The Chinese Civil War:

1. THE ORIGINS OF THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR

1.1 THE IDEA OF A STRONG AND UNITED CHINA

- The concept of a centralised and powerful China was deeply embedded into the Chinese psyche
- By the end of the Qing dynasty¹, China had become backwards and badly fragmented
- There was a deep desire by the CCP² and GMD³
- The CCP saw the Chinese Civil War as a war of liberation

1.2 IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS BETWEEN GMD AND CCP

- The CCP
 - It was backed by the Soviet Union
 - It was anti-imperialist but the Soviets were imperialists themselves
 - Its policies favoured the peasantry and workers
 - It wanted to transform the economy to a communist one
 - It claimed to favour people's democracy
 - However power was actually centralised in the CCP's hands
- The GMD
 - It was backed by Western powers (the United States)
 - It was anti-imperialist but needed support from the imperialists
 - Its policies favoured the elite and upper classes (bourgeoisie)
 - It promoted a capitalistic system
 - It claimed to be democratic
 - However the system still remained an authoritarian one

1.3 HISTORY OF DISTRUST AND BETRAYAL

- The 1st United Front collapsed after Chiang Kai-Shek / Jiang Jieshi⁴ launched the White Terror in 1927 and brutally crushed the CCP
- The 2nd United Front collapsed after the New 4th Army Incident in 1941 where GMD forces attacked CCP forces

1 清朝

² CCP = Chinese Communist Party / 中国共产党

³ GMD = Guo Min Dang / 国民党

⁴ 蒋介石

1.4 THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION

- The Soviet Union
 - It promoted world revolution
 - It sought to protect Josef Stalin's domestic position
 - It exerted very tight control over the CCP in the 1920s
 - It adopted many erroneous policies which proved to be disastrous for the CCP
- The United States
 - It greatly misjudged the CCP
 - Wishful ticking that it could transform the CCP
 - This only encouraged the GMD to seek to fully destroy the CCP

1.5 THE IMPACT OF THE SINO-JAPANESE WAR

- The brunt of the war fell on the GMD as it was the legitimate government
- The CCP victory in the Chinese Civil War was greatly influenced by World War II
- · World War II discredited the legitimate GMD government which suffered heavy losses
- The GMD suffered grievous losses and undermining of its legitimacy due to poor policies
- The CCP took advantage of the War which stopped the continuation of the GMD encirclement campaigns
- Yan'an⁵ was protected, allowing the CCP to expand itself and the Red Army

1.6 THE FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS

- The United States pressurised both factions to negotiate to form a coalition government and naively thought that both sides were willing to compromise
- American ambassador Patrick Hurley was unduly sympathetic to the CCP
- An agreement was reached in January 1946 however neither side intended to keep it
- The CCP still had a functioning army (the Red Army⁶) and still controlled territory this was not addressed in the agreement
- The CCP benefited from American pressure as it allowed it time to consolidate so that it could fight a conventional war

⁶ 红军

2. REASONS AND IMPACT OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION

2.1 THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION

Stalin's aims

- Stalin wanted to ensure the security of the Soviet Union
- He also sought to check the possibility of a revived China and Japan
- The Soviet Union had to reconstruct its heavily damaged economy and society after World War II
- Hence it needed to exploit Manchuria⁷ and its resources
- Stalin wanted to assert his continued role as the leader of the communist world
- · However he opposed Maoism which he feared may rival his leadership

Stalin's deal with Jiang over Manchuria

- Stalin invaded Manchuria in 1945
- · He agreed to withdraw after a deal was made
- Stalin was allowed to strip Manchuria of its economic resources, taking over \$2,000,000,000 (in 1945 standards) of goods and equipment
- This would later hamper China's industrial recovery
- Mao Zedong⁸ got Stalin to delay his withdrawal so that the CCP could deploy in Manchuria

