

The Chinese Civil Wars (The First Revolutionary Civil War, 1925-26, The Second 1927-36, and The Third 1946-49).

NB. In general, the modern Pinyin (meaning phonetic in Chinese) system of writing Chinese characters has been used, with old Wade-Giles in brackets. The Chinese system of putting family names first has been adhered to.

A. Background.

I. 1911-1925: from the Revolution of the Double Tenth (10th October) 1911 to the death of Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen).

1. Although the revolutionary leader Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen) (1866-1925) had been working for a long time for a revolution to overthrow the Manchu Dynasty of Emperors and modernize the country, the 1911 Revolution of the Double Tenth came about largely by accident, as the result of the discovery by police of a list of revolutionary leaders in Wuhan, who were thus forced into action in order to forestall arrest. Success came to the revolutionaries because the ambitious leader of the Manchu armed forces, Yuan Shikai (Yuan Shih-kai), threw in his lot with the rebels, hoping thereby to advance his career. Thus Yuan arranged the establishment of the Republic, securing in February 1912 the formal abdication of the six year old Emperor Puyi (Pu-yi, 1906-67), for whom his reactionary father, Prince Chun Zaifeng (Ch'un Tsai-feng), had acted as Regent. In exchange, Sun stood down as Provisional President of the Republic, a post bestowed on him by the provisional government in Nanjing (Nanking), and Yuan took his place.

2. Under the new 1912 constitution, the Presidency was a largely honorary position, with power being exercised by the National Assembly and the Prime Minister and Cabinet. This did not suit Yuan, who was determined to rule and who soon clashed with the Guomindang - GMD (Kuomintang - KMT) or Nationalist Party, which Sun had formed in 1912 to fight the first elections for the Assembly.

Following a GMD attempt to overthrow him between July and September 1913, Yuan in November purged the GMD members from the Assembly, and in January 1914, dismissed the rest of the Assembly, thereafter ruling by means of the armed forces. In December 1915, a national convention,

hand-picked by Yuan Shikai, decided to make him Emperor, from 1st January 1916, under the reign name Hong Xien (Hung Hsien, Great Constitutional Era).

However, in March 1916, following the popular demonstrations of the so-called Third Revolution (the First was that of 1911; the Second was the unsuccessful attempt by the GMD in 1913 to overthrow Yuan, after which Sun had to flee), Yuan Shikai restored the Republic.

Then, in June 1916, Yuan (who had been born in 1859) died, leaving no one capable of uniting China. Even Yuan had lacked the power to overawe the local magnates, or the money to buy them off. Instead, he had legalized the position of these magnates, called "warlords" (duan/tuan) -in effect, anyone who could put together an army- by making them governors of provinces, thereby initiating what came to be called the Warlord Era. Given time, though, Yuan might have been able to overcome the Warlords, who, on his death, increased their powers, so that the government in Beijing (Peking) was largely powerless. The power of the different warlords varied, and not all were extortionate.

Thus, given the chaos that befell China after 1911, it might have been better had the Revolution not occurred, for, in 1908, the Emperor had conceded an elected National Assembly (chosen in 1910) and full parliamentary control by 1917 (this date, in 1910, being brought forward to 1913).

3. China suffered further as a result of the First World War.

The Japanese used the excuse of the War to make China a virtual protectorate, largely by means of the "21 Demands", which were presented in January 1915 and accepted by China in May 1915. Among other things, these demands extended Japanese leases in Manchuria and arranged that no part of the Chinese coast should be leased or ceded to another power. However, under US pressure, the Japanese dropped their demand that Japanese advisers should "assist" the Chinese in political, financial and military matters.

In August 1917, China joined in the war against Germany, as a result of Entente pressure (in the hope of taking over German shipping and businesses) and Chinese expectations that it would bring Entente support for the overthrow of the "unequal treaties" such as the "21 Demands". In the event, the Versailles Peace Settlement of 1919 brought little gain; the Boxer Payments (which China had to make in compensation for the damage done during the anti-foreign Boxer Rising of 1900) were reduced, but were not abolished: the "21 Demands" were declared outside the jurisdiction of the Treaty makers; and German territorial and business "concessions" were transferred to the Japanese.

