Professional Hubris:
Chinese Officers, the United States and a Failure of Army Building, 1942-1955

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Abstract

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The core historical argument presented in this dissertation is that Chinese military officers within the GMD military were able to create a depoliticized military institution, develop foreign partnerships and define a distinct military officer identity to create a true "national" army for the first time in Chinese history during the years 1942-1955. These normative ideas, expressed most articulately by General Sun Liren, were able to achieve many of the status objectives of military officers. The process by which Chinese military officers selectively adopted ideas that supported their professional claims to jurisdiction over the management of violence strongly supports the conception of normative isomorphism where change is driven by desires for status and respect.

Chinese military officers built on fifty years of Chinese military thought and foreign ideas to develop a conception of a Chinese Army that was structured to represent aspirations of China as a world power. The aspirations of Chinese officers align closely with models of organizational theory that highlight enduring patterns of professional development and global military trends. Throughout this process, the Unites States played a key role in introducing concepts and providing support to military officers but was never able to decisively shape the GMD/ROC military. The failure of the Chinese "army-building" project was not due to a lack of organizational, intellectual or professional development but because of a renewed politicization of military forces and a purge of key military leaders in 1955. Ultimately, the power of ideas, be it ideas of professional competence articulated by Sun Liren or political loyalty developed by

Chiang Ching-kuo, and the ability to mobilize supporters of these ideas mattered far more than foreign advice or equipment.

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Introduction

During the twentieth century, China was wracked by civil war, foreign invasion and the repeated use of military power against civilians by authoritarian governments. In spite of this bloody history, the study of the military as an institution and its role in Chinese history has been extremely narrow. This is surprising because contemporary China is a military anomaly in that it is the only large country in the world that does not possess a "national" military, instead relying on a military, which is by law and practice responsible only to a political party. In contrast to other parts of the world, where to quote Charles Tilly, "the state made war and war made the state," in China the "Party" made war and the Party made the state.

While this statement might suggest that the Party is the dominant actor, both the state and "war" i.e. military forces do have agency. The subject of this dissertation is the officer corps of the "Chinese" military from 1942-1955 and the development of ideas of military professionalism. The core historical argument presented is that Chinese military officers within the Kuomintang (GMD, *guomindang* 國民黨) were able to leverage political rhetoric favoring a depoliticized military, foreign partnerships and technical expertise to create a true "national" army for the first time in Chinese history during the period from 1942-1955.

Between the years of 1942-1955 a professional, apolitical military force was created in China by a cadre of highly trained, nationalistic and cosmopolitan officers. This group built on fifty years of Chinese military thought and foreign ideas to develop a

conception of a Chinese Army that was structured to represent aspirations of China as a world power. The aspirations of Chinese officers align closely with models of organizational theory that highlight enduring patterns of professional development and global military trends. The failure of this "army-building" project was not due to a lack of organizational, intellectual or professional development but because of a renewed politicization of military forces and a purge of key military leaders in 1955.

Embedded within the narrative of military development from 1942-1955 is an exploration of military change that reaches a conclusion that military change was not 'pushed' on China by foreigners or developed as the result of policies from senior GMD political leaders. The most prominent factor driving the re-orientation of the GMD army away from its role as a hybrid military/political force towards a professional national army was the desires and attitudes of the military officers. Throughout this dissertation, professional is used to describe an organization with a high degree of administrative insulation from outside pressures, personnel assignment based on occupational efficiency, significant barriers to entry, a sense of shared identity, and a belief in a special status within society. Increased professionalization was attractive to Chinese military officers because it provided for higher social status, increased political insularity and improved organizational security.

The thematic focus of this dissertation is the internal culture and norms of the GMD officer corps. Military doctrine, organizational structures and civil-military relations will be considered but my purpose is to examine the *content* of military culture and ideas rather than its defined *forms* such as organizational structures or direct policy outcomes. Until now, study of the behavior, attitudes and ideology of the Nationalist

officer corps has not received any systematic scholarly interest or research. The Nationalist officer corps is an ideal subject for academic research because their organizational role places them in a power-brokerage position between high level political policy-makers and the common soldiers or the Chinese civilian population. In addition, the power and influence of the Nationalist officer corps was especially salient from 1942-1955 because military officers acted as the primary partner for an extensive inter-governmental partnership between the United States and the Republic of China. This partnership provided Nationalist officers with access to educational opportunities and technological transfers. In the complex political and cultural environment of mid-twentieth century China, military officers were a focal point where foreign ideas, political demands, social pressures and institutional structures were interpreted, contested and negotiated.

From this central position, military officers sought to re-conceptualize the GMD Army as a "national" army after 1942. This re-organizational "re-branding" of the GMD and later ROC army gave military officers greater social prestige because they could portray themselves as patriots serving the nation rather than lackeys of an unelected Party government. Although the organizational strategy of professionalization offered status advantages to military officers, in an environment characterized by poor logistical support, low levels of government capacity and a contested political space, tensions between reality and goals emerged. Specifically, the gap between GMD/ROC political goals and officer professional goals resulted in systemic problems in controlling territory or mounting sustained military operations.

To draw out this story, I will use several analytic frames.

- Ideas of the Military Profession: I will examine the tension between the professional aspirations of Chinese military officers and the political desires of Chinese leaders in the early Twentieth Century who sought to use military forces in domestic political struggles. Warlords were an initial obstacle to military officer aspirations but a more difficult challenge was presented in the idea of a "Party-Army (dangjun 黨軍)," introduced by Sun Yat-sen.
- Foreign Partners: I will present a thorough examination of the military partnership between the United States and China from 1942-1955. Beginning prior to the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor, the U.S. and China began a massive program of arms transfers, professional military training and organizational re-structuring. This partnership was motived by American desires to create a reliable security partner in East Asia, and Chinese political desires to increase their military power and global status. Within the Chinese officer corps, the partnership presented an opportunity to adopt American structures and methods that supported their long-held professional aspirations.
- The Role of Political Officers: The Party-Army concept, represented most directly through the "political officer" position, was a direct intellectual challenge to a professional military by placing Party loyalty, political objectives, and ideological conformity above military competence. The fluctuating role and influence of political officers between 1942-1955

provides a contrast to professional officer identity, highlighting the process by which officers developed their profession.

- Sun Liren: To provide a more accessible microcosm of the sometimes abstract changes described, I will follow the life of Sun Liren. Sun's life-span covers the period of this study and his rise to military prominence during the 1940s and 1950s represents a break-through of the professional military over the Party-Army identity. Sun was also one of the main personal beneficiaries of the Sino-American partnership, parlaying his American education and military skills to rise to power. Analysis of Sun's life offers the possibility of examining the normative and political forces of the era on a more human scale than the institutional scope presented throughout the dissertation.

Historiographical Context

The subject of this dissertation exists at the confluence of several inter-related fields, each with radically different scholarly perspectives and historiographical traditions. To the limited extent that Chinese military history is studied during the period from 1942-1955, it is often presented as a record of battles between the GMD-Japanese, and later between the GMD and CCP (Chinese Communist Party *zhongguo gongchandang* 中國共產黨) with little to no analysis of the role of an internal military culture or institutional factors.

Historian F.F. Liu traced the origin of the GMD "party-army" concept to the aftermath of the 6 June 1922 mutiny by forces nominally loyal to the GMD, afterwhich

Sun Yat-sen sought to create a politicized army. The creation of a military academy controlled by the GMD, the Whampoa Academy, which started its first class in May 1924. It included a six-month program of instruction in military training and political ideology. Richard Landis, among others, highlighted the patterns of political loyalty and education inculcated when Whampoa was in operation, and Martin Wilber and Julie How have studied the prominent role of Soviet advisors.[1] The Northern Expedition of 1926-1928 was the first significant operations by the new GMD military and it was able to achieve notable successes against warlord forces and gain political control, or at least suzerainty, over most of China by 1928 but only the historian Donald Jordan has worked on this period extensively.[2]

During the relative peace of the Nanjing decade of 1928-1937, diplomatic recognition of the GMD as the "national" government of China allowed for the lifting of the international arms embargo, which enabled the GMD to make large purchases of advanced military equipment from foreign suppliers. Significant contact between German military advisors and all levels of the GMD military and military related industries received limited scholarly attention in the 1980s and 1990s, most prominently William

[1] Peter Worthing, "The Road Through Whampoa: The Early Career of He Yingqin," *The Journal of Military History*, 69:4 (October 2005), pp. 953-985; F.F.Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956).; Richard E. Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade (1924-1936)," (Ph.D. dissertation., American University, 1971); Richard Landis, "Training and Indoctrination at the Whampoa Academy," in F. Gilbert Chan and Thomas Etzold, eds., *China in the 1920s: Nationalism and Revolution*, (New York: New Viewpoints Press, 1996); Martin C. Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution: Soviet Advisors and Nationalist China, 1920-1927* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989); Alexander Ivanovich Cherepanov, *As Military Adviser in China*, (Taipei: Office of the Military Historian, 1970).

[2] Donald Jordan, *Northern Expedition: China's National Revolution, 1926-1928* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1976).

Kirby's seminal *Germany and Republican China*, that added a greatly needed international context and linkages to China's military development. The majority of the German trained divisions of the GMD Army and much of their advanced equipment was destroyed in the initial years of the Sino-Japanese War but the 1928-1937 period does suggest tension between the GMD military and political leaders, as well as a transition from para-military functions towards a more specialized military role oriented towards military to military inter-state conflict.[3]

The Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945, of which the last three years are encompassed in this dissertation's field of study, was largely ignored during the 1950's-1980's, as class issues in the PRC and anti-communism in Taiwan assumed primary importance in Chinese language scholarship. Increasing access to archival material and a resurgence of nationalism in China has resulted in a deluge of new works on the 1937-1945 war, but many are only tangentially related to military affairs. Much of the recent scholarship on the war has emphasized civilian suffering, Chinese victimization and Japanese brutality that is politically useful for the CCP but this focus slights Chinese military agency and further pushes GMD military activity into the background.[4]

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[3]William Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1984). See also: Hans Van de Ven. "The Military in the Republic," *The China Quarterly*, 150 (June 1997), pp. 352-374; Donald Sutton. "German Advice and Residual Warlordism in the Nanking Decade: Influences on Nationalist Military Training and Strategy," *The China Quarterly*, No 91 (September 1982), pp. 386-410.

[4] Diana Lary and Stephen MacKinnon, *Scars of War: The Impact of Warfare on Modern China* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001); His-cheng Ch'I, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982). For related academic articles see: Jui-Te Chang, "National Army Officers during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," *Modern Asian Studies*, 30:4 (October 1996), pp. 1033-1056; Marvin Williamsen, "The Military Dimension, 1937-1941" in James Hsiung and Steven Levine, China's *Bitter Victory: The War with Japan, 1937-1945* (New York: M.E. Sharpe and Co, 1992).; Frank Dorn, *The*

The recent upsurge in public interest in the Sino-Japanese war has not advanced scholarship on the broad cooperation between Chinese military and American military personnel during the war, especially after 1941. Filling a vacuum left by German assistance that gradually wound down in 1937 and 1938 as Germany moved politically closer to Japan, the GMD military became deeply intertwined with American advisors, staff and logistical support elements. Unfortunately, the dominant work on the military cooperation during the period is the badly dated "*Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945*" by Barbara Tuchman.[5] Written at the height of the Vietnam War, the work is a mish-mash of moralistic assertions, hagiography and shoddy research that has rightly been attacked by professional historians in recent years.[6]

For almost two decades after 1949, the only significant history of the military struggle in China during 1945-1949 was by French Air Force General Lionel Chassin, "*The Communist Conquest of China, The Civil War 1945-1949*."[7] Although a readable and solid account of military operations, Chassin's work has several shortcomings because he relied on American open source documents or French intelligence reports on China that went through his department of the French Air Force. Furthermore, his perspective seems unduly shaped by his position as commander of French Air Forces in the Far East in 1951, the height of the Viet Minh-French War in Indochina, which leads

Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1941: From Marco Polo Bridge to Pearl Harbor (New York: Macmillan, 1977).

[5] Barbara Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China, 1911-1945* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1911).

[6] Hans Van de Ven, "Stilwell in the Stocks: The Chinese Nationalists and the Allied Powers in the Second World War," *Asian Affairs*, 34:3 (2003), pp. 243-259.

[7] Lionel Chassin, *The Communist Conquest of China; A History of the Civil War, 1945-1949* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965).

to an overemphasis on guerilla strategy and tactics throughout the work. On the opposite end of the spectrum from Chassin's neat and clean account with maps full of neat and clean boxes, arrows and circles, Robert Rigg's "*Red China's Fighting Hordes*" presents a ground eye view of the fighting.[8]

Only in the 1980's, with access to PRC archives, declassified U.S. government material and the gradual release of GMD documents were military historians able to create solidly researched and well-crafted works. Many of these looked at specific regions and individual battles, rather than a complete national narrative which has resulted in different dynamics, themes and policies being placed at the center of the story.[9] Unfortunately, the increasingly good but narrow specialization of English language military history scholarship has not been mirrored in the PRC or Taiwan and military history continues to be dominated by large, highly partisan multi-volume studies produced by state or party departments.[10]

A major component of this dissertation, chapter seven, that has been almost ignored in the historiographical record is the role of the "political officer" in the GMD military. During the 1942-1955 period the power and influence of the political officer fell and then rose in inverse relation to the degree of professionalism within the military.

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[8] Robert Rigg, *Red China's Fighting Hordes* (Harrisburg: Military Service Publishing Company, 1952).

[9] Steven Levine, *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945-1948* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987); Gary Bjorge, *Moving the Enemy: Operational Art in the Chinese PLA's Huai Hai Campaign* (Ft. Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004).

[10] Yilu Tang, (Ed), Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun quanguo zhanzheng shi [The Complete History of the Chinese Peoples Liberation Army's Liberation of the Entire Country] (Beijing: Military Science Press, 1993); Du Yuming, Guo-Gong neizhan milu [*A Secret History of the GMD-CCP Civil War] (*Taipei: Babilun Chubanshe, 1991).

Within both the history of the Chinese military and the history of the 1945-1949 civil war, political officers have been continually understudied and their importance to the operations of the GMD minimized.[11]

In total, the historiographical record of Chinese military officers is extremely small. Scholarly focus on party politics and a lack of research material have hindered in depth research. Moreover, military research has often lacked theoretical approaches to military change, military identity and organizational change.

Theories of Military Change: Organizational and Professional

This dissertation takes as its topic a military institution that is forced to adapt to technological, social and political changes to remain viable, but which also has collective interests that both motivate and determine the outcome of organizational adaptation. While technology is a major factor and the adoption of advanced technology has sometimes fundamentally altered the battlefield performance of military forces most military historians have moved towards a more cultural approach to military change.[12]

In historical analysis of military change, realist conceptions of dynamic competition have been dominant. The irreducible fact that armed conflict can result in the

[11] Hsiao-shih Cheng, *Party-Military Relations in the PRC and Taiwan: Paradoxes of Control*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990); David Shambaugh, "The Soldier and the State in China: The Political Work System in the People's Liberation Army," *The China Quarterly*, 127 (September 1991), pp. 527-568.; Jonathan Adelman, "The Formative Influence of the Civil Wars: Societal Roles of the Soviet and Chinese Armies," *Armed Forces and Society* 5 (1978), pp. 93-116; Chien-jen Chiang (ed), *Kuo-chun cheng-kung shih-kao* [A History of Political Work in the National Army], (Taipei: Office of Military History, 1960); Joseph J. Heinlein Jr, "*Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*," (Ph.D. dissertation., The American University, 1974).

[12] William McNeill, *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force and Society Since AD 1000* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

injury or death of its participants would seem to imply that militaries should be highly motivated to minimize their vulnerabilities. This competitive dynamic is cited by realists as the driving force of military change with the general program of change being the adaptation of "best practices" from a range of options based on rational evaluation. Military historian John Lynn summarizes the realist argument for adaptation, "War is a matter of Darwinian dominance or survival for states, and of life or death for individuals. When an army confronts new or different weaponry or practices on the battlefield, it must adapt to them, and often adaptation takes the form of imitation."[13]

Whereas earlier generations of military historians defined change as a process where militaries became more effective because of the requirements of competition vis a vis other militaries, contemporary historians have broadened our conception of military change to emphasize "change in the goals, actual strategies, and/or structure of a military organization."[14] The cultural turn in military studies has resulted in multiple studies that have compared military organizations across cultures, time periods or technological eras and have stressed the centrality of organizationally coherent, well-motivated forces of military professionals at the center of both battlefield and strategic success.[15]

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[13] John Lynn, "The Evolution of Army Style in the Modern West, 800-2000," *International History Review* 18, No 3 (August 1996), pp. 509.
[14] Terry Terriff and Theo Farrell ed., *The Sources of Military Change: Culture, Politics, Technology* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).
[15] See: Max Boot, *War Made New: Technology, Warfare and the Course of History, 1500 to Today*, (New York: Gotham Press, 2006); Frederick Kagan, *Finding the Target: The Transformation of American Military Policy*, (New York: Encounter Books, 2006); Victor Davis Hansen, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); John Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

The study of organizational change in China is still in its infancy due to a scholarly focus on political rather than social organizations. Only after the intense civil society/public sphere debates of the early 1990's, which were driven by a desire to understand the failure of the Tiananmen movement to produce more lasting political effects, did historians look at public organizations in detail.[16] Recent works on business associations, police forces, city government factions and criminal networks has created a more nuanced picture of Chinese society and government during the Republican period.[17]

This dissertation's analysis of the Chinese officer corps from 1942-1955 is grounded in two main thematic areas of change: organizational and professional. The idea of culture as an important and dynamic concept driving change in the Chinese officer corps might appear counterintuitive in a hierarchical and rule-based occupation like the military, but cultural analysis offers potential insights into civil-military relations, violence and organizational behavior.[18] Cultures are systems of beliefs that participants of

[16] See Mary B. Rankin, "The Origins of a Chinese Public Sphere," *Etudes Chinoises*, 9:2 (Autumn 1990), pp. 147-175; William T. Rowe, "Public Sphere in Modern China," *Modern China*, 16:3 (July 1990), pp. 309-329; Phil Huang, "Public Sphere"/"Civil Society" in China? The Third Realm between State and Society," *Modern China*, 19:2 (April 1993), pp. 216-240.; Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

[17] Madeline Zelin, *The Merchants of Zigong: Industrial Entrepreneurship in Early Modern China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006); Frederic Wakeman, *Policing Shanghai, 1927-1937* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); David Strand, *Rickshaw Beijing: City People and Politics in the 1920's* (Berkeley: University of California Press, Berkeley, 1993); Bryan Martin, *The Shanghai Green Gang: Politics and Organized Crime, 1919-1937*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Donna Brunero, *Britain's Imperial Cornerstone in China: The Chinese Maritime Customs Service, 1854-1949* (London, Routledge Press, 2006); Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republic China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

[18] Peter Wilson, "Defining Military Culture," *The Journal of Military History* 72 (January 2008), p. 12.

a group hold in common. These cultural systems include a wide variety of practices that assist participants by providing an articulated purpose, morals and values on which to base their behavior.[19] Within professional and military structures, culture is only one of several other factors, including coercive, legal and remunerative factors but culture is often an important force in translating official policies into real-world outcomes because it bridges the divide between theory and practice.

