



Practices of the Chinese Civil War

FIRST STAGE TODAY

[HTTP://WWW.BIOGRAPHY.COM/PEOPLE/MAO-TSE-TUNG-9398142/VIDEOS/MAO-TSE-TUNG-LEADER-KILLER-ICON-2080070030](http://www.biography.com/people/mao-tse-tung-9398142/videos/mao-tse-tung-leader-killer-icon-2080070030)

Review

❁ Following the **Northern Expedition**

- ❁ Chiang Kai-Shek (Jiang Jieshi) had turned on the CCP
- ❁ Mao had attempted an uprising against the GMD known as the Autumn Harvest Uprising
 - ❁ Failure
- ❁ Mao has been leading units of the CCP force through his role as member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China
- ❁ Mao now moved the main CCP force down to Jiangxi region to rebuild strength

Jiangxi Soviet

- ❁ CCP forced to retreat to survive GMD onslaught
- ❁ **Territory became known as the Jiangxi Soviet**
 - ❁ Mao had thought cooperation with the GMD was a bad idea
 - ❁ Felt they had a bad strategy in basing their revolution in urban areas
- ❁ His was one of peasants
 - ❁ More realistic
 - ❁ 500 million people
 - ❁ 88 percent in rural areas
 - ❁ 205 of 259 million were farmers



Jiangxi Soviet

- ❁ **“The peasants are the sea. We are the fish. The sea is our habitat.”**
- ❁ This is a major shift away from Marxism
 - ❁ Focused on peasants, not proletariat
 - ❁ Put him at odds with more orthodox members of the CCP
 - ❁ Success in recruiting peasants began to win him the argument



Division Within the CCP

- ❁ Both CCP and GMD suffered from internal factions during this period
- ❁ In CCP it was due to Mao's views
 - ❁ Revolution carried out by the peasant masses, mobilized and politicized by the Red Army
 - ❁ Use of guerrilla warfare
 - ❁ Land reform in areas of control
- ❁ Views not shared by the Soviet Union and Comintern
 - ❁ Saw the Great Depression as the beginning of global revolution
- ❁ **Li Lisan** Line leads to end of Communist support in cities
 - ❁ Had been Communist Party Leader
 - ❁ Huge mistake



GMD Attempts to Exterminate the CCP

- ❁ From 1926 Chiang is in power with the chance to carry out the Three Principles
 - ❁ Made no progress towards democracy or land reform
 - ❁ Support came from landlords and the rich, initiatives were limited
 - ❁ Also had to face the threat of the Japanese, who invaded Manchuria in 1931



GMD Attempts to Exterminate the CCP

- ❁ Chiang's main goal was to eliminate the communists
- ❁ **Five Encirclement Campaigns**
 - ❁ Goal to cut off Mao from supplies
- ❁ Communists focused on survival, based in the mountains between Hunan and Jiangxi
 - ❁ Built up what was known as Red Army
- ❁ Mao's strategy
 - ❁ "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy halts, we harass; the enemy tired, we attack; the enemy retreats, we pursue."



GMD Attempts to Exterminate the CCP

- ❁ Li Lisan replaced by group known as the **Twenty-Eight** Bolsheviks in 1929
 - ❁ Removed Mao as Chief Commissar of the Red Army
 - ❁ Mao did not like them



GMD Attempts to Exterminate the CCP

- ❁ First three Encirclement Campaigns
 - ❁ Dec 1930 – Sept 1931
 - ❁ Red Army under Mao and **Zhou Enlai**
 - ❁ Defeated all three waves of increasingly strong GMD forces
 - ❁ Allowed the GMD into their territory and attacked fragmented units
 - ❁ Knowledge of terrain and support from peasants key
- ❁ Mao not involved with Fourth Encirclement, Zhu De, same tactics used, same results



The Long March

- ❁ Late 33 – Late 34
- ❁ Chiang's Fifth Campaign
 - ❁ Taking a more gradual approach
 - ❁ Accepted German tactics and aid
 - ❁ Used air cover and artillery
 - ❁ Red Army cannot take advantage of its strengths
 - ❁ Fought and lost a final battle at Ruijin in 1934



The Long March

- ❁ CCP faced annihilation
 - ❁ Mao thought they needed to break through and set up another base
 - ❁ October 19, 1934 does so
 - ❁ Embarked on Long March
 - ❁ CCP's 9,600 km trek to Shaanxi across inhospitable territory
 - ❁ 368 days and death of more than 90 percent of 90,000 communists that broke through encirclement at Jiangxi





