

- 1935 Survivors of Long March reach Shaanxi Soviet base
- 1936 Jiang Jieshi taken hostage by warlord Zhang Xueliang in Xi'an. Second United Front established
- 1937 **Apr** Second United Front is formed
Jul Japanese invade China
Nov Jiang Jieshi moves government to Chongqing
Dec Rape of Nanjing
- 1940 **Aug** Hundred Regiments assault on Japanese by Red Army
- 1941 **Jan** Anhui incident ends Second United Front
- 1944 **Oct** US commander General Joseph Stilwell leaves China at Jiang Jieshi's request
- 1945 **Aug–Oct** US Ambassador Hurley leads talks between GMD and CCP
Oct Agreement announced, but both sides send forces to Manchuria
Sep Japan formally surrenders in China theatre
Dec US General George C. Marshall arrives to lead negotiations
- 1946 **Jan** Truce between CCP and GMD
Mar USSR begins to withdraw from Manchuria. Fighting breaks out in Manchuria between GMD and CCP
- 1947 **Jan** Marshall leaves China
Mar Jiang Jieshi takes Yan'an
Oct Mao announces land reforms
- 1948 **Apr** US Congress passes China Aid Act – aid sent to GMD again
Nov Battle of Huai-Hai begins
- 1949 **Jan** GMD lose battle of Huai-Hai
Apr CCP capture Nanjing
May CCP take Shanghai
Oct Mao announces the establishment of the People's Republic of China
Dec Jiang flees to Taiwan



Chinese communist troops, seen here about to depart for Nanjing in 1927, generally had inferior equipment compared to the nationalists, but fought an enemy with low morale and endemic corruption amongst the officer class.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

Review activity

Look back at Chapter 1 at the section on guerrilla tactics. The Chinese Civil War is a good example of guerrilla tactics working successfully against a stronger force. As you read through the rest of the chapter, note the rules for guerrilla fighting that were established by Mao and how and why they were so successful.

i Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-Tung)

Born in 1893 to a wealthy peasant family in Hunan province, in south-east China, Mao left work on the land initially to be a teacher. In 1918, he moved to Beijing and worked as a librarian at the university there. The university was a centre for many contrasting ideologies and revolutionary ideas, including Marxism. Indeed, Mao by this stage had been interested in anarchism too. Mao then moved back to Hunan and began to develop and practise his political ideas, demonstrating his skill as a trade union leader and peasant organizer. He was responsible for the shift in CCP policy from attempting to win support in the cities from industrial workers to concentrating on radicalizing the peasantry. This shift was also a realistic response to the CPP's failures to take the towns, where GMD support was strong. In 1931, Mao became the elected chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the CCP. From this time, and in this position, he began to consolidate his control over the Party.

The Jiangxi Soviet

The CCP were forced to retreat into Jiangxi province in order to survive the GMD onslaught. This territory became known as the 'Jiangxi Soviet'. Mao's writings suggest that the White Terror had only confirmed what he had already thought about the United Front, i.e. that this cooperation with the GMD would destroy the CCP. He also believed that the GMD and the Comintern had the wrong strategy for China, basing their revolution on urban areas. Mao's revolution would be based on the peasants. Essentially, this was a more realistic strategy, as the vast majority of Chinese were not urban workers but rural peasants. From a population in China of around 500 million, only 12 per cent were in urban areas, whereas 88 per cent lived in rural regions. From a total workforce of approximately 259 million, 205 million were agricultural workers and a mere 54 million were non-agricultural or industrial workers.

Mao arrived at Jiangxi and organized the Jiangxi Soviet around his idea of the central revolutionary role of the peasant – 'The peasants are the sea; we are the fish. The sea is our habitat', he stated. His ideological shift away from orthodox Marxism, which placed the proletariat at the centre of the revolution, put him at odds with more orthodox members of the CCP. But his success in recruiting and organizing the peasants in the Jiangxi Soviet began to win him the argument.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

Review activity

Research Marx's theory of revolution. Explain how Mao's ideas were different from Marx's belief (and thus the Soviet model) of how revolution should take place.

