not only by Dr. Sun, whom he had worked under at the Whampoa Academy, but also by the NAZI party.⁵³ This was the basis for Chiang's fascist-type group known as the "Blue Shirts", who were to carry out the New Life Movement.⁵⁴ Chiang proclaimed his sense of loyalty and Nationalism towards Mainland China until the day he died even though he had been exiled to Taiwan in 1949. He ruled in Taiwan until his death in 1975.⁵⁵ His will, which was dated March 29, 1975, stated:

Just at the time when we are getting stronger, my colleagues and my countrymen, you should not forget our sorrow and our hopes because of my death. My spirit will always be with my colleagues and my countrymen to fulfill the Three people's Principles, to recover the mainland, and to restore our national culture. I have always regarded myself as a disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and also of Jesus Christ.⁵⁶

Summary

In retrospect, the sense of Nationalism that the three men possessed undoubtedly comes from their upbringings in Confucianism and China's monarchical past. Although Mao launched the Criticize Confucius campaign during the Cultural Revolution, he too was educated in the classics as a child.⁵⁷ Even though he professed that he did not enjoy them, Confucianism shaped most Chinese people's lives at the time of Mao's youth.

⁴⁹ Snow, 144.

⁵⁰ Tien-wei Wu, 33.

⁵¹ Hucker, 56.

⁵² Crozier, 4.

⁵³ Ibid. 11.

⁵⁴ Ibid. 11.

⁵⁵ Leung, 519.

⁵⁶ Crozier, 15.

⁵⁷ Tien-wei Wu, 7.

Confucianism most likely influenced Mao as a child, as well. All three men wanted the collapse of the imperial system. Sun and Chiang were drawn profoundly to the idea of utilizing Confucianism without a monarchical system. A different force, the Communist system, drove Mao. This system would have collided with Confucian views. Yet Mao and Chiang both ruled over China even when the Chinese people were not happy with them, and for a long period of time—much like the emperors of the imperial past. Each of these men was driven by a certain ideology, which they adhered to until their deaths. Chiang fought against the CCP even when it did not look as though it would be possible for them to take over, but he always viewed them as a threat. Dr. Sun continued to work for a democracy in China even though he was not able to take control from the warlords. Mao built up a victorious army out of what started out as a vast minority. These men faced extreme adversity and still continued to dedicate themselves towards China. Dr. Sun had been kidnapped for his revolts and continued his revolutionary actions after his release. Chiang was run out of China while struggling to keep Nationalism in the nation. Once in Taiwan in 1949, he continued to rule by a Nationalist government. Mao made endless errors by trying to instill communism in China, and was removed from the position of state chairman as a result. He still continued to bring reforms into China and struggled to regain power of China before his death in 1976. While Mao's ideology varied from Sun and Chiang's, these men all had the common goal of bringing a Nationalist sentiment into China. Their Chinese upbringing and education also influenced all of them to dedicate their lives to China. These men are all responsible for the China of today.

Chapter2

The Chinese Civil War

Chinese Imperialism crumbled in 1912 due mainly to the Chinese revolutionary Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Sun had visited the West as a young boy and realized that the democratic system would be a more appropriate system of government for China than the imperial system. He strove to crush the imperial system and to build a new democratic government and by 1911, his dream partially came true. The imperial system soon collapsed. However, directly after the collapse, the Chinese government ordered a military officer named Yuan Shih-kai to crush Dr. Sun's plan for the Republic of China (what the new democratic government would be named) and Yuan began his task. Once Yuan encountered Dr. Sun, however, he did not defeat him, but offered to bargain with him. He offered to let Dr. Sun's new Republic survive if he could be named the President. Dr. Sun, having left with either the choice of his Republic being crushed or having this military officer take the presidency away from him, had no choice but to oblige Yuan. Once Yuan was named president, the Republic had very little chance to survive. Yuan did not care about the Republic of China (ROC), but about his own position of power. Yuan attempted to turn China back into a monarchy, however the people rebelled and Yuan was forced to turn the government back to the ROC. Having failed as a president and having failed at realizing his dream of being king, Yuan died in 1916. Dr. Sun's dream of having a fully democratic government in China seemed to be impossible to realize so the Kuomintang or KMT, was formed. It was to no avail,

however for after Yuan died, China had no central government. Dr. Sun still had hopes of being the president of the PRC however he did not have any military strength and the warlords began to over-run China, each trying to ultimately gain total control of China. In 1925, Dr. Sun died, his dream left unrealized, but he would be remembered forever as being the father of modern China.

In 1926 a man named General Chiang Kai-shek, who had been named head of the Whampoa Military Academy by Dr. Sun, resolved to wipe the warlords out of China. Chiang would do this in the name of Dr. Sun, for he too believed that Nationalism was the appropriate form of government for China.⁵⁸ Chiang began what was known as the Northern Expedition and eventually conquered most of the warlords in China. Those that he did not conquer, he made deals with that agreeing they would stay only in their own designated territory and not cause him any grief and in turn he would allow them to live. By this time there was talk of Communism in China and Chiang, who had spent time in Russia during military training, did not approve of the communist system and felt that it was completely wrong for China. He became vehemently opposed to Communism in China. So opposed, in fact, that in 1927 during the Northern Expedition, Chiang stopped at the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) base and to their surprise began a mass slaughter of the communists.⁵⁹ Thousands of communists were killed. When Chiang returned, he became the new president of China.

As president, Chiang's main objective was to keep the communists out of power. From 1927 until 1949 China spent much of their time and energies on an ongoing civil war between the CCP and the KMT. The outcome of the civil war seemed inevitable,

⁵⁸ Leung, 507.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

with the KMT being the stronger of the two parties and the CCP still keeping much of its activity underground. The CCP had fewer members and were not supported by the Chinese government. In 1937 however, the Japanese attacked China, which changed the course of China's priorities—the situation had been forthcoming with the Mukden Incident of 1931, which sparked sour feelings between the two powers. Chiang could no longer focus all of his attentions on suppressing the CCP for he had to assure that the Japanese did not take over China. He did however still continue to use some of his energies on fighting the CCP, which later worked against his favor for many Chinese felt that he did not focus enough on fighting against the Japanese. Under the leadership of Chiang, the KMT fought against the Japanese invaders. Since their base was on the coast in Nanking, although the wartime capital was Chungking, they were more vulnerable to the attack than were the communists who were in their inland base of Yen an.⁶⁰ While the KMT was busy fighting the Japanese military, the CCP was building in strength and number. People were fleeing from the coast in great numbers so it became fairly easy to encourage them to join the CCP. By 1945 the war was over. Members of the KMT were exhausted from the fighting. China's economy was crushed, as were people's opinions of the leadership of the KMT. People felt that if Chiang would have fought more against the Japanese and less against the CCP that much of the devastation caused by the war could have been avoided. After the war, the KMT and the CCP picked up where they had left off before the war except now the CCP had grown and the KMT was left weakened as a result of fighting the Japanese. By 1949 the CCP took advantage of the KMT's weakened state as well as a few blunders that they committed during some of the

⁶⁰ Hsu Long-hsuen and Chang Ming-kai, *History of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, trans Wen Hsiung (Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing Co., 1971), 17.

major battles between the two, and overthrew the Nationalist government. Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT were exiled to China and Mao Tse-tung became the new ruler of the newly formed Communist government of China. The Japanese invasion had taken its toll on China not only economically, but politically and culturally as well. Some historians and Chinese believe that if the Japanese had not invaded that the KMT may have still been in power for at least twenty more years, if not currently.

China after the collapse of Imperialism

Dr. Sun Yat-sen is considered by many historians to be the father of modern China, for he was responsible for the collapse of the imperial system which had prevailed in China until 1911. His failed attempt at establishing a true democratic government in China was due mainly to China's past—China which had been ruled by a monarchy during its entire history was not ready for the Western concept of democracy. Aside from crushing the imperial system, Dr. Sun's attempts at reforming China were not all in vain for he was also responsible for forming the Nationalist party or the KMT, born out of the Chinese Revolutionary party in 1919, which would remain the official government of China until 1949. After the crumble of the imperial system in 1911, Dr. Sun established the Republic of China in Nanking. Unfortunately, Dr. Sun did not go unopposed and while he was forming the Republic, the emperor of China wished to squelch his revolution, knowing that it could be detrimental to the monarchy. The head of the Northern Army, Yuan Shih-kai, was sent by the emperor to squash Dr. Sun's revolution. Instead, however, Yuan, a power hungry man, gave Dr. Sun the choice of

having his new government crushed or making Yuan the provisional president. Dr. Sun did not possess an military power himself and knew that Yuan's armies would crush their revolution, thus he had no choice but to agree to let Yuan become provisional president of the Republic of China in 1912.⁶¹

The "Presidency" of Yuan Shih-kai and the Warlord Era

During the period that Yuan Shih-kai was president of the Republic, China saw many changes. Dr. Sun, who had been originally named president of the republic, continued his vocation as a revolutionary and formed the Nationalist party in 1912. In an attempt to placate the revolutionary Dr. Sun, Yuan named him the director of the railways and requested that he design a national railway system; this served as a twofold plan for not only was Dr. Sun now out of the way, but his confidence in Yuan as president of the Republic was increased.⁶² However, Dr. Sun soon saw that Yuan was not fit to be president of China. With the imperial system dissolved, Dr. Sun had tried to institute Western forms of politics in China. On January 28, 1912, a Senate was established in Nanking, however by January 10, 1914, Yuan Shih-kai was successful in having the deputy chairman Sung Chiao-jen assassinated, and abolished the Parliament, fearful that it would become dominated by Nationalists who would try to remove him from power.⁶³ Instead, Yuan installed his own military men into the positions of Foreign Affairs,

⁶¹ Ian P. McGreal, ed. *Great Thinkers of the Western World: the Major Thinkers and the Philosophical and Religious Classics of China, India, Korea and the World of Islam*, (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1995), 138.

⁶² Ibid. 476.

⁶³ Leung, 503.