Military aid

- Soviet advisers taught the Red Army the use of modern weapons and large-scale warfare
- · The switch from guerrilla warfare to conventional warfare
- The Soviets got Japanese POWs⁹ to train the Red Army and help develop an air force
- The Soviets also handed over confiscated weapons from the Japanese to the CCP

Diplomatic aid

- The Soviet Union did not actively support the CCP in the international arena
- · The Soviets remained as only an onlooker during the Civil War itself

Stalin's pressure on Mao

- Stalin kept trying to persuade Mao to compromise with Jiang as he did not want to provoke further American intervention in the region
- · Mao ignored Stalin as he was on the verge of victory and was able to defeat the GMD forces

⁷ 满洲国

⁸ 毛泽东

⁹ POWs = Prisoners of War

2.2 THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

American aims under President Harry Truman

- American economic interests in China was relatively small
- The United States was originally more keen on promoting a coalition government
- There was a very strong pro-GMD China Lobby in the United States
- As Cold War tensions grew, there was growing support for containment to prevent the spread of communism worldwide

Military aid

- The GMD used American airpower to airlift 500,000 GMD troops to Manchurian cities to preempt the CCP forces there (the CCP had already seized the countryside by this point)
- 50,000 American Marines were sent over to take over the vital seaports this enabled the GMD to access to imports
- · Growing anti-Americanism in China forced the United States to withdraw their troops
- The United States imposed an arms embargo in hopes of forcing Jiang to accept a compromise
- · However American intervention actually harmed the GMD and helped the CCP

Economic aid

- The United States provided a total of \$3,884,000,000 in aid (by 1945 standards)
- Much of the aid was spent paying for American weapons to be supplied to the GMD forces
- Additional economic aid approved by Congress only arrived in 1948 where it was way too late

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF GUERRILLA WARFARE (1928 - 1945)

3.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JIANGXI SOVIET

- The GMD tried to destroy the CCP in the 1927 White Terror
- Isolated base areas called 'soviets' were founded and located at border areas
- Mao fled to the Jiangxi Soviet¹⁰ with Zhu De¹¹ and Peng Dehuai¹²
- Due to geographical isolation from the CCP leadership, Mao adopted very independent policies

3.2 MAO'S IDEAS ON POLITICAL MOBILISATION

Overview

- Mao's ideas were not accepted by the CCP leadership who were controlled by the Soviets
- The CCP leadership was obsessed with the Soviet urban uprising model led by workers
- The CCP leadership preferred conventional warfare
- The CCP ordered many failed attacks from 1928 to 1930 and suffered heavy losses
- Most of Mao's policies were made based on pragmatic reasoning

Emphasis on political aims and indoctrination

- The goal of the communists was to introduce complete social and political justice
- · Mao sought to play down the communist ideology
- · Instead Mao emphasised the united front among the classes against a common enemy
- Mao focused on Chinese nationalism by inciting hatred against foreigners e.g. the Americans

The mass line and the use of propaganda

- The CCP gave the appearance of seeking out popular will and incorporating public opinion into policy making (the mass line)
- · Both genders allowed to vote but rich people were not allowed to
- · Introduced the idea of mass campaigns and mobilised the masses for political action
- · Mao used propaganda extensively in the form of newspapers, posters etc

Land reforms

- · Mao adopted a moderate land policy to ensure class unity
- Mao targeted only the pro-Japanese and exploitative landlords their land was redistributed to all the other peasants
- · Mao abolished tenancy and cancelled debts
- Rich peasants were allowed to keep some of their lands

Women's rights

• Mao banned arranged marriages and stressed monogamy

¹⁰ 中华苏维埃共和国

¹¹ 朱德

¹² 彭德怀

3.3 MAO'S IDEAS ON GUERRILLA WARFARE

Conditions for guerrilla warfare

- Mao recognised that guerrilla warfare was not universally applicable
- China had the right conditions for guerrilla warfare:
 - Vast areas of land: the communist guerrillas benefitted from their mobility
 - Backward and agrarian society: there was much unrest amongst the peasants
 - Weak central control: China was still dominated by the warlords