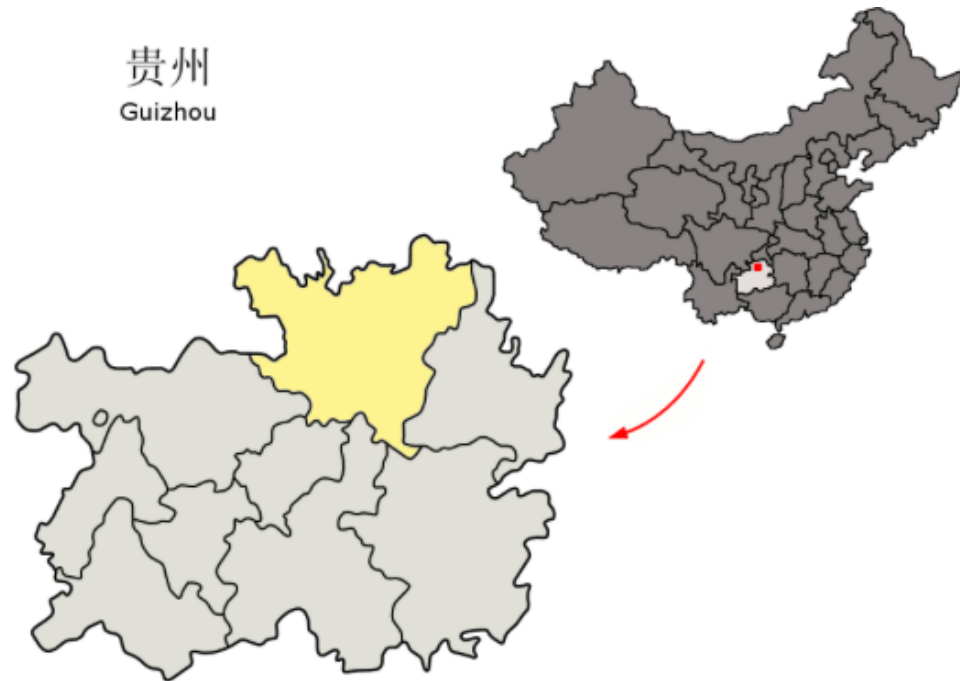
Key Events – Crossing the Xiang River

- ❁ Strongly defended by the GMD
- ❁ Jiang determined not to let the CCP escape
- ❁ 50,000 CCP will die
 - ❁ Did not use his tactics of outmaneuvering and deception
 - ❁ Loaded down with furniture and unnecessary equipment
 - ❁ 28 Bolsheviks led them in a line into the river



Key Events – Zunyi Conference

- ▶ January 1935 CCP using guerrilla tactics, captured the town of **Zunyi**
- ▶ Conference held with 28 Bolsheviks, who had been discredited
- ▶ Party conference elected Mao leader
- ▶ His strategies now applied
 - ▶ Concentrated Red Army forces on decisive battles
 - ▶ Avoid fighting without certainty of victory
 - ▶ Giving up territory was not bad if the enemy was lured in
 - ▶ Every soldier was always informed, propagandized



Key Events – Upper Yangtze River Crossing

- ▶ Mao says he needs to move north to fight the Japanese
- ▶ Led the Red Army to meet up with 40,000 troops under Zhang Guotao
- ▶ Jiang pursued Mao across the far western provinces of Yunnan and Tibet
- ▶ GMD destroyed all boats at the Yangtze River crossing
- ▶ Mao created a fake bridge, sent his forces across further along
 - ▶ Success



Key Events – The Luding Bridge

- ▶ Covering 134 km in 24 hours
- ▶ Red Army came to the Dadu River
- ▶ Local people had built a bridge, iron chains covered with wooden planks, the only way across
- ▶ GMD should have blown the bridge, didn't want to upset locals
 - ▶ Removed the wooden planks
- ▶ 22 CCP volunteers crossed the bridge and took out machine gun posts
- ▶ Those behind laid new boards
- ▶ GMD attempted to set fire, too late
- ▶ Great morale booster, encouraged much GMD desertion



Key Events – Disputes Between Zhang Guatao, Zhu De and Mao

- ▶ Mao had 10,000 left, met up with Zhang
- ▶ Two leaders disagreed over what next
- ▶ Mao wanted to go north to fight the Japanese
- ▶ Zhang wanted to go west for further access to the USSR
- ▶ Risk of a new civil war
- ▶ Zhu De went with Zhang with majority of forces, attacked by GMD, lost, Zhu De runs back to Mao



