



## QUESTIONS

- 1 What is the purpose of the propaganda train (Source 4.12.1)? What is the purpose of the propaganda poster (Source 4.12.2)? What message does each give?
- 2 How is Jiang portrayed in Source 4.12.3? Comment on the image presented.
- 3 How do the photographs support the documents you have just studied? Explain.
- 4 To what extent are all these images representative of the period?

## DRAWING CONCLUSIONS

- 1 Explain why both the Guomindang and the Communist Party were able to accept Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles as the basis for the revolutionary movement in China.
- 2 Use the sources provided (especially Sources 4.4.1 and 4.4.2) and any additional information you can find to write an account of the Northern Expedition presenting:
  - a Communist perspective of events
  - a Nationalist perspective of events
- 3 Explain why the Northern Expedition divided rather than united the revolutionary movement in China.
- 4 Why did Jiang Jieshi launch an attack on Communists in Shanghai?
- 5 What was the Communist response to the Shanghai massacre?
- 6 Describe the Nationalist government of the 1930s and outline its policies.
- 7 Why did Jiang Jieshi focus his attention on the Communists rather than the Japanese?
- 8 Essays:
  - a Explain why the Guomindang failed to unite China.
  - b To what extent were the Principles of the People implemented by the Guomindang government?

## THINKING CRITICALLY

- 1 Explain how you would have responded to the Nationalist government, if you were:
    - a a peasant
    - b a Communist
    - c a textile worker
  - 2 Write two reports on the situation in China. The first after a visit to the Communist regions in the Jiangxi province, and the second after a visit to Nanjing.
  - 3 Would you have given support to the Guomindang if you had been:
    - a an industrialist in Shanghai?
    - b a peasant in Guangdong province?
    - c an intellectual in Beijing?
- Give reasons for your responses.



## INQUIRY 5

### What actions did the Chinese Communists take to ensure their survival?

- Study the documents that follow to determine:
- the experiences of those on the Long March
  - the importance of the Long March to Communist history
  - how the Long March contributed to Communist survival

The Communist withdrawal (from the south-eastern Jiangxi and Hunan Soviet bases to their north-west base at Yanan in the Shaanxi province) was the first significant move to ensure their survival. However, of the 100 000 men of the First Army who had set out on this journey, fewer than 30 000 had survived to reach north Shaanxi. Those who survived the experience of the Long March became the elite of the Communist Party.

The year-long struggle of the Communist Red Army (as it was then known) to escape kilometers, stretched over eleven provinces and involved the crossing of twenty-four rivers and eighteen mountain ranges. It had all the elements of heroism and bravery that could be expected from such a momentous journey.

Edgar Snow described it in this way:

Adventure, exploration, discovery, human courage and cowardice, ecstasy and triumph, suffering, sacrifice and loyalty, and then through it all like a flame, an undimmed ardour and underlying hope and amazing revolutionary optimism of those thousands of youths who would not admit defeat by man or nature or God or death—all this and more seemed embodied in the history of an odyssey unequalled in modern times.

Source: E. Snow, *Red Star Over China*, p. 219

Is this really an apt description of the Long March? Make your own assessment using the documents that follow. The first is an account of an interview with a survivor of the Long March.

### 5.1.1

WG used in this source

#### INTERVIEW WITH A SURVIVOR

Well, we ourselves did not know at the beginning that we were actually on the Long March and that it was going to be such a big thing. All we knew was that we were getting out of the bases; we were surrounded and being choked; a million men against us, tanks, aeroplanes ... defeat after defeat ... In that September of 1934 when we began to get away we broke through one corridor of encirclement, then a second then a third and we marched through the late autumn and early winter westward, always westward, with the rain soaking us to the skin, and the wind in our faces, and we headed towards Szechuan province. We thought if we could get to Szechuan all would be well; for Szechuan was not letting Chiang Kaishek come in; the warlords of Szechuan did not want Chiang there.

