



Princeton Diplomatic Invitational  
February 9-11, 2018

Government of the Republic of China  
Nicholas Wu, Chair

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**LETTER FROM THE CONFERENCE DIRECTOR**

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Delegates,

It is with great joy that I welcome you to the first iteration of the Princeton Diplomatic Invitational! I hope that each and every one of you will walk away from our conference having enjoyed the debates you will have and the people you will meet.

Allow me to tell you the story of how we got here. For years, Princeton has hosted the Princeton International Crisis Simulation - better known as PICSim - which brought innovative approaches, like a conference-wide Joint Crisis Committee, to the college Model UN circuit. However, the past two years brought with them an unfortunate decline in the quality of PICSim.

We sought to change that. The decision to rebrand ourselves as the Princeton Diplomatic Invitational was one to begin a new era for Princeton's college conference. The changes were greater than just a new name; rather, we brought about a new conference schedule, a smaller Secretariat, improved communication with delegations, and, true to the original iteration of PICSim, a six-way Joint Crisis Committee that promises to be better staffed than ever before.

Here's to the first Princeton Diplomatic Invitational. Let us make it memorable.

Sincerely yours,

Elkhyn R. Rivas Rodriguez,

Director, Princeton Diplomatic Invitational I

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## LETTER FROM THE CHAIR

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Dear delegates,

I'm incredibly excited to welcome you all to the first ever iteration of the Princeton Diplomatic Invitational. My name is Nicholas Wu, and I'm a senior in the Woodrow Wilson School, pursuing certificates in American Studies and East Asian Studies. I'm currently working on a thesis about the implementation of Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA). On campus, I'm involved with the International Relations Council, the Daily Princetonian, the Asian American Students Association, and Princeton Advocates for Justice. I'm also a huge fan of cooking.

Enough about me, though! This conference, along with all the blood, sweat and tears that have been invested in it, exists to provide you with a memorable experience. It is a pleasure that my retirement from college Model United Nations will be preceded by an intense debate about suppressing the Communist insurgency, combating corruption, and leading an independent China to greatness. I have no doubt that all of you will come well-prepared and determined to crush our enemies.

Thank you for joining us. To ensure that you're having fun, please don't hesitate to contact me (nmwu@princeton.edu) if you have any questions about the history or my expectations. I look forward to meeting you all on February 9th.

See you soon,

Nicholas Wu,

Chair, Government of the Republic of China

### **BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

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#### **The Beginnings of the Cold War**

The Second World War in Asia was brought to a dramatic end in August 1945 with the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Soviet invasion of Japanese-controlled Manchuria, and finally the surrender of Japan. However, while the allies had, at least in theory, agreed to the post-war situation in Asia, it quickly became apparent in the three years following the end of the war that they had differing goals for Asia's geopolitical organization.

The aftermath of the war and the story of the changes in the relationships between the victors is complex and multifaceted. However, it is clear that the period saw increasing distrust between the United States and the Soviet Union. The Allies had agreed in a series of conferences on many of the aspects of the post-war peace, including such lasting arrangements as the United Nations. From these conferences, it seemed to the Americans that the Soviets would allow free and fair elections to take place in Eastern Europe. However, as Soviet forces continued their occupation of Eastern Europe and began a series of rigged elections that brought Communist governments to power, the American government became convinced that the Soviets sought to establish their power more broadly and beyond their own borders. During this time, the United States took steps to ensure the democratic and pro-American alignment of governments in Europe that were occupied by American, British, and French forces. It was clear to the Soviets that the Americans and their allies were willing to take whatever steps necessary to secure friendly governments in the areas they occupied. The culmination of this was the declaration of the Truman Doctrine in the spring of 1947. In this famous speech to Congress, Truman asked for \$400 million dollars to support the governments of Greece and Turkey, asserting the country's support of all "free peoples who are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures," thus effectively announcing the United States' intent to support governments against communist forces.

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This was followed up with the announcement of the Marshall Plan in June of 1948 to rebuild the economies of Europe. The theory among American policymakers was that a strong economic recovery would decrease support for communist parties in the Western European countries, especially France and Italy. Fearing a loss of influence if Eastern Bloc countries accepted this aid, Stalin prevented them from participating in the plan. When the Western allies continued to go ahead with the economic normalization and political organization of West Germany, Stalin responded by consolidating control over East Germany. At the end of June 1948, when the Western allies intended to introduce a new Deutsch Mark, Stalin began the Berlin Blockade. The allies responded by launching the Berlin Airlift, and in July of 1948 it became clear that the geopolitical situation had changed from that of allies to that of rivals and adversaries.

While the events in Europe influenced and essentially defined the relationship between the two countries and their strategic perception of each other, events in East Asia continued apace. In the immediate aftermath of the war, American forces occupied Japan, the southern half of Korea, and the Philippines, and Soviet forces occupied Manchuria and the northern half of Korea. American Marines were also sent to assist in the handover of major ports by the Japanese, to ensure the handover went to the Nationalist government of the KMT rather than to the Communists. In the same manner, British and French troops were moved rapidly in Southeast Asia to Indochina, Malaya, and the East Indies to ensure that the handover of authority by the Japanese forces were to colonial authorities rather than to nationalists or communists. Thus, in the immediate aftermath of the war, it seemed that the Americans and their allies had been able to seize much of the strategic high ground.