Internal Affairs, War and Navy, knowing that they would not betray him.⁶⁴ By 1913, Dr. Sun had staged a revolution against the government of Yuan Shih-kai, attempting to remove him from power, yet he failed and was forced into exile.⁶⁵

By taking on the position of president, Yuan had become the first non-monarchical leader of China. Dr. Sun and his supporters, namely Huang Hsing and Yang Ch'u-yun among others, had created the Republic.⁶⁶ They had been responsible for the crumbling of the monarchy and in its place had tried to instill a democratic government. A Proclamation had been drafted by the revolutionaries in 1900 and had originally consisted of the following reforms:

1. Moving the capital to a central location such as Nanking in order to be able to control international affairs and to be accessible to other provinces.
2. Establish a constitutional central government headed by a well-liked president.
3. To set up a Council composed of representatives from several provinces
4. To set up an Advisory board constituted by Foreign Ministers, as well as establishing self-governing provincial governments governed by a native of the province, who would be selected by the Central government.
5. Equal rights in China in the areas of railway development, mining, industries and trade.
6. To increase the salaries of state officials as an incentive for them to rule the government morally.

⁶⁴Hsu, 475.

⁶⁵ Leung, 352.

⁶⁶Chun-tu Hsueh, *Revolutionary Leaders of Modern China*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 142.

7. To adopt the American and European system in regard to civil and criminal law and abolishing the past methods of using torture to obtain confession to a crime.
8. To reform the education system in China and add special training and examination in areas of study such as literature, politics and law.⁶⁷

Although this Proclamation was sent to the imperial government of China but never imposed, it contained the principles that later led to Dr. Sun's ideology for national reconstruction, the Three People's Principles—nationalism, livelihood and democracy.⁶⁸ This was the basis for the newly formed Republic when Yuan forced his way into the presidency. Aside from being a military man with no knowledge of presiding over a country, Yuan had forced himself into the position of ruling a government that was recovering from the collapse of the old system. In addition, he was now also expected to rule the government using Dr. Sun's ideologies—ideologies which he neither came up with on his own, did not seem to fully comprehend, nor did he believe in them. Yuan had taken the position of president to further his own political power, not to ensure the success of Dr. Sun's Republic. Yuan, as did many men in China, had always dreamed of becoming the leader of China—the problem, however, was that dream entailed him being the emperor, not the president. By 1913, Yuan had decided that he wished to re-establish the imperial system in China. He betrayed the Republic which he had sworn not to demolish in 1912 in return for his presidency, and dispelled the KMT.⁶⁹ On February 13, 1912, Dr. Sun and Yuan Shih-kai agreed that Yuan could take the position as president based on the following conditions: (1) Nanking would remain the capital, (2) Yuan would

⁶⁷ Ibid. 117-7.

⁶⁸ Edgar Snow, *The Other Side of the River: Red China Today*, (New York: Random House, 1961), 39.

come to Nanking to assume his presidency and (3) that Yuan would observe the provisional constitution drafted by the provisional parliament.⁷⁰ Yuan had already dispelled the Parliament and now he had betrayed the very Republic that he was named president of. In 1915 claiming that the people wished to see the return of the monarchy, Yuan had re-established the imperial system. By January 1916, Yuan Shih-kai was inaugurated as emperor of China.⁷¹ This was not acceptable for the people or other military members of China, who had become enthralled with the idea of democracy and did not wish to see imperialism return to China. By March of the same year, revolutionaries, as well as his own military, forced Yuan to dissolve the monarchy.⁷²

Along with attempting to turn the government of China back into a monarchy, Yuan also made many other disastrous moves during his term as president. His government was financed mainly by loans, thus the time of his death, China was in financial ruins. Other countries were wary of Yuan Shih-kai's leadership abilities and cut back on relations with China. Perhaps Yuan's most irresponsible decision during his presidency was to accept as list of demands from Japan, known as the Twenty-one Demands. World War I had just begun and Japan wanted to have more rights in China. The Japanese minister ordered that Yuan agree to demands, including the following: more economic rights for the Japanese in Manchuria and Mongolia; partial control (along with the Chinese) of the iron and coal industry in China; an agreement that China would close their ports and islands to other foreign powers; the right for Japanese police and economic advisors to be stationed in northern China; and commercial rights in the Fujian

⁶⁹ Fairbank, 174.

⁷⁰ Hsu, 474.

⁷¹ Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1990), 286.

⁷² Snow, 38.

province.⁷³ Although Yuan altered some of the conditions, he did agree to the demands. As a result, his own popularity waned and China suffered. Yuan's choice of government officials would also have a detrimental effect on China's future. By choosing all of his military associates to run the government beside him, Yuan was almost fully responsible for the chaos that followed after his death. Yuan's military comrades began to compete for the leadership of China, one or two of them presiding over each province, and thus began the eleven-year long period of warlordism in China.

After Yuan's death in 1916, Vice-president Li Yuan-huang took over as president of the Republic. However, there was question to whether or not Li was the legitimate successor, for there had been two different constitutions during Yuan Shih-kai's presidency—according to the original constitution of 1912, Li was the successor and this prescription ultimately prevailed.⁷⁴ This caused internal strife among the other military members who had served with Yuan Shih-kai and eventually chaos ensued. During the course of the next eleven years, China turned back to imperialism in Peking, declared war on Germany in 1917 and took out further loans to support their military during the war.⁷⁵ Dr. Sun still continued his plight to take back control of China, but did it in exile for he had no military power to back him up against the warlords. On March 12, 1925 Dr. Sun whose last words were said to have been "peace, struggling...save China," died a broken man.⁷⁶ Little did he know that he would forever after go on to be known to many Chinese and non-Chinese alike, as the father of modern China.

⁷³ Spence, 286.

⁷⁴ Hsu, 482.

⁷⁵ Ibid. 483-4.

⁷⁶ Ibid. 486.

Chiang Kai-shek and the Establishment of the Nationalist Government in China

General Chiang Kai-shek was responsible for establishing the first Nationalist government of China in 1925 in Canton. Two other Nationalist governments were then established in Wuhan and Nanking in 1927. Dr. Sun had also established a republican government in Canton in 1921, however a democratic society was not practical in China and the Nationalist government was not operable until Chiang Kai-shek removed the warlords after Dr. Sun's death. The Nationalist government was the first true government that China had possessed after the collapse of Imperialism. Dr. Sun Yat-sen formed the Republic of China in 1912, however in order for it to not be crushed Dr. Sun was forced to let the Yuan Shih-kai become the president of the newly formed republic.⁷⁷ The Republic only lasted until the death of Yuan Shih-kai in 1916, where-upon the warlord period began and lasted until it was crushed by Chiang Kai-shek's Northern Expedition in 1926-1928.

The Nationalist government was problematic from the start. To begin, it was the first true government that China had possessed since the chaos of the warlord years. Although it was a welcome change for the Chinese people, the government still had to deal with the problems that had been left behind by the destructive warlords such as a poor economy and a lack of modernization. The country was still plagued by warlords in certain regions and also by corrupt politicians. China was also constantly in danger of being invaded by outside forces such as Japan, who had previously defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. The problem was aggravated further when the Manchurian warlord and leader of the Manchurian army General Chang Hsueh-liang, (the Young

Marshal) moved his troops from Manchuria into Northern China, leaving Manchuria vulnerable to invasion.⁷⁸ Japan had possessed interest in occupying Manchuria for almost three decades. Positioning their troops in Manchuria would be advantageous to them for one because the territory possessed rich mineral resources and agricultural products and also because they would be stationed directly between the two other great powers of China and Russia—this would give them the benefit of keeping the other countries militaries in check.⁷⁹ The main issue, however, that would end up leading to the downfall of the KMT was the internal struggle of the two dominant political parties in China—the KMT and the CCP.

The History of Conflict Between the KMT and the CCP

By 1922 Dr. Sun intended to turn the KMT into a party dictatorship resembling that of the Soviet Union.⁸⁰ He received help from the Soviet Union, financially and militarily and he had even admitted Communists into the Nationalist Party. This was done under the intent of assimilating the communists into the KMT. In August of 1922 the founder of the CCP, Li Ta-chao, became the first communist member to join the KMT—this begins the first United Front between the CCP and the KMT.⁸¹ In 1924 Dr. Sun appointed the military General Chiang Kai-shek to be the head of the newly formed Whampoa Military Academy. Chiang along with other members of the Chinese military were sent to Russia to receive military training. While over in Russia, Chiang was able to

⁷⁷ Ibid. 122.

⁷⁸ Hsu, 545.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Fairbank, 210.

observe the ways of communism and ascertained that it was not a proper political system for China. When Dr. Sun died in 1925, Chiang took it upon himself to rid China of the turmoil which had plagued China for 9 years—the warlords. In 1926, he planned the Northern Expedition to terminate the warlord's power. His plan was broken down into three steps: the first step would be going along the Hsiang River to Changsha, then into Kiangsi and finally into the Fukien Province—Wuhan, Nanking and Shanghai were to be next if the first three steps were successful.⁸² The Expedition proved to be successful and by December of 1926 the Nationalists controlled the seven provinces of Guangdong, Hunan, Hupei, Kiangsi, Fukien, Guangsi and Kuichou.⁸³ By March of 1927 the Nationalists controlled Shanghai and Nanking. Having gained so much territory so quickly made Chiang realize that the warlords were not as much of a threat as originally anticipated. By April of 1927 Chiang decided to try to remove the remaining threat to the KMT—the Chinese Communist Party. Starting on April 12 the Nationalist military, under Chiang's orders, began a massacre on the Communists. This atrocity began in Shanghai and spread to Nanking, Hangchow, Foochow, Canton and several other smaller cities.⁸⁴ Thousands of communists were killed. This, obviously, marked the end of the First United Front between the CCP and the KMT.

Mao Tse-tung had been active in the Communist party from the beginning of its establishment in 1920. A young Mao had gained interest in communism while working in Peking University's library, alongside of the founder of the CCP, Li Ta-chao.⁸⁵ Mao attended the first meeting of the CCP. While Mao leaned towards communism, his

⁸¹ Leung, 506.

⁸² Spence, 344.