Division within the CCP

Both the CCP and the GMD suffered from 'internal factionalism' during this period of the civil war. Mao's views on the revolution and how the civil war should be fought could be summarized, by 1930, in the following key points:

- The revolution will be carried out by the peasant masses, thus the peasants will be mobilized and politicized by the Red Army
- The army's tactics will be guerrilla warfare
- Land reform will be carried out in their areas of control.

Yet his views were not shared by the Soviet Union and the Comintern. The USSR saw the Great Depression as the beginning of the end of capitalism, and believed that the world was on the brink of international revolution. In February 1930, the Comintern official Li Lisan issued an instruction to all CCP members to attack cities in Jiangxi and Hunan. This order was known as the 'Li Lisan Line'. All the attacks failed, and the communist army was forced

To access worksheet 13.1 on Mao's guerrilla tactics, please visit www.pearsonbacconline.com and follow the on-screen instructions.

i Jiangxi Soviet

The term 'Soviet' was taken from Russia. During the revolution in 1917, Russian workers and soldiers had set up soviets or councils in which discussion and debate took place.

into retreat. (The Comintern then blamed Li Lisan by saying he had misunderstood its orders.) The CCP in the cities was shattered, and it appeared that the Party could only hold its influence in rural areas. Li Lisan was dismissed from his leadership of the CCP in January 1931.

GMD attempts to exterminate CCP

From 1928 to 1934, Jiang had the chance to carry out Sun's Three Principles. His government was ineffective, however, and Jiang made no progress towards democracy or land reform. His support came from landlords and the rich, and so initiatives were limited to the building of some roads and the construction of more schools. From 1931, Jiang also had to face the threat of the Japanese, who invaded Manchuria in 1931.

Jiang's main goal remained the elimination of the communists, and during this time he carried out the 'Five Encirclement Campaigns' in an attempt to destroy the Jiangxi Soviet and the CCP. The GMD strategy was to encircle the Reds and cut them off from supplies and resources. The communists focused their strategy on survival, and based themselves in the mountains between Hunan and Jiangxi provinces. Here they built up their military force – the Red Army. Mao explained his strategy in a letter to Li Lisan in 1929: 'The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy halts, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue.'

Li Lisan was replaced by a group of Moscow graduates known as the 'Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks' and the influence of the Comintern remained strong enough to remove Mao as chief commissar of the Red Army. Mao did not like these 'inexperienced men'.

The first three Campaigns were launched between December 1930 and September 1931. The Red Army under Mao and Zhou Enlai faced increasingly strong GMD forces, first 100,000, then 200,000 and finally 300,000 men – and they defeated all three. Using Mao's strategy of revolutionary war, they allowed the GMD to enter their territory and begin to round up communists, and then they attacked the fragmented units. Their knowledge of the terrain and their use of the support of the local peasants meant that they could choose the place and timing of their engagements.

Mao was not involved in the Fourth Encirclement Campaign. Zhu De was commander-in-chief of the Red Army, and he used the same tactics as before with the same results – the GMD was forced back again in March 1933.

Mao and the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks

During the military campaigns of the early 1930s Mao's position was being eroded and marginalized by the Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks. The *coup de grace* came in July 1934, when by order of the Comintern Mao was put on probation and barred from meetings. From July until the beginning of the Long March in October when he was released, he was under house arrest.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

Document analysis

Document A

Kuomintang [GMD] armies all fought by the usual Japanese military tactics, always advancing in one column with front and flank guards... But we split up into small, swift combat units which got in their rear and on their flanks and attacked, cutting them into segments. There's nothing secret about such tactics... and the militarists later tried to use them against us. They failed because such guerrilla warfare requires not only a thorough knowledge of the terrain of the battle area but also the support of the common people.

Zhu De, from C. Brown and T. Edwards, *Revolution in China 1911–1949*, 1983

Document B

The eight rules of the Red Army:

Return and roll up the straw matting on which you sleep.

Be courteous and polite to the people and help them when you can.

/cont

Return all borrowed articles.

Replace all damaged articles.

Be honest in all transactions with the peasants.

Pay for all articles purchased.

Replace all doors when you leave a house.

Be sanitary, and, especially, establish latrines a safe distance from people's houses.