Despite these advantages in the post-war strategic positions, the initial actions in 1945-1946 did not lead to outright conflict. The Nationalists and Communist reached an accord of sorts with the Double Tenth Agreement and the Chongqing conference, and the Soviets and Americans attempted to come to an understanding on the status of Korea with the Soviet-American Commission. At the

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same time, the American forces consolidated their occupation of Japan. These ongoing events led to a lull in tensions in East Asia.

However, things soon took a more interesting turn: the Communists in China had secured wide support among the populace and the Nationalist had borne the brunt of the war, anti-colonial movements in Southeast Asia gained momentum, the Soviets were able to transfer resources and equipment to the Communists in Manchuria, and the government set up in northern Korea was quite successful in consolidating power. In southern Korea, American attempts to set up a government were met with popular resistance and lacked legitimacy. This set the stage for further advances of the Communists, as post-war attempts to reach a negotiated settlement failed and the Nationalist attempt to consolidate control in Manchuria failed during the Communist offensives of 1947.

Thus, during the latter half of 1947 and first half of 1948, Communist forces were able to reverse the tide of battle and capture most of the countryside in northern China and Manchuria, and capture major cities in the critical center of the North China Plain. Importantly too, the Americans had become suspicious of the capability of the Nationalist government to form a legitimate democratic regime and began to draw down on their support of the regime. This was especially apparent as General Marshall's attempts to make peace between the Communists and Nationalists were thwarted by Nationalist intransigence. Marshall, by 1948 the Secretary of State, warned Congress that he thought efforts to support the Nationalists in an all-out war with Communists would be fruitless and a waste of resources. On the other side of things, however, it was important to note that Stalin still pressed for the Communists to maintain their alliance with the Nationalists, and remained intensely skeptical about the Chinese Communists.

### **Nationalist China**

The post-1911 history of China can be divided into the Beiyang government period in the immediate post-revolution era, the Warlord period from Yuan Shikai's death until the Northern

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Expedition in 1927, the Nanjing Decade until the Japanese invasion of 1937, and the Sino-Japanese War and its aftermath.

### **1911 Revolution and Beiyang Government**

The 1911 revolution brought the Qing dynasty to an end. After decades of failure on the part of the dynasty to modernize China and bring reform and uprisings against the central government became more common after the Boxer Rebellion, the Qing could not hold against the latest rebellion in 1911. The rebellion spread when workers resisted the nationalization of railroads and their sale to foreigners in Hubei province. Soon, they were able to capture Wuchang (in modern Wuhan), and the rebellion spread from there. In most of the provinces, the New Army, a modernized part of the Qing forces, helped in taking control in the name of revolution. After taking Nanjing, the revolutionaries formed a provisional government, electing Sun Yat-Sen as president. Meanwhile, the imperial government attempted to resolve things by declaring a constitutional government in Beijing, naming Yuan Shikai the prime minister. Yuan Shikai then negotiated with the Republican government, coming to an agreement in which Yuan Shikai became president in exchange for forcing the emperor to abdicate.

This was the beginning of the Beiyang government in Beijing under Yuan Shikai. A constitution was drawn up and elections were held in which the KMT under Sun Yat-Sen won the majority of the seats. However, the favored premier candidate for the KMT was assassinated, and Sun Yat-Sen led the Second Revolution in 1913 against Yuan Shikai in response to his consolidation of power. Yuan Shikai was able to take control of the government by fall of 1913, and produced a new Constitutional Compact that gave the president wide powers. Continuing to consolidate his power, Yuan eventually engineered a monarchical movement that installed him as emperor in 1915. This led to commanders in Yunnan, and eventually most of the south, to declare independence. They were

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able to defeat the armies sent against them, and Yuan was forced to abdicate his new position in 1916, dying a few months later.

Although the originally called for parliament elected in 1913 reconvened in 1916, they were unable to agree upon a plan of action for the events of World War One. A monarchist general took advantage of the disagreements to seize the capital and re-declare Puyi emperor before he was defeated. Nonetheless, the disagreements that came about during these course of events, including the attempts by some to undermine the constitution, led Sun Yat-Sen to remove himself to Guangzhou and call for the establishment of a new government. This was called the Constitutional Protection movement. By this point in time, the Beiyang government had lost control over the majority of the country, and the “Warlord” era began as powerful commanders were able to assert control over the fragmented country.

### **Warlord Era**

After Sun Yat-Sen and the KMT left the Beiyang government, Duan Qirui held on to power with his Anhui clique until the 1920 Zhili-Anhui War in which he lost power to the Zhili clique. The term “clique” is used to refer to the patronage networks that tied warlords, politicians, and other powerbrokers together into groups with shared interests. From this time until the victory of Chiang Kai-Shek in the Northern Expedition, power in Beiyang switched hands between different cliques and factions within cliques.