The importance of protracted war

- Mao's problem was not ending the war quickly it was how to keep the war going on
- The GMD was militarily superior and much stronger than the CCP
- · Thus the CCP needed a protracted war to steadily weaken its enemy
- · Mao used the peasants to slowly surround the urban areas
- · This reflected the siege-like nature of protracted war
- Protracted war v. attritional warfare

Relations with the peasants - the people's army

- · Mao recognised the need to win over the peasants
- Mao relied on the peasants for soldiers, supplies, intelligence and logistics
- The peasants had to be convinced that they were fighting for their own socio-economic interests
- Mao conducted literacy programmes and trained the peasants while indoctrinating them
- Mao introduced the Three Rules and Eight Remarks¹³ this was to ensure the proper behaviour of soldiers towards the masses

Political control of the Red Army

- Power grows out of the barrel of a gun¹⁴
- Mao ensured that the Army was under strict control of the party
- Use of political officers attached to army units to ensure firm party control
- Strong use of political indoctrination which surpassed even military training

The importance of base areas

- Located in remote border areas of provinces
- This allowed the CCP to build up its military and political infrastructure

13 三大纪律八项注意

¹⁴ 枪杆子里面出政权

Guerrilla tactics

- Mao organised small lightly armed units of men to carry out guerrilla attacks
- The units were to be lightly armed and lightly equipped to ensure they could move constantly
- The units were to subject the enemy to harassing attacks constantly
- The guerrilla units attacked weakly defended areas such as railroads, supply stores etc
- They were also used to lure enemies deep into communist territory and encircle them

The three stages of revolutionary warfare

- Mao recognised that guerrilla tactics could not win the war and would eventually be subordinated to conventional warfare
- The first stage would be when the enemy is on the offensive guerrilla tactics used
- The second stage would be when the enemy is in a strategic stalemate
- The third stage would be when the communists launched the counteroffensive
- The Red Army would be used to carry out conventional warfare

Major Communist leaders

- Lin Biao (Military)
- Nie Rongzhen¹⁵ (Military)
- Zhu De (Military)
- Liu Bocheng¹⁶ (Military)
- Liu Shaoqi¹⁷ (Administrative)
- Zhou Enlai¹⁸ (Negotiations)

15 聂荣臻

16 刘伯承

17 刘少奇

18 周恩来

3.4 CCP GUERRILLA OPERATIONS FROM 1928 TO 1945

The Jiangxi Soviet

- The first stage of revolutionary warfare
- Jiang launched 5 extermination campaigns against the communists through the 1930s
- The first four failed due to the effectiveness of Mao's guerrilla strategy
- As the GMD forces advanced, the local troops consolidated control of the rear this reduced the amount of territory under communist control
- The GMD forces imposed a tight blockade around the Jiangxi Soviet and cut off supply lines
- By late 1934, the Jiangxi Soviet was no longer under Mao's control as the CCP leadership (the 28 Bolsheviks) had taken over
- The 28 Bolsheviks adopted positional (conventional) warfare rather than guerrilla warfare
- · The communists were thus soundly defeated
- · Mao claimed that his guerrilla warfare strategy would have avoided this outcome
- The Jiangxi soviet decided to break out to embark on the Long March to Yan'an

The Long March

- The journey covered 9,600 km
- The communists encountered many skirmishes and few survived till the end of the March
- · Mao managed to recapture power and resumed guerrilla warfare tactics

The Yan'an period

- The second stage of revolutionary warfare
- At this time, Japan invaded China (World War II Sino-Japanese War)
- The GMD bore the brunt of the Japanese offensive
- Hence Jiang did not launch any major campaign against the communists
- The communists only launched two major battles against the Japanese in 1937 and 1940
- Both battles saw limited success