The Chinese government not surprisingly refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles, students demonstrated in protest (especially 4th May 1919, outside the US and European legations in Beijing), and workers struck in

Shanghai and elsewhere. The war had not brought the expected gains. Instead, it increased the number (to about 200) and powers of the warlords, the number of foreign gunboats sailing up the rivers of China, and, above all, Japanese influence. Many Chinese, thoroughly disillusioned with the West, which had supported the undemocratic Yuan Shikai and his heirs, began to turn to Leninism as the defence against imperialism.

4. In September 1917, Sun Yixian, disillusioned by the National Assembly in Beijing, and especially by the fact that it had declared war, formed a secessionist government in Guangzhou (Canton). In fact, neither Sun in Guangzhou (Canton) nor the government in Peking had much power. Indeed, Sun actually needed protection by warlords. At first, he was protected in Guangzhou (Canton) by the local warlord, Chen Chong (Chen Chiung), but in 1922 they fell out and Chen sent men to kill Sun. However, Sun was rescued by his second-in-command, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), and went to Shanghai. The following year, with the help of other warlords, Sun managed to regain control in Guangzhou.

5. Thus revolution and democracy became associated in Chinese minds with disorder, foreign intervention, militarism, and poverty. Between 1920 and 1925, there were eight severe famines, with over 500,000 people dying. Admittedly, Sun in Guangzhou (Canton) reformed, for example, clearing slums and building parts. Yen Xishan (Yen Hsi-shan), the governor-warlord of Shanxi (Shansi), and Zhang Zoulin (Chang Tso-lin) in Manchuria, gave good government, but they were exceptions. Part of the problem was that Sun Yixian (Sun Yat-sen), although he had the best of intentions, was not a good administrator or military leader.

6. Feeling rejected by the West, whose leaders considered him ineffective and anyway had their own problems and interests, Sun responded in 1922 to Lenin's overtures.

After negotiations 1922-24, Russia renounced its "concessions" (especially Port Arthur/Lushun on the Liodong/Liaotung Peninsula) and recognized Outer Mongolia as part of China (although in fact, it remained a Russian protectorate, as it had been since 1911). In return, the Chinese agreed to the restoration of joint control of the Chinese Eastern Railway across Manchuria, the main link between Moscow and Vladivostok. Lenin had unwisely surrendered this in 1919, when, during the Russian Civil War, his forces had lost control.

Russian aid was accepted, being directed by Mikhail Borodin, a skilled political organizer, who worked in Canton from October 1923 until 1927.

In 1923, Sun's second-in-command, Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek), went to Russia to study the methods of the Red Army, on his return establishing the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy, which greatly strengthened the Nationalist forces. Co-operation with the Russian communists was obviously one reason for GMD co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party. This took the form of the First United Front, which was arranged during 1922 and 1923 and which lasted until 1927. (The Second United Front lasted from 1936 to 1946.)

7. On Sun's death in 1925, leadership of the GMD fell to Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kai-shek).

II. Jiang Jieshi (Chiang Kei-shek), the Generalissimo (often abbreviated to Gimo), 1887-1975.

1. Jiang was born in Fenghua near Ningpo in Zhejiang (Chekiang) Province, where his father was a shop-keeper and small landowner. He decided on a military career and in 1905 went to the Military Academy in Tokyo (Japan), where he met Sun Yixian. After his studies at the Academy, he served between 1909 and 1911 in the Japanese army, returning in 1911 to China on the outbreak of the revolution. In 1913, he fled to Japan, returning in 1916 to Shanghai, where he worked as a stockbroker. In 1918, he joined the GMD. Then, in 1923, he was sent to Russia to study with the Red Army, on his return setting up the GMD Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy, which he headed. After Sun's death in 1925, he took over leadership of the GMD, although it was only by 1928 that he was firmly in power. In 1928, he became a Christian (of the Methodist persuasion, and apparently read the Bible every day), probably influenced by his wife Mayling Song (Mayling Sung, Madame Sun's sister and a daughter of one of the four leading Chinese families), whom he married in 1927 (setting aside his first wife, the mother of Jiang Jingguo/ Chiang Ching-kuo, his son and heir in Formosa/Taiwan/Nationalist China). Between 1925 (really from 1928) and 1949, he ruled China, but in 1949, having lost the Civil War against Mao and the Communists, he fled to Taiwan, hoping one day to return.