The Eight Rules of the Red Army (1928), quoted by the American journalist Edgar Snow

Document C

The GMD troops burned down all the houses in the surrounding area, seized all the food there and blockaded us... We were sick and half-starved. The peasants were no better off, and we would not touch what little they had. But the peasants encouraged us. They dug up from the ground the grain they had hidden from the GMD troops and gave it to us... they wanted us to win. Tactics are important, but we could not exist if the majority of our people did not support us. We are nothing but the fist of the people beating their oppressors.

Statement by CCP general Peng Dehuai, in 1936

Questions

- 1 According to Document A, how was guerrilla warfare waged?
- 2 According to Documents B and C, why would the CCP have the support of the peasants?
- 3 Why was peasant support so crucial to the CCP?
- 4 Using these sources and your own knowledge, explain why Mao's guerrilla tactics were successful in this first phase of the Chinese Civil War.

The Long March

Seven months later, in October, Jiang attempted his fifth and final campaign against the 'bandits'. On this occasion he had taken the advice of a German general to adopt a gradual approach. This time a force of 800,000 men was sent in, with air cover and artillery. The Red Army could not take advantage of its previous strengths of higher mobility and local support. Outnumbered and surrounded by GMD forces, it fought and lost a final battle at Ruijin in 1934.

MILITARY STRATEGY 1930–34		
1930–31	1932–33	1934
Mao in charge	Zhu De in charge of Red Army	Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks in charge of Red Army
↓	↓	↓
Guerrilla warfare	Guerrilla warfare	'Stand and fight'
↓	↓	↓
GMD Encirclement Campaigns 1–3	GMD Encirclement Campaign 4	GMD Encirclement Campaign 5 (began 1933)
↓	↓	↓
GMD campaigns 1–3 fail	GMD campaign 4 fails	GMD campaign 5 succeeds – German military advice. Red Army breaks out / Long March

The CCP faced annihilation. Mao decided that the only chance the CCP had was to break through the GMD's lines and set up another base. They succeeded in doing this on 19 October and then embarked on what became known as the 'Long March'. The Long March took the CCP on a seemingly impossible 9,600km trek to Shaanxi across some of the most inhospitable territory in China. It took 368 days and it led to the death of more than 90 per cent of the 90,000 communists that broke through their encirclement at Jiangxi.

ToK Time

Read the two sources here, and answer the ToK question in pairs. Write up your discussion in your ToK journal.

Well, we ourselves at the beginning did not know that we were actually on the Long March... All we knew was that we were getting out of the bases; we were surrounded and being choked; a million men against us, tanks, aeroplanes... we broke through one cordon of encirclement, then a second, then a third... We thought if we could get to Szechuan [Sichuan] all would be well; for Szechuan was not letting Jiang Kai-Shek in; the warlord of Szechuan did not want Jiang there.

A Red Army veteran quoted in Brown and Edwards, *Revolution in China 1911–1949*, 1974

Hardships and Hope

*We are short of grain,
For three months we have tasted no meat;
In summer we feed on berries, in winter bamboo;
Hunting wild boars we pant over the mountains,
And after dark catch snakes.
The enemy searches the whole mountainside,
Trees and grass scorched and burnt;
Never before was savagery like this,
But our people resist with ever greater vigour;
We shall give battle again.
We put our trust in the people...
And never forget their support;
They are second parents to us,
We are good sons in the fight,
The best soldiers for the revolution.*

From Chen Yi, 'Guerrillas in South Kiangsi'

Question

Can a contemporary poem or song give us a better understanding of an historical event than a contemporary diary or journalist's report? What are the Knowledge Issues involved in using imaginative literature as historical documents?

Map showing the route of the Long March.



STUDENT STUDY SECTION

Review activity

What was the Long March and why was it significant to the outcome of the Chinese Civil War?

In small groups, research the course and key turning points of the Long March, using the information that follows. Your group will be writing the script of a short play or documentary based on your research. It should include the key events listed below, any extra information from your own research, and an explanation of why the Long March remains important in Chinese history. You could also include historical characters and quotations from contemporaries.

Key events of the Long March

Crossing the Xiang River

The Xiang River was strongly defended by the GMD, and Jiang was determined not to let the CCP escape. Mao criticized the strategy the CCP used at the river, where around 50,000 died. The CCP had not used his tactics of outmanoeuvring and deceiving the GMD; they had also been loaded down with furniture and other unnecessary equipment. The Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks, now in charge of the army, had simply led the CCP in a line into the river, where they were 'sitting ducks' for Jiang's forces.