Key Events – Songpan Marshes

- ▶ Get to Shaanxi, Mao had to cross the unmapped Songpan marches
- ▶ Men sank into mud and drowned
- ▶ Little food, ate poisonous plants, horses, etc.
- ▶ Only 7,000 made it across



Key Events - Shaanxi

- ▶ After march 9,600 km and fighting 15 major battles and minor skirmishes
- ▶ Mao's army arrived at the Shaanxi Soviet in October 1935
- ▶ Set up a communist base around Yan'an



Mapping the Long March

- ▶ https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LUFsw8Rk9_4

Mao and Revolutionary Warfare

- ▶ Mao's war against GMD was a revolutionary war; Mao trying to impose revolutionary ideology
 - ▶ Maoism – restructuring of society, economy, and government
 - ▶ Peasants central to revolutionary war

Stages of Mao's Revolutionary Warfare:

▶ **Setting up base areas:**

- ▶ Organize peasants, educate them in Communist Ideology - they would accept new taxes and justice system
- ▶ These areas would be remote/difficult for GMD to interfere with "educational process"
- ▶ "Eight rules of the Eighth Route Army " – treat everyone with respect – gained trust of the peasants

▶ **The organization phase**

- ▶ Once camps set up CCP leaders would be sent out to villages and repeat the process
- ▶ Aim - slowly take over the countryside, thereby isolating the cities / easier to take over

Stages of Mao's Revolutionary Warfare:

▶ **Defending the bases**

- ▶ Organized peasants to defend themselves from GMD attacks – use hit and run tactics
- ▶ CCP Advantage: knowledge of the terrain and support of locals
- ▶ Goal: Demoralized and worn down enemy
- ▶ Any attempt of GMD to wipe out the CCP would only increase hostility towards the Nationalists

▶ **The guerilla phase**

- ▶ Communists could survive by retreating (e.g. Long March)
- ▶ Other bases would be set up as they retreated – this would create more guerilla fighters

Stages of Mao's Revolutionary Warfare:

▶ **Protracted war**

- ▶ Mao understood his strategy would lead to a long war; however as the numbers of guerilla fighters grew, the balance would eventually tilt in favor of guerillas (as every new GMD attack would produce more support for CCP)

▶ **Seizing power**

- ▶ Guerilla units join together, and form conventional army
- ▶ The CCP was in his last stage of guerilla warfare when the second phase of the civil war broke out in 1946.

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

- ▶ Long March essential for survival of CCP; **made Mao unchallenged leader**
- ▶ Jiang Jieshi – determined to defeat CCP, but has to deal with Japan as well - he considered Communists more dangerous
- ▶ Agreed on a truce with Japan in 1932, after Japan attacked Shanghai
- ▶ Mao called for **United Front** to help fight the Japanese together with GMD, agreed by all affected by Japanese invasion
 - ▶ Jieshi was kidnapped by warlord Zhang, for 13 days
 - ▶ April 1937 the Second United Front was formed, civil war suspended, and there was “National War of Resistance”
 - ▶ **USSR supported GMD at this time** – Stalin thought Jiang was more capable to fight Japanese
 - ▶ CCP benefited from the legitimacy the alliance gave them – could no longer be dismissed as bandits
- ▶ Second Sino-Japanese War triggered by Marco Polo Incident / engineered by Japanese
- ▶ Fighting spread, and by July Japanese captured Beijing
- ▶ By August, Jieshi’s forces were forced to retreat in the battle of Shanghai
- ▶ Nanjing, the capital, was left to face the onslaught of the Japanese / Rape of Nanjing

Why was the CCP able to survive the first stage of the Chinese Civil War?