2. He was in some ways a capable general, despite his final defeat, and he was not entirely without political skill; for example, in 1927, he resigned the leadership of the GMD to show his indispensability, and in April 1928, had to be invited back. However, he became too interested in power and relied on those who were loyal, rather than on those who were able and honest; for example, he rejected the demand that General Bai should become Commander-in-Chief, as he was too independent. Little progress was made to achieving

the goals Sun had set the GMD, that is, the Three People's Principles (San Min Zuyi/San Min Chu-i) of National Democracy, Political Democracy (admittedly after a period of military control) and Economic Democracy. Lack of progress was partly because Jiang's control over China was never very strong (mainly because of the communists and the Japanese), but he was a poor administrator, tolerated corruption (although he himself was not corrupt), became increasingly associated with the wealthy landowning and business class, was increasingly less tolerant of subordinates and new ideas, and never gave the impression of trying very hard to achieve the Three Principles. His uncomfortable false teeth unfortunately made him rather stiff in manner.

III. Jiang's assertion of authority: the Northern Expedition and the defeat of the Warlords, 1926-28.

I. The Northern Expedition was essentially a campaign to wrest control of China from the "legitimate" government in Peking, which was dominated by the warlord Zhang Zoulin (Chang Tso-lin). The campaign was interrupted by the outbreak of conflict, the Second Revolutionary Civil War between April 1927 and December 1936, against the CCP (Chinese Communist Party). Until April 1927, the CCP took part in the Northern Expedition.

By June 1928, Nanjing, Shanghai and Beijing, along with other major centres, had been captured and the Expedition ended. The Expedition's success was the result of: improved GMD training (Huangpu Academy), Jiang's military ability, valuable help initially of the CCP and Russian advisers such as General Blucher, and reform of GMD finances. Success in some ways was surprising; in 1926 Jiang had only 60,000 soldiers, armed with 30,000 rifles; the Japanese supported the warlords, since a strong united China was not to their advantage; and CCP support ended.

However, China now enjoyed considerable unity for the first time since 1911, although Jiang's control was tenuous, except in the Nanjing area, and depended on alliances with certain warlords, for example, in Manchuria and Guangxi (Kwangsi). In addition, Xinjiang (Sinkiang) and Outer Mongolia were under Soviet influence, and Tibet was under British influence. Revolts by warlords had to be dealt with, for example that in 1930 by the Christian Feng Yuxiang (Feng Yu-hsiang) in Shandong (Shantung) and Henan (Honan); Feng was beaten, and reconciled to Jiang, but in 1941 he joined the Japanese.

After 1928, Jiang considered the CCP as the major problem, rather than the Japanese.

2. Jiang's assertion of authority. The campaign against the CCP (See below, Sections B, C, and D.).

IV. Jiang's assertion of authority. The Campaign against the Foreigners - the struggle for "National Democracy".

1. China was a "hyocolony" (Sun Yixian), that is, a colony of not one but many European powers.

2. Strong nationalist, anti-foreign feelings were illustrated by the 4th May 1919 Movement, widespread movements 1922 and 1925 strikes at the Treaty Ports (in the 19th century, the European powers and the US had forced the Chinese to agree to treaties opening certain Chinese ports to foreign merchants), especially against the British in Shanghai, where the International Police opened fire and killed strikers outside a Japanese factory. Partition of China no longer seemed likely by 1922 for at the 1921-22 Washington Conference about the Pacific area, the nine powers with interests in China agreed to "respect the sovereignty and independence ... and integrity of China", and the Japanese were persuaded to abandon the most serious of the 21 Demands of 1915. Japan also agreed to surrender Shandong, which it had acquired from Germany at Versailles - apart from its mining interests and commercial base in Qingdao (Tsingtao); the British agreed to return Weihaiwei; and all the powers promised to renounce extra-territoriality when the state of China's stability justified it. However, Jiang wanted to end the "unequal treaties" of the 19th century, which had imposed "concessions" (the right to settle and trade in certain Chinese ports) and "extra-territoriality" (by which Europeans were not subject to Chinese laws).