⁸³ Ibid, 348.

⁸⁴ Hsu, 528.

interest in fighting against nationalism became personal in 1929 when a Nationalist killed his adopted sister, Mao Zejian.⁸⁵ The Nationalists inflicted another tragedy upon Mao in 1930 when his estranged wife and mother of their two sons, Kaihui, was tortured and killed by a Nationalist in Changsha in 1930.⁸⁷ While the KMT was taking care of government matters, Mao was busy strengthening his party. Mao started to lean towards mobilizing the poorer classes of China, the peasants namely, and promised them a brighter future. He believed that they would be able to fight and win a revolution. He focused his efforts on learning about the peasants and their conditions. He became aware of their plights and their needs—in fact, he turned himself into what could be perceived as a caring leader. Mao began to launch reforms such as the marriage law of 1944. This would later be to Mao's advantage when the people began to lose faith in the KMT who had not made the reforms they had promised, opposed to Mao and the CCP, who had already instituted important amendments.

Since the KMT had a longer history and a stronger base than the CCP, the communists felt that they needed to do something to boost the morals of the party members. By 1934 Mao had orchestrated the Long March which was to be a 6,000-mile walk through China, which started out with 100,000 members and ended with fewer than 10,000 members completing the journey⁸⁸. The purpose of the march was not only to boost esteem of the party members but also to gain public attention and support—and it was successful in doing just that. The trip, even going through the dangerously mountainous region of Southern China, took only a year to complete. The Long March also succeeding in

⁸⁵ Hsueh, 378.

⁸⁶ Ross Terrill, *Mao: A Biography*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 126.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 126-7.

gaining prestige for Mao—not only in the eyes of his followers, but in the eyes of other Chinese, as well as raising his own self esteem. In fact, Mao commenting on the fact that the journey started out with 100,000 people and less than 10,000 survived said that he assumed that “death did just not seem to want him.”⁸⁹ Although the Long March did seem to achieve great publicity, the Nationalist party was still continuing to grow at a rapid rate. This was due to the increasing threat of Japanese invasion, which encouraged Chinese to band together and show support for their country—this sentiment was greatly promoted by the KMT and was greatly to their advantage.⁹⁰ China stayed in a civil war-torn state until the Japanese invaded China in 1937. The two parties were forced to collaborate and created a Second United Front in order to concentrate their efforts on fighting against the foreign invaders. The Second United Front was based on a doctrine which outlined the positions of the CCP during the Japanese invasion:

1. The CCP will struggle to fulfill completely Dr. Sun's Three People's Principles, which best answers China's needs today.
2. The CCP will abolish the policy of sabotage and Sovietization which aims at the overthrow of the KMT government, and will stop the forcible confiscation of the holdings of landlords.
3. The CCP will abolish all existing Soviets in favor of democratic government, so as to achieve unified political administration through-out the country.
4. The CCP will abolish the name and insignia of the Red Army, which will be reorganized as the National Revolutionary Army and is to be subject to control by

⁸⁸ Maurice Meisner, *Mao's China and After: a History of the People's Republic 3rd ed.*, (New York: the Free Press, 1999), 33.

⁸⁹ Terrill, 35.

⁹⁰ Leung, 354.

the Military Commission; it is ready to march forward and fight the Japanese at the front.⁹¹

While the CCP had initiated the decree stating their position during the war, they were not doing it entirely out of being faithful to fighting for China. Mao knew that Chiang would not completely give up his battle against the CCP, even during a time of adversity. For the CCP to make their loyalty towards fighting the Japanese public, it would gain support for them and would ultimately serve in making the KMT looking less loyal towards the cause of fighting the Japanese, than were the Communists.

The Second United Front proved to be unsuccessful in keeping peace between China's two political powers. By 1939 the parties had begun to make international alliances, which violated the terms of the United Front.⁹² By 1941, the Nationalists launched a full-blown attack against the Communists by destroying part of the CCP's New Fourth Army.⁹³ Not only did this violate the United Front, but it made the public lose yet more faith in the Nationalist government, whom they felt were not putting enough effort into fighting the Japanese. By this time, the Japanese had already ravaged the capital of Nanking in December of 1937, killing anywhere from an estimated number of 260,000 to 350,000 innocent Chinese civilians and causing mass land destruction as well.⁹⁴ Many Chinese felt that the carnage caused by the Japanese was the fault of Chiang Kai-shek who did not employ his troops against the Japanese threat which had ensuing since 1931, until 1936. Chiang, however, did have good reason for holding back his troops. He

⁹¹ Hsu, 588.

⁹² Hsu, 590.

⁹³ John King Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 4th ed., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 297.

knew that all the inroads from Japan to Northern China must be blocked before his troops were deployed—the Japanese army was much stronger than the Chinese army and Chiang was fully aware of that.⁹⁵ His troops, however, got tired of waiting and in December of 1936, in what is known as the Sian Incident, Chiang was kidnapped by the leader of the Manchurian army, the Young Marshall, who attempted to talk Chiang into disregarding the civil war and focus on fighting the Japanese. Chiang was released on Christmas Eve of the same year and although the outcome of the discussions that took place while Chiang was in containment is unknown, it is assumed that Chiang agreed to make some sort of temporary peace with the CCP, for in 1937 the Second United Front was formed⁹⁶.

Summary

After the collapse of the imperial government, China faced decades of turmoil. Dr. Sun worked to remove the Imperial government from China and had instituted a new, democratic form of government in its place, only to be removed from the presidency by Yuan Shih-kai. Under his leadership, China faced great economic hardship and adversity as well as being subjected to Yuan's dream to recreate the imperial system in China. Once Yuan's dream was crushed and he died in 1916, the warlords ruled China, causing further economic hardship and distress. Dr. Sun, who had created the Republic of China, but had never truly been able to control it, died in 1925. By 1926, General Chiang Kai-

⁹⁴ Iris Chang, *The Rape of Nanking: the Forgotten Holocaust of World War II*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 4.

⁹⁶ John Hunter Boyle, *China and Japan at War, 1937-1945: the Politics of Collaboration*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 42.

shek devoted himself to ridding China of the warlords and carrying out Dr. Sun's dream of a Nationalist society. The Nationalist government was China's first true government after the collapse of the monarchy. Although it grew out of adversity, the Nationalist government managed to stay in power more than 20 years. Chiang Kai-shek spent his time as head of the government trying to keep the CCP out of power. Many Chinese felt that Chiang spent too much time focusing on the CCP and not enough time tending to the problem of foreign invaders. While it was true that Chiang did hold his troops back from fighting the Japanese, he did it in the best interest of his military. He knew that they were not capable of defeating the Japanese. He also was so determined against keeping the communists out of the government that he still focused his energies on fighting them during much of the Sino-Japanese War. His fears eventually became true when the communists took control of the Chinese government in 1949. Ironically, the KMT had a tremendous advantage over the CCP before the Japanese invasion and although Chiang directed much of his energy towards keeping the communists out of power, chances are good that they would not have been a threat before the war. The CCP was a small party and the KMT had full control over the government. The Sino-Japanese War left the KMT weakened from fighting and strengthened the CCP that was gaining members while the KMT were in combat. Whether or not the KMT would have maintained power had the Japanese not attacked remains a long-standing question among historians. The war ended in 1945 however the effects of the war weakened the Nationalist government, further enabling the communists to take over in 1949. After the war, not only was much of China left destroyed, but the economy was devastated, as well as were the Chinese people. They had put their faith into the Nationalist government and they felt as though

⁹⁶ Ibid, 43.

Chiang Kai-shek had let them down. While the people were losing faith in the KMT, they were gaining interest in the CCP, desperately searching for a change for the better. Internal chaos between rival political parties and powers prevailed in China until 1949 when the Communists took over. Under the rule of the Communists China would still experience a great deal of chaos, but the China's thirty-eight year history of serious civil wars as a result of conflicting political viewpoints had finally come to an end.

Chapter3

The Power Struggle Between Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung

**"Only through unity can we save
our country and our people."⁹⁷**

Chiang Kai-shek

General Chiang Kai-shek was one of the most powerful presidents in Chinese history. He had been a prominent Kuomintang figure in the early 1920's and was appointed the head of the Whampoa Military Academy on May 3, 1924. In 1926, he launched the Northern Expedition, which was a plan to take China back from the warlords and to make the KMT the dominant power in China. To ensure this he arranged a purge of the communists in Shanghai in 1927. He appointed himself president of China in 1928 and was referred to as Generalissimo, which was used as a term of respect. Chiang ruled China for twenty-one years constantly facing opposition from the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), namely Mao Tse-tung who was instrumental in forming the Fourth Red Army in April of 1928. While the two political powers were battling for control the Japanese began to invade China. They began their attacks in 1931 with the September 18th Mukden incident, however a full-scale war did not break out until 1937. The Sino-Japanese War began in 1937. The war not only meant a loss of millions of Chinese lives, but it also opened the door for the growth of communism in China. The target areas for the Japanese invasion were the coastal regions including Nanking. This meant that there was a tremendous influx of people fleeing to inner China, which is where the communist base was—the communists were stationed in Yen-an. Some historians claim that this is why the communists were able to take power so easily, while others claim that Chiang

Kai-shek had actually already lost his power on September 18, 1931, during the Mukden Incident. Presumably Chiang spent too much of his efforts on the internal war and not enough on the foreign invaders. When asked by the Chan Hsueh-liang, head of Manchuria, what to do about the foreign attacks, Chiang replied: "In order to avoid any enlargement of the incident, it is necessary to maintain the principle of non-resistance."⁹⁸ Chiang's military plans including getting rid of the internal problems before battling foreign invaders. It is possible that this led to his downfall. Mao Tse-tung was waiting patiently, while the CCP's population grew. He had a plan to use 100% of the Communist energy and resources to take power from the KMT when they were at their most vulnerable.