Meanwhile, the rest of the country fell into the hands of different warlords. The KMT government in the South was able to consolidate control of Guangxi and Guangdong, with the important port of Guangzhou (old Canton, adjacent to Hong Kong). The warlords consolidated their power by using networks of established power and wealth, and by using violence to intimidate threats to their rule. The warlords sought to expand their own power by fighting wars with other warlords,

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but these would inevitably cause another warlord to counter this expansion of power in classic balance of power calculations.

In the provinces, very little development took place during this era. The warlords used the railroads to transport troops, and this led to damage during war time of railroad infrastructure and a decline in economic activity on the railways. An exception to this general economic deterioration was Manchuria, where warlords were able to receive support from the Japanese in exchange for creating a stable investment climate. Outside Manchuria and the KMT controlled south though, the degradation of the socio-economic system and the tumultuous political environment led to banditry and the increased impoverishment of the vast majority of Chinese people. Practices such as confiscatory and arbitrary taxation damaged businesses and receipts were not used to improve infrastructure, further damaging the future prospects of the economy.

In the south, the KMT government was supported by local warlords who constantly interfered with Sun Yat-Sen's government in an attempt to maintain their own power. This led to Sun sending himself into exile until the KMT was able to expel the local warlords in the 1920 Guangdong-Guangxi War. Returning in 1923, Sun reorganized the party placing an emphasis on centralized control and an alliance with the Communist Party of China under Soviet pressure. This was known as the First United Front. The KMT created the Whampoa Military Academy to train new officers. Meanwhile, during a time in which the government in Beijing switched hands between cliques, Sun went to Beijing to negotiate a new unified government. However, this was unsuccessful and Sun himself passed away in March of 1925.

The ensuing power struggle in the KMT started with the attack by the Yunnan Clique on Guangxi and Guangdong. During the struggle, Chiang Kai-Shek and Wang Jingwei rose to power in the KMT. Wang was a leftist, and with the support of the party's Soviet backers and Communist allies, he seemed ascendant in the party. However, this changed with the Zhongshan incident on March

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20th, 1926, in which Chiang Kai-Shek used a supposed attempt to kidnap or assassinate him to purge the party leadership of Communists and other leftists. This effectively put him in charge of the party and removed Wang from power. Chiang Kai-Shek was able to negotiate a deal with the Soviets that helped to limit the power of the Communists in the KMT alliance.

After consolidating power and securing the support of the Soviets, Chiang Kai-Shek began preparations for the Northern Expedition in order to unify the country under KMT rule. The most powerful coalitions of warlords at the time were those of Wu Peifu in Hubei, Henan, and northern Hunan, Sun Chuanfang in Fujian, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, Anhui, and Jiangxi, and the Fengtian clique in Manchuria, Shandong, and Hebei (controlling the Beiyang government). Chiang Kai-Shek launched the expedition in the late summer of 1926, starting with an invasion of Wuchang (modern Wuhan). By March 1927, the Nationalists captured Nanjing.

Having greatly expanded the power of the Nationalist government, Chiang Kai-Shek turned on the Communists in April, ordering a massacre of them on April 12th in Shanghai. This ended the First United Front. However, it also caused a split in the KMT between left and right wing factions, which delayed the continuation of the Northern Expedition until the summer of 1927. During this time, the Communists attempted uprisings in Nanchang and Guangzhou, which the KMT was able to crush. The Communists were forced into a retreat from the major urban areas. Upon resumption of the Northern expedition after the purge of the communists, the KMT forces were able to find more warlord allies as they continued their string of victories, and by summer of 1928, the Nationalists were able to take control of Beijing. By the end of the year, the Fengtian clique in control of Manchuria recognized the sovereignty of the Nationalist government.

However, despite the nominal reunification of the country, Chiang Kai-Shek and the Nationalists were far from secure in their consolidation of power. The warlord allies that had helped Chiang Kai-Shek capture Beijing refused to demilitarize, leading to the Central Plains War of 1930.

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Chiang Kai-Shek was able to successfully defeat the alliance against him by the end of the year, however.

### **Nanjing Decade**

The period from the capture of Nanjing until the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War is known as the Nanjing Decade. Although Chiang Kai-Shek was able to consolidate power after the Northern Expedition and the Central Plains War, he was far from the only power broker on the scene, with cliques still controlling most of the provinces even as they recognized Chiang Kai-Shek's central authority. Additionally, his former allies, the Communists, were able to form Soviet zones in the more remote areas of the country as refuge from the Nationalist government.

During this decade, the Nationalists created a one party state that avowed the principles of Sun Yat-Sen's. This included the principle of "Three Stages of Revolution," which was first to unify the country militarily, then to create a provisional government that carried out political reform, stabilization, and the education of the people on their rights, and finally the establishment of a constitutional government. The party congress functioned as the legislature in this government, and the party was the government. The government was set up on the principles enumerated by Sun Yat-Sen, including his formulation of a five-branch government that not only included the legislature, executive, and judiciary, but also a ministry of control called the Control Yuan which acted as a state comptroller and political ombudsman and an Examination Yuan which administered the examinations for the civil service.