But we had so much equipment with us, trains of stores, and even bedding and furniture, all sorts of things, and this slowed us down. We were about a hundred thousand in number and very visible, a long, slow caravan. Every day we were attacked; front and back and both sides by Kuomintang armies and by local

warlords' armies; we fought them and defeated them, and went on but every time many of us died, and then we got to Tsinju, and it was January of 1935.

There we held a big conference to study our further moves, to assess our losses; by that time most of us wanted Mao Tseung to lead us, and no one else; when we listened to him we were successful; when we did not we were defeated. So a great clamour went all through the Red armies: 'Listen to Comrade Mao Tseung!'

And after the conference the armies heard that the wrong line was repudiated, there was a new leadership, and Mao Tseung was at the head, I shouted for joy, for happiness, and so did all of us, the soldiers shouting and hugging each other for joy.

The first thing that Comrade Mao made us do was to throw away all the useless things we carried with us; all of them we threw away and travelled light and swift and clean. Thus we survived the hard, long journey, climbing so many mountains, crossing so many rivers, fighting all the way every day until we reached our base in the north-west, Pao An, and later at Yanan. One

hundred thousand of us had left the bases in October 1934, only twenty thousand reached Pao An in October

1935. But we had survived, so we were not disheartened. And we trusted Mao Tse-tung. So we began all over again.

Source: Han Suyin, *A Moral Flower*, pp. 270-2

### ★ 5.1.2

#### A DESCRIPTION OF THE EARLY STAGES OF THE MARCH

Once in enemy territory, we often marched at night to avoid air-raids. Night marching is wonderful if there is a moon and a gentle wind blowing. When no enemy troops were near, whole companies would sing and others would answer. When it was a black night, and the enemy far away, we made torches from pine branches or frayed bamboo and then it was truly beautiful. When at the foot of a mountain, we could look up and see a long column of lights coiling like a fiery dragon up the mountain side. . . . When hard-pressed by su-

perior enemy forces, we marched in the day-time, and at such times the bombers pounded us. We would scatter and lie down, get up and march, then scatter and lie down again, hour after hour. Our dead and wounded were many and our medical workers had a very hard time. The passants always helped us, and offered to take our sick, our wounded and exhausted. Each man left behind was given some money, ammunition and his rifle, and told to organize and lead the passants in partisan warfare as soon as he recovered.

Source: A. Smedley, *The Great Road*

### ★ 5.1.3

#### THE CROSSING OF THE GREAT SNOW MOUNTAIN

We started out at early dawn. There was no path at all, but peasants said that tribesmen came over the mountain on raids, and we could cross if they could. . . . Heavy fogs swirled about us, there was a high wind, and half way up it began to rain. As we climbed higher and higher, we were caught in a terrible hailstorm, and the air became so thin that we could scarcely breathe at all. Speech was completely impossible and the cold so dreadful that our breath froze, and our hands and lips turned blue. Men and animals staggered and fell into chasms, and disappeared forever. Those who sat down

to rest or relieve themselves froze to death on the spot. . . . By nightfall, we had crossed, at an altitude of 16,000 feet. To avoid enemy bombers, we arose at midnight and began climbing the next peak. It rained, then snowed, and the fierce wind whipped our bodies, and more men died. The last peak in the range, which we estimated to be 80 li (27 miles) from base to summit, was terrible. Hundreds of men died there. . . . All along the route, we kept reaching down to pull men to their feet, only to find that they were already dead.

Source: A. Smedley, *The Great Road*

Chao Hung Chin, a survivor of the Long March, recalls the hardships in this next document.

### ★ 5.1.4

#### CHAO HUNG CHIN RECALLS

As the days went by, there was less and less to eat. After our grain was finished, we ate the horses, and then we lived on wild vegetables. When even the wild vegetables were finished we ate our leather belts. After that we had to march on empty stomachs.