3. In 1927, the British (following demonstrations) surrendered their Hankow Concession. In 1928, the Western powers agreed to Chinese tariff autonomy. Then in 1929, Jiang seized the Chinese Eastern Railway from the Russians, who attacked and forced Jiang to restore joint control. (Later, in 1935, Stalin sold the rights to the Japanese, having completed a rail link inside Russia between Vladivostok and Moscow.) In December 1929, Jiang announced the end of all extra-territorial rights from 1st January 1930, but this was postponed because of European opposition and the Japanese threat. After all, Jiang needed the Europeans for development loans and support against the Japanese. By 1930, nine nationalities, about half the foreigners in China, had surrendered extra-territorial rights, but the British, French, Japanese, US, and others still had extra-territoriality in 1939.

4. In October 1942, the US and British governments announced the relinquishment of their extra-territorial rights and special privileges. The Second World War also brought the end of concessions, except for Xiang Kang (Hong Kong, captured by the Japanese 1941, surrendered by the Japanese 1945, and, by the 1984 Anglo-Chinese Treaty to be returned to China in 1997), Macao (a Portuguese possession, which it was agreed in 1987 should revert to China in 1999) and Port Arthur, called Lu Shun by the Chinese (which in 1954 the Russians agreed to return in 1955, even though it meant surrendering a warm-water port that was open all year).

5. China was saved from a Japanese takeover (1931-45) only by the Second World War. In 1928, Japan had sent troops to Jinan (Tsinan) to block GMD progress into north China, but the GMD had wisely circumvented Tsinan.

6. Then, in 1930, the Warlord Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), "The Young Marshal", of Manchuria, declared his loyalty to Jiang. This, plus the growing number of Chinese settlers in Manchuria and increasing Chinese nationalism and strength, made the Japanese fear the loss of influence in Manchuria, which was rich in grain, iron and steel, and especially important in view of the post-1929 world depression. The Japanese aim initially was not conquest but the establishment of a subservient China.

7. In September 1931, the Japanese army, claiming that the Chinese had tried to blow up part of the Japanese South Manchurian Railway north of Mukden /Shenyang (the so-called Mukden Incident), seized Mukden and began the conquest of Manchuria. Floods on the Yangzi (Yangtze) and elsewhere, and the campaign against the communists weakened Chinese defences. Chinese policy was to avoid conflict (and defeat) until Chinese strength had been built up; thus Nanjing was the capital, not the more exposed Beijing, and German military advisers were recruited.

8. In February 1932, the Japanese established the puppet state of Manchukuo (under Henry Puyi, who had abdicated from the Chinese throne in 1912). Chinese appeals to the League of Nations brought the Lytton Commission and Report (October 1932), followed by League condemnation of the Japanese, but no material help was forthcoming. The Japanese thus controlled about 20% of China, over 40% of its railways, 80% of its iron ore deposits, 37% of its forests, and most of its coal. Since 1910, the Japanese had controlled Korea, useful as a base to attack China, but Manchuria was an even better base.

9. The December 1936 Xian (Sian) Compromise between the GMD and the CCP, plus growing Chinese nationalism, probably prompted the Japanese on 7th July 1937 (The Triple Seventh) to attack China, following a clash between Chinese and Japanese troops (the latter stationed in the area in accordance with the 1901 Boxer Protocol) at the Marco Polo Bridge (called the Lugouqiao\Lukouchiao Bridge by the Chinese) near Beijing. There was no formal declaration of war, but the Marco Polo Incident was the start of the "War of Resistance", which 1939-41 merged with the Second World War. It is unlikely that the Tokyo government leaders in 1937 wanted conflict, but it seems that certain members of the armed forces (and government) deliberately provoked a crisis following the accidental and unplanned clash at the Bridge.

For his part, Jiang Jieshi would apparently have preferred to have made concessions, but the United Front with the CCP and popular opposition to any compromise made this course impossible. On 28th July 1937, Beijing fell to the Japanese, followed by Shanghai in November. 1937, and in December 1937 the capital Nanjing (amid great atrocities, the "Rape of Nanking"). The capital was moved to Wuhan and then Hankow, and finally, on the fall of Hankow in October 1938, to Chongqing (Chungking). After 1938, the Japanese campaign came to a halt, partly as the result of the mountainous terrain making campaigns difficult, but also because it was expected that the Chinese would soon have to make peace.