Chiang Kai-shek's Rise to Power

General Chiang Kai-shek held the presidency of China from 1928 to 1949. Chiang was a KMT member who worked very closely with Dr. Sun Yat-sen—the father of Chinese Nationalism. Dr. Sun had chosen to send some of his military officers to the USSR for military training and since Chiang was an intelligent and capable officer, he choose him. Chiang went to the USSR in 1923, where he trained for approximately four months. He returned to China at the end of 1923, with the impression that communism was not right for China. Chiang felt that communism went against Chinese tradition. He was able to take the presidency for one simple reason—he possessed military power and was able to save China from the warlords who were over running the country. In order to

⁹⁸Government Information Office, eds., *Aphorisms of President Chiang Kai-shek* (Republic of China, 1974), 74.

do this he formed a carefully outlined strategy to wipe the warlords out of China. This was known as the Northern Expedition and it was executed in the form of a three-part plan. The first part of the plan was to recruit young officers from all over China who would be dedicated to the internal struggle of power between the KMT and the CCP—the revolution. The next part of Chiang's plan was to build an army out of these men. The third part of the plan was to lead armies to Central and North China to take China back from the warlords⁹⁹. Chiang intended to first wipe out Wu Pei-fu, who controlled the Hupei and Hunan regions, then he wanted to move on to the Shanghai and Nanking regions controlled by Sun Ch'uan Fang. Finally Chiang was to move down to the Peking region which was controlled by the Manchurian Chang Tso-lin. During the Northern Expedition, on April 12, 1927¹⁰⁰, Chiang Kai-shek moved to the base of the CCP in Shanghai, and ordered all of the communists killed—without the exclusion of any women and children who happened to be in the way. Approximately 5,000 Chinese communists were killed during this purge. The remaining Communists fled to the mountainous areas surrounding Shanghai¹⁰¹. Wang Ching-wei, the head of the KMT, threw Chiang Kai-shek out of the KMT claiming to the communists that the purge was purely Chiang's idea and not his own. Despite this atrocity, Chiang was able to take over with relative ease and appointed himself the president of China in 1928. Dr. Sun Yat-sen died in 1925, however Chiang Kai-shek had managed to realize his dream of using military power to take China back from the warlords. Chiang was following Dr. Sun's famous 3 Stage Theory which consisted of the military stage, tutoring the people on democratic ways,

⁹⁸ Crozier, 145.

⁹⁹ Furuya, 171.

¹⁰⁰ Leung, 507.

¹⁰¹ Sheridan, 246.

and finally to create a constitution. Up until this point the warlords had been controlling China and before this, Yuan Shih-k'ai had used his military power to persuade Dr. Sun Yat-sen to make him president of the new Republic of China. Yuan was a selfish president who failed to effectively rule the country and attempted to turn China back to the imperial system that it had tried so hard to get away from.

Mao Tse-tung in the Early Days of the CCP

One of the survivors of the purge of the communists was a man who had been a member of the CCP from the beginning—Mao Tse-tung. Mao was a library clerk at Peita (Peking University) during the Intellectual Revolution in China in late 1919—early 1920. He worked next to the chief librarian, Professor Li Ta-chao, who was a professor of political science at the University. Li Ta-chao was one of the earliest Chinese communist converts. He also created the Marxist Research Society. The main purpose of this institution was to translate Marxist teachings into Chinese to make communist thought accessible to the public. Mao was a young, impressionable man at the time and also happened to be non-communist. However, he was exposed to Li's discussions and his lectures on a daily basis and soon began to take an interest in them. Professor Li became Mao's mentor and under his influence Mao became a communist. Mao was a member of the CCP when Chiang Kai-shek tried to purge China of the communists. Mao, in fact, was very instrumental in rebuilding the communist party after the purge and after many defeats at the hands of Chiang Kai-shek. Mao joined forces with a Communist military officer by the name of Chu Teh. The two men realized that the creation of a Red Army would be necessary for the communists to succeed. The Red Army originally consisted

of the groups of Communists who had fled from Chiang Kai-shek's murderous attack, as well as a small number of units under Mao. By 1929, however, this small army had turned into largest and most well trained Communist army in China¹⁰². Mao's strategy was to use guerrilla warfare. In order to do this, he had to mobilize the peasants of the land and seek their approval—the guerrillas would be working among them and they needed the peasants cooperation. The Communists were still facing tremendous opposition from Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT. In 1934, the KMT tried to remove the CCP from their base in Kiangsi, which had been their home for seven years¹⁰³. Kiangsi, also known as the Soviet Republic was the first communist territory in China. The Fifth Encirclement Campaign of the KMT called for the extermination of the Red Army—as a result of the battle of Kuanchang alone 4,000 Communist soldiers were killed and 20,000 were injured¹⁰⁴. As a result of this tragedy for the Communists, Mao orchestrated the Long March. It was set to begin on October 16, 1934. The march was approximately 25,000-li or 6,000 miles long—from Kiangsi to Shensi¹⁰⁵. 100,000 Red Army soldiers and dozens of women pushed past Chiang Kai-shek's military barrier. Part of the strategy of the Long March was to establish a rural base to promote guerrilla warfare. Mao also stated that the significance of the Long March was that it was "the first of its kind in the annals of history, that it is a manifesto, a propaganda force, a seeding machine."¹⁰⁶ There was only an 8% success rate of the marchers—most were simply not strong enough to make the march. Some were killed and some simply could not walk any further. The march started with over 100,000 people and only 8,000 actually completed the journey.

¹⁰² Ibid. 247.

¹⁰³ Hsu, 559.

¹⁰⁴ Leung, p.237.

They settled on the border region of Yen-an. Although it seemed as though the communists had met their defeat, Mao still felt that the Chinese Communist Party would be making a comeback soon.

Chiang Kai-shek and the Young Marshal

Chang Hsueh-liang was the warlord leader of the Manchurian army. The Manchurian army was instrumental in the anti-Communist campaign during the late 1930's. Chang was also known as the Young Marshal, following suite of his father, Chang Tso-lin who was referred to as the Old Marshal. Chang graduated from the Military Institute when he was twenty years old and went on to become commander of his father's brigade of guards¹⁰⁷. The Young Marshal fought during the Northern Expedition led by Chiang Kai-shek. Chang Tso-lin returned to Manchuria in 1928, after having ruled over Peking and was bombed to death by the Japanese. The Young Marshal succeeded his father after a struggle for power between other warlords. He then, in 1929, joined forces with Chiang under the agreement that if he supported Chiang he would continue to preside over Manchuria. Meanwhile, as outlined in the Japanese Tanaka Memorial, the Japanese were looking to use Manchuria as a base in order to penetrate the rest of China—if they were to take over the world, they believed they had to get through China first¹⁰⁸. They had also always been very interested in Manchuria's vast farmlands and mineral resources. The Young Marshal had a grievance with the Japanese, for they had killed his father; thus

¹⁰⁵ Han Suyin, *The Morning Deluge: Mao Tsetung and the Chinese Revolution* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1972), 270.

¹⁰⁶ Leung, p.238.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 33.

he was eager to get vengeance. He was however, under the orders of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang wished to avoid confronting the Japanese for as long as possible. Thus, on September 6, 1931, Chang issued the following statement: "In order to avoid furnishing the Japanese with any pretext for aggressive action, we must not allow ourselves to be provoked into fighting with them even under circumstances which are humiliating and intolerable."¹⁰⁹ Twelve days later on the evening of September 18, 1931, the Japanese bombed Mukden, although they claimed that the Kwantung Army actually planted it. By the next morning the city had been taken over by the Japanese. The Japanese occupied four more Manchurian cities by September 21st. Chiang Kai-shek chose not to fight the Japanese at the point of the Mukden Incident, for he knew that his army could not defeat the Japanese and he did not want to waste all of their energy on Manchuria. Chiang had the Young Marshal, who was in Peiping, pull his troops out of Manchuria. This paved the way for a full-fledged Japanese take over. The Mukden Incident is often considered a day of great humiliation for the Chinese—a day that their troops stood back at the orders of their president, and let the Japanese penetrate Manchuria.

Chiang had other things in mind for many of his troops—he had some on reserve to fight the CCP if necessary. By this time, Chiang was absorbed in pursuing and destroying the communist army. While the Japanese were conquering Manchuria, the Manchurian army was pursuing the communists, at Chiang's orders. The Manchurian army had become exhausted and homesick by the end of 1936 and the Young Marshal pleaded with Chiang to let them return home, but to no avail. While Chiang believed that the communists must be destroyed before they destroyed the KMT, Chang felt a strong

¹⁰⁸ Crozier, p.147.

¹⁰⁹ Furuya, 314

need for unification of China—especially during a foreign invasion¹¹⁰. In his defense, however, Chiang did arrange a meeting with one of his advisors to be set in Vienna, discussing the idea of the Communists and the Nationalists working together against the Japanese at the end of 1935¹¹¹. That meeting produced no results and was Chiang's soul attempt at the unification of the two powers until he was forced. The Manchurians no longer wanted to fight the communists and they no longer wanted to listen to Chiang, who they felt was essentially fighting the wrong war—that against his own people, instead of the foreign invaders. The Young Marshal did not wish to disappoint his own army, for they looked up to him, so he defied Chiang and brought them towards home. On December 10, 1936, Chiang tried to take Chang Hsueh-liang's position away and replace him with Chiang T'ing-wen¹¹². Chang was not to be gotten rid of so easily, however.

The Sian Incident

In the middle of 1936, the Communists secretly contacted Chang Hsueh-liang. The Young Marshal willingly told the Communists to send representatives to Sian where he would meet with them. Chiang was not extremely vexed to learn of these arrangements, for he had long been searching for a way to eliminate Chang--as he had been opposing Chiang's anti-Communist policy for far too long. The Young Marshal was, however, very anti-Japanese, not only because he had lost his father at the hands of them, but because of the loss of much of China as well. He knew that wasting their efforts fighting

¹¹⁰ Ibid. 260

¹¹¹ Crozier, 178

the Communists would make his army too weak to fight the Japanese¹¹³. The Communists wanted to stop this civil strife and fight the Japanese and were trying to get Chang to convince Chiang to do the same. Chang's pleas had fallen on deaf ears. The Communists did not realize that Chiang also knew that the Japanese were China's worst enemy—but he did not feel that China was ready to fight a winning battle. Chiang also had the constant fear that the Communists were going to turn on him. His suspicions were soon going to prove true.