Organizational Change

The military, along with a judicial apparatus and a central state administration are core organizations that all effective states must possess. While none of these organizations is directly analogous to the state itself, each requires the other elements for support, growth and protection; taken collectively they are the backbone by which states extract, coerce and coordinate.[20] For a state to succeed in maintaining its territorial integrity, policy efficacy and administrative autonomy in the long term, these state organizations must institutionalize their programs and procedures so that they are able to reproduce the essential skills necessary for their success. Organizations, and their more durable forms, institutions, are important because they provide services to the state above them but they also directly influence the identity, culture, and behavior of individuals below them. Institutions affect society at large by providing actors, either groups or individuals, with greater degrees of certainty about the present and future behavior of

[19] Howard Greenwald, *Organizations: Management Without Control* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 192.
[20] Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 2.

other actors. While the more permanent nature of institutions offers greater security and clarity, which might promote "buy-in" by actors, the desire to have clear, set procedures can make it difficult for institutions to reform themselves to changed circumstances due to social opposition and internal inertia.[21]

The study of institutions has expanded in the past several decades with the rise of "new" (neo) institutionalism' studies in the fields of political science and sociology. In contrast to earlier forms of institutional studies that place the development of institutions within a rational choice worldview that emphasized efficiency, more recent scholarship has focused on the instrumentality of institutions. Drawing from more critical sociological theories, neo-institutionalist scholars argue that rather than a value-neutral project designed to "solve" problems, organizations attempt to institutionalize because of the social status and legitimacy that derive from a more formalized structure.[22] Neo-institutionalists argue that many formal institutions are less effective in achieving their core tasks, than looser, less structured organizations, but are compelled by a "logic of social appropriateness" to utilize sub optimal structures and procedures.[23]

The debate about the creation and values of institutions in the past twenty years echoes the early twentieth century divide between Max Weber and Carl Menger. Weber argued that institutional norms and structures are a result of the few imposing an institution on the many, who submit at first due to coercion but later accept of the

[21] Peter Hall and Rosemary Taylor, "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *MPIFG Scientific Advisory Board* (June 1996), p. 8.
[22] *Ibid*., p. 16.
[23] *Ibid*.

rationality of institutional forms.[24] In contrast, Carl Menger argued that institutions were seldom the result of planned developments of small, discrete groups of individuals but were more often an organic "resultant of social forces."[25] Moreover, in Menger's analysis, the motivations for institutionalization were not inherently rational or altruistic, rather, the primary motivations for institutionalization were likely a desire to profit, either financially or socially, by the creation of an institution.

Associated with the neo-institutionalist argument is the concept of independent development of similarity in organizational processes, referred to as isomorphism. Within the neo-institutionalist field there are three concepts of isomorphism: coercive, mimetic and normative.[26]

Coercive isomorphism stresses the tendency of organizations to change based on outside political, economic or ideological control. The most direct form of coercive isomorphism on the military is government mandate, such as President Truman's desegregation policy in U.S. military personnel system or the 1986 Goldwater-Nichols Act that radically altered the U.S. military command structure. More subtle methods of coercive isomorphism can be achieved through control of resources. For example, a military assistance program providing equipment and training could utilize coercive isomorphism to demand structural changes to the host organization in return for its material support. Coercive isomorphism can also be more subtle in that organizations

[24] L.M. Lachmann, *The Legacy of Max Weber* (Berkeley: The Glendessary Press. 1971), p. 62.
[25] *Ibid*., p. 60.
[26] Paul DiMaggio and Walter Powell, "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields," *American Sociological Review* 48:2 (April 1983), p. 150.

seeking material, financial or political support will change themselves, such as through standard accounting practices, performance evaluations and standardized procedures, in order to more easily attract resources.[27] This organizational heliotropism would on the surface appear to be the result of agency on behalf of the subordinate organization, but the coercive aspect exists when the redistributive power remains outside the organizations jurisdictional control.

Mimetic isomorphism posits that lacking a strong internal doctrine, group identity or purpose, militaries often change in ways that protect their organization from criticism by borrowing forms that are perceived to be successful. Mimetic isomorphism is common when professional roles, goals and practices are either ambiguous or highly contested. In an atmosphere of uncertainty, "modeling" provides a coherent set of principles, practices and patterns that can be implemented without recourse to substantive debate.[28] For example, the formation of French styled "Zouave" units of light infantry during the American Civil War was intellectually attractive because they provided a model for elite forces at a time when American military strategists were divided on which type of formation, militia forces vs professional armies would be successful. The Zouave model was also attractive because it included highly stylized forms such as bright, North African themed uniforms and aggressive tactics that appealed to the general public. Mimetic isomorphism is attractive to military officers because adapting military forms and functions of high status militaries insulates officers from criticism if their efforts are unsuccessful because they were following "best practice" procedures.

[27] *Ibid*., p.151.
[28] *Ibid*., pp. 147-160.

The most complex form of isomorphism is normative isomorphism, referring to change based on a desire for social status and legitimacy. This type of isomorphism is generated by desires within an organization, among which is the desire for professionalization of their occupational role.[29] Normative isomorphism is shaped by diffuse elements that may include formal instruction within the organization, the power of charismatic leaders, desire for social benefits such as respect and feelings of organizational insecurity. A common feature of normative isomorphism is change that emphasizes "high status" functions that are both better paying and more socially respected. The creation of new norms encompasses both constitutive functions, which define and give meaning to actors and provide context, as well as regulatory functions that define acceptable behavior.

Two factors are especially salient in normative isomorphism and its applicability to the Chinese military from 1942-1955: education centers and member networks.[30] First, the development of a coherent and systematic cognitive base is vital for the organizations claim to distinctiveness and importance. This is often accomplished by requirements to a formal, university-type education that attempts to link the professional education to pre-existing social forms as well as create new structures to produce professional knowledge. Second, the development of networks emanating from educational nodes allows for the development of a sense of identity, uniform codes of conduct and regular systems of feedback between educational functions and experiences encountered through practice.

[29] *Ibid*., p. 152.
[30] *Ibid*., p. 152.

Between 1942-1955, Chinese military officers created a highly nuanced and resilient cultural system based on two key elements: a comprehensive school system and professional networks defined by journals and military publications. The military education system functioned to establish "rites of institution" that consecrated their position as fairly and justly achieved. In describing rites, Pierre Bourdieu states "every rite leads towards consecration or legitimization of an arbitrary boundary…By solemnly marking the passage across a line establishing a fundamental division in the social order, the rite attracts the observer's attention towards the passage (hence the expression "rite of passage"), whereas what is important is the line."[31] The establishment of a solid conceptual line between larger society and military officers was marked by the functional distinction of managing violence in their professional capacity.

Another element of cultural orientation used by Chinese military officers was an extensive system of professional journals, which reinforced shared identities developed at military schools but also provided a vital space for in-group communication about new techniques and military skills. Chinese military journals commonly featured three types of articles, all of which helped develop crucial aspects of the military socialization process begun at military schools. First, a large portion of the military articles detailed foreign military developments in tactics, equipment and training. These articles helped accentuate their occupational claims to a status as skilled professionals and also provided Chinese officers with a shared world-view. Second, journal articles encouraged a socialization based on continuous improvement and education. Lastly, a high proportion

[31] Pierre Bourdiou, "Rites as acts of institution," in Peristiany, J.G. and Julian Pitt-Rivers, *Honor and Grace in Anthropology* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 81.

of articles were written by officers serving in command positions or within tactical units i.e. not in a school assignment and these articles provided vital feedback to schools and officers in training.

The specific cultural material utilized in this multi-faceted professional system of education and socialization was provided by a multifaceted variety of cultural products. Texts in the form of military journals, proclamations, formal speeches were widely disseminated and highlight the relatively high level of education among Chinese officers. Narratives in the form of public presentations of national, unit and personal histories were another crucial element of the shared culture. Rituals in the form of public ceremonies, socializing amongst peers, parades and educational programs were all used to create shared experiences amongst Chinese officers.

In the aggregate; this network of texts, narratives and rituals in the educational system and professional journals created a coherent worldview that was attractive to Chinese officers and prospective officers. This worldview helped provide Chinese military officers with a sense of distinctiveness in terms of their skills, and an ethos of obligation to the nation.

Professions

In this dissertation, professions are held to be semi-exclusive groups of individuals that utilize abstract knowledge, which is necessary for the functioning of society at large. Military officers are sometimes not considered true professionals because they are ‘unfree’ i.e. tied directly to the state, and can only operate in a corporate structure as opposed to functionally independent lawyers and doctors. Nevertheless,

military officers share most of the hallmarks of a profession. First, they possess highly specialized skills, the management of violence, grounded on a foundation of abstract knowledge of tactics and strategy. Possession of this specialized knowledge provides both a particularity to the occupation and also serves as a barrier to entry for competitors. Furthermore, the ontological structures of this professional knowledge are determined from within the profession. Military officers decide what constitutes an infantry officer from an artillery officer in the same way doctors classify and police the boundaries between an anesthesiologist and a pediatrician. Second, in spite of being within a governmental structure, most officers are subject to juridical control through military codes and law that are not enforced by civil administration. Third, military professions receive social approval of their exclusive status and special privileges in return for the provision of intangible goods of social utility. The operation of social norms also polices professional behavior of military officers, with officers operating in an arbitrary, independent or capricious manner dubbed mercenaries, soldiers of fortune or in the case of China, warlords.

Academic interest in the role of professionals in China has focused almost exclusively on "free professionals," (*ziyou zhuanyezhe* 自由专业者) such as doctors and lawyers, who operate independent of any larger organization and interact with the public on a personal basis. The study of professions as a socially recognized and internally structured institution is almost non-existent in China and only one work, Xu Xiaoqun's "Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912-1937" takes a detailed look at international dynamics and the social

role of professions.[32] Xu details the role of the three "classic" professions; medicine, journalism and the law, as they struggled to suppress local competitors, such as traditional Chinese medicine, and achieve a privileged position within society. Ignored is a large spectrum of professional experience functioning within large corporate or governmental structures. Bounded professionals, individuals with professional skills but who work within a bureaucratic organization that has clear structural limits on the employment of their skills, are relatively untouched in academic scholarship.

A crucial aspect of the professionalization endeavor was the desire of Chinese military officers to adopt bureaucratic structures. Bureaucracies are a specific kind of organization that are commonly found in military organizations because of the advantages they offer in coordinating large numbers of personnel. Bureaucracies are distinguished from other types of organizations by the high degree of formalization in regulating the activities of its members.[33] In the context of the Chinese officer corps, three primary orientations are revealed in these bureaucratic aspirations. First, officers increasingly exhibited a universalist mentality that sought to homogenize the officer corps and was increasingly hostile to particularist notions of special treatment of 'special' officers based on political or family connections. Second, the Chinese officer corps sought to create a system based on defined metrics of achievement, education and training rather than subjective evaluations of performance. Third, officer roles during the 1940's and 1950's became increasingly "bounded," with each officer holding a position

[32] Xiaoqun Xu, *Chinese Professionals and the Republican State: The Rise of Professional Associations in Shanghai, 1912-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[33] Howard Greenwald, *Organizations: Management Without Control* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 339

entailing responsibility for defined, specific tasks rather than autonomous and diffuse responsibility.[34] Viewed collectively, these shifts marked a sharp increase in the bureaucratic character of the officer corps.

The experience of bounded professionals working in government bureaucracies offers the potential to add clarity to the development of the three traditional tasks of the state: coercion, revenue collection and administration. Preliminary scholarship into the decline of local gendarmerie forces in Beijing sheds vital light into the problems of developing accountable and systemic coercive structures in the Republican period, while Julia Strauss has successfully defined the unique role of the Salt Inspectorate in providing revenues to the Republican administration.[35] Strauss determined that organizational success developed from the ability of supporting state organizations to achieve political insularity from the national government and from the ability to create an impression of competence.[36] Both of these two criteria are congruent with the scope of the professionalization project of GMD military officers.

A key element of professionalization is the attempt by an occupation to define a more rigid and clear jurisdiction of their responsibility and authority. The notion of jurisdiction has been most clearly developed by Andrew Abbott in his seminal work, "The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor."[37] Abbott

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[34] *Ibid*., p. 343.
[35] A.J. Dray-Novey, "The Twilight of the Beijing Gendarmerie, 1920-1924," *Modern China* 33: 3 (July, 2007), pp. 349-376; Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 10.
[36] Julia Strauss, *Strong Institutions in Weak Polities: State Building in Republican China, 1927-1940* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 10.
[37] Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

articulates that the on-going occupational competition that shapes the functions, structure and responsibilities of professions is most directly expressed in their struggle and success in achieving jurisdiction over their desired functional areas. Jurisdiction rests on recognition by society of a monopoly over the cognitive structures of knowledge, rights of self-discipline and control over professional training, recruitment and certification. Abbott states that,

> This control means first and foremost a right to perform the work as professionals see fit. Along with the right to perform the work as it wishes, a profession normally also claims rights to exclude other workers as deemed necessary, to dominate public definitions of the tasks concerned, and indeed to impose professional definitions of the tasks on competing professions. Public jurisdiction, in short, is a claim of both social and cultural authority.[38]

In this conception the role of a profession is bounded not by inherent and logical divisions of labor between professions but it is a contested space that is defined by competition in multiple arenas. The most powerful zone of contention is often public opinion where successful claims to jurisdiction can result in social and cultural authority for professionals. Professional groups can seek to influence public opinion by presenting idealized portrayals of their claimed duties; stories, songs, television and movies can all accomplish this activity. The promulgation of simple, persuasive norms, such as the Hippocratic Oath for doctors, or claims by military officers to represent "the nation," which can be disseminated within society are also commonly utilized to cultivate public support. More negatively, indirect and direct attacks on rival occupational groups as unqualified, opportunistic and untrustworthy can also be used to "win" public support for professional claims to jurisdiction.

[38] *Ibid*., p. 60.

Outline

The structure of this dissertation is chronological and covers the period from 1942-1955. Each chapter follows the idea and practice of Chinese military professionalism, the role of political officers, foreign involvement and Sun Liren. Chapter one begins in the last years of the Qing dynasty, when the precursors of an institutionalized military that was based on a technically proficient, bureaucratically organized officer corps began and illuminates enduring tensions between the idea of a professional military versus a Party-Army force. Chapters two examines the creation of a "Party-Army" system by the GMD from 1924 through 1942. Chapters three and four detail the crucial developments in the 1940's, when a group of young, well-educated officers began to reshape the GMD military from within, using American military aid and advisory programs to catalyze the development of a politically independent officer corps defined by functionally specific military roles. Chapters five covers the period from 1950-1952, after the retreat of GMD forces to Taiwan as the professionalization process continued with increasing civil-military bifurcation of roles and responsibilities and the professionalizing endeavor of ROC military officers achieved its highest point. Chapter six covers the years from 1953-1955 when a political backlash from the GMD and Chiang Ching-kuo (蔣經國), led to a politically motivated purge of ROC officers and the reintroduction of "political officers" in the ROC military. Chapter seven provides a brief epilogue covering the military situation in Taiwan after 1955 and a brief conclusion.

Chapter One:

The Development of the Chinese Army, 1850-1924

Chinese political and cultural hegemony in East Asia has always been buttressed by military power. Successive Chinese dynasties employed varying political policies to ensure a large army remained effective in maintaining internal security and conducted offensive operations against regional powers such as Vietnam, Mongols or Central Asian Zunghars. Universal male conscription under the Qin dynasty, quasi-feudalism during the Tang and mercenary forces used by the Ming were all effective against the threats of their eras but the Qing dynasty was the most successful in expanding their territory and maintaining internal control. Only after two hundred years of almost unbroken battlefield successes was the Qing military forced to change its organizational structures, recruitment patterns and military training programs. Military reforms beginning in the 1850's, and strongly accelerated after 1895, acted as the precursors to the creation of a distinct and professional officer corps in the 1942-1955 period. This nascent development of military professionalization from 1850-1911 was stalled with the fall of the Qing dynasty but was unchallenged intellectually until the advent of the "Party-Army" concept developed by Sun Yat-sen in the early 1920's.

Qing Traditions

The tremendously successful campaigns of Qing forces in Central Asia, South China and Tibet expanded the territory controlled by a "Chinese" dynasty to its greatest

extent, but by the mid nineteenth century the Qing military faced a wide variety of organizational challenges. The Qing military was an ethnically divided structure with a further subdivision into "military" units, but which functioned essentially as a para-military police or constabulary force responsible for suppressing riots and small uprisings, and a more traditional military force. This hybrid police/military and Han Chinese/Manchu/Mongol force was organizationally complicated but successfully maintained large military forces at relatively low cost throughout the dynasty. The hybrid structure also prevented internal Manchu opposition to the Imperial family or large-scale revolts by military trained ethnic Han Chinese.

The core of Qing strength was the "Bannermen" (*baqi* 八旗), descendants of the original twenty-four units (banners) that had been formed in the early seventeenth century by Manchu leader Nurhaci. They were instrumental in conquering China and establishing the Manchu ruled Qing dynasty in 1644. The twenty-four banner units were ethnically sub-divided into eight Manchu, eight Mongol and eight Han Chinese units.[39] All Manchu were officially enrolled in one of the eight Manchu banners with recruitment being hereditary. Roughly half of Manchu banner forces lived with their families in Beijing or the surrounding capital region with other large garrisons at Xian, to control the western regions and at Hangzhou, the major garrison in the prosperous and cosmopolitan lower Yangzi region. Numerous smaller groups of bannermen were stationed throughout China.[40]

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[39] Bruce Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989* (London: Routledge Press, 2001), p. 5.
[40] Mark Elliott, *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 369.

Until the destruction of Central Asian Zunghar forces in Xinjiang during the 1750's, a large portion of the Qing banner forces, particularly the elite Manchu cavalry units had been engaged in ongoing military operations or garrisoned in spartan frontier outposts.[41] The century long peace that followed saw increasing numbers of Manchu Bannermen moving to the capital region and a steady loss of martial traditions. By the mid nineteenth century the banner organization and the Manchu forces that were its core strength, had degenerated so much that a British observer reported, "The majority of the so-called troops of the 24 banners are utterly without organization, as their division into banners is of no value from a military point of view."[42] A visiting American General concurred, "The bannermen are seldom required to drill, and, when they are called out, muster with rusty swords, bows, spears, and weapons of various descriptions. Receiving but a small pay, they are permitted to engage in various kinds of business and traffic…As soldiers they have long since ceased to be useful, and until reorganized and disciplined, they must remain but profitless pensioners of the Government."[43] Military training, when conducted, consisted of parade ground drills involving gongs, firing flintlock muskets into the air and large numbers of flags to simulate enemy positions, which created a fanciful scene that one foreign observer described as military "burlesque."[44]

Vastly more numerous than the Bannermen was the "Green Standard Army" (*luying* 綠營) made up of ethnic Han Chinese. The Green Standard Army was the

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[41] Pamela Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 13.
[42] Francis Younghusband, *British Military Report*; *Coast Defense of China, The Construction of Chinese Railways, etc*. (Simla: Government Central Branch, 1887), p. 3.
[43] Emory Upton, *The Armies of Asia and Europe* (Portsmouth: Griffin and Company, 1878). p. 20.
[44] *Ibid*.

organizational remnant of ethnic Han Chinese forces that had switched sides in 1644 to support the Manchu, but by the nineteenth century their effectiveness was limited. Although numbering in the hundreds of thousands, troops of the Green Standard Army were dispersed in small garrisons and acted as a constabulary force rather than a strictly military organization.[45] Late nineteenth century estimates of the size of the Green Standard forces varied from less than 200,000 to over 500,000 with the wide variation being due to the decentralized structure of the force, which made effective administration difficult.[46] The decentralization of Green Standard forces was part of a conscious organizational design by Qing leaders to limit the potential for revolt among ethnic Han soldiers. Senior commanders of the Green Standard were rotated frequently to ensure they did not form lasting bonds with a particular group of soldiers or a region. The Green Standard command structure meshed military officers with local officials. While this system hindered decisiveness it was a further check on independent military action.[47] By the mid nineteenth century the Green Standard forces had become militarily obsolete, with many troops only notionally carried on personnel books and performing no real functions. Rather than military drill or police (gendarme) functions many Green Standard posts became comfortable sinecures for local notables. A contemporary observer noted, "These troops [Green Standard] ordinarily render merely nominal service, having purchased from their officers, in consideration of their pay, the privilege of engaging in all kinds of commerce."[48]

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[45] Younghusband, *British Military Report,* p. 37.
[46] Upton, *The Armies of Asia and Europe*; Younghusband, *British Military Report,* p. 5.
[47] Philip Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China: Militarization and Social Structure, 1796-1864* (Boston: Harvard University Press, 1970), Introduction.
[48] Upton, *The Armies of Asia and Europe*, p. 18.