Thereafter between May 1939 and 1941, apart from the occasional foray and a major thrust in 1944 in an attempt to neutralize Chinese airfields, the Japanese tried to force peace on the Chinese by means of a bombing campaign (with a systematic and indiscriminate approach that produced suffering unfamiliar up to that time) and a blockade (but China was supplied via Burma, and when that fell to the Japanese, by airlift over "the Hump" of the Himalayas). "Space was China's weapon", as it was the USSR's, but US aid was vital, with an average of 60,000 tons of supplies per month. (The US adviser, General "Vinegar Jo" Stilwell, did not get on well with Jiang, whom he called a "peanut dictator". Stilwell wanted an ultimatum to end the growing corruption and disorder, especially in the army. Instead, Stilwell was replaced, at Jiang's insistence.)

10. The Japanese attack on China probably saved the CCP from annihilation. Jiang Jieshi always regarded the Communists as a more serious enemy than the Japanese. The United Fronts were uneasy (from 1939, clashes between the CCP and GMD forces increased). The CCP's Red Army, eventually over 1,000,000 strong, with a militia of 2,000,000, won great prestige among the Chinese by generally taking the lead in resistance to the Japanese, mainly by means of guerrilla tactics, and gaining the reputation for being the true nationalists.

II. The US atom bombs of 6th and 9th August 1945 brought the war to a sudden and unexpected conclusion, which caught both the CCP and the GMD by surprise.

V. Chiang and Political Democracy.

1. In October 1928, a provisional constitution, "An Outline of Political Tutelage", was promulgated, intended to run 6 years to 1935, when a true democracy would be established. The 1928 scheme entrusted Chiang with two duties: the tutoring of the people, and the supervising of the government.

2. The constitution established five yuans (offices), each headed by a president. The first and highest yuan was the cabinet of ten ministers. The second was the Legislative Yuan of 49-99 members, chosen for two years on a geographical basis, and given the task of drafting laws to implement decisions made by the GMD Executive Committee. Third was the judiciary yuan. Fourth came the examination yuan. Fifth was the censorial yuan, to supervise government operations generally, including auditing of the budget. The constitution made clear that power was very much in the hands of the GMD's Central Executive Committee. In 1934, Jiang began the New Life Movement, an unsuccessful attempt to spread ideas of honesty and devotion to public welfare.

3. The real democracy promised for 1936 never came, partly because of China's problems, but also because Jiang at heart was no democrat. He manipulated the Provisional Constitution and ruled dictatorially; he was influenced only by a few associates (and, at that, he developed a belief in his own infallibility), imposed rigid censorship, and relied increasingly on the secret police and the army (so that it became a military, rather than a party, dictatorship).

VI. Economic Democracy or "People's Livelihood".

1. Laws were issued reducing rents to 37% of crop yield, imposing perpetual leases, and encouraging the development of co-operatives, but these remained paper laws only, and the peasant often kept only 20% of his crop. The peasants remained in a wretched state, subject to extortionate rents and money-lenders. Often the landowner was also the money-lender, who invariably gained control of the land sooner or later. Promises of drainage, irrigation and flood

control schemes remained largely promises. Thus the peasants, 80% of the population, continued to suffer from landlords, money-lenders, floods (for example, in the Yangzi floods of July-August 1931, over 30 million were affected, mostly from crop losses, but over 1,000,000 were drowned and 10,000,000 made homeless), famine, disease, bandits; the situation was not helped by an annual population increase of 10 million. Thus "Rural Reconstruction" came only on paper.

2. Trade unions were not allowed, but this did not stop countless strikes, often against foreign-owned companies. Admittedly foreign capital did mean some industrialization, mainly light industries (paper, textiles), and the establishment of the Hankow steel works.

3. The Nationalists were aware of the power of the landlords, industrialists, and bankers, but Jiang was more concerned for order than for reform. Chiang and the GMD became increasingly associated with the "Four Families" (Song/ Sung, Kung, Chen, and Jiang), which operated the four big banks, were the greatest landowners, and monopolized industry. (Song Qingling married Sun Yixian and remained loyal to the revolution and to Mao. Song Mayling married Jiang Jieshi.)