On December 8 Chiang flew to Sian to speak with Chang Hsueh-liang. The issue was still divided—Chiang wished to commence war against the Communist army, while Chang had joined forces with the Communists and was ready to fight the Japanese. Chiang was obviously not looking to make an alliance with the Communists—he had already sent approximately 15,000 members of the Blue Shirt regiment, led by his nephew Chiang Hsiao-hsien, to Sian to arrest suspected Communists¹¹⁴. In response to this the Blue Shirts were disarmed by the Communists while they were sleeping and many of them were arrested, while others were killed. On December 12, 1936, at 5:00am, Chiang Kai-shek was in his room at Lintung. He was dressing after his morning exercise and heard noises, which he recognized as gunfire¹¹⁵. Sensing danger, Chiang, wearing only a nightshirt and a robe, left out of the back of his cabin with two of his guards, into the bitter cold air and falling snow. In an effort to escape, Chiang scaled a wall and fell thirty feet into a moat, injuring his back and losing his dentures¹¹⁶. Chiang and his bodyguards made it up the mountain behind the hotel, where gunfire erupted.

¹¹² Sven Hedin, *Chiang Kai-shek: Marshal of China* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1940), 102.

¹¹³ Furuya, 508

¹¹⁴ Crozier, 182

¹¹⁵ Furuya, p.512

Many of Chiang's bodyguards were killed by the troops of General Yang Hu-ch'eng, the Pacification Commissioner of Shensi. Sun Ming-chiu, Chang Hsueh-liang's bodyguard who had led the troops to fire at Chiang's hotel, was also the man who found Chiang. Chiang challenged Sun to shoot him, however the young man refused and simply responded, "We only ask you to lead our country against Japan."¹¹⁷ Captain Sun then proceeded to carry Chiang down the mountain on his back, for Chiang was not wearing shoes and his feet were bleeding from climbing.

Chiang was then taken to the office of General Yang Hu-ch'eng, where Chang presented him with a list of eight demands. These demands included ending the civil war immediately and adopting the policy of armed resistance against Japan, and to safeguard the people's rights to join patriotic movements and express political freedom¹¹⁸. The two captors, Chang and Yang, read Chiang's diary and realized that he did have every intention of resisting the Japanese forces. Seeing their mistake, the men apologized to Chiang and when they asked him what they could do for him, he responded that they should return him to Nanking¹¹⁹. In the meantime, Mayling Soong Chiang, Chiang Kai-shek's wife, had written a letter to Chang Hsueh-liang urging him to return Chiang safely. She went on to say how his actions could seriously harm any unification relations and that she was sure that Chang did not wish to harm Chiang¹²⁰. Chiang was still not released. Instead, the vice-chairman of the CCP, Chou En-lai was sent to have a conference with Chiang. He arrived in mid-December. Ch'en Li-fua, a close associate of

¹¹⁶ Crozier, p.182

¹¹⁷ Ibid. 183

¹¹⁸ Ibid. 183

¹¹⁹ Ibid. 186

¹²⁰ General and Madame Chiang Kai-shek, *General Chiang Kai-shek: The Account of the Fortnight in Sian when the Fate of China Hung in the Balance* (New York: The Book League of America, 1937), 69.

Chiang Kai-shek, was also at the meeting. He spoke of the four points that would allow the KMT to unite with the CCP—these were as follows:

1. The Chinese Communist Party should observe the Three People's Principles.
2. The Communists should obey the orders of the Generalissimo.
3. The Red Army should be abolished; and
4. The Chinese Soviet organization should be abolished, yet under a special treaty with Yen-an the Communists could have their own autonomous government as part of the Chinese local government structure¹²¹.

Chou En-lai agreed to these terms with the understanding that Chiang would then agree to fight the Japanese. On Christmas Day, December 25, 1936, Chiang Kai-shek was driven back to Loyang and then flown back to Nanking. Chiang presumably put his disagreement with the Communists aside for the good of the war and in 1937 the KMT and the CCP came together to fight against the Japanese.

U.S. Intervention

With the defeat of Japan at his back, Chiang was now determined to keep the Communists from growing. The CCP had grown in size while the Nationalists were fighting the Japanese. They occupied 175 counties—before the war, they controlled only 116.¹²² The KMT still outnumbered the CCP greatly, with approximately 3 million forces. The Communists totaled approximately 1 million. In the meantime the Communists were trying to regain power in the Japanese occupied areas. Chu Teh, commander-in-chief of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), asked the Japanese commander-in-chief to surrender to the Communists—Chiang Kai-shek had requested that the Communists not take action with the areas under Japanese occupation and this

¹²¹ Crozier, 187

angered him¹²³. The Nationalists then required American aid to help them get to the aforementioned areas as quickly as possible. The Americans willingly obliged. They not only flew Chiang's troops to the occupied areas, they also ordered the Japanese forces to surrender to Chiang, and not to the Communists. Chiang wished to resolve his problems with the CCP, so in August of 1945 he invited Mao to have a conference in Chungking—the Nationalist wartime capital. More importantly, the Americans, who were now helping the Chinese, wished to intervene in the situation between the two powers before a full-fledged civil war broke out. Finally, after being invited to Chungking three times, and receiving U.S. assurance that he would be safe, Mao finally agreed to attend the conference. This would be the first meeting of the two great powers. During the meeting, both men remained amicable and civil. Chiang intended for this meeting to result in the CCP surrender, thus when Mao tried to make him an offer saying that he would only employ approximately 20-24 divisions if the KMT cut their power down to 120 divisions, Chiang refused¹²⁴. Chiang strongly believed that he had earned the right to have complete control of China—he was the president and Mao's attempts to compromise with him were condescending. Chiang was also more than likely aware that Mao would not honor his deal and planned to mobilize as many of his troops as he possibly could, despite any agreement they may have made. Thus, the meeting in Chungking produced no results.

After this failure, the Americans created the Marshall Mission on December 20, 1945—as they did not wish to see strife break out in China. This was for the simple reason that the Cold War was going on and they did not wish to see the Russians given a chance to

¹²²Ibid. 620

¹²³Ibid. 620

expand into a weakened China.¹²⁵ The mission involved sending General George C. Marshall to China to try to help China become a unified nation. Marshall was replacing Ambassador Patrick Hurley, who had gone to Chungking for the negotiations previously and had returned unsuccessful.¹²⁶ The two groups did, however, manage to reach a cease fire agreement on January 10, 1946 at the urging of Marshall—the KMT was obligated to oblige Marshall, for they were receiving aid from the United States. The agreement was to the Communist's advantage for they were not militarily prepared for a civil war. Marshall was very optimistic about the re-unification of China. Unfortunately, however, Chiang and Mao did not show Marshall's enthusiasm and soon pulled out of the agreement. Both men felt that Marshall was simply hindering the progress that they could have been making in their own struggles to power. In January 1947 a defeated Marshall returned to America. Before he left, he bid the Chinese a final farewell, insisting that the United States would no longer be of assistance to them.

Mao's Revolution

With Marshall gone, Mao and Chiang resumed their conflict. Chiang was able to take back the Communist base of Yen-an by March of 1947. He felt that the end of Communism was less than a year away. Mao, in the meantime, had been building up an agrarian revolution and was ready to fight.¹²⁷ Although the Communists did not have the vast armies of the KMT, they had a well-trained and relatively well-rested regime, versus

¹²⁴ Hsu, 622

¹²⁵ Leung, 257

¹²⁶ Roxane Witke, *Comrade Chiang Ch'ing* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1977), 195.

the Nationalists who had just gotten done fighting the Japanese. Perhaps this strategic timing was one reason that Mao would ultimately succeed. Another reason that the Nationalists would meet their demise was the catastrophic results of three of the major internal battles. In 1947, the Communists advanced into Manchuria.¹²⁸ While Chiang probably should have concentrated more on the more powerful areas of central China, he instead utilized 500,000 of his 3 million soldiers for this battle alone. He lost approximately 470,000 soldiers in Manchuria. The next major battle between the Communist and Nationalist armies was also the largest. This was the Battle of Huai-Hai and it lasted from November 6, 1948-January 10, 1949.¹²⁹ This was Mao's effort to destroy the KMT troops that were north of the Yangtze River, for if he defeated those forces, it would leave a clear path to the KMT's power bases in Nanking and Shanghai. Mao's attack was successful—the communist forces managed to crush the Nationalist army, as well as capturing General Tu Yu-ming, the commander-in-chief of KMT Hsuehchow Bandit Suppression Headquarters.¹³⁰ Within five days, approximately 500,000 KMT troops were captured or killed. The weather was also working against the Nationalist army—it was bitter cold and snowing outside and the tanks and other armaments of the KMT were not functioning properly. This left the KMT troops wide open for guerrilla attacks. The KMT was badly defeated during this battle, as well as during the last major battle at Tientsin-Peiping. Chiang Kai-shek had nothing else to do but resign.

¹²⁷ Stuart R. Schram, ed., *Mao's Road to Power: Revolutionary Writings 1912-1949* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), xxvi

¹²⁸ Alain Bouc, *Mao Tse-tung: A Guide To His Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977), 74.

¹²⁹ Leung, 13.

¹³⁰ Ibid. 14

Where Chiang Went Wrong

There is a lot of speculation over what mistakes Chiang Kai-shek could have eluded during his presidency that would have avoided the Nationalist defeat in 1949. It is possible that Chiang's tardiness in retaliating against the Japanese troops caused the war to get blown out of hand. However, the issue remains that Chiang may have been secure in the fact that if the Chinese were to have fought the Japanese in 1931 they would have faced a bitter defeat. The issue of whether or not the assault at Nanking could have been avoided if Chiang took immediate action remains a mystery. The Japanese War definitely set the stage for the communist take over. The Communists were able to wait in the wings and grow stronger, while the Nationalist army was forced to use their power to fight the Japanese. China's economy was also devastated by the costs of war and the rising inflation as a result. The fact also remains that many of Chiang's troops, including the Manchurian army led by Chang Hsueh-liang, were dissatisfied with the way Chiang was handling the Japanese invasion—Chang's severe discontent actually led him to take the drastic measures that he did in the Sian Incident. Chang felt that Chiang was spending too much time fighting the Chinese Communists, who were made up of his own people, instead of the foreign invaders—who during the course of eight years took over 10 million Chinese lives. Chiang did predict the attack of the CCP correctly however. It became a fulfilling prophecy—if he were to put more effort on the Japanese perhaps the war would not have been so disastrous, thus leaving the road for the CCP to take over, closed. On the other hand, Chiang was a very bright individual and a shrewd leader, thus

his assessment that the Chinese were not ready to fight the Japanese even by 1936 and win, was more than likely accurate.