One day we camped at the foot of a steep cliff, so high that the summit was out of sight. We were in such bad shape that we could not climb this cliff without first having something to eat. . . . I collected some dry twigs

Source: Cited in H. Hoddinott, *A Short History of China*, p. 319

to make a fire and resolutely started roasting my shoes

. . . after we had baked the shoes for a time, we washed and scraped them clean, then boiled them in a basin.

Boiling turned the leather yellow and soft, and its appetizing smell made us hungrier than ever. . . . when the shoes were cooked our squad leader cut them into small bits and distributed them among the men to eat before climbing the cliff the next day.

Dadu Wei Tzu

### ★ 5.1.5

Wei used in this source

#### CROSSING THE DADU RIVER

Platoon commander Ma Ta-chin stepped out, grasped one of the chains and began swinging hand over hand toward the north bank. The platoon political director followed and after him the men. As they swung along, Red Army machine guns laid down a protective screen of fire, and the Engineering Corps began bringing up tree trunks and laying the bridge flooring.

The army watched breathlessly as the men swung along the bridge chains. Ma Ta-chin was the first to be shot into the wild torrent below. Then another man and another. The others pushed along, but just before they reached the flooring, at the north bridgehead, they saw enemy soldiers dumping cans of kerosene on the planks

The crossing of the Dadu River on the Bridge of Chains is described in the next document.

### ★ 5.1.6

#### CROSSING THE SUNGPAN MARSHLANDS

From Kiangnaozu, the marshlands stretched like a great sea. . . . In sunless days, there was no way to tell the direction. Treacherous bogs were everywhere which sucked a man down once he stepped off the firmer parts, and more quickly if he tried to extricate himself. We could only advance with minute care, stepping on grass dumps. . . . It was really like traversing a treacherous

quicksand. Fortunately, the advance guard had left a course rope which led meanderingly to the depth of the morass. We proceeded carefully along this rope, fearing that we might break it, for we knew clearly that this was no ordinary rope but a life-line. . . . set up by fraternal units at the cost of the lives of many good comrades. We advanced along this for four days.

Source: D. Wilson, *The Long March*

The final obstacle of nature was the crossing of the Sungpam Marshlands.

### ★ 5.1.7

Wei used in this source

#### A SURVIVOR RECALLS THE ARRIVAL IN YANAN

Our arrival in north Shensi hadn't pleased many of the soldiers. The soil was thin, the inhabitants poor. The population was sparse. There was no rice. The coming of winter and the Long March had greatly reduced the army's strength. Such problems dampened the men's spirit. Many were downhearted and pessimistic.

Afterward, everyone talked about Chairman Mao's speech. Our spirits rose. Again we heard this song:

Source: *China Reconstructs*, cited in D. Richards and N. Hoddinott, *Twentieth Century China*, p. 21

North Shensi is a good place,

We'll cook congee with millet.

Potatoes and millet are fine.