The KMT was factionalized into groups that supported and opposed Chiang Kai-Shek's leadership. The Whampoa Clique was the largest faction and heavily pro-Chiang Kai-Shek. It consisted of the army officers who had won the Northern Expedition with Chiang Kai-Shek. Many of Chiang Kai-Shek's supporters were members of the Blue Shirts Society. Formed in 1932, this organization created a highly disciplined and centralized group of KMT members dedicated to ensuring the

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government's security by supporting a strong leader. It was based on the emerging principles of Benito Mussolini's fascist ideology, even borrowing their name from Mussolini's Blackshirts. The CC clique, composed of civilians, also supported Chiang Kai-Shek. Finally, the Political Study Clique was composed of more liberal technocrats who supported Chiang Kai-Shek.

Wang Jingwei remained the prominent leader of the leftist opposition, which was called the Reorganizationists. On the right, Hu Hanmin was considered a leader although he formed no formal opposition. Instead, he controlled the Guangdong and Guangxi with the local powerbrokers, and in an attempt to discredit Chiang Kai-Shek ran the provinces in the manner he thought the whole country should be run.

During the Nanjing decade, moderate improvements were made to infrastructure and the economy grew, with GDP growth averaging 3.9% a year. Roads and schools were built, and a semblance of peace was secured. The nationalist government was also able to reverse some of the concessions and privileges ceded to foreign powers over the past few decades. Nonetheless, the decade was defined by the consolidation of power by the Nationalists in a somewhat brutal fashion and the creeping aggression of the Japanese Empire.

Japanese aggression began in 1931 with the Mukden Incident. A bridge on the South Manchuria railway, which was owned by Japan, was blown up on September 18, 1931 near Mukden (modern Shenyang). The Japanese used this act of aggression as a pretext for invading Manchuria. Manchuria at the time was still controlled by warlord Zhang Xueliang. The invasion was at first carried out independently by the Kwantung Army, which operated from the tiny territory Japan controlled at Dalian and Port Arthur. However, once the army was massively successful, the Japanese government had little choice but to accept the success of the army in taking over Manchuria, which was completed by the spring of 1932. The Japanese economy was suffering because of the Great Depression and the takeover was massively popular. The Japanese set up a puppet state called Manchukuo and installed

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the last emperor of the Qing dynasty, Puyi, as the head of state. However, this state was denied international recognition as the Lytton Report by the League of Nations concluded that the Mukden Incident was planned by the Kwantung Army and that Japan's aggression was unwarranted. In response, the Japanese left the League of Nations, which of course further weakened the power of the League as it did nothing in response. The United States reacted to these series of events by adopting the Stimson Doctrine, which refused to recognize changes to the international order accomplished by the use of arms.

The conquest of Manchuria by the Japanese presented a huge problem for the Nationalist government. Chiang Kai-Shek was forced to temporarily resign, and Hu Hanmin even tried to form an opposition government in Guangzhou. Even as the Nationalist government reeled from these events, the Japanese continued their aggressions. In the spring of 1932, after the deaths of Japanese citizens in an incident near a Japanese factory in Shanghai, the Japanese landed troops in the city. When Western intervention brought the Japanese to the negotiating table, the resulting ceasefire resulted in the Nationalists agreeing to the demilitarization of Shanghai and Suzhou. Then, in 1933, the Japanese took control of the areas north of the Great Wall in Inner Mongolia. These were followed by the Tangu Truce, in which the Nationalists agreed to a demilitarized zone from Beijing to Tianjin.

The Japanese aggression led to a huge swell of nationalist sentiment throughout China, and in Manchuria itself, where Anti-Japanese Resistance Armies arose. However, because Chiang Kai-Shek signed the truce with the Japanese, he lost the respect of much of the population for conceding so much to the Japanese. Indeed, as might be expected, the Japanese continued to press their advantage in negotiating positions, and in 1935 they demanded that the KMT withdraw troops from Hebei province and Beijing, as well as cease to political activities in the region. Facing down the communists at the same time, Chiang Kai-Shek gave in to the demands, signing the He-Umezu agreement on the 10th of June, 1935. Later in the year, the Nationalists also allowed the Japanese to demilitarize and

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essentially seize control of the rest of Inner Mongolia. Both of these actions further damaged Chiang Kai-Shek's reputation as he gave in to Japanese demands yet again. In response to these actions, students led the December 9th movement, demanding that the government more actively resist Japanese aggression. Nonetheless, the agreements bought Chiang Kai-Shek's government time, which Chiang Kai-Shek used to deal with the communists.

The Nationalist government focused many of its efforts on combating the Communists. After the purges of the Shanghai massacre, the Communists regrouped in Jiangxi and formed the Chinese Soviet Republic under the leadership of Mao Zedong. Meanwhile, in the cities controlled by the Nationalist forces, the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics acted as a secret police, rounding up and eliminating communists. This effort was led by Dai Li, who was also a leader in the Blue Shirts Society. Thus, the Soviet republic became the main haven for the communists in China. With the support of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Soviet Republic was able to modernize its forces and establish modern infrastructure in the territories it controlled. However, the Soviet was not a contiguous area, which greatly hampered its ability to consolidate its successes. It also made it easier for the Nationalists to pursue their strategy of encirclement.