Training and promotion of Qing officers was decentralized, with successive Emperors placing emphasis on Manchu retaining their "martial virtues" by promoting hunting expeditions, encouraging the glorification of military heroes and maintaining a distinct Manchu culture linked to physical prowess.[49] This conservative mentality made organizational and technological adaptation difficult. By the 1850's most Manchu families had not had a family member in a major military campaign in over one hundred years and hereditary residence in banner garrisons adjacent to major urban centers allowed substantial cultural cross-over between Chinese society and Manchu lifestyles.[50] Promotion within both the Banner forces and Green Standard was politically determined with a bare minimum of military qualifications. Candidates for officer positions were required to pass an archery test, demonstrate proficiency with a sword and be able to lift heavy stones.[51]

The Need for Change

The defeat of Qing military forces by western powers in 1842 and 1860 was embarrassing to the dynasty but did not threaten the underlying economic or political foundations of Manchu rule. The Taiping Rebellion, which began in 1850, was a much larger, more systemic threat to the Manchu dynasty, not only by seizing the economic core of the Empire, the Yangzi River valley but also by directly challenging the

[49] Evelyn Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), pp. 43-46.
[50] Pamela Crossley, *Orphan Warriors: Three Manchu Generations and the End of the Qing World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 176-180.
[51] Upton, *The Armies of Asia and Europe*, p. 22.

ideological system that legitimized Manchu rule.[52] The ability of the Taiping to mount sustained operations by hundreds of thousands of troops was beyond the abilities of the degenerated Banner or Green Standard forces to control. The organizational adaptations required to defeat the Taiping forces necessitated four inter-related areas of military change: ethnic Han leadership, technological imports of advanced weapons, sustained budgetary support for large standing armies, and increased military specialization in terms of training and command roles. Collectively, these developments would end the established patterns of Manchu military dominance that dated back to the early seventeenth century.

The immediate military demands for protection against the Taiping led to the creation of localized, functionally independent military forces that were created and led by ethnic Han elites. Drawing on local and regional networks of the Chinese 'gentry', officials in the Yangtze region recruited officers from among holders of civil degrees.[53] These officers in turn used their social prestige in villages and towns to marshal large numbers of men into militia (yong-ying 勇營) formations that were funded through local customs duties and taxes from locals.

The two largest local raised forces, Zeng Guofan's (曾國藩) Xiang Army (*xiangjun* 湘軍) and Li Hongzhang's (李鴻章) Huai Army (*Huaijun* 淮軍) both numbered over 100,000 men and commanded the authority and taxes of province-sized military regions. Training for these regional military forces depended on the skill and initiative of the officers, many of whom had little military experience. Tactics culled

[52] Jonathan D. Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: Norton and Co., 1996), pp. 173-191.
[53] Kuhn, *Rebellion and Its Enemies in Late Imperial China*, p. 7.

from classical Chinese literature, combined with simple but effective military drills were sufficient to fight the equally untrained Taiping rebels, and by the conclusion of the rebellion in 1864 these locally raised forces had become the most experienced in China.[54]

A small but innovative component of the Huai Army of Li Hongzhang was a hybrid foreigner/Han Chinese brigade of 5,000 men formed in the summer of 1861. This new force was created using both local Han Chinese recruits and the remnants of the defunct Foreign Army Corps that had been raised by nervous foreign residents of Shanghai as the Taiping approached. Leadership of this small force was split between Frederick Townsend Ward, an American adventurer, and a Chinese commander Wu Xu. Dubbed the "Ever Victorious Army" (*chang sheng jun* 常勝軍) after battlefield successes, the force sought to utilize imported organizational structures, create a small staff system and introduce foreign weapons.[55] Training was conducted by foreign officers and non-commissioned officers (NCO's), with British logistical and personnel support being crucial. Although some local commanders such as Zeng Guofan rejected the importation of foreign military equipment, Li both encouraged arms imports and took steps to establish arsenals to support his forces.[56] Although small, Li's foreign trained and equipped brigade represented a fundamentally different approach to military organization and development than either the traditional Qing system or the ad hoc local forces developed in the 1850's.

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[54] Richard Smith, "The Reform of Military Education in Late Ch'ing China, 1842-1895," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Hong Kong Branch* 18 (1978), pp. 15-38.
[55] Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989,* p. 54-55.
[56] Stanley Spector, *Li Hung-Chang and the Huai Army: A Study in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Regionalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), pp. 152-165.

The success of Qing forces in suppressing not only the Taiping Rebellion but also the Nien Rebellion (1853-1868) in Northern China, and the Dungan revolt in the western provinces of Shanxi, Gansu and Ningxia were indicative that internal opposition remained incapable of overthrowing the Qing in spite of its significant military weakness. During the late nineteenth century the most effective portions of the Qing military forces, Li Hongzhang's Huai Army, was redeployed to the Beijing capital area, concurrent with the assignment of Li to the position of Viceroy of Zhili. Zhili's unique position surrounding the Beijing Capital region, which encompassed both rich farmland and major seaports, entailed that Li would be responsible for the defense of the capital in any future conflict and have the resources for sustained military development.

In Zhili province, the Huai Army was comingled with ad hoc "special disciplined forces" that had been yet another local attempt to circumvent the degenerated Banner and Green Standard forces. The special disciplined forces (*lian jun* 練軍) units had been created by selection of the most able bodied and competent of Green Standard forces together with administrative changes such as a new pay scale that was hoped to make military service more attractive.[57] Together these two elements numbered roughly 25,000 men from the late 1870's through 1894. In the early 1890's the term 'Beiyang Army' (*beiyangjun* 北洋軍) began to be used to describe the joining of Huai Army, Lianjun Army forces into a regional army responsible for Korea, China's three northeast provinces (Manchuria) and the North China Plain.

[57] Ralph Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 37.

Li created of new patterns of military education and weapons development but both were of limited success. The establishment of a military academy in Tianjin was designed to teach practical subjects like mathematics, military drill, military engineering, surveying, etc., which represented a sharp break with the Manchu traditions of physical ability or Chinese literary examinations.[58] In conjunction with increasing the technical skills of the army, Li supported the importation of large amounts of weapons, primarily Krupp artillery. By 1884, Li's forces were reported to have over seventy Krupp eight centimeter field guns and a battery of quick firing four pounders.[59] Nonetheless, the diversity of foreign weapons used by Li's forces included German Mausers, American Winchesters, Russian muskets and British Martini-Henry rifles, making training and logistics difficult.[60]

Evaluations by foreign observers described Li's forces in positive terms, "Li hung-chang's army is probably the best [in China]. It is armed principally with the Mauser rifle. They are a fine body of men, and are drilled on the German system; but they are badly officered, and as shown by their conduct in Corea in 1882 when they committed grave offenses, they are not sufficiently under control."[61]

In spite of the promising but uncoordinated reforms initiated by Li in North China, the battlefield performance of the Beiyang Army in 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese war

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[58] Richard Smith, "The Reform of Military Education in Late Ch'ing China, 1842-1895," p. 23.
[59] Mark Bell, *China: Being a Military Report on the Northeastern Portions of the Provinces of Chih-Li and Shan-Tung; Nanking and its Approaches; Canton and its Approaches; etc. Vol I and II*, (Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1884), p. 46.
[60] Upton, *The Armies of Asia and Europe*, pp. 28-29.
[61] Francis Younghusband, *British Military Report*; *Coast Defense of China, The Construction of Chinese Railways, etc.* (Simla: Government Central Branch, 1887), p. 5.

was poor. Japanese conscript forces were able to outmaneuver more numerous Chinese forces and capture heavily fortified positions at Pyongyang and Lushunkou (Port Arthur) with minimal losses. Although research into Chinese strategy and tactics in the 1894-1895 Sino-Japanese War remains woefully understudied, preliminary research has suggested that poor officer leadership and extremely loose battlefield discipline among Chinese forces was a major factor in their defeat.[62] The defeat of Chinese army and naval forces by Japan in 1895, which was unexpected by foreign observers, created a strengthened desire for military change among senior Manchu leaders. On 8 December 1895, the War Council recommended the creation of a new military force in North China that would incorporate foreign military innovations in organization, weapons and tactics. The edict read, "China, in experimenting with the training of foreign style troops, has in general used Western methods only in part. Those who will be trained this time will solely imitate the German regulations."[63] Yuan Shikai (袁世凱), who had served in Korea prior to 1894, and who many blamed for instigating the political disputes with the Japanese that led to war, was selected as the commander of this force, which was dubbed the "Newly Created Army" (*xin jun* 新軍). Yuan was a strong supporter of wholesale military change. After the Chinese defeat in 1895 he remarked,

> The basic reason for our military setbacks, though due to poor direction, could also be traced to our defective organization. If we do not make a drastic reorganization adopting western methods and introducing a system of thorough military training; then, I would really shudder to face any further repetition of our early reverses…[64]

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[62] Allen Fung, "Testing the Self-Strengthening: The Chinese Army in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895," *Modern Asian Studies* 30:4 (October 1996), p. 1007-1031.
[63] Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912*, p. 76.
[64] F.F. Liu, *The Nationalist Army of China: An Administrative Study of the Period 1924-1946*, (Ph.D. dissertation. Princeton University, 1951),pp. 10.

In spite of the small size of the new force, roughly 7,000 men, Yuan was able to use his political connections to ensure funding for a full range of supporting organizations such as a German language school to translate books and a full staff component, which featured a foreign military intelligence section.[65]

This small force represented China's most professional and coherent military organization in the nineteenth century. Adequate and consistent pay, standardized weapons and integrated training exercises made it a model force in the eyes of foreign observers.[66] In spite of the potential utility of Yuan's forces in a conflict with a foreign power, the majority of Chinese forces remained in more 'traditional' organizational patterns and continued to focus on internal security rather than external threats. Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century the organizational baggage of three hundred years of adding organizations, which were never demobilized made exercising administration in peacetime difficult. In the Beijing area alone, seven distinct military formations were assigned to protect the capital with no coordination of strategy and training among the scattered units.[67] Another barrier to change was a continuing xenophobic attitude to adopting foreign practices by military officers and men. A British observer noted that, "to be smart [in Western type military drills] is to be like a hated foreigner and to lose caste [face].[68]

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[65] Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912*, p. 77.
[66] "*Notes on China,"* U.S. War Department (Washington D.C.: Adjutant Generals Office, August 1900), p. 62.
[67] "*Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.
[68] Mark Bell, *China: Being a Military Report on the Northeastern Portions of the Provinces of Chih-Li and Shan-Tung; Nanking and its Approaches; Canton and its Approaches; etc. Vol I and II* (Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1884), p. 57.

The death of Li Hongzhang in 1901 allowed for the promotion of Yuan Shikai into the position of Viceroy of Zhili. Yuan's "New Army" forces incorporated Li's Beiyang troops and adopted their name, the Beiyang Army. In theory, the Beiyang Army was envisioned to be the core of a new "national" army of China, which would include thirty-six divisions, according to a report by the Commission for Army Reorganization in 1904 but financial problems prevented the plan from being implemented.[69] Yuan's position as Viceroy of a wealthy province helped ensure adequate funding for his Beiyang Army but it remained only one small organization within a much larger and unreformed Chinese military establishment.[70]

Reforming military education was a major component of Yuan's program. Removing the obsolete physical tests for officer recruits in 1901 and the abolition of civil examinations in 1905 broadened the pool of potential officer recruits and more closely aligned military requirements with technical skills taught at civilian schools.[71] To train officers in specialized military skills, Yuan established a military academy one hundred miles outside of Beijing, in the strategically located city of Baoding. The Baoding Military Academy (*Baoding junxiao* 保定軍校) was the largest military training facility in China from its founding in 1902 until 1927, and the majority of the officers of warlord armies during the 1910's and 1920's, as well as substantial elements of the Nationalist army officer corps were trained in its German/Japanese style education system.[72] In 1908,

[69] Edward Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949* (New York: Longman Press, 1995), p. 20.
[70] Steven Mackinnon. "The Peiyang Army, Yuan Shik-k'ai, and the Origins of Modern Chinese Warlordism," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 32:3 (May 1973), pp. 405-423.
[71] Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949*, p. 17.
[72] Zheng Zhiting and Qiushan Zhang, *Baoding lujun xuetang ji junguan xue xiao shi lue* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2005), pp 103-111.

total enrollment in Chinese military academies was estimated to be roughly 4,500 cadets with 1,000 to 1,500 being commissioned every year and Baoding represented the majority of these officers.[73] The military reputation developed by Baoding officers would carry over after graduation and during the 1930's and 1940's Baoding graduates would comprise the majority of the Chinese generals, but they rarely made it to senior general rank due to a lack of political connections.[74]

The original design of the Qing military education reforms had called for military primary schools to be established in each province to train youths aged fifteen through eighteen. By October 1905, all but two provinces, Gansu and Henan, had fulfilled the government but with no standardized curriculum or established training procedures the quality of the military education varied tremendously.[75] After graduation, promising cadets would then be sent to one of four regional military academies for a two year course followed by a six month assignment to an army division. Cadets who proved capable would then spend a final two years at the Baoding military academy before being given full officer commissions.[76]

Although a coherent plan, in reality the desire to create a large force quickly was subject to financial limitations and provincialism, which hindered the development of an integrated military education system. The pressing need for junior officers led to the creation of abridged courses at Baoding ranging from one and a half to two and a half

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[73] Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912*, p. 299.
[74] Chang Rui-de, "Nationalist Chinese Officers During the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 30 No 4 (October 1996), pp. 1034-1035.
[75] Anita O'Brian, in. *Perspectives on a Changing China,* edited by William T. Rowe and Joshua Fogel (Boulder: Westview Press, 1979), p. 163.
[76] Bell and Woodhead, *The China Yearbook, 1916* (London: Routledge and Sons, 1916), p. 297.

years depending on the cadets military experience.[77] Many NCO's, such as future warlord Wu Peifu (吳佩孚), became officers after these abbreviated courses, which successfully filled personnel requirements at the expense of standardized training, and slowing the development of a solid NCO corps in army.

Expanding the military education system also encompassed a greatly enlarged program of sending Chinese cadets overseas. Li Hongzhang had begun a small program of sending Chinese officers to Germany for military training in the 1870's, but only seven cadets were sent due to language barriers, the high cost of foreign training and a lack of Chinese volunteers.[78] After 1900, hundreds of Chinese cadets began to study abroad, with most attending Japanese institutions because they were cheaper, closer to China and had a good military reputation after Japan's victory over Russia in 1905. In 1906, 691 Chinese military officers and cadets were attending Japanese schools compared to only fifteen in Europe and three in the United States.[79] Although foreign trained officers were statistically insignificant in terms of China's total military forces (less than two percent of officer strength), in elite units, and especially the Beiyang Army, they represented a significant share of the total officer strength.

In conjunction with a new openness towards foreign training and instruction, the last decade of the Qing Dynasty saw a pronounced cultural shift in favor of martial values that was encouraged both by the Qing state and anti-Manchu Han nationalists. School

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[77] Odoric Wou, *Militarism in China: The Career of Wu P'ei-Fu, 1916-1939* (Dawson: Australian National University Press, 1977), p.16.
[78] Richard Smith, "The Reform of Military Education in Late Ch'ing China, 1842-1895," p. 22.
[79] John Wands Sacca, "Like Strangers in a Foreign Land: Chinese Officers Prepared at American Military Colleges, 1904-1937," *Journal of Military History* 70 (July 2006), p. 708.

textbooks and Imperial decrees both attempted to raise the status of the military profession. One textbook, the 1904 New National Reader, stated bluntly, "soldiers are the foundation of a strong country," and repeatedly linked national greatness to military valor.[80] Reformist intellectuals such as Liang Qichao (梁啟超) and Kang Youwei (康有為) argued for a reinvigoration of China's martial culture both as a politically necessity to combat foreign powers, but also as a way to cultivate social discipline.[81] Cai E (蔡鍔), an anti-Qing military leader and later warlord argued that military organizations inculcated precisely the kind of values, behavior and spirit required to solve China's problems stating, "to train a good soldier is actually to train a good citizen."[82] Imperial decrees also referred to cultivation of "the military spirit" as an aim of a balanced and "realistic" education.[83] This cultural shift raised the status of military forces, especially officers, which made recruitment of talented men easier but the desire of many Chinese to turn the army into a laboratory for creating citizens or reforming Chinese character clashed with needs for military specialization and combat training.

Foreign observers were quick to note this cultural transition. Robert Hart, head of the powerful Maritime Customs Bureau remarked on the new regulations and martial spirit, "henceforth the soldier will be respected, and with her immense population and resources, the Chinese army of the future will count for something in the world's

[80] Edmund Fung, *The Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution: The New Army and Its Role in the Revolution of 1911* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 99.
[81] Hans Van de Ven, "The Military in the Republic," *The China Quarterly*, No 150 (June 1997), p. 356.
[82] Ibid., p. 357.

doing."[84] British journalist G.E. Morrison shared this sentiment, writing, "The Chinese soldier of today is a wholly different man from his fellow of even ten years ago. A remarkable reversal of sentiment has come over the nation about the Army. Formerly the soldier was despised. Only the lowest class would enlist, and the officers secured their appointments in the hope of profit from 'squeeze'. This is being changed. The status of the soldier has been transformed."[85]

Junhua Magazine and Professional Military Thought in the Late Qing

In conjunction with the establishment of the Beiyang Army, a War College for senior Chinese officers was established Beijing. In 1911, the college launched a new military professional journal, *Junhua* (軍華), which published several volumes in 1911. The first issue included its mission statement, "this journal is for the study of military issues and to encourage the study of military thought."[86] The publication of *Junhua* represented a key event in the development of the Chinese military as a profession, because it served as a mechanism to develop group identity and norms among its officer readers.[87]

The earliest modern military journals in China were created following the New Army reforms during the late Qing dynasty. Returning students from Japanese military schools used journals to retain a shared sense of identity after their return to China but

[84] O'Brian, *Perspectives on a Changing China*, p. 163.
[85] Edmund Fung, "Military Subversion in the Chinese Revolution of 1911," *Modern Asian Studies* 9, no 1 (1975), pp. 103-123.
[86] "Junguo xueshe jianzhang," *Junhua* I (1911), p. III.
[87] Samuel Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), p. 10.

also to advocate for military changes and political reforms. Jiang Baili (蔣百里), future head of the Baoding Academy and a renowed military intellectual, started his writing career as a frequent contributor to the journal *Zhejiang Tides* (*Zhejiang chao* 浙江潮), after he returned from Japan's Imperial Army Academy. He used his articles to advocate for the overthrow of the Qing dynasty in addition to substantive military reforms.[88]

After the fall of the Qing in 1911, military journals were established at many of the provincial military schools but the premier journals were published in Beijing where the War College (*lujun daxue* 陸軍大學), the highest level of Chinese Military education was located. Originally founded in 1906 by the Qing dynasty, the War College was designed as the capstone of a three part military education structure with military schools at the primary level located in all provinces for students aged 15-18, four secondary-level military schools at Nanjing, Xian, Wuchang and Beijing for students aged 18-21, and the War College in Beijing as the "university" level military school.