B. Origins of the Chinese Communist Party, the First United Front, 1922-27, and the First Revolutionary Civil War, 1925-26

1. The first Marxist groups were established in China 1918, and, by 1920, there were a number of cells, of which the most important and famous was that of Professor Chen Duxiu (Ch'en Tu-hsiu) of Beijing (Peking) was a librarian for a time; Chen was Dean of the Literature Department.

2. On 1st July 1921, the First National Congress of the Communists was held in Shanghai. The 12 delegates, including Mao for Hunan, decided to set up the Chinese Communist Party, the CCP. The CCP was particularly active in organizing strikes, especially against foreign companies.

3. 1922-23, Chen, party leader 1921-7 (when he was accused of being too bourgeois) and the CCP leadership made the first United Front with Sun Yixian and the KMT. Sun rejected an alliance between the CCP and the GMD, and the CCP, prodded by the Comintern (the "Communist International", which had been set up in Moscow in 1919 to co-ordinate communist activities abroad), agreed to join the GMD as individuals. The Front was formalized by the January

1923 Sun-Adolph Joffe Deal, which included a CCP promise that its goal was not to take over and establish communism. The GMD was reorganized along Bolshevik lines and communists were given important posts, Mao, for example, heading the propaganda department. The Western Hills Group of the GMD opposed the Front; Jiang Jieshi distrusted the CCP, but wanted Soviet aid. For their part, Stalin and the communists in Russia were anxious to bolster China, as they expected an imperialist attempt to seize China; if the US and Britain, or Japan, took over in China, Russia would be encircled. There was also the possibility that the CCP might be able to take over in China.

4. The United Front survived the First Revolutionary Civil War, 1925-26. Relations between the CCP and the GMD deteriorated on Sun's death 1925. The conflict reached its peak March 1926, when Jiang, convinced that the CCP was about to stage a coup (the situation is unclear; possibly there was an unofficial coup planned), arrested communists in Guangzhou (Canton). Thanks to the Comintern, a compromise was reached; unacceptable Russians returned home, the CCP agreed to support the Northern Expedition, and CCP members were not to head GMD departments. However, when, in October 1926, the Comintern ordered the CCP to use its influence to restrain the peasants (and not, as in the past, stir them, for this antagonized the GMD), CCP members began increasingly to leave the GMD.

C. The Second Revolutionary Civil War, April 1927 - December 1936.

1. April 1927, alleging CCP attempts to take over, Jiang established his own government in Nanjing in Jiangsu (Kiangsi) Province, and purged from the GMD communists within reach, beheading many of them. (Allegations were made that Jiang had been bribed, to the tune of £44 million, by the Shanghai bankers and merchants to break with the communists. Jiang was probably more alarmed by communist enthusiasm, which in March 1927 had manifested itself in attacks on foreigners; this was very dangerous, risking the loss of western loans for development at the least, and possibly the sending of a Western military force.) Jiang's first, and worst, attack was in Shanghai, the "Shanghai Massacre"; Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) only escaped execution because a former pupil of his at the Huangpu Academy allowed him to escape.

2. At the same time, Jiang campaigned against the left wing of the GMD, led by Wang Qingwei (Wang Ching-wei). In January 1927, the left-GMD had secured the transfer of the government to Wuhan, where Jiang Jieshi had less influence, and accused Jiang of establishing a personal dictatorship. In

March 1927, the left had secured the removal of Jiang as GMD head, although keeping him as commander-in-chief. When Jiang broke with the communists in April 1927, the left-GMD sided with the communists. However, the Left-GMD-CCP alliance was shortlived, as Wang saw Stalin's telegram of June 1927 instructing the CCP to tighten its control over the GMD. In July and August 1927, Wang purged communists from the Wuhan government, and government and army officials were called upon to renounce communism. By November 1927, the split between the Left GMD and the CCP was final. Then, on 1st August 1927, the CCP adopted a policy of military insurrection against the GMD; 1st August is still commemorated in China as foundation day of the People's Liberation army. Later in August 1927, Jiang Jieshi and the Left-GMD came together again. Jiang was reinstated as party leader, and in April 1928, the Northern Expedition resumed.