The Nationalists launched their first encirclement campaign in 1930. This campaign, as well as the next three, were unsuccessful in defeating the Communist forces. While the Nationalists were often successful at first in these campaigns, they would be drawn to far into the communist territories and then face extended and exposed supply lines and more difficult terrain. However, after the Nationalist received military assistance from Germany, including training, advisors, and arms, they were able to devise a strategy for their final, fifth encirclement. The Nationalists used rings of blockhouses to restrict the communists and blockaded them, and then tightened the rings to further restrict the communists. This was conducted in October of 1934, and the Nationalists were able to seize control of the Soviet's territories. However, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai led an escape from

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the encirclement by taking advantage of blockhouses that were manned by warlord troops. The warlord leader of these troops chose to allow the communists to escape rather than deplete his own strength by fighting them. Nonetheless, only 36,000 were able to escape through this route. After a dogged and arduous journey, the Communist forces reached a new haven in Shaanxi in November of 1935, with a much depleted force of only 40,000 members in the Communist party, compared to a pre-encirclement membership of 300,000. For the time being, Chiang Kai-Shek was successful in evicting the Communists from their Soviet territories in south China.

However, when Chiang Kai-Shek had the former warlord of Manchuria, Zhang Xueliang, and his commander Yang Hucheng launch a campaign to finish off the Communists in Shaanxi, things changed. Zhang and Yang came to an understanding with the communists and ceased fighting. Frustrated, Chiang Kai-Shek travelled to Xi'an in Shaanxi, where he was placed under house arrest. The two generals demanded that the Nationalists come to a truce with the Communists and form an alliance against the Japanese. The Nationalist government in Nanjing was in disarray after the news, and only after Madame Chiang Kai-Shek herself traveled to Xi'an and Zhou Enlai told the generals that the Soviet Union did not want the Nationalists to fall into chaos did the generals release Chiang Kai-Shek. On the 24th of December, 1936, the two parties formed the Second United Front against the Japanese.

### **Second Sino-Japanese War**

Indeed, events soon accelerated the path to war. Japanese troops near the demilitarized zone around Beijing exchanged fire at the Marco Polo bridge on July 7, 1937. The incident escalated and Japanese troops soon took over Beijing and Tianjin by August. However, the Chinese troops of Japanese-allied puppet governments in the region took revenge for these incidents in a mutiny known as the Tungchow Mutiny, which caused indignation in Japan. Meanwhile, the KMT took the invasion

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of Beijing and Tianjin as the final straw and prepared to launch a full-scale against the Japanese, even though it appeared that the Japanese may be willing to consolidate their gains in Hebei.

On August 13th 1937, Nationalist forces launched an attack on Shanghai and Japanese marine positions. Soon, the Second Sino-Chinese War began in earnest. Generally, from 1937 to 1940, the war did not go very well for Chinese forces. The United Front of the Communists and Nationalists lost control of most of the major ports and large portions of the North China Plain and the Yangtze River Valley, as well as Guangdong. For the Nationalists, these campaigns were particularly devastating. The Battle of Shanghai, the fall of Nanjing, and the Battle of Wuhan wiped out the Nationalist forces and Chiang Kai-Shek lost many of his best commanders, officers, and troops. The Nationalist government retreated to Sichuan. Meanwhile, the communist forces avoided pitched battles and instead began a campaign of guerilla warfare in Shaanxi and in most of the Japanese controlled territories.

Nonetheless, by 1940, the Chinese and Japanese forces had reached a stalemate of sorts. The Nationalists reversed Japanese advances up the Yangtze in Hubei and at Changsha in Hunan, and forced them to withdraw from Guangxi. However, an attempted counteroffensive failed to evict the Japanese from the territories they already controlled. Additionally, the capture of Indochina by the Japanese cut off a supply route to Sichuan. In the occupied territories, the Japanese faced a mounting resistance campaign largely led by the Communists. In an effort to create a puppet government, the Japanese enlisted Wang Jingwei as the leader of the Reorganized National Government of the Republic of China. However, this government lacked power of its own as well as legitimacy in the eyes of the Chinese people.

By this point in the war, relations between the Communists and Nationalists had largely broken down. The Nationalist's point of view was that they had taken the brunt of the Japanese attacks and were actively fighting back, while the Communists were only concerned with expanding their own

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power base by recruiting insurgents in the occupied territories. This tension culminated in the New Fourth Army incident of January 1941. Chiang Kai-Shek demanded that the Communist's New Fourth Army evacuate Anhui and Jiangsu provinces, claiming the Communist forces had harassed the Nationalist forces in the region. The New Fourth Army was then ambushed by Nationalist forces during the evacuation, and the Communists lost thousands of men. This incident led to a breakdown more or less of the Second United Front.