The impetus for creating the War College was Chinese analysis of the changing nature of warfare after witnessing the conflict between Japan and Russia in Manchuria from 1904-1905.[89] The massive number of troops involved, over half a million Russians and 300,000 Japanese, in addition to the tremendous logistical difficulties involving railway transport and commercial shipping, highlighted increasing need for sophisticated

[88] Lu Yan, *Re-Understanding Japan: Chinese Perspectives, 1895-1945* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), p. 26.
[89] Su Keli, "ershi shiji de junshi geming-yi ri'ezhanzheng (1904-1905) weili," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan* (April 2005), pp. 23-50; Meng Guohan, *Minguo shiqi de lujun da xue* (Jiangsu: Di er lishi dong an guan. 1994), p. 4.

staff work by modern armies.[90] Unlike the provincial and regional military schools, the War College was also designed to study foreign military operations and tactics, review foreign wars and examine new technologies. The War College had extensive foreign language training facilities and employed foreign instructors, normally Japanese or German officers.[91]

Junhua was a military journal with articles on new equipment, tactics and the introduction of new techniques such as statistical analysis in military affairs.[92] Both of these journals were published in Beijing during the early 1910's, but with the breakdown of the national level government and the onset of regional warlord coalitions the publication and distribution of military journals was increasingly constrained. Like it later counterparts in the Nationalist period, *Junhua* approached the study of military science from an impersonal and highly technical perspective. Throughout the journal, there are few references to the Qing political leaders, civilian politics, or social forces. Instead, the topics are highly focused on military operations, military history, tactics and organizational development. One of the most common features of *Junhua* was the listing of new regulations, laws, and announcements of promotions, demotions and assignments for officers. Although mundane, these listings served to accelerate the integration of widely dispersed Chinese forces around common bureaucratic policies, as well as making the enactment of military policies more transparent. Another common feature of *Junhua*

[90] Stephen Mackinnon, "The Pei-yang Army, Yuan Shih-k'ai, and the Origins of Modern Chinese Warlordism," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 32:3 (May 1973), pp. 405-423.
[91] Xi Jingheyan (Hosoi, Kazuhiko), "Nanjing guomin zhengfu shiqi de lujun daxue" [Nanjing Government Period Central Military Academy], *Wuhan kexue daxue bao* 13:2 (April 2011), pp. 219-220.
[92] *Junhua* I, (1911), p. 22.

magazine was detailed analyses of key concepts, such as defensive tactics, normally paired with examples depicting a Chinese location so that the tactical principles could be discussed in a real world setting. Lastly, every edition of *Junhua* magazine featured news on troop strengths, technological developments and military actions from around the world.

The introduction of every edition of *Junhua* magazine featured a list of seven topics that it defined as "key problems," on which it invited articles and discussion. The first and most important topic was Chinese military planning and peace-time preparation for mobilization and war. Less important but vital problems included analysis of current social trends and their effect on military affairs, together with topic number three, civilian education and its relationship or comparison with military education suggests an awareness of the social context of military reforms. Military education practices, methods and principles was designated as the fourth key problem and was a frequent topic of discussion. The fifth key problem, identifying reasons for the slow rate of military progress in China, reflects a high degree of self-criticism expressed in military journals. Officer training and officer assignments in relation to military development was identified as the sixth issue but was rarely discussed in the short timeframe of the journal. Lastly, the use aircraft in modern warfare, a seemingly incongruous and advanced topic in 1913, was identified as issue number seven.[93]

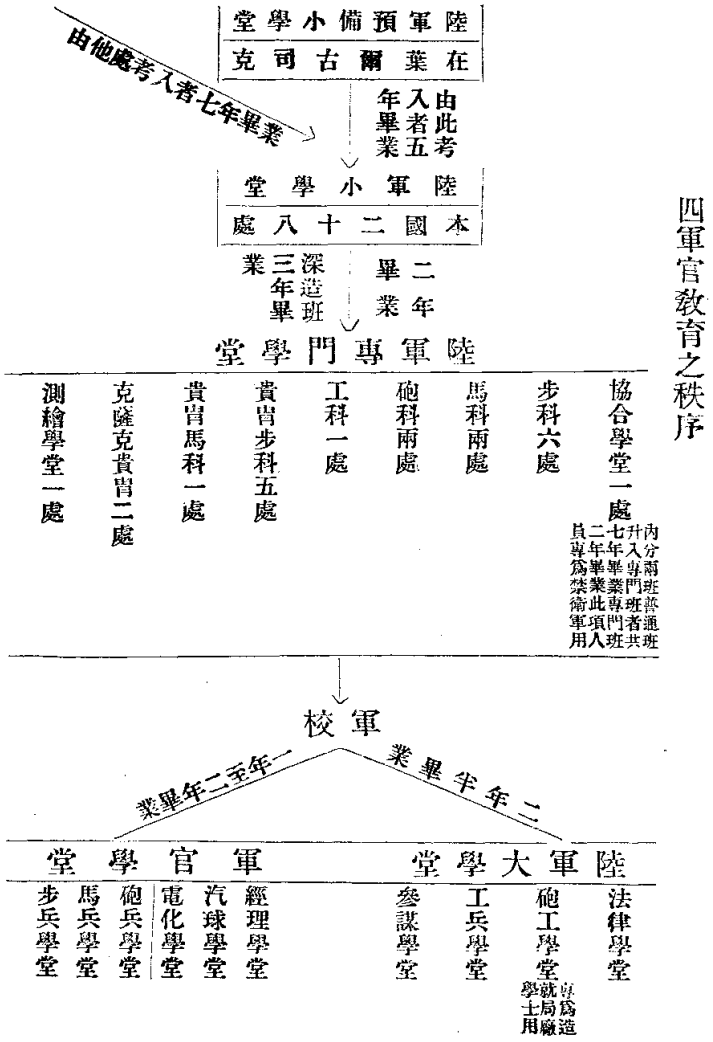
Much of the content of *Junhua* consisted of information about the Chinese military itself, which was designed to encourage an understanding of national policies, doctrine and organizational structures. In modern military affairs, the development and

[93] "Xuanshi wenti,"*Junhua* Vol. I-III (1911), p. IV.

indoctrination of "standards and practices" is a major element of officer training, and necessary for the functioning of a complex bureaucratically organized structure. These announcements highlight the transition of the Chinese military from a network of individual military units with localized, ad hoc methods into a centrally administered, institutionalized force. This trend is most clearly shown in the presentation of the military schools system in *Junhua*. In a very basic analysis, the article presents how the school system is structured, what is studied and how the system will shape the careers of students around areas of functional expertise, such as engineering, infantry or artillery.[94] For even easier comprehension a graphic depiction of the military school system was included for officer to study (see below).

Diagram of the Military School System in Qing China (1910)

[94] "Junshi diaocha," *Junhua* Vol. III (1911), pp. 79-86.



[95]

The issue of military planning and preparation was handled by Chinese officers writing in *Junhua* in a highly technical perspective more similar to accounting than to traditional military arts. For example, in the second volume of *Junhua*, professor He Deng (何澄) from Baoding military academy, analyzed the financial system of the Chinese Army, and argued that substantial difficulty in coordinating the military forces in north and south China resulted from a lack of rolling stock for railroads and poor

[95] *Ibid*., p. 86.

financial support for operational training.[96] Another article from the same issue titled "The Relationship between the Military and Statistics" detailed the number of military personnel of every major power together with the financial cost necessary to support military operations under conditions of wartime mobilization.[97]

During *Junhua's* brief lifespan, the subject of military aviation was consistently included among the list of topics covered and was part of the "key questions" included in the intro to every addition. The first issue included a prominent article, "The Future of Military Aviation," which noted that "The Twentieth Century's most thoughtful observers of military technology are focused on the use of aircraft by the military…"[98] The article systematically explored the possibilities of aircraft for both air and naval operations and compared them to dirigible airships in both their cost and effectiveness. The emphasis on what was high technology in 1911 appears incongruous with the reality of China at the time, but continuing emphasis on "advanced" or "future" weapons highlights the degree to which Chinese officers were in the process of linking themselves to global norms and practices.

Strategically, *Junhua* focused on China's military posture along its borders with Russia and Japan with several articles analyzing the military lessons of the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War. It is indicative of the high level of international contact, that *Junhua* published translated articles from Russian military journals to gain a more international perspective.[99] Chinese attention to Japanese developments was similarly

[96] He Deng, "Zhongguo da jieji bianzhi zhi yanjiu," *Junhua* II (1911), pp. 14-17.
[97] Yi Wu, "Tongji yu junshi zhi guanxi," *Junhua* I (1911), pp. 22-25.
[98] "The Future of Military Aviation" *Junhua* I (1911), pp. 14-16.
[99] He Deng (trans), "Zhanbai hou zhi eguo jinzhuang," *Junhua* III (1911), pp. 41-49.

nuanced with regular features on Japanese military training and equipment. This expertise is clearly shown in an extensive organizational chart of the Japanese military, printed in the third volume of *Junhua*, which shows a level of detail requiring Japanese language skills and an extensive experience with the Japanese military.[100]

The development of the military journal *Junhua* represented the final evolution of the Qing military structure away from an ethnic or personality based organization guided by *military art*, and towards a more impersonal, rationalized bureaucratic structure designed to utilize *military science*. Although the sophisticated organizational structure developed in the last years of the Qing dynasty was dismantled during the 1910's and 1920's, it served as a point of reference for Chinese officers trained between 1905-1911 and represented a breakthrough for the development of military modernity in China.

The last decade of the Qing dynasty saw the increasing divergence of senior Manchu leaders from the new military forces, which were almost exclusively Han Chinese. The cultural disconnect between the Emperor and these new officers, who had been trained at specialized military schools at home and aboard, became increasingly salient during the last few years of the Qing dynasty. Historical scholarship has pointed to heightened concern among senior officials about the ability of the Qing central government to control the new military forces, and they sought to re-centralize military command under Manchu general officers.[101] The transfer of Yuan Shikai and Zhang Zhidong (張之洞), a senior Han official responsible for New Army forces in central

[100] "Riben luhai jun xitong," *Junhua* III (1911), pp. 87-89.
[101] Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912*, pp. 272-280; Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949*, pp. 26-28.

China to positions on the Grand Council was technically a promotion but in reality removed them from positions of power.[102]

The increasing unpopularity of Manchu rule after 1905 led to numerous rebellions, revolts and political opposition movements rooted in China's growing population of cosmopolitan urban elites but crucially instigated by newly trained officers. The Wuchang Uprising (*wuchang qiyi* 武昌起義) in October 1911 by ethnic Han officers of a New Army unit began a series of military and political maneuvers that would eventually lead to the end of the Qing dynasty on 12 February 1912.[103]

Warlords

Following the end of the Qing dynasty and the short lived national government of Yuan Shikai as President of the Republic of China, Chinese military forces lacked a central command authority, training facilities, and had few connections with foreign military personnel. The 1911-1927 period is often called the "warlord era" and was characterized by military governments in a politically divided China. The expansion of military organizations into direct administration of governments, and the role of military officers in positions of political leadership was a result of both opportunism as well as extremely weak and divided civilian political systems.

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[102] Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949*, p. 26.

[103] Relevant works include: Joseph Esherick, *Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976); Edward McCord, *The Power of the Gun: The Emergence of Modern Chinese Warlordism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Donald Sutton, *Provincial Militarism and the Chinese Republic: The Yunnan Army, 1905-1925* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980); Edmund Fung, *The Military Dimension of the Chinese Revolution* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980).

The warlord era is often viewed negatively by Chinese and historians alike as a period of "might makes right," with aggressive military forces disrupting economic and social life in pursuit of power. The shady past of many prominent warlords, (e.g. Zhang Zuolin was a former bandit), makes it easy to stereotype the Chinese military in this period as degenerating into mindless thuggery. Academic scholarship similarly portrays Chinese military forces of the period as venal, coercive and often in the employ of foreigners, an interpretation which is politically useful for both the GMD and CCP.[104]

In spite of political uncertainty, major aspects of the Qing military reform program continued to function after the downfall of the dynasty. Some military academies, particularly the Baoding Military Academy, remained open and even expanded their training programs after 1911.[105] Between 1912 and 1923 the Baoding Military Academy graduated almost nine thousand officers, who formed the backbone of the warlord armies and the later the GMD army.[106] Two of the four mid-level military schools, in Xian and Nanjing closed but the two in Qinghe and Wuchang continued to train cadets and send graduates to Baoding Military Academy for final training throughout the early warlord period.

During the 1910's and 1920's, young Chinese continued to pursue military education abroad. Increasingly, Chinese students began to study in Europe and the United States. By 1925, several dozen of Chinese cadets had trained at West Point, Virginia

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[104] Relevant works include: Diana Lary, *Warlord Soldiers: Chinese Common Soldiers, 1911-1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Hans Van de Ven, "Public Finance and the Rise of Warlordism," *Modern Asian Studies* 30: 4 (October 1996), pp. 829-868.
[105] O'Brian, *Perspectives on a Changing China*, p. 165.
[106] *Ibid*., p. 176.

Military Institute and Norwich University in the United States.[107] Following their studies these cadets generally returned to their home region but could join any of the competing warlord factions.

Perhaps the most significant military development of the warlord era was the massive expansion in the size of Chinese military forces. At the fall of the dynasty in 1912, only eight of the proposed 36 divisions of the National Army had been created.[108] Early warlord conflicts, such as Cai E's march on Beijing to oppose Yuan Shikai in 1915, involved 5,000 to 20,000 men with few actual casualties. Recruitment and training of Chinese military forces expanded dramatically during the late 1910's and into the 1920's. Estimates of the total number of soldiers under arms grew from 500,000 in 1916, 1,000,000 in 1920 and 1,500,000 in 1924. Conflicts also became deadlier with wars of maneuver giving way into prolonged, bloody campaigns with casualties in the hundreds of thousands.[109]

International cooperation with Chinese military forces in terms of equipment and training continued during the warlord era but with a change in the foreign partners. The sustained Sino-German relationship which dated back to the 1860's diminished in importance after the 1911 Revolution and was completely severed with the start of World War One. The pressing security needs of France and Britain in Europe during the war

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[107] Zheng Xueyu, "Wo guo dui wai junshi jichu jiaoyu zhi jiaoliu (1904-2005)," [Our country's military education in foreign nations] *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan*, (October 1996), pp. 159-168; John Wands Sacca, "Like Strangers in a Foreign Land: Chinese Officers Prepared at American Military Colleges, 1904-1937," *Journal of Military History* 70 (July 2006), p. 706.
[108] Powell, *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912*, p. 208.
[109] Shelley Yomano, "Reintegration in China under the Warlords, 1916-1927," *Republican China* 12:2 (April 1987), pp. 22-27.

opened the path for increasing Japanese involvement in China, particularly by supplying the northeastern warlord Zhang Zuolin (張作霖) with equipment and military instructors.[110] International diplomatic agreements precluding arms sales to China were signed in 1919 by all major powers except the Soviet Union, but Soviet security interests in Central Asia made it a strong supporter of the Feng Yuxiang's (馮玉祥) Kuominchun (*guo min jun* 國民軍) army.[111]

In total, the period from 1850-1924 was one of constant military change with Chinese military officers increasingly taking the lead in creating a "modern" bureaucratized military officer profession. Although political difficulties often overshadowed their efforts, military officers had developed a school system, professional journals and a distinct identity that aligned with international norms. The period from 1850-1924 highlights increasing convergence of Chinese military systems with global norms, especially in terms of its officer corps.

Despite these real successes in Chinese military development, during the following period from 1924-1942, Chinese political leaders undertook a concerted intellectual and organizational challenge to the idea of a distinct military identity.

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[110] Gavan McCormack, *Chang Tso-lin in Northeast China, 1911-1928* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), pp. 126-128; Phillip Jowett, *Chinese Warlord Armies* (London: Osprey Publishing, 2010), p. 16.

[111] For an introduction to this understudied topic see: Julie Lian-Ying How, *Soviet Advisors with the Kuominchun, 1925-1926: A Documentary Survey* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe 1986).

Chapter Two:

Whampoa and the Creation of "Party Armies," 1924-1942

The decentralized political situation after the 1911 Revolution and the rise of military leaders as the real holders of power in China was harshly criticized by contemporary observers as a perversion of the ideals of patriotism and national unity. Warlord rule was particularly galling to anti-Manchu forces who helped spark the 1911 Revolution but had been subsequently blocked from exercising political power. The "solution" to the problems of warlord rule was the creation of military forces loyal to political parties. Although party-armies were reasonably successful in strengthening centrifugal political trends, the professional military identity was not fully destroyed by the imposition of strict party discipline.

Immediately after the 1911 Revolution, several of the small anti-monarchy parties combined to form the Guomindang (GMD, 國民黨) in 1912, and it quickly became the leading national level political party. During the January 1913 National Assembly election, the GMD was able to win a plurality of seats in both the lower house and the Senate, but the National Assembly was hindered and eventually disbanded by Yuan Shikai in 1914.[112] During this period, the most prominent GMD political leader was Sun Yat-sen (孫中山), a physician and long-time anti-Manchu activist. A GMD organized military effort in 1913, sometimes called the "Second Revolution," was defeated by

[112] Chien Tuan-sheng, *The Government and Politics of China, 1912-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1970), pp. 83-91.