Aside from the war and the economic factors that helped give the Communists the advantage, there were other points to consider. The one important mistake that Chiang made was that he spent so much time and effort on battling with the CCP that he failed to meet the needs and necessities of the people. Any social reforms that had been previously considered, such as the Principles of People's Livelihood, which was the policy that promoted the equal distribution of land and regulation of capital, were never put into practice.¹³¹ There was tremendous economic devastation in China and policies of reform were not put into play quickly enough. Chiang had also managed to lose the support and respect of the people after the war due to the poor way in which the Nationalist officials conducted themselves when they returned to the conquered areas of China.¹³² They were rude and disrespectful to the people—they surely did not show the support that they should have for people who had just been through the atrocities that these citizens had faced. The people had shown their loyalty to Chiang while he had spent more time on the civil war than fighting the outside invaders who would eventually disrupt their lives and they felt betrayed by this insolent behavior. Another factor, which was only partly Chiang's fault, was the absence of aid from the Americans during the war. They offered immediate assistance after the war, however it is possible that both advisors, Hurley and Marshall gave in too quickly. By abandoning the Chinese Marshall opened the gates for the Communists to attack; however, Chiang himself was at fault for not accepting his help. Although historical hindsight, as well as Chiang's own insight,

¹³¹ Hsu, 642

¹³² Ibid, 641

can almost assure that Mao would not have honored any agreement that was made between the two powers anyway—especially when he was at an advantage after the war—Chiang should have also sensed this advantage and planned accordingly.

Summary

It is ironic that the same man who once said “Only through unity can we save our country and our people,” lost his power while trying to destroy the opposing political party in China.¹³³ What Chiang wanted was not unification, but assimilation. He did not want the two parties to work together. Chiang’s objective was for the KMT to be the dominant political party in China. There had been several attempts at a United Front between the CCP and KMT, but they did not produce any permanent results. Chiang Kai-shek spent his 21 years as president of China trying to ensure that the KMT would be the dominant political party in China. He did not necessarily try to instill democracy into the Chinese people as Dr. Sun Yat-sen had—instead he was more interested in the downfall of communism, which he felt was wrong for China’s future. Chiang tried to purge China of the communists and when that did not work, he became obsessed with fighting them. Even when faced by a foreign aggressor, Chiang still remained determined to resolve the internal struggle first. The result was the rebellion by Chang Hsueh-liang who felt that Chiang was wrong in pursuing the Communists when the Japanese were pervading through China’s walls. It is possible that by Chiang’s tardiness in attacking the Japanese invaders, he made his own downfall inevitable—although the Japanese had been defeated, the war had left the KMT susceptible to a Communist attack.

While the Nationalists had been fighting the Japanese, the CCP was growing as result of their inland base, which was far from the battleground. The war left behind a China who was had not been totally decimated, but weak from economic strife, military exhaustion, and anguished, frustrated civilians. Still, following the war, Chiang succeeded in capturing the Communist base of Yen-an. Enraged Mao Tse-tung took this opportunity to advance his armies. Chiang Kai-shek responded poorly by dedicating too many of his troops to the cause, and lost more then 1 million men in the major battles between the CCP and the KMT. Knowing that Chiang and the Nationalist army were at their most vulnerable, Mao broke through the troops at the Yangtze River, and ultimately took power of China, forcing Chiang Kai-shek to resign. Chiang's 21 years as president of mainland China ended at the hands of the CCP. After 1949 he fled to Taiwan and continued his presidency there. Japanese invasion of China enabled the Communists to defeat the Nationalists and take over China.

Chapter4

The Second Sino-Japanese War

The second Sino-Japanese War occurred from 1937-1945. It is also referred to as the Chinese War. It also opened the way for the CCP to defeat the KMT during the Chinese Civil War. Many observers feel that if the Japanese had not attacked the Chinese during this time, that the KMT would have stayed in power for a much longer period of time. The Japanese invasion created tremendous devastation in China. There are many factors that contributed to this. There had been an impending threat of Japanese attack since 1931, when the Japanese occupied Manchuria and created the Puppet State of Manchukuo. By 1937, the Chinese army still was not fully prepared for the Japanese invasion, for Chiang had been preparing his army to fight the civil war against the CCP. Chiang held the Manchurian Army back from fighting the Japanese with the thought that if the Japanese army took-over Manchuria, it would not be as fatal as it would be if the CCP took power. By 1936, the Manchurian army had lost faith in Chiang and the Sian Incident occurred on December 12, 1936, as an attempt to force Chiang into putting aside the civil war and fighting the Japanese. This ended on December 25, 1936 and Chiang must have agreed to put aside the civil war, for the attack on the Communists ended and Chiang began to concentrate on fighting the Japanese in 1937. In the same year, the Second United Front between the KMT and the CCP was formed.

The Japanese ravaged China at an alarming speed. By 1937, a number of Chinese territories were invaded, including Shanghai and Nanking, where an estimated 200,000

people were massacred. The Chinese continued to fight the Japanese alone until 1941. Although it is doubtful that the Chinese had a strong enough army to defeat the Japanese military under normal circumstances, they were constricted further by the fact that Chiang Kai-shek held back 400,000 of his best troops in case the Communists attacked. In 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. The Chinese were no longer in the war against the Japanese alone, for now the United States had a vendetta against Japan as well. The two powers formed an alliance and by 1945, the Japanese were defeated and the war was over.

The United States and Asia during WWII

Up until 1941, the United States had an isolationist policy—they did not get involved in the affairs of other countries unless it was to their own benefit. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. Some observers believe that the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor because they wanted to conquer the Philippines and it was under American protection. Pearl Harbor boasted the largest U.S. fleet, the Pacific Fleet. The Japanese seemed to be under the belief that by bombing Pearl Harbor the U.S. might either comply with their wishes or at least be so devastated that they would not be able to rebuild for at least six months. This would have given the Japanese sufficient time to attack the Philippines, uninterrupted by the U.S. The United States were aware that Chinese were in the middle of a war with the Japanese, so they enlisted their help. The two allied powers joined to fight the Japanese. The two began to conduct strategies on how to defeat this military superpower, whose motto was “war is the father of creation and the

mother of culture."¹³⁴ The first allied strategy against the Japanese was known as the CBI (China, Burma, India) Theater of War, effective January 5, 1942.¹³⁵ Chiang Kai-shek was the commander of the operation and the United States sent General Joseph Stillwell to the wartime capital of Chungking, to serve as Chiang's military advisor. Stillwell was born in 1893 and was a graduate of West Point military Academy. By the time of the war, Stillwell had already been in China for several years, serving as a language officer. Although Stillwell had spent many years in China and spoke Chinese, he was said by a Chinese critic to have "lacked real knowledge of Chinese culture, politics, the aspirations of the Chinese and the ability to evaluate these."¹³⁶ General Stillwell served Chiang for fifteen months and although in *When Tigers Fight*, Dick Wilson stated that Stillwell did not serve Chiang to the best of his ability perhaps because, "his heart was not in serving a commander he could not admire," Stillwell did issue some commands that Chiang chose not to follow.¹³⁷ Stillwell had been put in China as Chiang's military advisor, not to make decisions. Perhaps this misunderstanding along with the stubbornness of both men, contributed to their eventual dislike for each other. While China had put Stillwell in China to help them fight against the Japanese. In 1942-3, the United States also began to help China economically. They provided China with approximately 500 million dollars worth of much needed assistance. By this time, the Chinese economy had been greatly depleted, due to the expenses of the war. The assistance helped sustain China through the remainder of the war. While the United States did not send any formal troops into China to fight, they sent a group of one

¹³⁴ Dick Wilson, *When Tigers Fight* (New York: Viking Press, 1982), 8.

¹³⁵ Hsu, 601.

¹³⁶ Wilson, 193.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

hundred air force pilots to assist the Chinese military. These men were known as the "Flying Tigers," and while they originally only aided the Chinese by airlifting soldiers and materials, they later began to assist in fighting the Japanese on Chinese soil.

Another big step that the U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt took to help China during the war, was to ask them to become one of the major superpowers in the world, known as the Big Three, made up of the United States, the Soviet Union and Britain. The Chinese accepted and it became known as the Big Four. The conditions of the Chinese admittance were that any unequal treaties between the United States and China since 1843, would be lifted and that the Chinese would be on equal footing with the United States. This equality, however, would later be broken when President Roosevelt went behind China's back in February of 1945 and held the Yalta Conference. The Yalta Conference was a Big Three conference, which was initiated to try to find a way to end the war.¹³⁸ During this conference, the United States asked the Soviet Union to help them fight the Japanese, knowing that they would need their assistance to end the war quickly. Russia agreed to help the U.S. in fighting the Japanese on two terms. These were: (1) they would fight only after the Germans collapsed or surrendered, and (2) in return Russian wanted back the special privileges that they had held in Manchuria before the Japanese took them away in 1905.¹³⁹ Because they knew that having the Russians on their side would expedite the Japanese defeat, the United States agreed to these conditions, unbeknownst to the Chinese. This was a direct contradiction to the agreement of the Chinese addition to the Big Three—the agreement that the Chinese would be on equal footing with the United States.

¹³⁸ Leung, 471.

¹³⁹ Ibid. 472.