3. The CCP leaders Zhu Qiubai (Chu Chiu-pai), Li Lishan (Li Li-san), and Chen Shaoyi (alias Wang Ming), with the Politburo of the "28 returned students" (returned from studies at the Sun Yixian University in Moscow) followed the Stalinist line of insurrection in the towns, and attacks on small merchants and businessmen and wealthy peasants. The communist attempts to seize Nanjing, August 1927, and Guangzhou (Canton), December 1927, and other places all failed; some 6,000 were summarily executed in Guangzhou (Canton), the communists being easily identifiable as the red dye had come out of their neckbands, leaving telltale marks. Soldiers and workers who survived, led by Zhu De (Chu Teh), joined Mao Zedong in Jinggangshan (Chingkanshan), a mountain stronghold in Western Jiangxi (Kiangsi). Stalin blamed the 1927 failures on bad organization rather than faulty policy or lack of support. Mao, who had adopted a policy of concentrating on the peasants, was removed from the Politburo for opposing the official Stalinist-Marxist line of concentrating on the towns.

4. In 1930, Moscow, discerning a revolutionary upsurge, backed Li Lishan's plans for attacks on towns. Consequently, in July 1930, taking advantage of Jiang's preoccupation with the revolt of the former GMD ally, the warlord Feng Yuxiang (Feng Yu-hsiang, an unsuccessful CCP attack was mounted on Nanjing. The CCP under Peng Dehuai (Peng Teh-huai) captured the strongly defended Changsha in Hunan, but, not having learnt the 1927 lesson of Guangzhou, that towns were hard to hold, August 1930, lost control, and plans for an attack on Wuhan had to be shelved. Li Lishan was censured and replaced as CCP leader by Wang Ming.

5. In July and August 1931, Shanghai became too dangerous for the CCP leadership, and the CCP (and Stalin) reluctantly turned to Mao's heretical

policy of concentration on the peasants, despite the failure of Mao's "Autumn Harvest Rising" of peasants in Hunan, September 1927, after which Mao found refuge in Kiangsi Province, first at Jinggangshan (Chingkangshan) and then at Juiqin (Juichin), in the north-east. In January and February 1929, Mao had been forced out of Jinggangshan, his men fighting with their rifles as clubs when the ammunition ran out. With just 3,000 survivors, Mao found refuge in the Guangdong (Kwantung) mountain region to the south, but soon moved back to Juiqin (Juichin) in Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Province to the north-east. All along, Mao was careful to try to win over the opposition; for example, prisoners were set free, after medical treatment if needed, and often with money (funds came from "collections" from the rich, whose houses would be burnt if they were not generous!), so that many prisoners joined Mao.

6. In August 1931, Wang Ming and the Returned Students took over at Mao's retreat in Juiqin. They insisted on a harsher line against the wealthy, a full-scale army build-up rather than guerrilla war, and the establishment of a soviet republic (not a bourgeois democratic republic as Mao proposed). They rejected Mao's contention that any party that proposed and led a national, all-class fight against the Japanese would gain. Friction between Mao and the CCP leadership continued until January 1935, when, during the Long March (see II below), Mao was elected party leader.

7. The communists were helped, if not saved, by the Japanese attack on 18th September 1931 on Manchuria, as Jiang's "Extermination Campaign" against the CCP until then clearly met with success.

8. In November and December 1931, the First All Chinese Soviet Congress met in Juiqin and established the Chinese Soviet Republic (in effect run by Mao) of, at first, 3,000,000 people, but by 1932, 9,000,000, and eventually 50,000,000 (out of a population of about 400,000,000).

9. In December 1932, the GMD and Moscow re-established diplomatic relations, because of the Japanese threat, and the fact that Mao and the CCP were not urban oriented (and so not true Marxists). Admittedly, relations were not too good, and were further soured by the Russian sale in 1935 of the Chinese Eastern Railway to the Japanese, and the extension of Soviet influence in Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang (Sinkiang).