Zunyi Conference

In January 1935 the CCP, this time using 'guerrilla tactics', managed to capture the town of Zunyi. The Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks had been discredited due to their disasters at Jiangxi and the Xiang River. At a party conference held here to determine future CCP policy, Mao emerged as leader.

Upper Yangtze River Crossing

At Zunyi, Mao declared that his forces 'march north to fight the Japanese', and now led the Red Army towards Sichuan to meet up with the 40,000-strong communist army under the leadership of Zhang Guotao. Jiang pursued Mao across the far western provinces of Yunnan and Tibet. The GMD destroyed all the boats at the Yangtze River crossing in an attempt to rout Mao's forces. Mao deceived the nationalists that his army was constructing a bridge to cross, but sent units to a town 136km further along. Thus, while the bridge was being built, the CCP crossed the river in another place. Mao got across before the GMD realized what was going on.

The Luding Bridge

Just two weeks later, with Mao forcing the pace, covering 134km in just 24 hours, the Red Army came to the Dadu River. Local people had built a bridge, using their own resources to pay for it, from 13 heavy iron chains covered by wooden planks. The river was very fast moving, but here was the only way to cross. The GMD could, and should, have blown the bridge, but this action would have led to local outcry. Instead Jiang's forces removed the planks that covered the chains. What took place next is disputed, but according to the CCP, 22 volunteers crossed the bridge, clinging on to the chains and lobbing hand grenades at the machine-gun posts that fired on them. Only five of the attackers survived, but they managed to take out the machine-gun posts, while those behind them laid new boards so that the Red Army could then rush across. In the ensuing battle, the GMD attempted to set fire to the bridge, but it was too late. The crossing was a great morale booster to the CCP, and their courage inspired many members of the GMD to switch sides.



The Zunyi Conference resolutions

Mao left the Zunyi Conference with a list of resolutions that almost summarized his key military ideas:

- Being weaker than the enemy, the Red Army was to concentrate its forces for selected decisive battles.
- Battles were to be avoided when victory was not certain.
- The enemy was to be lured in deep; giving up territory was not necessarily bad from a military point of view.
- The Red Army was a propagandizing team as well as a fighting force... Every soldier was to be told the aims and dangers of every move.

Adapted from Ross Terrill, *Mao: A Biography*, 2000

The Long March became a much mythologized episode in Chinese communist history. Here an idealized poster celebrates the march and its participants.

Disputes between Zhang Guotao, Zhu De and Mao

Mao had 10,000 left in his army, and this force finally met up with 45,000 men under the command of Zhang in Sichuan. The two leaders disagreed on what the Red Army's next move should be. Mao wanted to go north to the Shaanxi Soviet, where they could fight the Japanese. Zhang wanted to stay in western Sichuan, or go further west to have closer access to the USSR. They could not agree and ended up going separate ways. Zhu De decided to go with Zhang, and the two generals took the majority of forces with them. The GMD attacked them, split their forces, and Zhu fled to join Mao. Zhang's forces were virtually destroyed.

Songpan Marshes

To get to Shaanxi, Mao had to cross the unmapped and deadly Songpan marshes, where men sank into the mud and drowned, faced attack from local tribes, and ate poisonous plants in an attempt to fend off starvation. Of the 10,000 that entered the marshes, only 7,000 made it across the 400km region.

Shaanxi

After marching 9,600km, and fighting 15 major battles and many smaller skirmishes, Mao's army arrived at the Shaanxi Soviet in October 1935. Here they set up a communist base centred on the town of Yan'an.

STUDENT STUDY SECTION

Document analysis

Has there ever been in history a long march like ours? No, never. The Long March is also a manifesto. It proclaims to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes and that the imperialists and their jackals, Jiang Jieshi and his like, are perfect nonentities. It announces the bankruptcy of the encirclement pursuit, obstruction and interception attempted by the imperialists and Jiang Jieshi. The Long March is also an agitation corps. It declares to the approximately two hundred million people of eleven provinces that only the road of the Red Army leads to their liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have known so quickly that there are such great ideas in the world as are upheld by the Red Army? The Long March is also a seeding machine. It has sown many seeds in eleven provinces, which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit and yield a crop in future. To sum up, the Long March ended with our victory and the enemy's defeat.