Nonetheless, with the entrance of the United States into the war against Japan in late 1941, the US put pressure on Chiang Kai-Shek to refrain from all out war with the Communists. Similarly, the Soviets pressured Mao Zedong to focus on defeating the Japanese. In this manner, the two parties focused on defeating the Japanese and, more importantly, positioning themselves to take power after the eventual defeat of the Japanese. Indeed, the Americans even made contact with the Communists in Yan'an with the Dixie Mission from 1944 onwards.

The United States and its allies sought to supply the Nationalist government in Sichuan via the Burma Road, but that road was closed in 1942 by the Japanese occupation of Burma. It became difficult to supply the Nationalists over the Himalayas from British-controlled India, and the Soviets refused to allow for supplies to be shipped through Xinjiang as the warlord in control of that route, Sheng Shicai, had turned anti-communist with Chiang Kai-Shek's encouragement. Still, despite these supply problems, the Nationalists were able to continue resisting Japanese advances up the Yangtze into Hunan and Hubei in 1943.

The United States sent General Joseph Stilwell to China, where he served as chief of staff for Chiang Kai-Shek, who had been named the Allied Commander-in-Chief for the Chinese theater. It soon became clear that the Americans and the Nationalists had different views of how the war ought to be conducted. General Stilwell and the Americans preferred an aggressive strategy of evicting the Japanese from Chinese territories and breaking through the blockade of the Nationalist forces, but

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Chiang Kai-Shek saw this as an expensive strategy given the huge losses the Chinese had already suffered. Instead, the Nationalists hosted American bombers in bases across southeastern China. These bombers began a series of strategic bombing campaigns against Japanese positions in 1944. The Americans also assisted in the war efforts of the Nationalists by forming the Sino-American Special Technical Cooperative Organization, which was an intelligence sharing effort.

In response to the increased pressure placed on Japanese positions and indeed the threat to the Japanese home islands from these bombing campaigns, the Japanese launched their final offensive campaign in spring of 1944 to capture the bases. With the Americans and British having demanded that Chiang Kai-Shek dedicate some of his best troops to the Burma Campaign in order to secure supply routes, the Nationalists were unable to resist the Japanese offensive. The Japanese captured Luoyang and besieged Zhengzhou in the north, and finally captured Changsha in the South and linked up their control of the lower Yangtze river valley with their control of Guangdong. With these defeats, General Stilwell felt that this was the final straw and had US president Franklin Roosevelt demand that Chiang Kai-Shek hand over command of his forces to Stilwell himself. Chiang resisted, and Stilwell was relieved of his position instead in October of 1944. However, this was to have a huge impact on the American perception of Chiang's Nationalist government. American journalists reported on the struggle of the Nationalist government with the Communists, criticizing its preoccupation with the Communists and its pervasive corruption.

By the spring of 1945, actions in the Burma theater secured the Ledo road and supplies were able to reach the Nationalists in Sichuan. Using these resources, the Nationalists were able to launch offensives that retook large parts of Hunan and Guangxi. By the summer of 1945, the Nationalists were planning an offensive against Guangdong and then up the coast to converge on Shanghai and the Yangtze Delta. However, this was made unnecessary after the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the Soviet invasion of Manchuria led to the Japanese surrender in August of 1945.

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### **Post-War Actions to 1948**

The Americans dictated a term of surrender in which the Japanese troops in China were ordered to relinquish control to the forces of the Nationalists and not to the forces of the Communists. In the immediate aftermath of the war, Chiang Kai-Shek and Mao Zedong met in Chongqing and negotiated the Double Tenth Agreement. During the negotiations, fighting between Communist and Nationalist forces continued. The Communists were able to continue their campaign in Shanxi, near their bases in Shaanxi, and achieved significant victories. The negotiating position of Mao at the conference was bolstered. This agreement held that the Communists acknowledged the Nationalist government as the legitimate government of China while the Nationalists recognized the Communists as a legitimate opposition party. Temporarily from late 1945 there was a truce between Communist and Nationalist forces as a result of this agreement. This truce was then strengthened with the Marshall Mission in January of 1946. They agreed to cease troop movements except to receive territory back from the Japanese.

The Nationalists were assisted by the Americans in airlifting troops to occupy the cities taken by the Japanese, including to Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, and Nanjing, as well as using American naval forces to occupy the coastal cities of southern China. The Americans also landed Marines at Qingdao and Tianjin. Chiang Kai-Shek soon realized that he could not easily receive the surrender of the Japanese in Manchuria, where they surrendered to the invading Soviet forces. When the communist forces refused to allow the Nationalists to traverse territory they controlled on the route to Manchuria, Chiang instead had American aircraft airlift Nationalist troops into the cities of Manchuria. The Nationalist forces were able to take control of Shenyang and southern Manchuria by the middle of 1946.

The agreements of January 1946 were starting to be implemented, with a coalition government beginning to take shape. However, the Nationalists were quite unwilling to draw down their armies,

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as were the Communists. Thus, fighting was essentially resumed during the later half of 1946. The communists moved to take control in Manchuria, taking control of a strategic junction in March 1946 and taking control of Changchun in April. The Nationalists responded by launching an attack on Communist positions in Shandong and Jiangsu to take control of vital railway routes. At the same time, the Communists stepped up a propaganda campaign tying the Nationalists to the Americans, who were of course supplying intense logistical support to the Nationalists at the time.