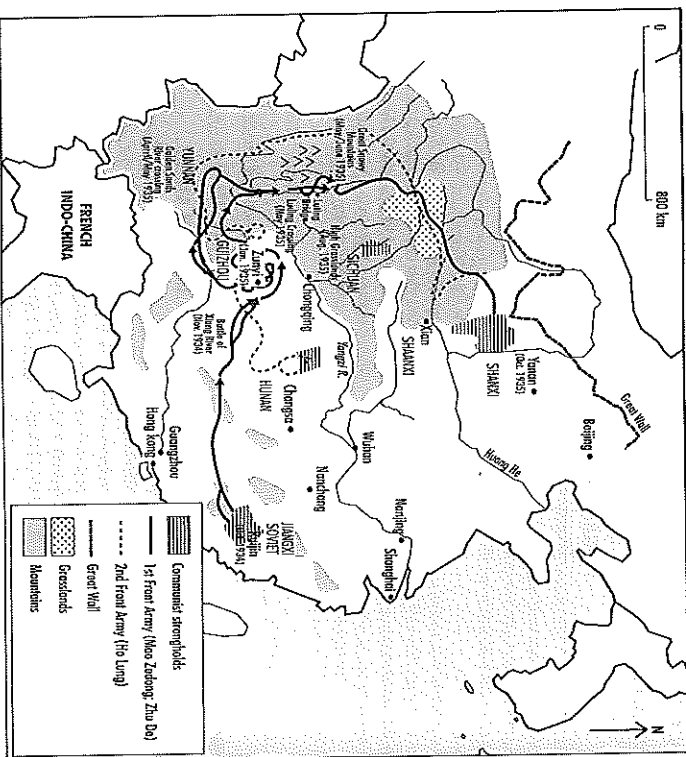
The Army and people will unite,

To beat Chiang Kai-shek

And wipe out the Kuomintang reactionaries.

5.1.8

THE LONG MARCH



Finally, Source 5.1.9 is an assessment by Mao Zedong of the Long March in December 1935.

5.1.9

We used in this source

20 000 It: approximately  
11 000 kilometres

ASSESSMENT OF THE LONG MARCH

We say that the Long March is the first of its kind ever recorded in history, that is, it is a manifesto, an agitation corps, and a seeding machine. . . . For twelve months we were under daily reconnaissance and bombing from the air by scores of planes; we were encircled, pursued, obstructed and intercepted on the ground by a big force of several hundred thousand men; we encountered untold difficulties and great obstacles on the way, but by keeping our two feet going, we swept across a distance of more than 20,000 It through the length and breadth of eleven provinces. Well, has there ever been in history a long march like ours? No, never.

The Long March is also a manifesto. It proclaims to the world that the Red Army is an army of heroes, and

that the imperialists and their jackals, Chiang Kai-shek and his like, are perfect nonentities. . . .

The Long March is also an agitation corps. It declares to approximately two hundred million people of eleven provinces that only the road of the Red Army leads to their liberation. Without the Long March, how could the broad masses have known so quickly that there are such great ideas in the world as are upheld by the Red Army? The Long March is also a seeding-machine. It has sown many seeds in eleven provinces which will sprout, grow leaves, blossom into flowers, bear fruit and yield a crop in the future.

To sum up, the Long March ended with our victory and the enemy's defeat.

Source: *Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Zedong*, Vol. 1, p. 294



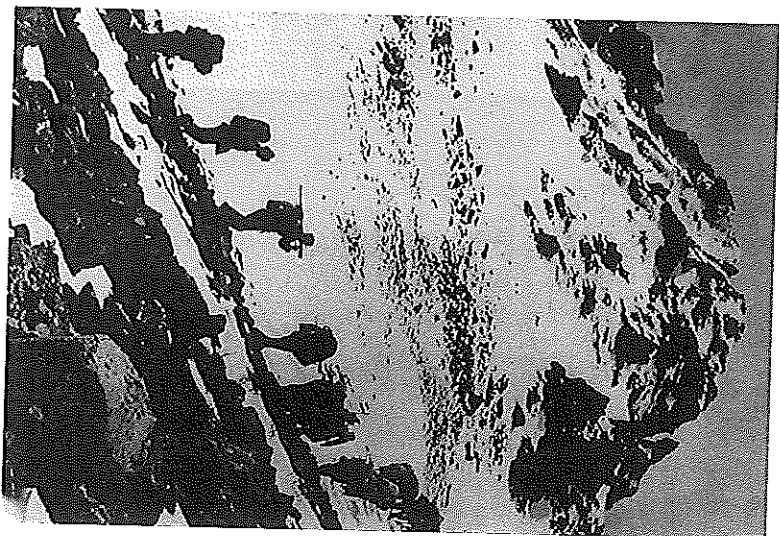
QUESTIONS

- 1 What were the experiences, hardships and victories of the marchers? Write an account of the Long March describing them.
- 2 a What was the value of the Long March according to Mao?  
b Do you agree with Mao's assessment?
- 3 Which incidents of the Long March experience would have been used to create the legend?