▶ **CCP successes**

- ▶ The Long March ensured CCP survival and offered a defensible base in Yan'an
- ▶ Propaganda victory for, CCP – won patriotic support
- ▶ March confirmed Mao as a leader of the CCP, gave CCP fighting experience
- ▶ Mao's offer to form the United Front won Mao popularity/ they were the true nationalists

▶ **GMD failures:**

- ▶ perceiving CCP as bigger threat than Japan lost them support
- ▶ Treated peasants poorly

The Sino-Japanese War

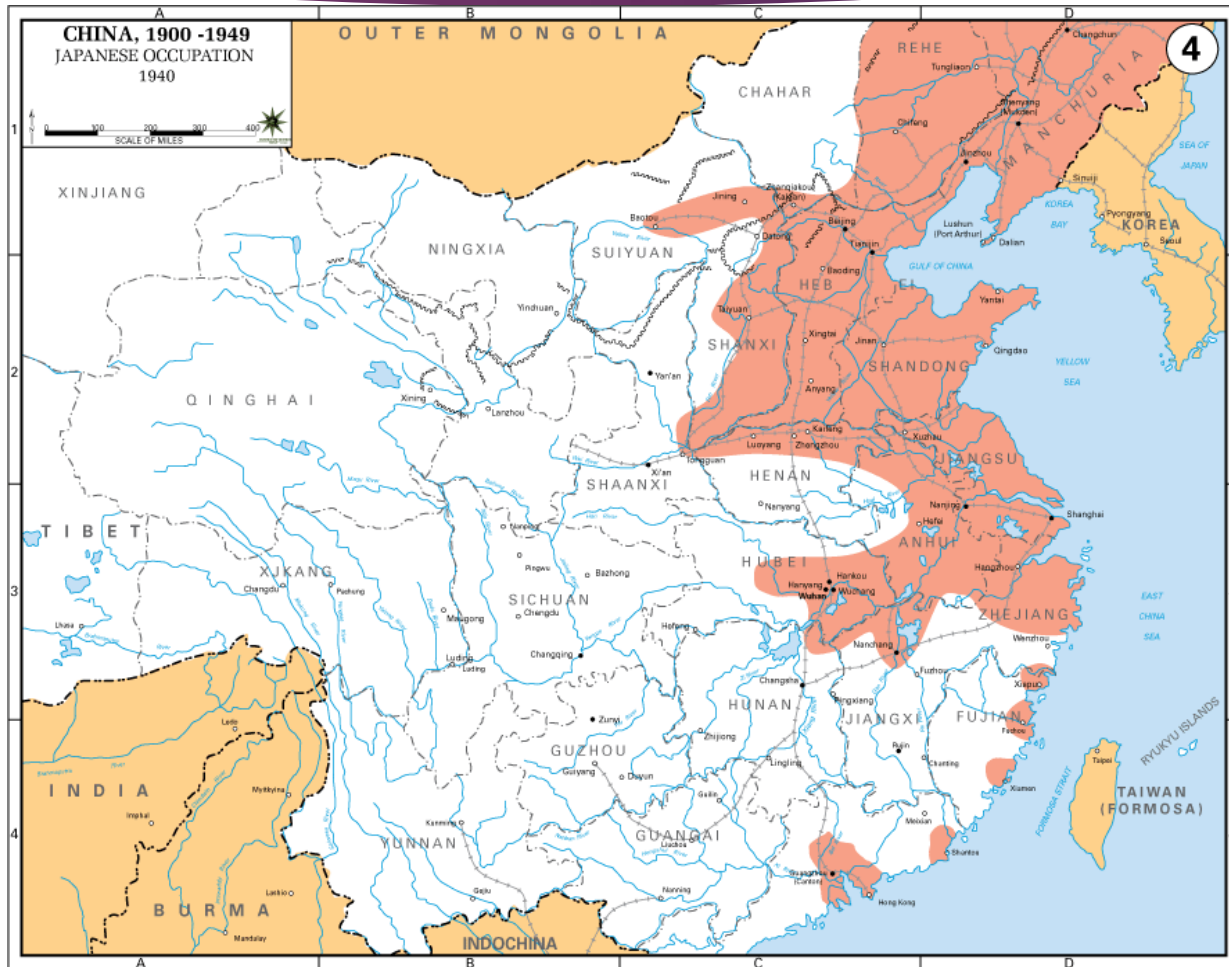
The Impact of the war on the GMD

- ▶ **Lost tax revenue/much** territory controlled by Japanese , printed money, caused inflation – impacted middle class/ lost support
- ▶ Moved Capital to **Chongqing**
- ▶ Widespread **corruption** , unmotivated troops
- ▶ **Conscription** alienated peasantry
- ▶ Due to faction, Jiang used **repression**
- ▶ GMD lacked control over many provinces / bore the brunt of the Japanese attacks
- ▶ Public **lost a lot of respect** for the GMD, as it appeared to be waiting for the Americans to win the war