Ironically though, the Americans under General Marshall were quite frustrated with the failures of the parties to come to an agreement. In August, 1946, they imposed an embargo on arms shipments to China. By January 1947 Marshall left and all negotiations between the Communists and Nationalists ended. While the Nationalists benefited from American support and the Communists from Soviet support, the handover of weapons seized in Manchuria provided a huge boost for the Communists in the region. Still, in 1946, the Nationalists made gains in Northern China and Manchuria, feeling confident enough to promulgate a new constitution on New Year's Day, 1947.

The civil war continued, however, into 1947. The Nationalists set up a cordon to trap the Communists in their bases in Shanxi, Shaanxi, western Hebei and western Manchuria. However, the Nationalist offensive into the territories of Shanxi and Shaanxi were largely ineffective in bringing the Communist forces to a heel. Despite capturing the Communist capital of Yan'an in March, 1947, the offensive lost a huge number of Nationalist troops. Meanwhile, the Northeast Democratic Allied Army under Lin Biao in Manchuria continued to have successes, taking half of the Nationalist territory in the region and controlling most everything except for the cities and southern railways.

Thus, by the beginning of 1948, the Communists were in a position to launch a counteroffensive. They started with capturing important strategic centers on the North China plain, taking back Yan'an in March followed by Kaifeng and Luoyang by June, 1948. Thus, the situation in July of 1948 is that the Communists control most of Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hebei, Inner Mongolia, and

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Manchuria except the cities of Changchun, Shenyang, Beijing, and Tianjin . They also control wide swathes of the North China Plain in Henan and Shandong, and there are huge swathes of mountainous areas in southern China in Guangxi, Guangdong, and Fujian controlled by Communist insurgents. Meanwhile, the Nationalists are in control of the entirety of the Yangtze River Valley, from Shanghai to Sichuan. They control Beijing and Tianjin in Hebei, Shenyang and Changchun in Manchuria, and Jinan and Qingdao in Shandong. They are also allied with warlords of the Ma Clique that control Gansu and Xinjiang.

The situation was more dire for the Nationalists than this territorial alignment seemed to indicate, however. The end of the war with the Japanese made clear how the economy was faring - inflation ran out of control, driven by military spending government monies without control. Indeed, 65% of the budget needs were being met by currency expansion and only 10% were being paid for by taxes. This problem was compounded by inefficient spending on maintaining garrisons that were not even necessarily loyal to the central government and to the loss of revenues between collection and deposition to the central government. One of the efforts to combat inflation was selling gold on the open market, which did little to dampen inflation and depleted the government's gold and US dollar reserve from \$900 million at the time of surrender to half of that number by the end of 1946. Another factor that offset the rampant inflation was the import of goods from the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, in the form of food, clothing, and capital goods for rehabilitating industry and agriculture. Nonetheless, the budget was completely unbalanced and the markets were not stabilized as the uncertainty of the civil war and of inflation kept investment from flowing. Indeed, morale in the government services, both military and civilian, was low as their fixed salaries kept declining in value due to the inflationary pressures.

Meanwhile, the communists did not face these intense economic pressures. They depended on the rural economies that they inhabited and did not face monetary pressures that the nationalists

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did. Instead, they supplied themselves with captured Japanese equipment and with Soviet weapons, and instead focused on morale, propaganda, and promoting their plans for social policy that would reform land ownership. The communist hit hard on the subject of land redistribution, sending propaganda out to the villages to break the support of the traditional village social structure that held the power of the local landowning elite in place. This movement gained pace, as the rural poor began to attack and take down the landowners. This was by far the most popular measure of the communists, and garnered them huge numbers of supporters.

### **CHARACTER LIST**

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#### **Ju Zheng, Head of the Judicial Yuan of the Republic of China**

Ju Zheng was a close ally of Sun Yat-sen, and during his life, worked for the Nationalist administration in Guangzhou. Upon Sun's death, Ju helped found the Western Hills Group, which focuses on purging the KMT of communist sympathizers. He currently leads this group and is president of the Judicial Yuan, the judicial system of the KMT government. He also is planning to oppose Chiang Kai-shek in the upcoming 1948 presidential election, which is voted upon by the national assembly of over 2,000 KMT officials. He is the underdog in this upcoming election.

#### **Sun Fo, Head of the Legislative Yuan of the Republic of China**

Sun Fo traveled to the US for his education, obtaining degrees from UC Berkeley and Columbia. He is the son of Sun Yat-sen, which affords him considerable protection within the KMT government from expulsion or assassination no matter which actions he takes. Like Li Zongren, he is running for vice president in the upcoming election, enjoying the support of the incumbent president Chiang. Most importantly, he leads the Legislative Yuan, a 760-member unicameral body which debates and composes the legal code for the KMT government. Though he is strictly a political figure, his proximity to Chiang, coupled with his ability to influence legislation, ensures that he commands the sympathies – and financial loyalty – of those who seek to perpetuate Chiang's rule or benefit from it.