Yuan's better trained Beiyang forces in July 1913, and senior members of the GMD were either killed or fled into exile.[113]

The GMD was able to restart its political efforts in southern China during 1916 and 1917, but without military power it was vulnerable to local warlords. Sun noted as early as 1913 that political power in China was founded on military strength, observing that "unless we [the GMD] appeal to the force of arms there is no way to settle the present national crisis."[114] During the late 1910's and early 1920's, Sun also seems to have become steadily more impressed with the glowing reports coming from inside the Soviet Union.[115]

From its base in the southern province of Guangdong and clustered around the city of Guangzhou (Canton), the GMD depended on the tacit support of local warlords, most prominently the military governor of Guangdong, Chen Jiongming (陳炯明). In 1921, Sun signed agreements to create an independent GMD military academy using Soviet instructors and equipment.[116] The mutiny of forces nominally under the control of the GMD, but actually under Chen's control, on 6 June 1922 further crystallized Sun Yat-sen's desire to institute a politicized army under party control.[117]

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[113] Fu Zhengyuan, *Autocratic Conditions and Chinese Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 153-154.
[114] Sun Yat-sen, Zhongshan quanshu [The Complete Works of Dr. Sun Yat-sen], cited in F.F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 3.
[115] Marie-Claire Bergere, *Sun Yat-sen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 280-281.
[116] *Ibid*., pp. 265-281.
[117] Liu Zhi, *Huangpu junxiao yu guomin geming jun* (Nanjing: Duli chubanshe, 1947), p. 7.

On 1 May 1924, the Nationalist Party of China- Army Officer Academy, commonly known as the Whampoa Academy (*Huangpu junxiao* 黃埔軍校) because of its location downriver from Guangzhou at the Whampoa docks, officially opened. Speaking at the opening ceremony Sun outlined the political purpose of the military academy,

> On inaugurating this school, we hope that we will create a revolutionary army, the nucleus of which will be the students of this school. If the framework becomes reliable and we create a revolutionary army, then our revolution will achieve success. Without a revolutionary army, the Chinese revolution will suffer defeat forever.[118]

The GMD was able to attract large numbers of applicants to the academy, and of more than three thousand applicants only a highly selective 613 students formed the first class of cadets which began training in June 1924.[119] The demographics of Whampoa recruits highlight a disproportionate number of rural, middle class cadets from southern China.[120] Entrance requirements stipulated that all cadets must be male, between eighteen and twenty-five years of age and a middle school graduate.[121] A sprinkling of cosmopolitan leftist student activists were members of the first four classes at Whampoa, but far more cadets were from interior provinces and had only a middle school education.[122] The first class only received a rushed six month training course, but future classes would receive between one year and a year and a half of training.[123] During its operation, the Whampoa

[118] Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade, 1924-1936," p. 33.
[119] Yuan, Shouqian and Jie Huang, *Huangpu Jianjun* (Taipei: Unknown Publisher, 1971), p. 57.
[120] Chen, Jian Hua (ed.), *Huangpu junxiao yanjiu* (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 224-226.
[121] Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade, 1924-1936," p. 40.
[122] Landis, "Institutional Trends at the Whampoa Military School, pp. 15-16.
[123] Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade, 1924-1936," p. 38.

Academy trained roughly 10,000 officers but the majority of students enrolled only after the Northern Expedition of 1926, which made the GMD the dominant political force in China. The first four classes of the Academy, who enrolled when the GMD was only an isolated and regional force would form an influential group of trusted senior officers in both the GMD and CCP (Chinese Communist Party 中國共產黨) armies into the 1970's.

Drawing on both Soviet experience and military education techniques developed by Chinese instructors who were trained at Baoding or the Japanese Military Academy, Whampoa training encompassed infantry, artillery and staff training. Until the delivery of 8,000 rifles and ammunition in October 1924, the Whampoa Academy had only thirty functional rifles and no ammunition for training of any kind.[124] Coordination of Soviet and Chinese instructors was difficult due to language differences and only the simplest of infantry tactics; suppressive fire, flanking maneuvers, assault rushes were taught, and even then only through demonstration, not practical exercise.[125] Only during the fourth class, March 1924-October 1925, were unit exercises at the platoon, company and battalion conducted.[126]

As the incubator of Sun's new "revolutionary army," (*gemingjun* 革命軍) the Whampoa Academy curriculum included a large amount of political and ideological indoctrination. Classes and instruction given to officer cadets at Whampoa emphasized loyalty and obedience to party leaders, senior military officers and revolutionary

[124] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, pp. 14-15.
[125] A.I. Cherepanov, *As Military Advisor in China* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982), p. 36.
[126] Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade, 1924-1936," p. 106.

principles at the expense of intellectual creativity.[127] Soviet advisors and members of the Chinese Communist Party played a major role in establishment of the Political Department, which drew from Soviet techniques in its use of ideological education by featuring stories of revolutionary martyrs, including extensive anti-imperialist propaganda and emphasizing deference to party authority.[128] The Political Department produced ten theses of behavior and conduct which stated explicitly that if necessary, all cadets should "sacrifice themselves for the sake of their party and their country." Moreover, "cadets must be taught that the duty of a revolutionary soldier is to sacrifice his freedom to the party."[129] Classes for specifically "political officers" rather than political instruction for military officers were offered in later classes at Whampoa but the curriculum for this group of cadets was similar to normal military cadets with occasional special lectures on "theory" from senior Party officials such as Wang Jingwei (汪精衛) and Hu Hanmin (胡漢民).[130]

The creation of a political officer role and the Political Department system within the Chinese military arose from several inter-related factors. First, the decision of Sun Yat-sen to adopt Soviet aid and re-shape the GMD as a Leninist Party entailed the adoption of Soviet organizational models of military control and supervision. Soviet advisors introduced the Political Department system as part of a strategy of military control in conjunction with military aid and training. Second, the contemporary experiences of warlord depredations and brutality during the 1910's and 1920's made

[127] Liu Zhi, *Huangpu junxiao yu guomin geming jun* (Nanjing: Duli chubanshe, 1947), p. 14.
[128] Gillespie, "Whampoa and the Nanking Decade, 1924-1936," pp. 111-112.
[129] *Ibid*., pp. 114-115.
[130] A.I. Cherepanov, *As Military Advisor in China*, p. 87.

exercising strict control over military forces politically essential for the GMD. Third, creating a disciplined ideological force would also give the GMD a politically useful distinction from rival warlords, who could be portrayed in propaganda as venal militarists.

The role of the political officer in modern China differed sharply from the original conception of "political officers" (*représentant en mission*) during the French Revolution, who focused on restoring discipline to the formerly Royalist Army, or from the Soviet Commissar position (*politruk*), which sought to control the behavior of Tsarist military officers.[131] The GMD political officer sought to ensure discipline and political allegiance, but also acted as an enabler of military activity by providing logistical support and collecting intelligence. In addition, the political officer acted as a bridge between the GMD military and larger civilian society. The lack of adequate civilian administrative capacity to conduct basic functions such as taxation, infrastructure development and the provision of legal order, meant that political officers were often required to interact with local communities to procure food and billeting. This administrative challenge was also an opportunity for GMD political officers because they could act as a focal point for GMD involvement and penetration of local society.

Within the GMD, and later the ROC military structure, political officer duties can be separated into two categories: *Party* work and *Political* work.[132] Party work entailed

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[131] Ian Germani, "Terror in the Army: Representatives on Mission and Military Discipline in the Armies of the French Revolution," *The Journal of Military History* 75 (July 2011), pp. 733-768.; Brian Taylor, *Politics and the Russian Army: Civil-Military Relations, 1689-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 138-146.
[132] Monte Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development* (London: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), pp. 70-71.: Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 38.

the development, maintenance and discipline of party members and the party structure within the military, as well as the surveillance of military personnel. Political work involved a much broader variety of tasks including the general education of troops (although with a heavily political subtext), attention to soldiers welfare, and interaction with local communities. Political work also included large amounts of moral and spiritual, (*jingshen* 精神), education. During periods of Party inactivity, political officers reverted to political work and performed functions that would be handled in other armies by chaplains or regular officers. However, in periods of intense political mobilization, often in response to top-down programs initiated by the larger party organization, party work became more important.

Party work was difficult to sustain in the ROC military because without external political pressure it functioned in opposition to military norms of unified command and unqualified command authority. At the most basic level, party work involved the routine recruitment of party members from among military personnel and the holding of regular meetings and educational activities to build cohesion within the party structure.[133] Ideally, many officers and NCO's (non-commissioned officers) would be party members, but the ratio varied from a low point during the Sino-Japanese war to high party membership within the military in Taiwan after 1953. Surveillance of troops was maintained through reports by party members to political officers, but also through bureaucratic procedures if the political officer was given authority over personnel assignments. Instructor Liu Zhi, summarized the division of instruction as, "Party and

[133] Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 39.

political education tells students why they are here, moral education tells them what to do, and military training teaches them how to do it."[134]

Political work tasks were often related to the party but dealt with issues that were personal to soldiers. Education was the most basic political task in China due to a very low level of literacy among army recruits. Improving the education level of soldiers increased their military utility, but also was a major benefit to larger society after their military service. Political officers might also be involved in personal issues such as solving a soldier's financial problems, finding employment after military service, and even helping in finding a spouse. After 1950, many political officers spent significant time dealing with the retirement of old soldiers who had no family on Taiwan and no employment prospects. In wartime, political work would include propaganda aimed at the enemy population and in the event of success, political officers would also be the primary authority of temporary military governments.

The establishment of the Whampoa Academy in May 1924 began the process of integrating political officers into the GMD through the creation of a hybrid military-political training program designed to develop ideologically sound officer candidates. The Whampoa academy training, developed with the advice and precedents outlined by Soviet advisors, separated students into two overlapping course programs for military and political officers respectively.[135] Political training for military officers included over two

[134] Liu Zhi, *Huangpu junxiao yu guomin geming jun* (Nanjing: Duli chubanshe, 1947), p. 24.

[135] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao*, (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), pp. 258-262; Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), pp. 48-50.

hundred hours of instruction in general principles but political officers, referred to a "party representatives" (*dang daibiao 黨代表*) received 550 hours on more detailed activities such as propaganda operations and organizational techniques.[136] After graduation, the political officers were assigned to all levels of military units with a formal rank slightly lower than the military commander but with a separate chain of command within the political officer system.[137]

Once attached to a military unit, political officers had four primary internal tasks.[138] First, they were to develop the party organization within military units, many of which were former warlord forces that had switched sides. This entailed developing party cells down to the platoon level and recruiting military personnel in key positions or with leadership skills into the party. Second, the political officer was tasked to emphasize the concept of Party supremacy to all military members through education, cultural activities and personal interaction. Third, the political officer worked to encourage discipline and unity with the GMD army. This task conflicted with military conceptions of a commander's authority so in this area the political officer had to work closely with the military commander who might grant him full authority over military discipline or might deny the political officer any role depending on their relationship. Lastly, the political officer was charged with looking out for the welfare of the soldiers, many of whom were very young, poorly educated and far from their home districts. This could take the form

[136] Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 20.
[137] *Ibid*., p. 21.
[138] Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), pp. 37, 217.

of personal counseling, basic education, coordinating the sending of a soldiers pay back home to their family or writing letters if they were illiterate.

A key aspect that would distinguish political officers during the 1924-1926 Whampoa period was the separate chain of command, which limited the influence military officers could exert on political officers.[139] With a separate chain of command, promotion of political officers was evaluated only by the next higher level within the Political Department and military officers could not order the political officer to perform any duties. This process required military officers to coordinate with the political officer as an equal. The separate chain of command acted both to provide protection from military cooptation but also provided the means by which the central Political Department headquarters could maintain operational and ideological control over their officers.

During the Northern Expedition of the GMD in 1926-1927, political officers acted in a hybrid role, maintaining supervision over military efforts to ensure they were in accordance with GMD political decisions as well as mobilizing local populations, coordinating with local governments and distributing a wide range of pro-GMD propaganda.[140] Within the military specifically, political officers undertook several key tasks: monitoring military officer's orders, developing Party Committees at all levels, recruiting new Party members from among military personnel, and promoting Party authority in matters of personal conduct and behavior.[141] Although this system had been

[139] *Ibid*., pp. 38-40.
[140] *Ibid*., pp. 70-72.
[141] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), pp. 258-262; Jiang Pei, "Zhongguo guomindang zaoqi jundui zhenggong zhidu de yanbian: 1924-1928," *Anhui shixue* (2008:4), p. 59.

shown to be militarily useful, and had been a key element in the GMD army's ability to defeat much larger warlord forces, the purge of the CCP members from the GMD in January 1927 disproportionately affected the ranks of the political officers, many of whom were also CCP members.

From the very beginning of Sun Yat-sen's introduction of a Soviet inspired "Party-Army" concept, there was an intellectual tension between the Party ideology and military procedure. The tone of the political training appears to have conflicted with the more purely military instruction at Whampoa, with a split between school commandant Chiang Kai-shek (*Jiang Jieshi* 蔣介石) and the Soviet advisors. Chiang had studied at the Baoding military academy before enrolling in the Imperial Japanese Army Academy (*Shikan Gakko* 陸軍士官学校) in 1907, and he appointed fellow alumni of Japanese military academies to three of the four department head positions.[142] He Yingqin (何應欽), head of instruction at Whampoa, was also a returned officer from Japan's elite Shikan Gakko, and was seen as a cold and humorless implementer of Chiang's ideals.[143] Chiang's ideals appear to have been a combination of traditional Chinese moral examples (nineteenth century scholar turned general Zeng Guofan was a particular favorite), combined with a spartan military aesthetic which some observers note had strong connections to the Bushido mentality popular among Japanese officers.[144] In contrast to Sun Yat-sen's speeches, which often included analysis of global forces like imperialism and elements of socialism, Chiang's speeches to cadets stressed comradeship among

[142] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, p. 14.
[143] Worthing, "The Road Through Whampoa: The Early Career of He Yingqin," pp. 972-973.
[144] Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949*, p. 124.

officers, responsibilities to troops under one's command and the ability to endure hardship.[145] Rather than appeal to ideology, Chiang argued that grueling military training and attention to the rigors of military discipline were vital to "be a man" (*zuo ren* 做人) and that the military ethos carried into daily practice will cause cadets to "act like a man."[146]

Chiang's obsession with collective military discipline, the personal honor of an officer and unwavering obedience to senior commanders was most fully expressed in a new military law for the GMD forces in 1925. This legal code highlighted the tension between party control and internal military procedural autonomy that was already apparent during the first class at Whampoa. The most radical element of the new regulations was the "Military Law of Collective Responsibility," which updated a ruthless system of individual punishment first outlined by Chinese General Qi Jiguang (戚繼光) in the 16th Century. The regulations stipulated that in cases of cowardice by officers, "If the platoon leader retreated with his platoon without orders, he must be executed…and so forth, the same death penalty must apply to commanders of battalions, regiments, divisions…" The law also applied to enlisted men in that "When the squad leader did not retreat, but his entire squad retreated without orders, thus causing the death of the squad leader, then all the privates of the squad must be executed."[147] The effect of these new military regulations was to move military justice outside the range of direct party control. The harshness of the regulations and the terms of conduct outlined express

[145] Landis, "Institutional Trends at the Whampoa Military School: 1924-1926," pp. 131-132.
[146] *Ibid*., p. 134.
[147] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949,* p. 13.

the idea that personal honor and responsibility to fellow soldiers was the highest standard of behavior and violating these principles has the most extreme punishments.

At the Whampoa Academy the GMD received intellectual and material support from the Soviet Union. Soviet political advisor to the GMD, Michael Borodin, was crucial in establishing the initial plan for the Whampoa school and coordinating the delivery of military equipment to the fledgling army.[148] The Soviet role in the day-to-day operations of the Whampoa Academy was focused on the political training rather than the military component of the course. At its peak the number of Soviet instructors at the school was eighteen, but the inability of Soviet officers to speak Chinese hindered their influence.[149] Perhaps most directly, the Soviet Union supplied the overwhelming majority of funding for school operations, including almost all of the start-up capital and a regular monthly stipend for personnel expenses.[150]

By the spring of 1926, the GMD had been able to form multiple army divisions, officered by Whampoa graduates and lightly equipped with Soviet weapons. The death of Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 had allowed Chiang Kai-shek to assume political leadership, as head of the GMD as well as retention of his military role as commander-in-chief of GMD forces. Chiang then launched a major attack northwards from Guangdong into Hunan, Jiangxi and Fujian in an attempt to defeat the armies of Wu Peifu and other major warlords. This Northern Expedition (bei fa 北伐) of 1926-1928 was the first significant operation by the new GMD military and it was able to achieve notable successes against

[148] A.I. Cherepanov, *As Military Advisor in China*, pp. 32-40.
[149] Landis, "Institutional Trends at the Whampoa Military School: 1924-1926," pp. 75-76.
[150] Chen Jian Hua (ed.), *Huangpu junxiao yanjiu*, (Guangzhou: Zhongshan daxue chubanshe, 2007), pp. 77-81.

less cohesive warlord forces. By October, GMD forces had reached the Yangzi River in central China.[151] Continued GMD advances during the winter of 1926-27 brought the majority of the Yangzi River valley, which encompassed a large percentage of the Chinese population and its most economically developed areas under a unified government for the first time since 1916.

Although the Whampoa period from 1924-1926 was brief, it established the framework of a Party-Army system that would exist in the GMD Army and later ROC Army into the 1990's. Despite the nearly immediate attempt of military leaders both inside and outside the GMD to limit the influence of Party policy on military affairs, the Party-Army remained the primary intellectual competitor to the concept of a national army.

Sun Liren: Early Years and Education

Sun Liren was born in December 1900, while his father Sun Huanting, a low level official, was assigned to an isolated and poor region of central Anhui. Sun Huanting had successfully passed the imperial examinations in 1887, with a jinshi (進士) degree, a status that made him eligible for positions within the government administration.[152] Sun spent the majority of his childhood in Shandong, where his father had been transferred in 1906 to serve as a county level administrator. In Shandong, Sun was exposed to one of

[151] Elleman, *Modern Chinese Warfare, 1795-1989*, pp. 169-171.
[152]Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography], (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 1.

the most vibrant commercial and intellectual areas of China, with extensive development of its trade and academic networks due to increasing prosperity and communication.

Beginning in 1906, six year old Sun received private tutoring at home in Chinese history and culture. Sun Liren began his education shortly after the imperial examinations were abolished in 1905. The abolition of the imperial civil service examinations eliminated the lengthy study of Chinese classics and literature as a prerequisite for entry into government service. Nonetheless, in spite of their loss of official authority, Sun's father engaged private tutors and instructed Sun in traditional Chinese material with its strong emphasis on cultivating correct behavior. Despite his apparent traditional inclinations, Sun's father quickly moved to give his son a Western style education, and at age eight Sun began attending the Jinan German School (*jinan dewen gaodeng xiaoxue* 濟南德文高等小學), which had the most modern curriculum in the region.[153]

As the beneficiary of an excellent education in Shandong and strong family support Sun gained an undergraduate position at Tsinghua University (*qinghua daxue* 清華大學), one of the most prestigious and well-funded Western-style universities in China. Sun Liren's admittance into Tsinghua was also likely helped by his father's new positions as a Dean in a nearby university in Beijing.[154] From age fifteen through twenty-four, Sun was raised in the cosmopolitan and politically fractious world of Beijing's university district. His academic record during this period is vague with little impression from his later speeches that he was a serious student. Similarly, Sun's involvement in the

[153] *Ibid*., p. 13.
[154] *Ibid*., p. 15.

student-led opposition movement to the Versailles Treaty, the May 4th Movement (*wusu huodong* 五四運動), is unclear. Although he likely supported the movement's nationalist objectives he was not a politically active student.