The Impact of the war on the CCP

- ▶ **Used civil war for territorial expansion** , by March 1945, liberated 678 of 914 country towns and implemented their policies: land reform, setting up schools, and soviets, reducing taxes
- ▶ **Gained support** by meeting the local immediate needs of the peasants (Sheridan)
- ▶ **Won peasant confidence** and began the transformation (modernization) of rural China
- ▶ **Rectification campaigns** – to spread Maoist ideology, the “correct” ideas were Mao’s and deviation would be punished
- ▶ CCP contribution to fighting Japanese unclear
 - ▶ Used **guerilla warfare**
 - ▶ Criticized Jiang’s acceptance of US help

Japanese Occupation



The Second Sino-Japanese War 1937-45.



The impact of the Second Sino-Japanese War, 1937–45

Main events of the war:

Rapid Japanese advance and occupation of most of China including:

- Capture of Shanghai (July 1937).
- Massacre at Nanjing (December 1937).
- Nationalist capital relocated to Chongqing (October 1938).
- Capture of Wuhan City (1941).
- Ichigo Offensive (1944).
- Japanese surrender after USA dropped atomic bombs on Japan (August 1945)

Increase in CCP strength during the war:

- Enlargement in size of the Communist-controlled territory in north China
- Increase in CCP membership
- Growth in size of Red Army and Communist militias
- Captured Japanese weaponry
- Strengthened Nationalist credentials and popularity
- Presence of Soviet troops in Manchuria potentially of assistance to the CCP

Increase in Nationalist strength during the war:

- Increase in military strength and access to modern weaponry due to supplies from USA
- Increase in size of the Nationalist army

Decrease in Nationalist strength during the war:

- Reputation damaged by accusations that military incompetence failed to prevent the Japanese advance and occupation
- Economic pressures, e.g. inflation and high taxes due to the war were unpopular

When civil hostilities between the Nationalists and the CCP resumed after the Japanese surrender they were more intense than they had been before, since both sides were more capable of sustained conflict

The Japanese surrender in 1945 created a power vacuum which both sides rushed to try to fill

SUMMARY DIAGRAM

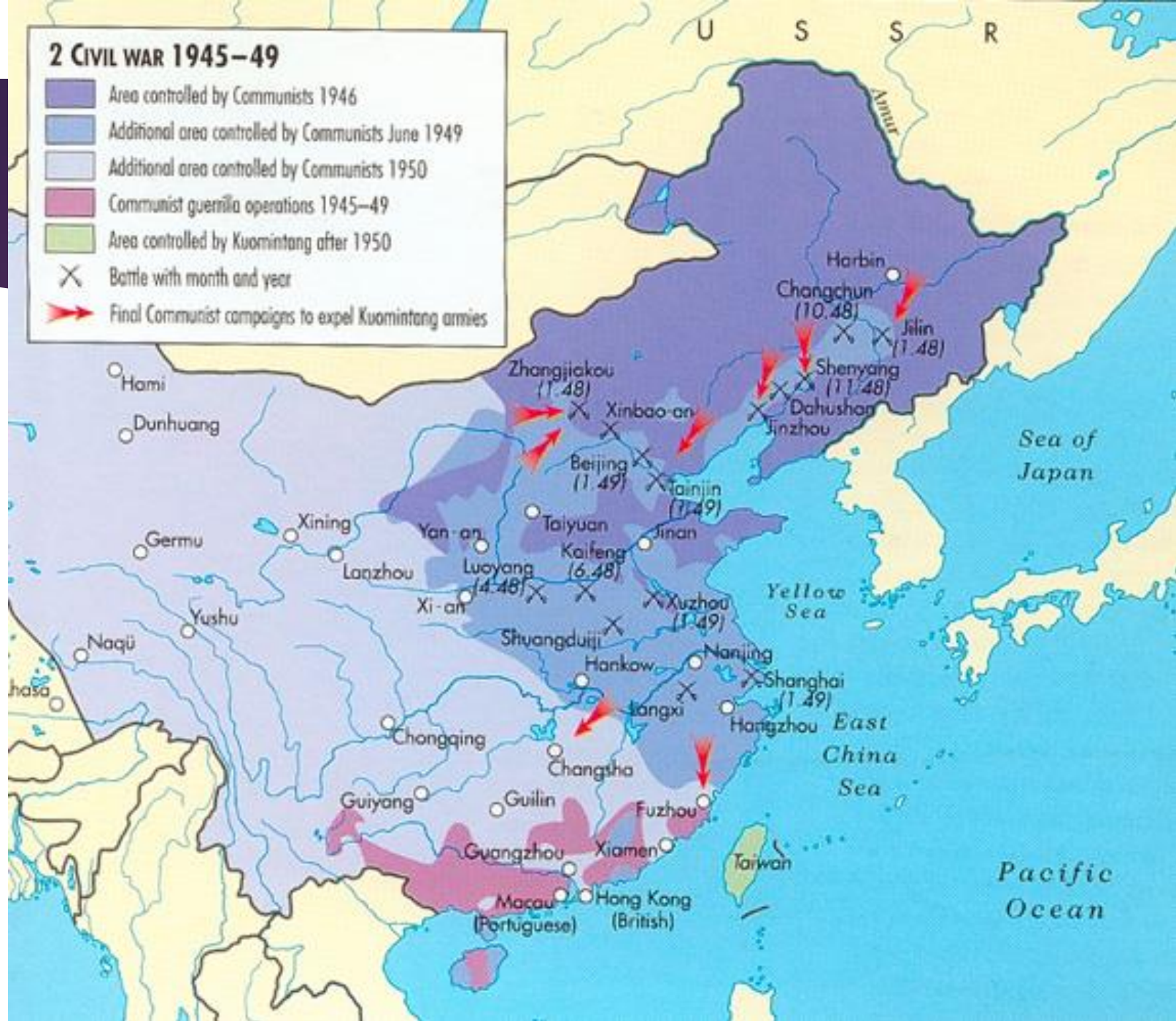
The short-term causes of the Chinese Civil War