#### **Yu Youren, Head of the Control Yuan of the Republic of China**

Yu Youren is regarded as one of China's modern masters in calligraphy. He has transcribed multiple famous texts in his famous energetic, animated cursive style, and as a result, is sought after by many literary and historical scholars around China. Perhaps more importantly, he also leads the Control

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Yuan, which is tasked with auditing and investigating other branches of the KMT government to ensure maximum efficiency and minimal corruption.

### **Zhang Qun, Head of the Executive Yuan of the Republic of China**

Zhang Qun is the Premier of the KMT, presiding over the Executive Yuan. This council includes representatives who help organize foreign affairs, national defense, finance, education, justice, economic affairs, transportation and communications. As one of the country's biggest voices for reform - advocating for land reform, price controls, and robust constitutional rule - he enjoys broad support among liberals. This translates into a unique ability to use liberal media outlets - the most popular in the country - to advance his objectives.

### **Dai Jitao, Minister of Information of the Republic of China**

After his close friend Sun Yat-sen's death, Dai Jitao felt so heartstricken that he attempted to commit suicide. Fortunately, his attempt was unsuccessful, and he experienced a spiritual awakening afterwards, converting to Buddhism and publishing multiple relevant texts on the religion. This conversion garnered him a reputation for being superstitious, which causes many to regard him with caution. Fearing a scandal after Dai illegitimately fathered a son, Chiang agreed to adopt the child, who he still raises to this very day. This situation binds Dai to Chiang in a uniquely personal fashion. Dai currently acts as Director-General of Sun Yat-sen University. More importantly, however, he also serves as Minister of Information, which disseminates propaganda throughout China in support of the KMT government and in opposition to the communists. He also leads the Examination Yuan, administering China's traditional civil service exams each year.

### **Mao Renfeng, Head of the Bureau of Information and Statistics of the Republic of China**

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Mao Renfeng leads the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics. In other words, he is a spymaster in command of the KMT's secret police, intent on purging the state of political opposition and gathering vital intelligence about Communist operations. He has the unique ability to get an insiders' look at the Communists, as well as dispose of any individual he perceives as a threat.

### **Bai Chongxi, Minister of National Defense of the Republic of China**

Bai Chongxi has a mixed relationship with Chiang. As acting Minister of National Defense, Bai is responsible for charting the strategic direction on the Republic's armies. Though he does not exercise authority over all military units in the country, he does command KMT forces in Hankow, where total troops number about 60,000.

### **Chen Cheng, Chief of the General Staff of the Republic of China**

Chen Cheng is the Chief of the General Staff. Shortly after the end of the Second World War, Chen's raids on areas under Communist control set off the second civil war with Maoist forces. One of Chiang's most trusted subordinates, Chen exercises official command of all military units operating within the Republic. Despite this, Chen's de facto authority only allows him to direct the day-to-day operations of those troops operating in northeast China.

### **Hu Zongnan, Commander of the Central Army of the Republic of China**

Hu Zongnan is also among Chiang's most trusted generals. He currently commands 250,000 troops in Sichuan and is mostly focused on fighting against the communist general Peng Dehuai. In previous months, he has suffered several embarrassing defeats to his opponents, considering that Peng only commands roughly 20,000 troops. Chiang recently relocated nearly 1/2 of Hu's troops (from an initial

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400,000) to other regions, and it is rumored that Chen Cheng persuaded him to do so in an effort to undermine Hu.

### **Li Zongren, Director of Peiping Field Headquarters of the Armed Forces of the Republic of China**

Li Zongren began his career as a Guangxi warlord during the less politically stable 1910s and 20s. He allied with the Kuomintang in the early 1920s to secure his influence over the region. He achieved national fame for his military successes in the First Sino-Japanese War - most notably, massacring 20-30,000 Japanese soldiers at Tai'erzhuang - and as a result, commands substantial popular support. He has recently been appointed as the Director of Peiping Field Headquarters, which does not allow him to orchestrate military action, but rather train military recruits. He is a candidate for vice-president in the upcoming election, but Chiang Kai-shek has professed support for Li's opponent, Sun Fo, instead.

### **Yan Xishan, Governor of Shanxi Province of the Republic of China**

Yan Xishan also started his career as a warlord, only allying with the KMT for resource exchange and political stability. While he technically works under Chiang, he administers Shanxi province with relative autonomy. He recently had to concede the southern part of this province to Communist forces and has turned his focus towards defending his capital, Taiyun, and negotiating an aid package from the US. As a leader as well as military commander, his other goals include modernizing the rural/impoverished region, eradicating opium use, and generating cultural unity through the dissemination of his own syncretic belief system.

### **Chen Lifu, Head of the Central Club Clique**

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Chen Lifu is a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh, where he studied mining engineering. A close personal friend of Chiang Kai-shek for more than 25 years. He and his brother lead the Central Club Clique, an internal political faction devoted to traditionalism and anti-Communism and committed to furthering the interests of the Chinese elite. As such, Chen enjoys widespread support among the country's wealthiest individuals and can use their support to advance the Clique's causes.

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