By far the most important development in Sun's life during the undergraduate education was his athletic ability and leadership skills. Sun spent much of his college years involved in sports: basketball, soccer, and handball.[155] As team captain of the Tsinghua University basketball team Sun led the school to the Far East Games in Shanghai during 1921. The Games were the precursors to the modern Asian Games and Sun was widely lauded after the Tsinghua team beat the Philippine national team for the Gold medal.[156] Sun's experience in the Far East Games was his first overt leadership position, and the personal connections he made with his teammates, most of whom came from the wealthiest and politically connected Chinese families, would help him early in his military career.

A recruiting attraction for Tsinghua University was its preferential access to American universities, which allowed its students to transfer to American schools for tertiary studies. On graduation from Tsinghua in 1923, Sun immediately departed for the United States where he entered Purdue University as a junior. Sun's education was paid for through the Boxer Indemnity scholarship fund, which was a trust fund established by the United States government to promote Chinese education in American universities by

[155] Mo Shaoke, "Sun Liren: beiqing jiangjun de shishi" [Sun Liren: An Epic Military Tragedy], *Renmin Wenzhai*, June 2011, p. 46.
[156] Shen, Jingyong, *Zhongguo jungui: Sun Liren jiangjun fengshan lianjun shilu* (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1993), pp. v; Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi. 2004), pp. 69-70.

awarding scholarships to exceptional students. In 1925, Sun graduated from Purdue with a degree in civil engineering and worked briefly as a draftsman for the American Bridge Company but had little inclination for engineering as a profession or permanent emigration to the United States.[157]

In the fall of 1925, Sun applied and was accepted into the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) as a senior level cadet. There was little indication that Sun had military inclinations prior to 1925, and his family had no history of military service. In later years Sun claimed that he had always been interested in military affairs but had pursued his civil engineering degree based on his father's judgment, but that the increasingly chaotic warfare of the era finally necessitated his involvement.[158] This patriotic narrative might have been embellished but whatever the reason, Sun was well motivated while at VMI and survived the brutal hazing given out to new students. Several Chinese students had been admitted previously to VMI during the early 20th Century, but all had been dismissed or voluntarily withdrawn due to a lack of English language skills or the severity of training requirements.

Aside from the education in military skills, organizational techniques and, for Sun, English language training, VMI appears to have been a formative experience for Sun's conception of military life as a cloistered, self-policing community. VMI's educational program was characterized by a high degree of student leadership with upper classmen assuming most of the managerial functions of running dormitories, mess halls,

[157] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren* (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi. 2004), p. 70.
[158] Chu Hongyuan, *Sun Liren yanlun xuanji* (Taipei: zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindaishi yanjiusuo, 2000), p. 3.

and disciplinary functions such as demerits and inspections. Sun frequently spoke of his time at VMI during his later years with the Chinese Army and the dominant theme he presented was the culture of autonomy or self-control (*zizhi* 自治) inculcated in cadets.

The VMI class yearbook from 1927 praised Sun's character and optimistically looked to a future China where he would be a source of stability and strength. The glowing description of Sun states, "As to his character, he has many good qualities. He says little but he is kind and gentle, respectful to his superiors, and sincere and friendly to all." In describing the military training undertaken by Sun the yearbook remarks that he has performed well, "Li has shouldered his responsibilities like a man and we do not doubt that he will make an excellent soldier." The laudatory description of Sun was mixed with a note of caution that underscores the stark differences in the political behavior of the American and Chinese military systems in 1920. Like American army officers, VMI represented a cloistered, insular environment both geographically and mentally separate from American politics and culture. The conclusion of Sun's yearbook page notes that, "We only hope that he will not use his military knowledge to any more revolutions in his native land."[159]

The GMD Military during the Nanjing Decade, 1927-1937

The massive expansion of the Whampoa military academy after its transfer to Nanjing allowed for the training of large numbers of officers who would form the elite of a vastly expanded GMD army after 1927. During the 1930's, this force was recognized as

[159] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren* [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi, 2004), p. 5.

the "national" army of China even though large areas of nominally Chinese territory remained under the control of warlord forces. Diplomatic recognition of the GMD's Nanjing government as the national government of China also allowed for the lifting of the international arms embargo, which enabled the GMD to make large purchases of advanced military equipment from foreign suppliers. The widespread and significant contact between German military advisors and all levels of the GMD military added a greatly needed international context and foreign linkages to aid China's military development. German military assistance coincided and facilitated Chinese military development but did not guide its evolution in ways inimitable to GMD leaders.[160]

During the Nanjing decade German military advisors, armaments manufacturers and economic planners exerted tremendous influence in China, enabling the GMD army to become an increasingly professional and capital intensive army. Although German expertise was important, Chinese officials and military officers instigated the German military mission, closely scrutinized both its conduct and exerted administrative control over the advising officers at all times. Chiang Kai-shek was personally involved in Sino-German partnership and had frequent personal meetings with German officers.[161]

Beginning with a small body of only twenty-five officers in November 1928, the German military mission began an intensive training program at the newly opened Central Military Academy in Nanjing. The Central Military Academy (CMA: *lujun*

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[160] See: William Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984). See also: Hans Van de Ven, "The Military in the Republic," *The China Quarterly*, 150 (June 1997), pp. 352-374.; Sutton, "German Advice and Residual Warlordism in the Nanking Decade: Influences on Nationalist Military Training and Strategy," pp. 386-410.

[161] Billie Walsh, "The German Military Mission in China, 1928-38," *Journal of Modern History* 46:3 (September 1974), p. 503.

guanxiao 陸軍官校) was created by transferring the staff at Whampoa to Nanjing in March 1928 and the training program was also significantly expanded in class size and coursework requirements.[162] Unlike Whampoa courses, which could be as short as five months, the CMA program stipulated a strict two-year program with all potential officer cadets serving a year in the army as an enlisted soldier prior to beginning officer training.[163] The CMA had a purpose built campus with its own weapons ranges, obstacle courses and extensive athletic facilities.[164] The commandant of the school for the 1929-1937 period was General Zhang Zhizhong (張治中), a professional military officer, but Chiang Kai-shek appears to have been closely involved with all aspects of the school administration.[165]

At the CMA, German officers conducted lectures and training, but also began a structural reform of GMD military forces. The German plan involved creating a model "training division," which would be given six months of intensive instruction in military theory, field exercises and technical training. The training division would also be equipped with a complete set of new uniforms, small arms, artillery and supporting equipment in order to gain familiarity with more advanced military weapons.[166] After six months, a new unit would be rotated into the training system and it was hoped that this format could create the core of a new professional army within five to six years. By late

[162] Yuan, Shouqian and Jie Huang, *Huangpu Jianjun* (Taipei: Unknown Publisher, 1971), p. 74
[163] Sutton, "German Advice and Residual Warlordism in the Nanking Decade: Influences on Nationalist Military Training and Strategy," p. 389.
[164] *Ibid*., p. 389.
[165] *Ibid*., p. 392.
[166] Walsh, "The German Military Mission in China, 1928-38," p. 504.

1931, three complete Chinese divisions, roughly 30,000 men, had been trained under German guidance and had been equipped with uniform, modern weapons.[167]

In the early 1930's, the German advisory effort peaked at roughly fifty officers. New specialty schools for artillery, cavalry, tanks, intelligence and engineering officers were opened between 1933 and 1935.[168] A major problem that the small number of German military advisors and the one primary officer academy was unable to overcome, was the sheer quantity of officers required by the GMD army. With roughly five hundred thousand men in the GMD Army, still a small percentage of the 1.5-2 million men in warlord armies theoretically loyal to Nanjing, an established officer training program would need to produce 5,000-10,000 officers every year just for its own forces, but CMA graduated less than 2,500 officers per year.

Observers of the reformed and re-equipped GMD forces had high praise for their increased professionalism and military efficiency. American military attaché, Captain Parker Tenney, praised the effect of German advisors, "Chiang's army, down to the rank and file, is showing the results of German tutelage. The men are well dressed, their set-up [logistics] has improved and they are apparently well disciplined."[169] Tenney was especially impressed by the tremendous improvement in staff work, which would have meant both increased coordination of military operations but more effective logistical support for military units.

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[167] *Ibid*., p. 506.
[168] Sutton, "German Advice and Residual Warlordism in the Nanking Decade: Influences on Nationalist Military Training and Strategy," pp. 390-391.
[169]Memorandum for Major Magruder, Peking, 2 May 1929, U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, 1911-1941.

Sino-German cooperation also extended into military procurement and the development of a sizable armaments industry in China. During the mid-1930's, China was Germany's largest purchaser of arms and ammunition by a wide margin, with exports including basic supplies and sophisticated weaponry.[170] German industrial advisors assisted in the re-building of the Nanjing arsenal and a new artillery factory in Hunan. The Sino-German partnership enabled the creation of a reasonably sophisticated military industrial base which was designed to support a modern army with highly advanced weapons.

A subtle difference between the Whampoa and CMA training program was a decrease in political instruction at the CMA. During the GMD move from Guangdong to Nanjing, Wang Jingwei (汪精衛) a prominent GMD political leader and chairman of the National Military Council insisted on creation of an independent Central Political Academy that was not under Chiang Kai-shek's control.[171] This bifurcation of school curricula into two separate institutions removed some of the cross-over political-military education. The purge of Communists from the GMD in April 1927, also eliminated a major constituency that had argued for close military-political coordination. Unlike the Soviet advisors at Whampoa who had promoted a hybrid military-political organization and strategy, the German officers remained purposefully detached from Chinese politics and internal factions.[172]

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[170] Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, pp. 221; Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, p. 102.
[171] Dreyer, *China at War, 1901-1949*, p. 184.
[172] Walsh, "The German Military Mission in China, 1928-38," pp. 504-505.

During the Nanjing decade, 1928-1937, the role of political officers languished due to misgivings by senior GMD leaders, most notably Chiang Kai-shek, who saw political officers as potentially leftist disruptors. At the same time, the political officer role was subsumed by a larger governmental project to create a new administration that could fulfill the functions performed by the political officer. In a speech during the spring of 1929, Chiang bluntly outlined the criticisms of the political officer system, "Currently in the Guomindang's Army, you could say that political work and party functions are lacking…Why is this? The main reason is that from the beginning the majority of political officers and workers have been Communists…The second reason is that military commanders don't trust them."[173] Moreover, under the influence of German advisors, a Military Information Bureau was established in 1930 which functioned to collect intelligence and distribute propaganda, further removing one of the political officers core tasks.[174] Moreover, instead of using political officers to conduct political surveillance over military officers, Chiang Kai-shek promoted the adoption of "officer societies" such as the Officers' Moral Endeavor Corps., the Fuxingshe, and most famously the Blue Shirt Society (*lanyi she* 藍衣社) to create social cohesion within the military officer corps.[175]

Following the CCP purge, a series of administrative changes replaced the title of the political officer from a "party representative system" to a much more constrained "political training department (*zhengzhi xunlian chu* 整治訓練處) within the GMD

[173] Wang Qisheng, "Wuzhu wencong bei jing xia de duozhong bianzou: zhanshi guomindang jundui de zhenggong yu dangwu," *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* (2007:4), p. 67.
[174] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, pp. 300-301.
[175] Frederic Wakeman, "A Revisionist View of the Nanjing Decade: Confucian Fascism," *The China Quarterly* 150 (Jun 1997), pp 395-432.

military.[176] Moreover, because the GMD was eager to present itself as the "national" government of Chin during the 1928-1937 period, membership in the GMD by students at the military academy was not mandatory, although 75 percent were members.[177] Political officers were now considered military officers only and the separate chain of command was abolished. The relegation of political officers to being part of the military staff drastically reduced their authority and they were often labeled the "commanders concubine" because of their lack of independence.[178]

After the CCP-GMD split, the formal training of political officers was disrupted and for the next twenty-three years there was no dedicated training center for GMD political officers. During the Nanjing decade, political officers received only two weeks of classroom training before being assigned to military units.[179] In place of classroom education, Chiang Kai-shek attempted to influence the political officers through frequent conferences and meetings where the emphasis was on understanding GMD policy rather than developing robust skills. In addition to decreasing quality, the quantity of political officers also decreased during the Nanjing decade, with only 3616 official political officers for a total force of over 2 million men compared to roughly 1,500 political officers for a total of only 250,000 men during the Northern Expedition.[180] Adding to the administrative difficulties was the complexity of managing political officers, who no

[176] Jiang Pei, "Zhongguo guomindang zaoqi jundui zhenggong zhidu de yanbian: 1924-1928," *Anhui shixue* (2008:4), p. 66; Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 519.
[177] *Huangpu Yuekan*, 1, no 2 (1930), p. iii.
[178] Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 21.
[179] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 315.
[180] Hu Yi, "Guomindang jundui zhenggong de fazhan lichen jiqi guji (1924-1949)," *Dandshi yanjiu yu jiaoxue* (2010:4), p. 83.

longer had a separate chain of command and were assigned to over 225 divisions and 48 independent regiments, as well as new services such as an Air Force and Navy.[181]

The ad hoc nature of post-1928 political officer education and the emphasis on training for specific tasks rather than a broader education carried over into the Sino-Japanese war era from 1937-1945. In addition, political officer efforts within military units most often took the form of short-term programs of instruction rather than long-term development of organizational structures. This larger GMD preference for short duration, mission specific training (*xunlian* 訓練), was exhibited in all government departments and was driven by wartime necessities to increase morale but also by a failure of the GMD to develop coherent and durable organizations.[182] Analysis of GMD military journals and publications shows that many of the political officer efforts were little more than patriotic pep talks, devoid of any significant ideological content or policies.[183] A typically inane and poorly written passage from the era reads, "Implementing political education within the military is particularly important in our war against Japan. Why? For one reason, our Army is a Revolutionary force…for another reason, is because our war is a people's war."[184] An emphasis on patriotism rather than party was part of GMD efforts to portray itself as a national government but the

[181] Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 79.
[182] Julia Strauss, "Xingzheng Sanlianshi and Xunlian: Modes of Government of Administration during the Sino-Japanese War," *Zhonghua junshi li xuehui huikan* 1:3 (December 1997), pp. 565-595.
[183] Ren Minhai, "Jianshou zhengzhi gongzuo de gangwei," *Xin Jun* 1:2. (1938), p. 32; Mei Yang, "Liang nian lai: Wo zuo jundui zhengzhi gongzuo de jingyan," *Xin Jun* 1:4 (1938), p. 169; Huang Yao, "Lun zhengzhi gongzuo de jiben xiuyang," *Xin Jun* 2: 12 (1939), p. 82.
[184] He Ren, "Xian jieduan de jundui zhenggong wenti," *Xin Jun* 1:2 (1938), p. 27.

downplaying of the role party seemed to have hindered the development of a solid party structure within the army.

The establishment of a quasi-national government by the GMD in 1928 initiated a boom in military journals with dozens of provincial and national level military journals being published after 1928 and throughout the war with Japan. Between 1928 and 1937 a wide range of specialized military journals appealed to distinct occupational fields. While the quantity of military related journals increased rapidly during the "Nanjing decade" the effect was to fracture military officers into smaller groups based on occupation and region. A prime example of the this trend was the *Military Doctor Magazine* (*junyi zazhi* 军医杂志), but the subdivision of military journals also included the development of branch specific Air Force and Navy journals such as *Air Force Monthly* (*kongjun yuekan* 空军月刊) and *Navy Journal* (*haijun qikan* 海军期刊). Difficulties in arranging for national distribution of publications, increased numbers of technical military skills, and persistent regional military variations all limited the development of a comprehensive national military journal, but promoting divisions within the military also served GMD political purposes as a barrier to any possible officer political coordination. The GMD produced a wide variety of military journals, such as Military Affairs Committee Bulletin (*junshi weiyunhui gongbao* 军事委员会公报) or Military-Political Review (*junzheng xunkan* 军政旬刊), which featured political related articles and analysis which dealt with the role of the Army within a larger Party organization rather than focus on military affairs.

During the Nanjing decade and into the first years of the Sino-Japanese War, the only journal to have consistently sophisticated and relevant articles was the *Whampoa*

Monthly (*Huangpu Yuekan* 黃埔月刊). The *Whampoa Monthly* was first published in 1930, and took its name from the Whampoa Academy, which by this point had transferred its students and faculty to Nanjing and had been re-named the Central Military Academy. As an official product of the primary officer training center of the GMD, which had become the de facto "Chinese" government after 1928, *Whampoa Monthly*, was required reading for military officers. In addition, senior political leaders often wrote articles or had speeches posted in *Whampoa Monthly*, which while normally focusing on military issues, often included a broad range of political, economic and social commentary.

A typical issue of *Whampoa Monthly* consisted of fifty to sixty pages of dense text with few visuals. The first section of the journal always included two or three articles devoted to GMD policy and political issues. Typical topics might include discussions of government policy on transportation development, especially railroad construction essential for troop movements, government subsidies to industrial development, or principles like Sun Yat-sen'ism.

An underlying tension running throughout the journals publication was a subtle difference in the tone of discussion between political leaders and military officers on the degree to which China should be a status quo power. During the Nanjing decade, although the GMD was recognized by major world powers, such as Great Britain, France and the United States as the de-facto Chinese government, substantial elements within the GMD continued to argue that it should remain opposed to global international norms. This stance was expressed in sometimes fawning treatment of the Indian Independence movement, which some GMD leaders believed would lead to a new anti-Imperialist

Asian solidarity.[185] Similarly, the anti-Imperialist rhetoric, which the GMD had adopted during the 1910s and 1920s lingered in the form of blistering attacks on vaguely defined imperialism for causing Chinese economic problems. This is in contrast to the close partnership the GMD military was forging with Germany, a partnership which involved economic transfers of valuable rare earth minerals.[186]

As expressed by articles in *Whampoa Monthly*, another underlying tension between military and political affairs was the treatment of problems such as land reform. Articles on domestic Chinese economic, social and political issues were frequently included in the content produced by GMD officials, but article contributors drawn from military officer ranks never approached these topics. Even within the articles presented by GMD officials, the Nanjing decade period content is ambiguous between status quo and revolutionary change. For example, in a discussion of the difficulties of Chinese peasants, *Whampoa Monthly* acknowledges the problems of high rents but also asserts that the rights and prerogatives of land-holders must be respected.[187] The reader is left with a good understanding of the land rent issue but no policy is prescribed or suggested. The dangers of Communism were frequently noted by political officials, with substantive articles attacking the CCP on the grounds that it sought to fracture Chinese unity and threatened stable development.[188] In contrast, none of the articles by military officers

[185] Xia Weihai, "Yindu geming de xian jieduan," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 3 (October 1930).
[186] Kirby, *Germany and Republican China,* pp. 102-144.
[187] Zhang Zhenmin, "Xiangli qiaozhi zhi dizu lilun," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 6 (November 1930).
[188] Zhong Yang, "Zhongguo gongchandang de liang da jingdi-tongyi yu jianshe," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 3 (October 1930).

suggest that undertaking military action against the CCP was a core function of the military.