IMAGES OF THE LONG MARCH

Paintings and drawings of the Long March have been used to create the legend. Examine the following sources closely to determine the extent to which they accurately reflect the experiences described earlier.

CROSSING THE CHIACHIN MOUNTAIN



Source: Greenhill-SAGU

5.2.1

## ★ 5.2.2

## THE RED ARMY



*Red Army men in Shenzou at the end of the Long March*  
Source: David King Collection

## ★ 5.2.3

## HEROIC PAINTING



*Survivors of the Long March arriving in Shimenzi*  
Source: Purnell, 20th Century Encyclopedia, Vol. 10, p. 155

## QUESTIONS

- 1 What images of the Communists are presented in these sources?
- 2 What is the purpose of each image and how effective is each in achieving this?
- 3 How reliable are these sources as historical evidence?

## XIAN INCIDENT

The Communists settled in Yanan yet refused to resist. The Red Army's determination to fight the imperialist Japanese army inspired great nationalism among the Chinese people. The call from the Communists to all compatriots to fight a war of resistance against the Japanese and their determination to form a united front against Japan was another factor which ensured Communist support and survival. Slogans like 'Chinese must not fight Chinese,' resist Japanese aggression,' Return to us our own mountains and rivers,' 'People of China Unite!' were designed to enhance Communist support.

Jiang Xueliang, who had been ousted by the invading Japanese in 1931, Jiang ordered Zhang, who was stationed in Xian, the capital of Shaanxi province, to fight the Red Army in the north. Zhang refused as he preferred to fight the Japanese to regain Manchuria. Jiang then flew to Xian to find out why his orders were not being obeyed and to convince the troops of the necessity of the struggle against the Red Army. However, he was kidnapped before dawn on 10 December 1936 by Zhang's troops. This was a rather bizarre incident as Jiang Jieshi was commander-in-chief of these troops. He was held captive by Zhang, then forced to agree to form a Second United Front with the Communists.

In the following source, the young marshal Zhang Xueliang outlines the conditions for Jiang Jieshi's release.

## ★ 5.3.1

We used in this source

## DEMANDS OF THE MILITARY AND CIVILIANS IN THE NORTH-WEST

- Ever since the loss of the North-Eastern Provinces five years ago, our national sovereignty has been steadily weakened and our territory has dwindled day by day ... At this juncture, our Central leader ought to encourage both military and civilians to organise the whole people in a united war of national defence. But while those soldiers at the front endure death and bloodshed in the defence of our national territories the diplomatic authorities are still seeking compromises ... Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, surrounded by a group of unworthy advisers, has forfeited the support of the masses of our people. Therefore we have tendered our last advice to Marshal Chiang while guaranteeing his safety in order to stimulate his awakening.
- The military and civilians in the North West un-animously make the following demands:
- 1 Reorganise the Nanking Government and admit all parties to share the joint responsibility of saving the nation.
  - 2 Stop all kinds of civil war.
  - 3 Immediately release the patriotic leaders arrested in Shanghai.
  - 4 Release all political prisoners throughout the country.
  - 5 Emancipate the patriotic movement of the people.
  - 6 Safeguard the political freedom of the people to organize and call meetings.
  - 7 Actively carry out the will of Dr Sun Yat-sen.
  - 8 Immediately call a National Salvation Conference. We only hope to carry out the policies here maintained for the liberation and benefit of the country. As to our merit or guilt, we leave this to the judgement of our fellow countrymen.

Source: I. Bertalan, *Crisis in China: the Story of the Sun Military*

## ★ 5.3.2

## A CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY STATEMENT

At the present juncture, with the country facing extreme danger and the fate of the nation in precarious balance, we have reached an understanding with the Guomintang of China on the basis of peace, national unity

and joint resistance against foreign aggression, in order to save our fatherland and from extinction. We all know the aggression of imperialist Japan can only be overcome by the internal unity of our nation.

Source: Dorothy Morrison, *Travelling in China*, p. 37