The United States' efforts to assist the Chinese became strained when relations between Chiang and Stillwell began to sour. Chiang began to tire of Stillwell's caustic remarks and Stillwell began to resent Chiang for ignoring his military advice. Stillwell also resented Chiang because he was retaining 400,000 of his best troops, in case of a Communist attack. Stillwell did not understand this and felt that Chiang should put all of his forces towards fighting the Japanese. Each man was looking out for his own countries' best interest. Chiang felt that it was in his best interest to be prepared for a Communist attack, while Stillwell wanted to see as many Chinese troops fight as possible, knowing that it would help the U.S. military end the war more quickly. By 1944 tensions between the two were at a high. Stillwell publicly referred to Chiang as "Peanut," a derogatory term Stillwell used to describe the shape of Chiang's head.¹⁴⁰ Conditions deteriorated even further when President Roosevelt approved the request that Stillwell become in charge of American and Chinese forces on July 4, 1944.¹⁴¹ Chiang agreed to the situation on the following conditions: (1) that he received a clear definition of Stillwell's authority, (2) noninclusion of the Communist troops in his command, and (3) complete control and distribution of the lend-lease by Chiang.¹⁴² During the same year, Chiang asked Roosevelt to recall Stillwell. By September of 1944, President Roosevelt sent a mediator to China to assess the situation between the two men. The mediator was the former Secretary of War, Patrick Hurley. Hurley listened to both sides of the situation and reported back to Roosevelt. He suggested that President Roosevelt recall Stillwell back to the United States or risk losing Chiang and China. On October 18, Stillwell was recalled back to the United States.

¹⁴⁰ Wilson, 9.

¹⁴¹ Leung, 390.

On April 12, 1945, United States President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, died after a long illness. His successor was Harry S. Truman. While Roosevelt had wanted to end the war as quickly as possible not only for the sake of ending it, he also wished to because he knew that he was dying. Truman took over right where Roosevelt left off and called the Potsdam Conference between Stalin, Churchill and Truman to be held on July 17, 1945. Just one day before, Truman had found out that construction of the American Atomic Bomb had been completed and tested in Los Alamos New Mexico. An ultimatum was then issued to the Japanese, as a result of this conference and was known as the Potsdam Declaration. It was issued on July 26, 1945 and demanded that the Japanese issue an "unconditional surrender or prompt and utter destruction."¹⁴³ The Japanese were not aware of the creation of the A-bomb and did not take the threat seriously. They failed to respond to the ultimatum. As a result, the first atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The United States had planned two bomb attacks—the first on Hiroshima and the second on Nagasaki. If the Japanese surrendered after the first bomb was launched, the U.S. would not detonate the second. Two days after the first bombing, the Japanese failed to surrender, thus the bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 8, 1945. The next day, the Japanese surrendered and by August 14, the surrender was made official and the war was over.¹⁴⁴

The Devastating Results of the Japanese Invasion of China

The Japanese invasion of China was sparked by the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, in

¹⁴² Hsu, 604.

¹⁴³ Ibid. 609.

July of 1937. On the evening of July 7, 1937, there was an exchange of fire between the Chinese and the Japanese on the Marco Polo Bridge. After the fire, a Japanese soldier was said to be missing. The Japanese wished to enter the bordering city of Wanping and requested permission to search for his missing man, however, permission was denied. The next night, the Japanese attacked and occupied Wanping.¹⁴⁵ It has never been determined who started the fire on the night of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident. Observers opinions range from the Japanese, to the Chinese, and some even say that Chinese Communists began the fire on the Japanese to initiate the war, which would later prove to be beneficial to the Communists in terms of gaining control in China. Kao Tsung-wu, the Chinese born, Japanese educated, Asian Bureau Chief of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, stated that he felt that neither the Japanese, nor the Chinese fired the first shot in the Marco Polo Bridge Incident—that instead, it was Communist Chinese, “firing from a blind spot,” to initiate the war.¹⁴⁶ That is one possible theory, although Kao deplored the Communists, thus he probably would have liked nothing more than to believe that the Communists were at fault for the Marco Polo Bridge Incident.

On December 13, 1937, the largest atrocity during the Chinese War was committed by the Japanese military in Nanking. This was the day that Nanking fell to the Japanese, in a bloody massacre. In a world where Hitler was about to commit genocide in Germany, the Japanese military were ruthlessly ripping through Nanking, senselessly pulling innocent Chinese civilians out of their homes and murdering them. Within weeks, a conservative estimate of, 150,000 Chinese civilians were killed. Also during this time, many Chinese women were also forced into sexual slavery. It was believed that between

¹⁴⁴ Spence, 483.

¹⁴⁵ Leung, 254.

1932 and 1945 approximately 200,000 women and girls across Asia and Pacific Islands were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese Imperial Military.¹⁴⁷ Why the Japanese military used such brutal force to take-over Nanking is unknown. It is said that during the 1930's many Japanese military leaders believed that Japan could conquer all of mainland China in three months, thus when they did not, it may have sparked their rage creating the tremendous animosity shown when they arrived in Nanking.¹⁴⁸ An estimated 1,578,000 to 6,325,000 Chinese were killed during the Japanese invasion, the majority consisting of civilians.¹⁴⁹

Japanese Reaction to their War Crimes

Up until 1995, the Japanese government denied Japan's brutal behavior during the Sino-Japanese War and World War II. The brutality of the military was not taught in textbooks, nor was a formal apology ever received for their actions. In August of 1995, the Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama, expressed regret over Japan's war crimes. During his "heartfelt apology," Murayama stated that Japan had "through its colonial rule and invasion, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations."¹⁵⁰ To many Chinese, this did not seem an adequate apology—it was too little, too late. The Japanese had went for fifty years without issuing an apology or even acknowledging the atrocities that they had

¹⁴⁶ Boyle, 185.

¹⁴⁷ Kate Beddall, "Lawmaker asks Congress to Call for Formal Japanese Apology for WWII-era Sex Slaves," *Agence France Presse* 25 July 2001, 1.

¹⁴⁸ Chang, 33-4.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 216.

¹⁵⁰ Sheryl WuDunn, "Japanese Apology for War is Welcomed and Criticized," *New York Times*, 16 August 1995, 3.

committed in Asia during the Sino-Japanese war and this was not acceptable for many who had suffered at their hands. Still as late as 1995, many Japanese felt that an apology was not necessary. A 55-year-old Japanese banker stated, "I don't think we need to apologize at all, because we have no evidence that those things occurred. I believe politicians are apologizing without making solid investigation and without seeking the truth."¹⁵¹ This is coming from a man who was around eight years old during the Massacre and who probably did not understand, nor in all probability hear about what was going on. The Japanese government kept this and other war crimes they committed, out of textbooks and schools, thus many Japanese were probably shocked to find out that it was true. Many Japanese believed what they had done to the Chinese and felt that it was time to issue an apology. A 58-year-old businessman, Kenichi Kobayashi said, "it was a war of invasion and I believe an apology was right. We have done bad things to the Asian people and I think we should have apologized earlier."¹⁵² Perhaps the Japanese who felt that Japan did not owe China an apology were too shocked to believe that it was true—or perhaps they were too proud. No further mention of the issue was mentioned until another six years later, when apology was issued in 2001 by Premier Junichiro Koizumi, who expressed his regret over the Japanese war crimes while visiting the World War II memorial outside of Beijing.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² Ibid.

The KMT and the CCP during the War

There had been an impending threat of Japanese invasion in China since 1931, beginning with the Mukden Incident, September 18, 1931. During the Mukden Incident, Japan was threatening to take over Manchuria, virtually unopposed by Chiang Kai-shek and his military forces. Chiang seemed to feel that it was more important to keep the Communists out of power than to lose Manchuria, which could later be recovered, to the Japanese. By 1932 the Japanese had conquered and occupied Manchuria and replaced it with the puppet state of Manchukuo. They put P'u-i, China's last emperor (who was only a child at the time of his abdication in 1912) in the position of emperor and stated that they were simply occupying Manchuria in order to protect the integrity of the territory. In fact, Japan and Manchukuo signed the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol, recognizing the independence of Manchukuo. In reality, however, the Commander-in-Chief to the Kwantung Army was put in charge of all affairs and P'u-i was powerless.¹⁵⁴ The Japanese, in fact, were using Manchukuo to their own advantage.

After 1931, tensions continued to build between China and Japan. By the Marco Polo Bridge Incident of 1937, the Chinese had no choice but to fight the Japanese. On July 19, 1937 Chiang issued a statement saying that it was time to fight the Japanese.¹⁵⁵ The Second United Front was formed between July and August of 1937, as a result of the Japanese invasion. The Communists issued a written decree, known as the Communist Manifesto, stating their complete and utter compliance with the United Front. By 1939,

¹⁵³ "Chinese Happy over Japanese Apology, but Jiang Blunt," *Agence France Presse*, 9 October 2001, 1.

¹⁵⁴ Leung, 246-7.

¹⁵⁵ Hsu Long-hsuen and Chang Ming-kai, *History of the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945* (Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing Co, 1971), 1.

however, both parties had violated the agreements of the United Front by making international alliances and by 1941 the Nationalists launched a full-scale attack on the New Fourth Army. In 1941, the United States became involved with China, attempting to utilize them to fight the Japanese and noticed that the civil war was standing in China's way of fighting the Japanese military. Late into the war, the U.S. attempted to help rectify the situation.

While in China to assess the situation between General Stillwell and Chiang, Hurley's job was also to mediate relations between the KMT and the CCP. Hurley flew to Yenan to have a conference with Mao Tse-tung. Mao, who was impressed with Hurley's effort, was agreeable to Hurley's requests that the two parties get along for the sake of China, during the war. On November 10, 1944, Mao wrote a letter to President Roosevelt stating that, "It has always been our desire to reach an agreement with President Chiang Kai-shek which will promote the welfare of the Chinese people. Through the good offices of General Hurley we have suddenly seen hope of realization."¹⁵⁶ While Immanuel Hsu writes that Mao said this to show, "his appreciation of the American effort," it is more likely that Mao was using this to gain the respect of the Americans, as well as the Chinese people, as he had done with the Communist Manifesto.¹⁵⁷ After the war, this would benefit them, for the people had lost all faith in the Nationalist government and were looking for a system of government that would put China back into order. Mao had been using Communist propaganda to gain support since the Long March in 1934, where the Communists were chased out of their base of Kiangsi, by the Nationalists, and marched 6,000 miles to Shensi. This was done not only because they were driven out of

¹⁵⁶ Spence, 606.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

their base, but to instill self-esteem in the members of the Communist party and also to gain prestige in the public eye.