Second Phase of the Civil War

- ▶ CPP strengthened by the end of WWII - move from guerilla to combat style war
- ▶ Second phase of war – international affair
 - ▶ Part of Soviet-American effort to crate a new post-war balance of power
 - ▶ Both superpowers wanted stable china and coalition government

2 CIVIL WAR 1945-49

- Area controlled by Communists 1946
- Additional area controlled by Communists June 1949
- Additional area controlled by Communists 1950
- Communist guerrilla operations 1945-49
- Area controlled by Kuomintang after 1950
- ✕ Battle with month and year
- ➔ Final Communist campaigns to expel Kuomintang armies



Failure of the US

- ▶ Americans worked hard to achieve diplomatic solutions between CCP and GMD - General Marshall tried to broker a deal, and reached an agreement verbally, but it wasn't implemented
- ▶ In 1946 GMD and CCP troops moved into Manchuria- no coalition option
- ▶ Despite CCP's growth, in 1945 GMD still had 4 million troops compared to the CCP's 1 million ; GMD had also more heavy weaponry



Initial victories of the GMD (1945-47)

- ▶ GMD forced CCP to be on the defensive – GMD more troops and better equipment
- ▶ 1945, Red Army invaded Manchuria – USSR in control at that time (after Yalta) – Soviets gave the CCP large stockpiles of Japanese weapons
- ▶ General Wedemeyer (Allied commander) allowed Jiang to resist the communists by using US ships and aircraft to transport 500,000 to Manchuria – USA was no more neutral
- ▶ GMD still stronger, forced CCP out of the cities, and Dec. 1945 Mao reverted to his policy of creating bases outside the cities
- ▶ GMD controlled Manchuria, but unsuccessfully (political defeat)
 - ▶ Bad corruption, Manchurians supported CCP
- ▶ Truman attempted mediation to prevent civil war – supported coalition government, but continued to arm Jiang