10. By 1934, Mao's Central Asian Soviet faced annihilation, following Jiang's "Annihilation" or "Extermination" Campaigns from 1930.

i. Jiang clearly took the line that the communist threat had to be dealt with before the Japanese, so that there was little Chinese resistance to the Japanese takeover in Manchuria. Communism was "a disease of the heart", but the Japanese were only a "disease of the skin".

ii. In November 1933, Jiang began his fifth campaign, aided by German generals, especially Hans von Seeckt; economic and military blockade of Jiangxi (Kiangsi) by over 400,000 troops, who built block-houses and gradually moved forward with machine guns and artillery, had by 1934 reduced the Soviet to 15% of its 1932 size, and, according to GMD sources, killed 1,000,000 communists, and reduced CCP membership from 300,000 in 1933 to 40,000.

II. In desperate straits, Mao embarked on the Long March, from 15-16 October 1934 to October 1935.

i. The 90,000-130,000 communists (the figures vary), led by Mao, Zhu De and Lin Biao (Lin Piao) of the Jiangxi (Kiangsi) Soviet broke through the GMD blockade of possibly 1,000,000 men.

ii. To maintain secrecy, only one week's preparation (organized especially by Zhou Enlai /Chou En-lai and Otto Braun, a German communist) was made; the final destination was easier to keep secret, as there was no final destination, the March going where the least resistance was!

iii. Harried by Jiang's troops, and often by mountain warriors who rolled boulders on them, the Marchers moved south-west, west, and then north-west, and, finally in October 1935, an advance guard of 7,000 reached the barren mountain area of Yanan (Yenan), in Shaanxi (Shensi) Province, where the 30,000 or so survivors established a base, living in caves like the locals, as building materials were short.

iv. They had covered 6,000-8,000 miles (an average of 17 per day over 368 days; different groups took different routes), over 18 mountain ranges (5 permanently snow-capped) and 24 rivers (the Yangzi after a forced march of 85 miles in a day and a night, to capture the ferry at Zhou Ping/ Chou Ping), capturing 62 cities on the way, breaking out 10 times from encirclement, and fighting a skirmish every day, and a pitched battle an average of every 15 days.

v. Discipline on the March was strict; for example, doors of peasants' homes had to be put back if they had been used as beds.

vi. The March provided the CCP with a myth, and marked the final breach with Moscow, especially when in January 1935, Mao was elected party leader, (Chairman of the Politburo) at the conference at Zunyi (Tsunyi) in Guizhou (Kweichow) Province. Mao questioned whether the Soviet model was applicable to China. As party leader, Mao always insisted on a uniform party line, which was achieved by "cheng-feng", that is, ideological remoulding of those

who disagreed. Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi), like Mao from Hunan, was important in setting party standards.

12. The Second Revolutionary Civil War ended in December 1936, with the Xian (Sian) Compromise, which established the Second United Front, 1936-46.

i. The communists were in a very bad way after the Long March, and on 1st August 1935, Mao appealed for a United Front with the GMD in view of the growing Japanese threat; this was a widely popular policy, for 1936 had seen an increase in anti-Japanese demonstrations. Possibly Mao was influenced by the new 1935 Moscow line of co-operation with previous enemies in Popular Fronts to cope with even greater enemies.

ii. In 1935, ignoring signs that the Japanese were about to take over large areas of North China, Chiang sent Zhang Xueliang (Chang Hsueh-liang), the Young Marshal, with 150,000 men, against the communists. Zhang had been very independent, and with luck, Zhang and Mao might eliminate each other! However, Zhang proved more interested in the Japanese threat, and his soldiers were anxious to go home, so that after Mao had won a few battles, Zhang stopped fighting, responding to Mao's overtures in June 1936 for a truce. Terms were agreed in October 1936, and fighting stopped, whereupon in December 1936, Jiang Jieshi flew north to Zhang's headquarters at Xian, intending to discipline him, but instead, being made a prisoner. Zhang, who was aware that to kill Jiang would mean a return to warlord days, arranged a meeting between Mao and Jiang, who reluctantly agreed to an armistice and a United Front, against the Japanese, although the details were finalized only by September 1937. Three out of 24 of the National Advisory Council for Defence were to be communists, soviet governments were to end, and the Red Army became the GMD 4th and 8th Armies.