In December of 1945, the United States made one final attempt to rectify the situation between the KMT and the CCP in China. Hurley had resigned in November of 1945, due to his inability to create peace between China's two opposing political forces. On December 20, 1945, General George C. Marshall went into China to take over where Hurley had left off. Initially, Marshall's mediation produced positive results. A cease-fire agreement was announced on January 10, 1946, and between January 10 and January 30, the Political Consultative Conference was held to discuss issues such as reorganizing the national government, and the establishment of a constitutional government.¹⁵⁸ On February 25, 1946, the Communist forces had agreed to integrate into a unified national army, however, soon after these agreements were made, both parties broke the terms of the agreement.¹⁵⁹ Both parties attempted to gain control of Manchuria and by the end of June 30, 1936, full-scale war had begun between the KMT and the CCP.¹⁶⁰ On January 8, 1947, George C. Marshall aborted his mission to unify China and returned to the United States.

The Communist Growth During the War

Mao Tse-tung used the period of the Japanese invasion to the Communist's advantage. He was using this time to train the Communists vigorously and prepare for their growth. The Communists had the advantage over the Nationalists—their base was located in

¹⁵⁸ Leung, 257-8.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, 258.

Yenan, thus they were inland and did not have to fight because the Japanese were attacking the coastal regions of China first. The Communist party in China was also growing since many Chinese were fleeing from the coast to the interior. By this time Mao had constructed a secret policy to take power from the Nationalists while they were at their most vulnerable. His plan was to utilize 100% of the Communist energies and resources to ensure their success. He broke it down into 3 different parts. Mao planned to use 70% towards recruitment of CCP members and for growth. 20% of the energies were channeled towards trying to keep the Nationalist forces out in case they tried to expand into the CCP's territory. Since the Japanese had not yet gotten to the interior of the country where the CCP was stationed, Mao planned to use only 10% of the party's power towards fighting the foreign invaders. In all probability, the Sino-Japanese War was responsible for bringing the Communists to power in China. Had it not been for the fact that Chiang Kai-shek had to use most of his time and military power to fight the Japanese he could have worked on his original plan of making the KMT stronger. He would have then, in all likelihood, been able to wipe out the CCP altogether—or at least kept the KMT in power for several more decades.

The war also caused many other problems for China. For one, the Chinese spent over one million dollars on the costs of war by 1945¹⁶¹. A dramatic increase in inflation resulted in order to make up the loss. The Chinese people were also physically and emotionally exhausted by the end of the war. Approximately 14 million soldiers had been utilized in the war and over 1,300,000 of them were killed¹⁶². There were estimated

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Hsu, p. 612

¹⁶² Ibid., p.611

to be over 10 million civilian casualties¹⁶³. Millions of dollars worth of property had been destroyed. The people were not only still reeling from the effects of the foreign invaders, but also from the internal strife between the KMT and the CCP that had plagued them for so long. During this time with the civilians weary and the military weakened, Mao chose to stage his civil war.

While China emerged as the victor of the Sino-Japanese war, the Chinese were still defeated. There was mass devastation and loss of life throughout northern China. The Nationalist army was exhausted from seven years of fighting. The economy was poor, due to high inflation and the costs of war. The people were also very tired of Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalist government. Many Chinese did not approve of the way that Chiang handled the war and felt that he should have dispatched troops in 1931 when Japan occupied Manchuria. They had grown weary of the civil war. They were also appalled at the treatment that they received by the Nationalist army after the war. Not only did the army return to the Japanese occupied territories and treat the Chinese civilians there with contempt, they also used the Japanese and "their puppet Chinese troops," to fight the Communists, after the Japanese invasion had ended.¹⁶⁴ This was a betrayal to the Chinese people, who had just gone through seven years of brutal war with the Japanese. By 1949, after being defeated in three major battles by the Communist army, Chiang Kai-shek and the KMT surrendered and moved the Republic of China to Taiwan. A new, Communist government, the People's Republic of China, was put into place in China on October 1, 1949. On January 21, 1949, Chiang Kai-shek resigned as the president of the Republic of China—Mao Tse-tung had succeeded in bringing the

¹⁶³ Chang, p.8

¹⁶⁴ Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution*, 263.

Communists to power. There was an attempted peace proposal made by the vice president Li-Tsung-jen, who had taken over Chiang's place. He tried to offer to the communists that the KMT would stay in the south if the CCP stayed in the north, but Mao did not want part of China—he wanted all of it and he knew that he would succeed in obtaining it. The KMT no longer was able to resist the CCP for they had become too weak, thus the take over was inevitable. In December of 1949, Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan, where he resumed his presidency. His control of Mainland China had been lost to Mao Tse-tung and the CCP.

Summary

While the United States offered their assistance to China in 1941, it was obviously done only because it would benefit the United States to have the Chinese help them fight. The U.S. supplied China with a military advisor, much needed economic aid and offered them a position in what became the Big Four, but never treated them on equal footing with the other Big Three powers. Although the unequal treaties between the United States and China were canceled, President Roosevelt held the Yalta Conference behind Chiang Kai-shek's back and agreed to give the Russians back the territory of Manchuria; a territory which had once belonged to China. While Joseph Stilwell was stationed in China in order to give Chiang military advice, he was a stubborn man who publicly insulted the President of China while in his own country. He wanted to see as many Chinese troops fight the Japanese as possible, for the good of the United States, thus he resented Chiang for holding some troops back and made his bitterness evident. When

Stillwell was recalled, the U.S. mediator, Patrick Hurley was sent to cease the fighting between the KMT and the CCP, but failed. The Marshall Mission followed Hurley's attempt, but George C. Marshall was also unsuccessful and the United States washed their hands of China's internal problems. Relations between the two countries became strained as a result. Although the United States had sent mediators to China with the best intentions, it is possible that their former isolationist approach may have been the best method to follow in the case of the Chinese civil war.

The Japanese invasion of China caused tremendous chaos and turmoil within China. The Chinese were in the middle of a civil war, thus their efforts were not completely focused on fighting the Japanese. When Chiang did finally agree to fight the Japanese in 1937, he held back 400,000 of his best troops in case of a Communist attack. While it may have looked as though he was paranoid and terribly stubborn at the time, Chiang turned out to be correct in thinking that if the KMT was unprepared, the CCP could defeat them. Chiang would have no way of knowing at the time, however, if communism would cost China as many lives as would the Japanese military, thus he was potentially putting his people at risk. Mao was using the Japanese invasion to his advantage, for while the Nationalist military was busy fighting the Japanese, the CCP was building in size and strength. Mao was also using this time to gain public prestige. Not only did he issue the Communist Manifesto in 1937, stating that the Communists were perfectly willing to forget the Civil War during the Japanese invasion, but he was also very cooperative with the American mediator, Hurley. While Mao appeared very sincere to the public, he was just trying to gain their support. He knew that by appearing to desire the end of the civil war, he would appear to be the more reasonable of the two, between

Chiang and himself. By 1949, the people had seen enough of the Nationalist government and were willing to accept the new Communist government with open arms.

Conclusion

While a Nationalist form of government may have seemed to be ideal to Dr. Sun and Chiang, there was not enough structure in order to implement it properly. China had been under Imperial rule for nearly 2000 years and then struggled through a twelve year Warlord period. Most Chinese people had no contact with the West and others had very limited contact. Western ideals were not popular nor had they been welcome up until that time period. Trying to bring a Western form of government into a tradition-oriented culture was not what was best for China at the time. While nationalism may have worked if implemented properly, there were not many Chinese during the time that would have been able to demonstrate the knowledge of the West, as well as the military expertise necessary to do so.

In 1937, the KMT had a solid power base and following. The CCP was growing in popularity but was still relatively small in comparison. The Japanese invasion of China was the turning point in this period of Chinese history. Had the Japanese invasion never happened, Mao would probably not have had time to strengthen the CCP, for Chiang had watched him closely before the war. Many factors contributed to Chiang's loss of power including a poor economy, inflation, and low moral among the people, yet these were all direct results of the Japanese invasion. The lack of early intervention by the United States, due to their isolationist policy or aid from any allied powers also added to China's devastation. The United States got eventually got involved in the Sino-Japanese War after the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and it was beneficial to them. By becoming

involved in the war on Chinese soil, more Chinese and less American soldiers were fighting the Japanese.

After the fall of the monarchy in China, deciding on a new form of government became a trial and error process for the Chinese people. Because they had lived in chaos during the warlord era, they had high hopes for nationalism in China and were discouraged when it seemed to cause more chaos. Mao's Communism seemed to succeed in China because the government had complete control over the people, much as they did while China was a monarchy. While Chiang planned to bring nationalism into China, he had more concerns about keeping communism out, perhaps not only because he felt it was the wrong choice for China, but perhaps because he knew that his leadership was in jeopardy. This made the people lose faith in him and when Mao defeated Chiang, they welcomed the new Communist government.

It is doubtful that the Communists would have taken power of China when they did had the Japanese invasion not occurred. Throughout his presidency in China, Chiang Kai-shek took great measures to ensure that the Communists would not overthrow the government, yet he became powerless after the Japanese attacked in 1937. He was then forced to focus his efforts on the war, giving the CCP the opportunity to grow. Chiang's reasons for despising communism as he did may have grown into more of a struggle to maintain power than to do what was best for China. It is also debatable whether or not Mao Tse-tung was so vehemently opposed to nationalism and truly felt that communism was right for China—perhaps he felt so strongly about it simply because it was his chance to gain power through implementing a new political system in China. Whatever Mao's

motivation was led him to success in 1949 and led to the introduction of communism in China.

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