▶ <http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/chin-cw2.htm>

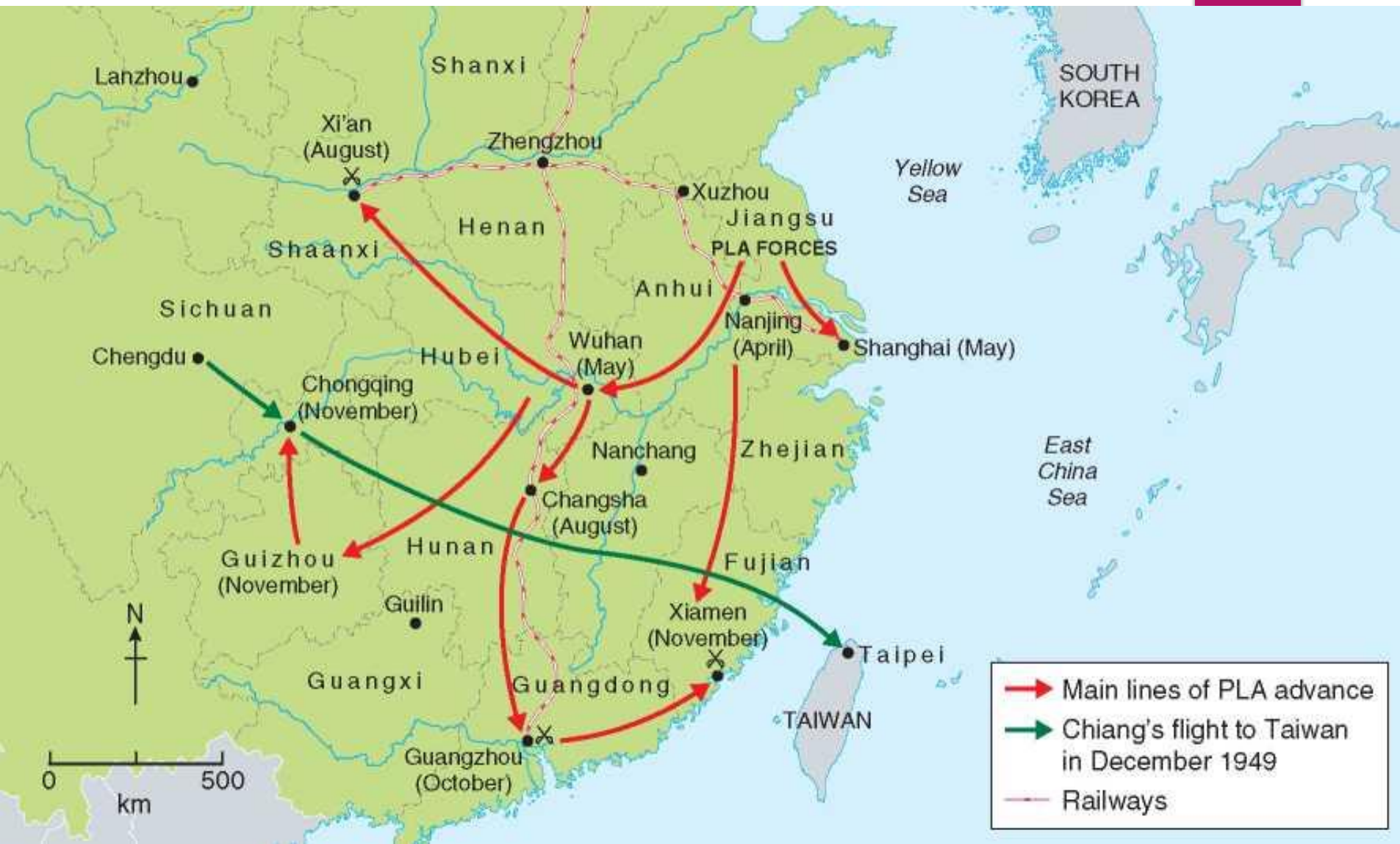
The CCP on the offensive (1947-1948)

- ▶ US played a significant role: in June 1947, Jiang agreed to another truce – worked to CCPs advantage
 - ▶ CCP used the time to train forces and get them ready for war ; Mao introduced reforms/ peasants joined the communists
 - ▶ Fighting resumed in July, Red Army(People's Liberation Army – PLA) reverted to guerilla warfare
 - ▶ GMD recaptured cities in Manchuria and went on in March to take CCP capital Yan'an. Cities in Manchuria were isolated – Mao used guerilla tactics effectively
 - ▶ PLA cut the GMD forces off by targeting their supply routes – the railways
 - ▶ By March 1948, American advisers told Jiang to leave Manchuria to protect his forces; at this time GMD and CCP evenly matched in terms of military power and resources
 - ▶ Jiang fought on, but lost Manchuria. Jiang lost 40,000 troops.

Collapse of GMD resistance

- ▶ PLA Launched an offensive against the vital railway junction near Xuzhou - PLA fights conventional warfare in the end; the defeat of the Nationalists was a huge blow for Jian's men, both strategically and psychologically
- ▶ January 1949 – Lin Biao took Tianjin and Beijing – the whole of N China was under communist control
- ▶ In April PLA launched the final series of offensives, taking Nanjing and then Shanghai
- ▶ Oct. 1949 Mao proclaimed the establishment of People's Republic of China in Beijing saying "Our nation will never again be an insulted nation. We have stood up."