3.5 EVALUATION OF THE CCP'S GUERRILLA OPERATIONS

- Mao recognised that only the creation of the Red Army which was capable of conventional warfare could defeat the GMD forces
- It was due to fortunate events that the CCP was saved from destruction
- The Japanese invasion in 1937 prevented the GMD from launching further extermination campaigns and weakened the GMD forces

4. THE GMD AND CCP STRATEGIES AND THE COURSE OF THE WAR

4.1 THE GMD STRATEGY

- The GMD possessed considerable advantages in 1945 at the start of the war
- · The GMD was recognised as the legitimate government globally
- · Jiang decided to make Manchuria the centrepiece of his strategy this was a mistake
- · Jiang expected American support in his campaign against the communists
- Jiang should have consolidated the area south of the Great Wall and north of the Yangtze River¹⁹

4.2 THE CCP STRATEGY

- The CCP troops were located mainly in northwestern China
- Mao originally wanted to seize the cities e.g. Shanghai²⁰
- · However Stalin prevented them from doing so as he wanted to broker a deal with Jiang himself
- Manchuria was their main target they had a better chance of defeating the GMD there
- The GMD and CCP forces in Manchuria were more evenly matched
- Manchuria was more developed in industries and was close geographically to the Soviet Union
- Their main strategy was based on Mao's principles
- The CCP originally adopted guerrilla warfare but shifted to conventional warfare in 1948
- The CCP tried to stir up urban uprisings but had little support in doing so
- The Soviet model thus would have clearly failed here in China

¹⁹ 长江 / 扬子江 ²⁰ 上海

4.3 THE COURSE OF THE WAR

The Manchurian campaign - the GMD in Manchuria

- The GMD forces had to be airlifted to the cities by the Americans in 1946
- The 500,000 GMD forces in Manchuria were Jiang's best troops
- · However these troops came from other parts of China and were not well received in Manchuria
- · The GMD forces took over the urban areas
- · However they were defensive and remained within the cities
- · The GMD administrators there abused their power this destabilised the Chinese economy
- Jiang's strategy was a mistake given the CCP's control of the countryside and Soviet support

The Manchurian campaign – the CCP in Manchuria

- Much of Manchuria was rural and thus was suitable for guerrilla warfare
- · The CCP rapidly moved into the countryside after the Soviets withdrew
- The CCP forces were led by Lin Biao²¹
- Lin Biao integrated many different ethnic groups into his army, including the local Manchurians
- Lin Biao subjected his forces to tough training this prepared them for conventional warfare

The course of the Manchurian campaign

- · Lin Biao was defeated when using set piece frontal attacks battles initially in 1946
- The CCP forces were not yet prepared for a full-scale war in 1946
- The CCP forces instead surrounded and cut off the GMD cities' communications and supply lines
- The CCP was able to undermine the GMD's airpower advantage by operating during winter
- Lin Biao defeated the GMD forces in Manchuria in the Liaoshen campaign in 1947 to 1948
- The GMD lost 400,000 troops in Manchuria only 140,000 troops escaped
- · Manchuria thus became a vital communist base for food, goods and supplies

The course of the Huai-Hai campaign

- The Huai-Hai campaign²² was the turning point of the war
- The GMD forces focused on attacking Shandong, a key communist stronghold
- Areas targeted were Shandong²³, Anhui²⁴, Henan²⁵ and Jiangsu²⁶
- The GMD commanders had personal grievances and refused to provide mutual support
- Many GMD commanders were incompetent and were retained by Jiang for their loyalty

- ²³ 山东
- ²⁴ 安徽
- 25 河南
- 26 江苏

²¹ 林彪

²² 淮海战役

- The GMD forces were hindered by poor and inaccurate intelligence
- As the GMD forces were about to lose, Jiang ordered his air force to bomb his own troops this was to prevent the heavy weapons form falling into the hands of the CCP
- · This drove many GMD troops to defect to the CCP
- The GMD lost 200,000 men and most of the American equipment as a result of their defeat
- The GMD was unable to get more equipment from the USA as the Americans had imposed a trade embargo (to force Jiang into a compromise with the CCP)
- Jiang's enemies led by Li Zongren²⁷ forced him to give up the presidency in January 1949