Military Academy Commandant Zhang Zhizhong (張治中), was a frequent contributor to *Whampoa Monthly*. In a typical article, a reprint of a speech he gave to the academy students, Zhang argued that a good officer must pursue a moral and personal path of development to enable him to thrive in his position. Zhang's proscription for moral development included reading the works and speeches of important leaders, learning from biographies of great men, keeping a diary of daily behavior and critiquing actions and intentions.[189]

Although many of the articles and speeches presented in *Whampoa Monthly* appear to conform to the pattern of Party dominance developed at Whampoa, more explicit military discussions were included, often in the back pages, of the journal. Beginning in the first issue of *Whampoa Monthly*, in 1930, global military developments were reviewed in brief expository segments, followed by short one or two paragraph assessments. The reviews focused on technological and organizational changes in Europe, and mirrored the interests of the military journals published at the end of the Qing dynasty. In one example, the development of air forces and the possibilities of strategic bombing, a trend far removed from Chinese capabilities in 1930, was subject to intense interest.[190]

[189] Zhang Zhizhong, "Women yinggai zenyang xiuyang," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 6, (November 1930).
[190] "Meiguo lujun feihang jiaolian," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 3. (October 1930); "Yi jiu er jiu nian shijie ge guo hangkong gaikuang," *Huangpu Yuekan* 1, no 6 (November 1930).

Throughout the Nanjing decade, the Chinese army was used in a series of internal campaigns against Chinese warlord forces and the Chinese Communists. In operations against warlord armies, the Nationalists were able to utilize their superior logistical support and relatively advanced weaponry to gain a decisive advantage followed by a political accommodation with the warlord leaders. Operations against Chinese communist forces were more complex and required successive "encirclement" campaigns to isolate and reduce areas under Communist administration.

War with Japan, 1937-1941

The beginning of the second Sino-Japanese war in July 1937, resulted in the first large-scale combat operations by the GMD military against the armed forces of another nation. The decision of Chiang Kai-shek to respond to Japanese military operations in North China by attacking Japanese forces in Shanghai, was determined in large part by the presence of the majority of Chiang's German trained elite units in the lower Yangtze region. Although initial operations were successful and the GMD army performed better than expected, the lack of trained reserve forces meant the eventual exhaustion of Chinese units, followed by a skillful Japanese amphibious landing that led to Chinese forces being routed in the Shanghai area. The destruction of the majority of the GMD's best equipped and best trained units during the first months of the war was a major blow to the cohesiveness of the Chinese army as an organization.

The continued retreat of Chinese forces during November and December 1937, led to the evacuation of the capital Nanjing and the relocation of the central government to the interior city of Chongqing. The capture of Wuhan on 25 October 1938 marked the end of major Japanese offensive operations and the beginning of the Chinese strategy of

avoiding battle, which led to a pause in significant combat operations.[191] Japanese offensives in North China during the summer of 1940 and the occupation of Hong Kong in December 1941 were not significantly opposed by GMD forces.

During the course of the war, there was a steady decrease in the military effectiveness of GMD forces. In spite of tremendous efforts during the Nanjing decade to train competent military officers and create a system of military academies, China was still largely unprepared for wartime demands. In 1936, the total number of officers reported by the War Ministry was 136,474.[192] Roughly half of the 25,000 officers trained at the Central Military Academy between 1929 and 1937 were killed during the first four months of the war.[193] During the war years, roughly 190,000 new officers were given some form of training, although the quality of instruction was poor. For comparison, the United States trained 162,000 reserve officers through its ROTC program in 1939 alone.[194] The result of chronic under manning of officer positions was that by the later years of the war only fifteen to twenty-five percent of officer positions were filled, leaving most Lieutenant and some Captain positions unoccupied.[195]

As the Japanese advanced, the instructors and some instructional materials from the major military academies in Nanjing and Baoding were relocated into interior regions. The Central Military Academy moved to Chengdu, in Sichuan province, but

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[191] Lloyd Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 133.
[192] Report: Statement on Commissioned Personnel Strength and Classification as to Training, 28 January 1936. U.S. Military Intelligence Reports, Reel 5, pp. 521-524.
[193] Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949*, p. 145.
[194] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, pp. 147-149.
[195] *Ibid*., p. 149.

suffered from a lack of teaching materials and instructors.[196] Reduction of class times to a maximum of twelve months and lowered admission standards enabled the academy to graduate 34,430 officers between 1937 and 1946 but the quality of training was poor.[197] Nine additional branch campuses were established during the war, which graduated an additional 80,000 officers, and refresher courses attempted to improve the quality of already serving officers but officer education failed to keep pace with high rates of attrition. [198]

The rate of battlefield casualties among GMD officers was not uniform; the majority of officer casualties were junior officers educated at the Central Military Academy in Nanjing with relatively few losses among the Whampoa generation, who by 1937 had advanced to more senior positions. In 1936, the percentage of GMD general officers who had been educated at Whampoa was only seven percent compared to thirty-one percent for general officers educated at the Baoding military academy. By 1947, Whampoa graduates comprised over thirty-five percent of total general officer strength while the ratio of Baoding alumni had dropped to eight percent.[199] Whampoa trained officers also became the dominant demographic within active command positions and by 1944, forty-two percent of division commanders and thirty-six percent of Army commanders were Whampoa alumni. The natural career progression of many of the still young Whampoa graduates probably accounts for some of this increase, but overt

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[196] Yuan, Shouqian and Jie Huang, *Huangpu Jianjun* (Taipei: Unknown Publisher, 1971), pp. 99

[197] Ch'i Hsi-Sheng, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937-1945* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1982), p. 65.

[198] *Ibid*., p. 65.

[199] Chang Jui-te, "Nationalist Army Officers during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 30:4 (October 1996), pp. 1034-1035.

political favoritism of officers seen as loyal to the GMD likely played a major role in accelerating Whampoa advancement.

Assessments of the performance of Chinese military varied wildly. Many observers pointed to significant problems in logistics and training, but the majority of criticism was directed towards GMD military officers who developed a reputation for incompetence and venality. Senior American General Joseph Stilwell, Chief of Staff to Chiang Kai-shek from 1942 through 1944, commented,

> The junior officers respond readily to direction. Battalion and regimental commanders show considerable variation, but there are many good ones. It would be easy to sift out the efficient in these grades, and the resulting promotion would have a good effect on morale. Division and Army commanders are a great problem. They seldom get up to the front and they very rarely supervise the execution of their orders.[200]

This divided opinion between competent junior and poorly performing senior officers was a common feature of American military reports and was shared by Chiang Kai-shek, who routinely criticized his senior officers.[201]

Another factor undermining officer performance was the problem of filling technical fields such as military engineering, communications and medical services with officers either intellectually unprepared or unable to be taken away from combat operations for training. GMD General Tang Enbo (湯恩伯) commented that "most of the officers in various ranks did not have the training relevant to their present responsibilities. Those who were trained in engineering might be asked to command infantry units, and ordinary citizens could be asked to

[200] Charles Romanus and Charles Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China* (Washington D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History Department, 1953), p. 153.
[201] Chang Jui-te, "Nationalist Army Officers during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945," *Modern Asian Studies* 30:4 (October 1996), pp. 1041.

coordinate military supply. One finds all kinds of similar examples in the registers, and basically most officers did not have the appropriate training." [202]

GMD attempts to strengthen the cohesiveness of its military forces relied on both ideological appeals and brute coercion. Throughout the war, Chiang promoted conceptions of loyalty, nationalism and ethnic solidarity to military officers through speeches at army training facilities, meetings and special 'education' sessions. A frequent method used by the GMD was the promotion of patriotic military martyrs who died fighting the Japanese in addition to praising the heroism of successful generals.[203] A more coercive method of promoting loyalty was through public executions of officers who had failed in their duties. Only months into the war, the Military Affairs Commission ordered the execution of two Army Major's for cowardice in the line of duty.[204] Less than six months later, eight high ranking officers were executed on charges of cowardice, looting, rape, and failure to obey orders.[205]

The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and the Second United Front between the CCP and GMD allowed for the creation of a reformed political work system to be established in February 1938.[206] Headed by GMD stalwart General Chen Cheng (陳誠) the renewed political effort stressed patriotic education more

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[202] Ibid., p. 1053.
[203] "China Executes Eight High Officers and Hails Victorious Generals," *Washington Post*, April 15, 1938.
[204] "China to Execute Shirking Officers," *New York Times*, 11 October 1937.
[205] "China Executes Eight High Officers and Hails Victorious Generals," *Washington Post*, April 15, 1938.
[206] Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 127.

than purely political initiatives in keeping with the spirit of the United Front.[207] After less than two years in the position, Zhang Zhizhong (張治中) replaced Chen as director of the Political Department in September 1940.[208] Zhang attempted to increase the number of political officers from a total of roughly 7,000 to over 25,000 in less than twelve months but this was only accomplished by further decreasing the quality of instruction given to political officer candidates. Many of these hastily recruited and poorly trained political officers were students and office workers who were available because they had been displaced by the Japanese advance but whom had little to no military training.[209] Zhang also initiated a rotation program designed to cross-train military officers at political officer schools and vice versa but at the unit level military commanders resisted this program and it was never fully implemented.[210] Political training at the military academy, relocated from Nanjing to Chengdu during 1937, appears to have similarly atrophied due to a lack of interest by officers or directions from senior officials.[211]

Faced with problematic domestic politics, financial constraints and logistical difficulties, the GMD attempted to utilize foreign support to buttress its

[207] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), pp. 683-687; Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 391; Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History], (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 129.

[209] Zhong Hua, "Kangzhan shiqi guomindang jundui zhengzhi gongzuo shulun," *Lishi xue yanjiu* 2005:4, p. 53.
[210] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 419.
[211] Yuan, Shouqian and Jie Huang. *Huangpu Jianjun* (Taipei: Unknown Publisher, 1971), pp. 259-260.

military efforts. The end of the German military mission due to changing German foreign policies, which now favored Japan, left a large void in advisory capacity and industrial supply. Supplies could technically be brought in from British controlled Hong Kong or by rail from French Indo-China but Japanese diplomatic and military pressure imposed strict limits on trade.[212]

During the first three years of the Sino-Japanese war, Soviet assistance in personnel and equipment was the GMD's primary source of foreign support. Sino-Soviet rapprochement during 1937 was a marriage of convenience rather than principle. Chiang Kai-shek's violent purging of communists from the GMD in 1927 and subsequent anti-Communist campaigns, made a full alliance impossible but the signing of a Sino-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact (*zhongsu hu bu qin fan tiaoyue* 中蘇互不侵犯條約) on 21 August 1937 allowed for extensive military cooperation. Soviet military aid to China promised $20 million USD worth of equipment, enough for 24 divisions, but actual deliveries likely totaled less than ten divisions worth of supplies.[213] The bulk of Sino-Soviet equipment transfers were in aircraft, with a total of over 800 planes sent to China where Soviet pilots trained Chinese crews and conducted operations against the Japanese under the guise of a Soviet Volunteer Group.[214]

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[212] Franco David Macri, *Clash of Empires in South China: The Allied Nations' Proxy War with Japan, 1935-1941* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2012).
[213] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, pp. 164-168.
[214] Maochun Yu, *The Dragon's War: Allied Operations and the Fate of China, 1937-1947* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 2006), pp. 15-16.

Roughly five hundred Soviet military officers were directly attached to training facilities or headquarters units in the Chinese army.[215] Language difficulties, the low quality of many of the Soviet officers (following Stalin's extensive purging of Soviet officers during the late 1930's), and Chinese distrust of Soviet intentions meant that Soviet advisors never had the same influence as earlier German officers.

From 1937-1942 Chinese military journals suffered from the occupation of the major military training facilities and publishing centers in east China by the Japanese but several journals continued to function from interior provinces. The journal of the Central Military Academy, *Whampoa Monthly*, resumed after re-locating to Chengdu but content suffered due to a lack of research facilities and the dispersion of faculty.

During the initial fighting between Japanese forces and the Chinese Army in 1937, Whampoa Monthly had devoted the majority of its content space to short, succinct summaries of battlefield developments, interspersed with speeches by political leaders. The tone was optimistic, pointing to the successful defense of Shanghai as a positive example and discussing the possibility of imminent foreign intervention.[216] After the Japanese destruction of much of the German-trained elite in the Yangzi River valley and the occupation of large areas of China, the tone of *Whampoa Monthly* coverage shifted sharply away from decisive battles and towards long-term strategies. In February 1938, a special issue of *Whampoa*

[215] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949*, p. 169.
[216] *Huangpu Yuekan* 8, no 1-2. (1937).

Monthly, was devoted towards the "long-war." A series of articles detailed the need to rely increasingly on political and economic strategies rather than military action to oppose the Japanese and exhaust their resources. Noted military theorist Jiang Baili argued that faced with a clear disadvantage in weapons and skills, China could only rely on its sense of nationalism to wage a populist "race war."[217] A similarly themed article by Shen Qingchen, a senior GMD official, argues in 1938 that the world was emerging into two groups with Germany, Italy and Japan opposed by the remainder of the world.[218] In his analysis, China needs to remain engaged with the world and active while these developments play out.

While the strategy of prolonging the war and engaging in asymmetric tactics was no doubt valuable to Chinese political leaders, the lack of content in military journals from Chinese military leaders suggests the policy might have been less popular among military officers.

Sun Liren and the Nanjing Decade

After Sun's graduation from VMI in 1927, he traveled briefly in the United States and Europe before returning to China. His European trip included visits to military academies in Great Britain, France and Germany and the battlefields of World War One.[219] When Sun had left China to study at Purdue in 1923, the warlord era was in full swing with decentralized, military governments across the country. By the time of Sun's

[217] Jiang Baili, "Kangzhan de jiben guannian," *Huangpu Yuekan* 9, no 1 (1938), pp. 47-48.
[218] Shen, Qingchen, "chi jiu kangzhan de jiben gainian," *Huangpu Yuekan* 9, no 2 (1938), pp. 17-20.
[219] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 45.

return to China in 1927, a nascent national government under Nationalist Party leadership had been established after the military conquest of the crucial Yangzi River valley during the Northern Expedition (*bei fa* 北伐). Sun had no previous connection to the Nationalist party and while likely sympathetic to their cause, he did not return to China in 1925 after studying at Purdue to join the GMD military. Sun's decision to study at VMI had given him unique military training experiences, excellent English language skills and a deep understanding of American and European culture, but also meant that he had missed the opportunity to study at the Whampoa Academy in Guangdong.

In spite a period of national optimism surrounding the new GMD government Sun attempted to find a direct military commission in a local warlord force. Through a former basketball teammate, who had a relative looking to recruit junior officers, Sun was given an officers commission in a cavalry unit in Changsha, Hunan.[220] Unfortunately for Sun the unit was largely imaginary, with recruitment and supplies hindered by the poor local finances. Sun left Hunan and enrolled in the Nationalist Party School (*zhongyang dangwu xuexiao* 中央黨務學校) which had been established in Nanjing after the formation of the GMD-led national government.[221] This academy was designed to train both political cadre and military officers for service in government administration, but did not require students to be GMD members.

Sun's period of study at this school set the pattern for an enduring tension in his military career with his academic and real-world experiences often being overlooked in favor of more politically reliable GMD members. At the school, Sun noted that the

[220] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[221] Shen Jingyong, *Zhongguo jungui: Sun Liren jiangjun fengshan lianjun shilu* (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1993), p. v

students in the military-track, of which he was one, were divided into three factions. Officers who had trained at the Whampoa Academy were the dominant faction and had a clear political advantage through their party connections. Next were officers who had trained at Japanese military academies. They represented a large percentage of the students and they had considerable military skills. Lastly, a third faction was composed of students like Sun who had been educated either at elite Chinese or foreign universities, which meant they were often the most well educated but had little military experience or political influence.[222]

In 1929, Sun took a position at one of the military training schools established in Nanjing as part of the German military advisory program, even though Sun's direct contact with German officers was slight.[223] Sun's duties focused on trainee behavior, physical training and administration, not military theory and academic teaching. For three years Sun had multiple positions at several different schools but was not assigned to the prestigious Central Military Academy. The four years from 1928-1932 was largely a fruitless period in Sun's life with no career advancement or significant accomplishment.

The rapidly deteriorating Sino-Japanese relationship during the late 1920's and early 1930's slowly began to shift the GMD army's main focus from internal operations against warlord and Communist forces, towards repelling Japanese invasion. In January 1932, a series of attacks on Japanese civilians and property in Shanghai led to the outbreak of widespread fighting between Japanese troops and forces of the Chinese 19th

[222] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 53.
[223] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi. 2004), p. 71.

Army, which although nominally loyal to the GMD was under the control of its former warlord commander Cai Tingkai (蔡廷鍇). After six weeks of fighting which devastated large portions of the Chinese administered section of the city, the 5 May cease-fire agreement (*songhu tingzhan xueding* 淞滬停戰協定) made Shanghai a demilitarized zone with only small police forces allowed within the city and its environs.

As the center of China's international economy, banking and cultural life, Shanghai was too important and valuable to the Nationalist government to leave unprotected, so a large "tax police force" (*tuojing tuan* 稅警團) was formed to evade the cease-fire restrictions. Although the tax police was under the Ministry of Finance administration, it functioned as a miniature army in the Shanghai region. Rather than patrol cars and nightsticks, the tax police units had several dozen small tanks, a fleet of armored cars, and heavy machine gun units. By the mid-1930's this force had grown to over 25,000 personnel divided into six regiments.

Although the creation of a miniature army of tax police was a deliberate "creative fiction," it was necessary to give command to officers outside of the GMD military. Moreover, because military officers in the GMD often had long established personal connections to their units and strong financial incentives, such as skimming payroll funds, for remaining in their units, it was necessary to promote more independent officers to the tax police units. Sun Liren's limited identification with the regular GMD army and lack of a pre-existing command position made him an ideal choice for assignment to the

new force. This was a major opportunity for Sun giving him an official rank of a Colonel and his first major command, over a regiment of 5,000 men.[224]

Over the next five years, Sun remained in command of one of the six tax police regiments and created a strong personal relationship with T.V Soong (*Song Ziwen* 宋子文), who was Sun's boss as Minister of Finance but also the brother-in-law of Chiang Kai-shek. Sun's time in the tax police was notable because it allowed him to spend half a decade assigned to the most cosmopolitan region of China, with the only duty being the training of his troops. Sun never participated in the anti-Communist encirclement campaigns of the 1930's or anti-warlord operations. The GMD army which had been created by Sun Yat-sen in 1923 had now become an institutionalized force with a comprehensive education system, command structure and a history of near continuous fighting against internal Chinese opponents. Sun's relative isolation in Shanghai pushed him further into a role as an outsider in Chinese military circles, with none of the collective experiences of other GMD officers.

In response to aggressive Japanese behavior in North China during the spring and summer of 1937, Chiang Kai-shek decided to deploy Chinese army units to the Shanghai area in the hope of negotiating from a position of military strength. The shooting of Lt. General Isao Oyama by Chinese paramilitary forces on 9 August, quickly ignited full scale conflict between Chinese and Japanese forces. Sun's 4th regiment of the tax police force acted in concert with regular GMD army units and engage the Japanese in brutal

[224] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 57.

close quarters urban combat.[225] A lack of artillery and poor tactical mobility allowed the Japanese to wear down and out-maneuver the Chinese forces, leading to a collapse of the Chinese position in early October. During this grinding battle, Sun was severely wounded by shrapnel and was evacuated to Hong Kong for more sophisticated medical care.[226]

Sun spent four months convalescing in Hong Kong before returning to duty in February 1938. By this time the GMD army had been decimated with heavy casualties to its officer corps and had been pushed out of the capital at Nanjing. In spite of a critical need for well trained military officers, Sun lacked the military connections to get a transfer to a GMD army unit. Sun was technically still assigned to the Ministry of Finance forces, he was transferred to an anti-smuggling paramilitary force in Guizhou.[227] Sun was placed in charge of a training camp in Duyun (都匀) where he trained forces reporting to the Ministry of Finance who acted to suppress the operations of warlords and smugglers in the region who violated the Salt Monopoly, which was one of the main basis of GMD revenue. For three years, from December 1938 through December 1941, Sun's career again stalled with his functions reserved to routine training duties in an isolated, rural province.