Mao reminiscing on the Long March

Question

According to Mao, what was the significance of the Long March?

Mao and revolutionary warfare

Mao's war against the GMD can be classed as a revolutionary war, as he was not only trying to defeat the GMD but also to impose a revolutionary ideology on the Chinese people. The choice the Chinese people had was between Maoism, with its total restructuring of society, economy and government, and the nationalists' policy, which basically involved maintaining the status quo. Mao believed that the peasants were central to revolutionary war, and so his priority had to be to persuade them to support the communist cause.

Mao's revolutionary warfare consisted of several stages:

- **Setting up base areas** – Mao planned to set up 'base areas' in which he would organize the peasants and educate them in communist ideology. They would then, it was hoped, accept new taxes and justice systems applied by the CCP, which would be better than those they had previously endured. These base areas would be remote and thus difficult for the GMD to interfere with during this 'education process'. Part of the 'Eight rules of

the Eighth Route Army' was to treat everyone with respect, and this very powerful idea helped to gain the support and trust of the peasants.

- **The organization phase** – Once a base camp was set up, CCP leaders would be sent out to other villages to repeat the process. Mao called this the 'organization phase'. The aim was slowly to take over the countryside, thereby isolating the cities to allow the CCP ultimately to take political control of China.
- **Defending the bases** – The next stage was to defend the base areas, which would not remain free from GMD attack, especially once GMD taxes were going to the CCP. Mao organized the peasants to use hit-and-run tactics, their advantage being knowledge of terrain and support of the local population. If the GMD attempted to hunt down the CCP units, they would be drawn into hostile areas, which would enable the guerrillas to attack them again and/or disappear into the local community. In this way, the 'enemy' would become demoralized and worn down. Any attempt by the GMD to wipe out the CCP presence with massive attacks and looting of villages would only increase hostility to the nationalists and improve the position of the communists.
- **The guerrilla phase** – The communists could always survive by retreating, as they had in the Long March. Other bases could be set up as they retreated – these would then create more guerrilla fighters. This was the 'guerrilla phase' of the war.
- **Protracted war** – Mao understood that his strategy would lead to a long war; indeed, the idea of a 'protracted war' was central to his thinking. However, as the numbers of guerrillas grew, and in turn the number of attacks on the enemy increased, the balance would finally tilt in favour of the guerrillas.
- **Seizing power** – At this stage, the revolutionary war would go into the 'open or mobile phase', where guerrilla units joined together to form a conventional army. The CCP was in this last stage of guerrilla warfare when the second phase of the civil war broke out in 1946. Once in power, a period of consolidation would be needed to rid China of the remnants of the 'old regime'.

End of the first stage of the Chinese Civil War – the Second United Front, 1937

The Long March was essential for ensuring the survival of the CCP and also for making Mao the unchallenged leader. Jiang Jieshi was still determined to defeat the communists, but he also had to deal with the threat from Japan. China had been invaded in 1931 when the Japanese took over Manchuria. Jiang initially did little about this apart from appealing to the League of Nations, as he still regarded the communists as the more dangerous threat. He said that the Japanese 'were a disease of the skin while the communists were a disease of the heart'.

Jiang unsuccessfully attempted to resist the Japanese attacks on Shanghai in 1932, and in May agreed to a truce. The Japanese advanced to the Great Wall in January 1933, however, and their growing control in China led to a great increase in anti-Japanese sentiment.

Mao called for another 'United Front' to fight the Japanese, and this was supported by all who had suffered under Japanese occupation – including the northern warlords Zhang Xueliang and Yan Xishan. Yet in the end it was the Comintern and not Mao that pushed the alliance between the CCP and the GMD. Stalin was worried about Japanese expansion in and from Manchuria. By 1936 he saw Jiang Jieshi as the only leader in China who could effectively fight them. The Second United Front was sealed when Jiang Jieshi was kidnapped in Xi'an by the warlord Zhang (he had been there planning his next assault on the CCP). It shocked both the Chinese and the Soviets – and although some wanted to shoot Jiang, he was released on Comintern orders after 13 days.