The Beijing-Tianjin campaign

- Beijing²⁸ was not the capital of China at this time Nanjing²⁹ was the capital
- Lin Biao advanced against Beijing and Tianjin³⁰ in November 1948
- The GMD general Fu Zuoyi³¹ had his defence plans stolen by his own daughter Fu Dongju³²
- · Some of his own staff were communists too
- Beijing-Tianjin surrendered in January 1949 with 200,000 troops without fighting
- · GMD's hold over North China thus collapsed

The fall of Central and Southern China

- The GMD was hoping to use the Yangtze River as a defensive moat
- The GMD was relying on Tang Enbo³³'s troops but Tang fled China instead
- · Jiang decided to withdraw to Taiwan and not defend the Yangtze
- The CCP captured Nanjing in April 1949 and Shanghai in May 1949
- This proved severe Nanjing was the national capital and Shanghai was the financial capital

The establishment of the People's Republic of China

- On 1st October 1949, Mao proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China
- Jiang fled to Taiwan in December 1949
- However Hainan³⁴ Island managed to resist CCP forces until 1950

- ²⁸ 北京
- 29 南京
- 30 天津

31 傅作义

- 32 傅冬菊
- ³³ 汤恩伯
- ³⁴ 海南岛

²⁷ 李宗仁

5. REASONS FOR THE GMD DEFEAT AND THE CCP STRATEGY

5.1 POLITICAL FACTORS

GMD	ССР
 Incompetent and disunited leadership Jiang refused to share power and created much rivalry in the GMD Many local warlords refused to support Jiang and the GMD 	 <u>Superior and united leadership</u> Mao focused on the ideological vision of the CCP He left civil administration to Liu Shaoqi and negotiations to Zhou Enlai He left military affairs to Lin Biao, Nie Rongzhen, Zhu De and Liu Bocheng There was an extraordinary cohesion within the top leadership of the CCP
 <u>Corruption and inefficiency</u> Jiang tolerated corruption as long as his followers remained loyal to him Jiang's government was never able to control China effectively (due to the warlords) 	 Incorruptible and capable The CCP had effective propaganda which presented them as being honest and incorruptible
 <u>The lack of democratic reforms</u> Jiang tried to push for democratic reforms to win American and local Chinese support Jiang was elected as President but faced challenges from rivals like Li Zongren (who later became Jiang's vice-president), whom he made efforts to exclude from the government and war effort (despite Li Zongren being a capable general) 	 <u>The people's democracy</u> Mao sought to unite people under the CCP Mao created representative bodies which had non-CCP representatives This gave the CCP the appearance of being democratic
 <u>Political repression</u> The GMD imposed harsh crackdowns when it came to power Jiang had the leaders of the opposition Democratic League executed, leading to widespread protests The GMD repression was inconsistently harsh and undermined the authority of the GMD 	 <u>Leniency</u> Mao encouraged defections from the GMD and treated defectors (temporarily) well The CCP was much firmer and effective in suppressing public dissent

Imperialism	Imperialism
• The GMD was seen as a stooge of Western	 The CCP cloaked themselves with the mantle
imperialism	of Chinese nationalism

5.2 ECONOMIC FACTORS

GMD	ССР
 Extent of World War II damage China's productive capacity was severely affected – 55% of industries were destroyed The GMD was blamed for the aftermath of the war as they were the legitimate government However they failed to defend most of China against the Japanese 	 Socio-economic reforms The CCP had won over the support of most of the people by the end of the war due to its moderate land policies and anti-Japanese nationalism Mao then adopted radical land reforms – land was confiscated and redistributed; landlords were beaten to death
 <u>Economic situation in 1945</u> The GMD was not economically hopeless – it had at least 1 billion USD in reserves The GMD had also received aid from the UN 	 However these were later reversed in 1947 Most peasants however deserted the CCP when their armies were not present Most peasants were mere spectators in the civil war and wanted to be left alone
 <u>Corruption and inefficiency</u> The GMD had failed to live up to the people's post-war expectations Jiang was unwilling to sweep away corrupt officials and officers who were loyal to him The CCP also exaggerated and fabricated accounts of corruption By 1946, the GMD had started to target the upper classes – their original main supporters 	