The main developments in the (second phase of) civil war

1945

Focus: north China

- Nationalists gained control of cities
- CCP dominated the countryside

1946

Focus: Manchuria

- Nationalists gained control of cities
- CCP retreated from cities but dominated the countryside

Truce (June–October)

1947

Focus: central and northern China

- Nationalist advance, gained majority of cities
- CCP in retreat (lost Yanan) but retained countryside bases

1948

Focus: central and northern China and Manchuria

- Nationalists in retreat (losing many key cities)
- CCP launched successful attacks on cities

1949

Focus: southern China

- Nationalists in retreat
- CCP gained huge amounts of territory and ultimate victory

	Nationalists	CCP
Strategies and tactics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritized taking and holding urban centres, e.g. Strongpoint Offensive (1947) • Favoured conventional-style battles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Prioritized maintaining rural bases between 1945 and 1947 • Used the mobile defence strategy between 1945 and late 1947 • Shifted to strategy of attacking urban centres from late 1947
Military personnel	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initially outnumbered the CCP (3 to 1), but later lost this numerical advantage • Conscripts used frequently 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initially outnumbered by the Nationalists, but later gained the numerical advantage • Conscripts used frequently
Weaponry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefited from access to US armaments supplies • US supplies perhaps not as helpful as has been claimed 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefited from captured Japanese weaponry, with access facilitated by the USSR • Used captured Nationalist weaponry
Civilian support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Propaganda • Use of coercion: for taxes, recruits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Popular policies: land reform, social reform • Propaganda • Use of coercion: for food supplies, recruits
Access to food supplies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Food shortages and hunger a significant problem • Relied on rail and air transportation of food into the cities which was frequently sabotaged 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • No significant food shortages • Food accessed (often forcibly) from rural base areas to supply troops

What were the reasons for the Communist success?

Strengths of the CCP

- ▶ **Guerilla tactics**
- ▶ **The Leadership of the PLA**
 - ▶ Led by Lin Biao – transformed troops from guerilla to conventional
 - ▶ PLA effective fighting force, with higher morale
- ▶ **Role of Mao**
 - ▶ Central to success / his leadership and the Long March
 - ▶ Refrained from attacking “bourgeoisie” during war/ adapted ideology
- ▶ **The Spread of Communist Ideas**
 - ▶ During the war with Japan
 - ▶ Land reform – appealing to peasants
- ▶ **The Role of Intelligence**
 - ▶ Jiang's Assistant Chief of staff, Liu Fei, was a Communist spy - communists knew all intended GMD moves in advance

Errors of Jiang Jieshi

- ▶ **Political**
 - ▶ Continued to resist changes, and became increasingly repressive
 - ▶ Failed to win mass support – relied on a narrow, wealthy section of landlords and business men
 - ▶ Corruption and inefficiency
- ▶ **Economic**
 - ▶ Support damaged by rampant inflation/ affected middle classes
 - ▶ In 1948, introduces new currency / rationing started
- ▶ **Military**
 - ▶ Poorly trained troops/ low morale/ high number of desertions
 - ▶ Aggressive behavior towards ordinary Chinese
 - ▶ Military leadership mistakes by Jiang – like pouring resources in Manchuria, or fighting at Xuzhou

What was the role of foreign support in the final outcome?

▶ The USA:

- ▶ Economic and strategic interests in China / supported GMD from the first phase
- ▶ USA provided Jiang with **almost \$3 billion in** aid and large supplies or arms
- ▶ Second stage of the civil war, the Americans **transported GMD forces by sea and air to the north of China** / US troops occupied Tianjin and Beijing to hold them
- ▶ USA did what it could do to assist Jiang, but his regime was too ineffective to survive
- ▶ Some historians believe that there should have been more military commitment from the USA , which could save China from Communism
- ▶ Americans held responsible by Jiang for pressuring to agree to truces at critical times



What was the role of foreign support in the final outcome?

▶ The USSR

- ▶ The Soviets had been rather **reluctant** to support the CCP/ less support than USA helped GMD
- ▶ Mao waged the Rectification Campaigns to oust Soviet supporters from the CCP
- ▶ **Backed both United Fronts**, Stalin did not see that the CCP could win the civil war until later stages in 1948
- ▶ Soviet assistance in Manchuria – essential to establishing the PLA as a more modern and effective force



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