Hyperinflation
The GMD had insufficient revenue and turned
to deficit spending and foreign loans
The military spending (a financially unproduc-
tive activity) was the main problem
• By 1947, hyperinflation had set in (similar to
1920s Germany)
The inflation affected those with fixed incomes
e.g. the workers and middle classes - the
GMD lost much support from them
There were many strikes by workers (similar to
the Soviet model of revolution) - however this
did not play a major role in the defeat of the
GMD

5.3 MILITARY FACTORS

GMD	ССР
 Incompetent leadership Jiang tended to second-guess his generals and frequently issued unrealistic orders An overly defensive approach was adopted 	 <u>Capable military leadership</u> The CCP had talented and courageous leaders like Zhu De, Peng Dehuai, Lin Biao, Liu Bocheng et cetera
 The GMD command structure was unnecessarily complex The top commanders vied for Jiang's favour Jiang refused to deploy capable generals Jiang had the tendency to order his soldiers to fight on despite certain defeat The generals failed to master mechanised and air warfare – negating their advantages They lacked planning and coordination 	 Lin Biao was able to grasp the strategic dispositions of the enemy and was able to mislead them with regards to his own The CCP were able to turn liberated areas into sustainable administrative regions to support their war effort
 <u>Poor strategic planning</u> Jiang's mistake was to send troops into Manchuria before consolidating his power Jiang switched his attack to Shandong and Shanxi in Northern China – this was a mistake and overstretched the GMD lines The GMD were determined to capture Yan'an (the former communist capital) despite its lack of strategic value Jiang relied mainly on defensive strategies 	 Superior strategic planning Mao's people's war strategy was ideal for a militarily weaker army However the CCP were also able to switch to full-scale conventional warfare at the correct time in 1947

The mean quality of the OMD	The better quelity of the COD
The poor quality of the GMD army	The better quality of the CCP army
• The Sino-Japanese war in World War II had	The CCP forces lacked combat experience
exhausted the GMD forces	They lacked tanks and aircraft but benefitted
There was no proper conscription system	from GMD defectors and the 200,000 battle-
• The GMD divisions usually came from the	experienced soldiers from the Manchukuo
same particular region – this led to a tendency	army under the Japanese
for mass desertion	The CCP recruited liberally from local bandit
• The GMD troops received training from many	chiefs and former GMD defectors and prison-
different sources – this lack of standardisation	ers
badly affected troop training	• The CCP forces received training and equip-
• The GMD were saddled with a collection of un-	ment from the Soviets and the Japanese – this
standardised weapons – this was a logistical	allowed them to switch to conventional warfare
nightmare	The CCP forces were subjected to superior in-
The American embargo meant that the GMD	doctrination – leading to higher morale
inventories ran low by the end of the war	 The CCP switched to creating a conventional
 Malnutrition was a major problem – led to low 	army only in 1947
morale and defections	
• There was a serious lack of trained officers –	
most officers had bought their positions	
Betrayal of the GMD	
The CCP had spies deep within GMD ranks	
• The CCP was effective and brutal, making it	
difficult for GMD spies to penetrate it	
Loss of American support	
• Jiang was overly confident of having Truman's	
support	
• The Americans became frustrated with Jiang's	
refusal to take their advice and form a compro-	
mise with the communists	
• By 1948, the Americans were convinced that	
Jiang had become a liability	
However Jiang was never convinced and did	
not expect the Americans to abandon him	