In summary, by the end of 1941 a rough balance of the ideas of a professional versus a party-army had taken shape within the GMD military. Real-world concerns about military effectiveness gave technically proficient officers a great degree of leverage and the training of the Beiyang Army, Baoding Academy and German influence

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[225] Shen, Jingyong, *Zhongguo jungui: Sun Liren jiangjun fengshan lianjun shilu* (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1993), p. v
[226] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi, 2004), p. 74.
[227] *Ibid*., p. 75.

remained in the Army organization. However, faced with tremendous political uncertainty and a lack of military institutions, the party-army concept remained and provided the GMD military with a degree of cohesion and purpose. This balance of power between the two competing strains of Chinese military modernity was radically affected by the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. The subsequent effect of United States military cooperation, training and logistical support would drastically alter the organizational leverage of Chinese military officers seeking to develop a professional military.

Chapter Three:

Americans and Ideas, 1942-1945

The balance of power between officers desiring to be military professionals and the adherants to a party-army system was profoundly changed by the entry of the United States into the war against Japan. During the 1942-1945 period, the United States Army became the most important foreign partner of China and the major supplier of equipment, ideas and training that would shape the Chinese Nationalist Army identity. United States Army cooperation with the Nationalist Army was larger in scope---involving thousands of officers---than any experience in military cooperation by either the Americans or the Chinese up to that time. Materially, the partnership resulted in a massive transfer of arms and equipment, fundamentally reshaping Chinese military strategy away from wars of attrition fought by infantry and towards offensive action by mechanized forces. Intellectual transfers of U.S. Army doctrine and tactics through an integrated military school system helped shift the military culture of China away from command relationships based on political or personal loyalty and towards a system characterized by military professionalism. During the 1942-1945 period, Chinese officers used American support to revitalize the concept of a professional officer corps and entrench its tenets in military schools and journals. Most importantly, Chinese officers with technical military expertise but few party connections, with Sun Liren being the prime example, used the American support during the 1942-1945 period to rise in rank and influence

China and the U.S. Army 1911-1941

The start of the close partnership between the GMD army and the United States army was not the result on prolonged contact, institutional affinities, or personality. Throughout the late-nineteenth and early twentieth century the United States had become involved with China on multiple levels; economic, educational, political. But military contact was non-existent. In spite of extensive American private involvement in Chinese universities, hospitals and religious organizations, the U.S. government role was highly constrained. The United States took a back seat politically to Great Britain in Chinese politics, and its economic interests were focused on small scale exports of consumer products to Chinese customers in port cities.

Aside from a motley collection of American adventurers like Frederick Townsend Ward who had assisted the Qing during the Taiping Rebellion, the American military had little contact with the Qing, warlord or either GMD or CCP forces. After the violence of the 1911 Chinese Revolution which overthrew the Qing dynasty a small U.S. garrison, consisting of the 15th Infantry Regiment, was assigned to Tianjin in 1912 under the terms of the Boxer Protocol to protect diplomats and several small gunboats patrolled the Yangzi River but the general atmosphere of these forces was quiet neglect. During the twenty-six years that the 15th Infantry Regiment was assigned to Tianjin, the most serious issues faced by its officers was the constant bureaucratic infighting between the State Department, Marine Corps legation guard commander and Army officers for primacy in organizational status.[228]

[228] Louis Morton, "Army and Marines on the China Station: A Study in Military and Political Rivalry," *Pacific Historical Review* 29, no 1 (February 1960), pp. 51-73.

The primary activities of American officers and enlisted men in the 15th Infantry were drinking, souvenir shopping and rifle marksmanship. Like the stateside U.S. Army at the time training was focused on close order drill, map exercises and long range marksmanship with the Springfield rifle. Realistic training opportunities in the interwar era of austere budgets were non-existent and the center of unit life was athletic competitions; baseball, football and boxing. Although the Army sent its best men and officers to the 15th, in an effort to maintain respect among Chinese and foreign observers, the slow pace of life in Tianjin and the garrison mentality of the organization was similar to the larger U.S. Army pattern of half-day, martinet existence caricatured in James Jones' *From Here to Eternity*.[229]

The U.S. Army, 1900-1941: Isolated but Professional

The United States Army organization that the Chinese came in contact before 1941 remained a modest and insular force compared to the situation after 1941. The American army officers in China had three distinguishing characteristics which became important during contact with the GMD Army. First, the U.S. military operated as a "cadre" force, maintaining a small strength in peacetime but ballooning in wartime with volunteers or conscripts filling in the personnel strength. Second, the American army maintained an extensive school system which inculcated a highly technical and military science ethos into officers. Lastly the American army sought to remain isolated from political affairs and opposed what it viewed as unnecessary interference by civilian leaders.

[229] Charles Finney, *The Old China Hands* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 15-21; John N. Hart, *The Making of an Army "Old China Hand:" A Memoir of Colonel David D. Barrett* (Berkeley: Center for Chinese Studies, 1985), pp. 7-25.

In both World War One and Two, the regular officers and troops of the U.S. Army served as the core 'cadre' of a much larger force of conscripted men and temporary officers. Army strength figures were like a rollercoaster from 98,000 in 1914 to over 850,000 in 1919 only to drop to less than 138,000 during the 1920's and early 1930's.[230] American political distrust of militarism and standing armies meant that the cadre structure allowed for a socially acceptable and cost effective way to retain military skills during peacetime. This force structure led to a comparatively large number of officers relative to peacetime enlisted strengths and a large emphasis on officer education because in case of wartime mobilization, temporary promotions would result in junior officers serving in senior positions.

A key element of the inter-war American army system, which was especially salient in relations with China and victory in World War Two was an extensive officer education program. When asked to compare the U.S. Army before and after World War One, General Omar Bradley remarked that the greatest difference, "was the school system."[231] Before World War One, the major elements of the army school system had been established with West Point conducting junior officer training, branch schools for infantry, artillery etc., providing training in specialized skills, the Command and General Staff School (CGSS) at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas conducting highly technical staff exercises and the Army War College for senior officers, normally Colonels, studying the theoretical issues of war. Prior to World War One, these schools had been small and the quality of instruction poor, but after difficulties in conducting large scale operations in

[230] Edward Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004), pp. 203, 234.
[231] *Ibid*., p. 281.

France the curriculum was modernized and the number of students increased. The Command and General Staff school trained only 432 students prior to WWI but during the 1920's and 1930's it operated at full capacity in spite of the small size of the contemporary army, graduating over 3,600 senior officers during the 1920's and 1930's.[232] In addition to internal schools the Army also began sending officers to civilian institutions for graduate level degrees. The Harvard Business School was a popular choice with over 200 officers from the interwar Army completing the full two-year program.[233] The Army school system benefited from the extremely slow promotion of the period (many officers spent over 15 years as a Lieutenant), so competition for school positions was extremely tough because it would help distinguish "fast track" officers.

In addition to conventional professional military education and civilian education in the Unites States, the U.S. Army prepared a small cadre of officers for foreign liaison duties. An Army Chinese language training program was established under the authority of the Military Intelligence Division in 1919, to prepare officers for assignments in the Peking Embassy.[234] Often assignment to the 15th Infantry Regiment in Tianjin followed after military attaché duty, giving officers a period of five or six years of duty experience in China. Many of the officers selected for the language program and duty in the 15th Infantry Regiment, such as Generals Stillwell, Boatner and Dorn, later went onto key positions in the wartime Sino-American military partnership.

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[232] *Ibid*., p. 281.
[233] *Ibid*., p. 284.
[234] Marc Gallicchio, "The Other China Hands: U.S. Army Officers and America's Failure in China, 1941-1950," *Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 4, no 1 (1995), p. 50.

A characteristic of the U.S. Army of the interwar period was an aversion to politics both as a matter of professional ideology and for the institutional security of the Army. Practical difficulties in establishing legal residency prevented many officers from voting but many seem to have felt that their duty required a sharp divide from political life with many officers taking pride in not voting.[235] Remaining aloof from politics was also professionally responsible because it avoided providing ammunition to pacifists and populists who had attacked the American involvement in WWI and who fought any appearance of militarism. Army officers assigned to Washington DC during the 1920's and 1930's wore civilian suits. Even the Douglas MacArthur during his time as Chief of Staff of the Army wore civilian suits at nearly all official functions.[236]

A New Partnership

During the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, the Shanghai conflict between Japan and China in 1932, and the Japanese invasion of China in 1937, the American public had been supportive of China in general and Chiang Kai-shek in particular, but very little direct political or military support was provided by the United States government. Influential writers such as Pearl Buck, newspaper publisher Henry Luce, and political leaders like Henry Stimson sought to keep China in American hearts and minds but this affinity was not shared by the U.S. Army. Intelligence reports, many of them written by Col. Joseph Stillwell, American military attaché to China from 1935-

[235] Coffman, *The Regulars: The American Army, 1898-1941*, p. 246.
[236] *Ibid*., p. 246.

1939, pointed out a wide variety of fundamental problems within the Chinese army in areas of command and control, unit training and basic tactics.[237]

American public sympathies and an effective Chinese lobbying campaign eventually resulted in economic aid, beginning with two loans from the American Export-Import Bank in 1939, but no arms sales.[238] Only in 1940, after the inclusion of China into the list of countries covered by the Lend-Lease Act, did the United States begin large-scale arms transfers, with P40 fighters and 2 ½ ton trucks being priority requests.[239]

In order to coordinate arms transfers, advise the Chinese on military training and plan for future joint operations the American Military Mission to China (AMMISCA) was formed in August 1941.[240] Led by General John Magruder, AMMISCA established offices in China's wartime capital Chongqing, and in Washington D.C., as well as branches at major supply ports such as Rangoon. AMMISCA studies of the Chinese Army expressed a clear pessimism about the utility of arms transfers to the Chinese Army without systematic reform of the Chinese military structure. After three years of war and the destruction of the Nationalists' most capable forces, American observers found Chinese forces to be politically fractured, poorly trained and tactically passive.[241]

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[237] Barbara W.Tuchman, *Stilwell and the American Experience in China; 1911-1945* (New York: MacMillan, 1970), pp. 180-187.
[238] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China* (Washington: GPO, 1953), p. 7.
[239] *Ibid*., pp. 15-19.
[240] Frank Kluckhorn, "U.S. Army Mission to Assist China," *New York Times*, 27 August 1941.
[241] Romanus, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, p. 36.

After a brief survey of Chinese military units and practices in late 1941 and early 1942 AMMISCA produced a damning report on Chinese military practices. General Magruder was highly critical of the glowing praise of the Chinese military produced by the "China Lobby" and argued against providing more material support without increased supervision of the use of arms provided to China. He wrote,

> It is a known fact that the Chinese are great believers in the world of make-believe, and they frequently shut their eyes to hard and unpleasant actualities, preferring rather to indulge their fancy in flattering but fictitious symbols, which they regard as more real than cold facts… As instances of this deceptive symbolism, I may adduce many reports emanating from Chinese diplomatic sources abroad, referring to the marvelous achievements and abilities of the Chinese Army.[242]

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941, American military leaders were skeptical of direct American military involvement with the Chinese Army but political leaders, including President Roosevelt, desired a symbolic American presence in China. With no interest among senior American officers to be assigned to China, General Marshall nominated an old friend, Joseph Stilwell, for the still vaguely defined position as Commander of American forces in the China-Burma-India theater. On paper Stilwell's appointment seemed an ideal choice. During the 1920's and 1930's Stilwell served multiple tours in the 15th Infantry Regiment in Tianjin and was fluent in Chinese. Moreover, during his assignment as military attaché in Beijing, Stilwell had

[242] The Military Mission in China to the War Department, 10 February 1942, in *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1942*, vol. 5, *China* (Washington: GPO, 1956), pp. 13-15.

observed at first-hand Japanese military operations and the tremendous internal problems of the Chinese military.[243]

The original hypothesis of American military support to China was that military aid and "strategic coordination" would be sufficient to revitalize the Chinese Army, which had been worn down by four years of war, and allow it to take the offensive. Stilwell's command role was complicated by a highly ambiguous mission statement which lacked clear objectives or metrics. War Department orders vaguely stated that Stilwell was to "increase the effectiveness of United States assistance to the Chinese government for the prosecution of the war and to assist in improving the combat efficiency of the Chinese Army."[244] Even more confusing was Stilwell's assignment as Chiang Kai-shek's *Allied* Chief of Staff while General He Yingqin (何應欽) served as Chief of Staff of the regular Chinese Army.[245]

Establishing the Template: Ramgarh Training Center and Liaison Officer, 1942-1944

From the very beginning of Stilwell's tenure, his personal goals of assisting and developing the Chinese Army were not limited to the immediate wartime situation but looked ahead to a period after the war when China would need to assume a role as one of the "Four Policeman" of a new world order along with the United States, Soviet Union and Great Britain. American ambitions for China to become a responsible great power in the world, based on a large competent military force, would be an enduring problem

[243] Paul Kesaris. *U.S. Military Intelligence Reports: China 1911-1941*. (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1983).
[244] Romanus, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* p. 74.
[245] *Ibid*., p. 73.

throughout the 1941-1949 period with long-term political ideals often taking priority over near-term military practicalities.

Stilwell clearly stated his objectives to his staff,

> 1. Long Range Objective: A powerful independent China, with a modern well-organized Army, in a position to back up all legitimate demands, and with close ties of interests and friendship with the United States. (Under these conditions, peace in the Orient could be assured, and China would take the lead in the organization of an Asiatic League of China, Indo-China, Siam, Burma, and India…)
> 2. Immediate objective: Re-organization, equipment, and training of the Chinese Army, including the Air Force. The 30-Division Plan can be adapted to the units of the Y-Force, concentrated in Yunnan, where they are accessible for training and supply…[246]

Stilwell's grandiose vision of re-organizing the entirety of the Chinese Army was disrupted by the Japanese seizure of Burma in the spring of 1942, which cut China's last road access to the outside world and made supply problems a constant challenge. With inadequate airlift capacity to supply forces within China, Stilwell proposed to train 100,000 Chinese troops at the Ramgarh camp in northeast India, using American methods. This plan was tentatively approved by Chiang Kai-shek on 27 April 1942, but troops did not arrive in strength until September.[247] This force, code-named the "X Force," was planned to encompass two complete Chinese armies, each with three divisions, in addition to special training for separate engineering, field artillery and medical detachments.

While at Ramgarh, Chinese officers remained in administrative control over their men but all supplies and equipment were provided by the United States and Great Britain.

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[246] *Ibid*., p. 256.
[247] "Message: HQ, U.S. Army Forces China, Burma and India," 22 September 1942, National Archives and Record Administration (NARA), Microfilm M1419, Reel 5.

Chinese soldiers assigned to Ramgarh were designated the "Chinese Army in India" (CAI) with General Stilwell as commander. Subordinate to Stilwell were two of the most well educated and capable division commanders in the Chinese Army; Sun Liren (孫立人) and Liao Yaoxiang (廖耀湘). Both Sun and Liao personified a trend in Chinese officer promotions after 1941, with the rise of young officers who thrived in the American system while less adaptable, often older, Chinese officers were sidelined from command positions. Sun Liren in particular would parlay his popularity with Americans and advanced military skills into a series of increasingly senior positions, culminating into his appointment in March 1950 as commander of the Army of the Republic of China.

The American instruction force at Ramgarh included over 250 American officers and 500 senior enlisted personnel for only two divisions of the GMD army, which enabled a large amount of close, hands on instruction. The American training program included a wide range of instruction ranging from bayonet and hand grenade training to automotive maintenance and tank driving.[248] In addition to American instructors, American liaison personnel were directly attached to Chinese units. The direct "supervisor" (Chinese troops technically remained under Chinese command) of the CAI, Brigadier General Hayden Boatner, was fluent in Chinese and had earned an M.A. degree in Chinese history at Harvard before the war, but was under no illusions about the difficulty of the military partnership.[249] In instructions to new liaison officers, Boatner commented, "You are taking up a very, very difficult assignment…It will tax your

[248] "Liaison Memorandum Number Five," 1 October 1943, NARA, Record Group 493, Stack 290, Box 6.
[249] Marc Gillicchio, "The Other China Hands: U.S. Army Officers and America's Failure in China, 1941-1950," *The Journal of American-East Asian Relations* 4, no 1 (1995), p. 52.

initiative, ingenuity, tact, and spirit of cooperation to the utmost," and offered the practical advice to always think of situations from the point of view of their Chinese officer counterparts.[250]

With the Ramgarh training center firmly established by the fall of 1942, Stilwell sought to begin forming a second offensive force, based in China's southwestern Yunnan province, which would attack into Burma and link up with the units driving east from India. This force was designated the Chinese Expeditionary Army (CEA), code-named the "Y force." While the Chinese Army in India was established around a military school system, with Americans directly training Chinese units before the units were handed over to Chinese officers for combat operations, the American role in the Y Force would be built around small groups of American liaison teams operating with Chinese units. Although the addition of American advisors allowed for better integration of American air support with Chinese ground operations and provided specialized skills such as engineering elements to Chinese units, the Y force failed to meet military needs or create a viable core with which to revitalize the Chinese military. The experience of the Y force demonstrated the difficulties of Chinese army reform without solid logistical support and highlighted the debilitating effects of China's convoluted domestic politics on military reform.

After months of wrangling over supply requests, Chinese troop contributions and operational roles, the first U.S. instructors began arriving in Kunming in January 1943. Colonel Frank Dorn, a fluent Chinese speaker and a confidant of Stilwell, was assigned

[250] "Instructions for Liaison Officers from this Headquarters to Chinese Units,"14 October 1943, NARA, Record Group 493, Stack 290, Box 6.

as commander of the training and supply effort with the Chinese troops remaining under direct Chinese command at all times. In contrast to the Ramgarh program, which took almost eighteen months to make Chinese troops fully certified for combat operations, formal training for Y Force units was limited to brief, six-week courses designed to familiarize Chinese with American methods but not fundamentally re-train them.[251]

The Y force benefitted from the administrative and cultural familiarity gained by Americans and Chinese at Ramgarh, but practical details involved in establishing a large training program in China hindered the program. Unlike in India, where the Chinese had occupied pre-existing military facilities at Ramgarh, the establishment of military schools near Kunming required building new facilities. Construction contracts provided an opportunity for corruption in the form of kickbacks paid to Chinese officers by local contractors, and builders frequently used poor quality materials, pocketing any savings on material. In poor, rural areas imported electric power generators also proved tempting to Chinese residents, and American reports related numerous occasions of the power grid going down because of attempts by local Chinese to tap into overhead wires.[252]

Among the Chinese students, prolonged malnutrition, poor levels of education and inadequate numbers limited the effectiveness of early training classes. These problems were eventually overcome by improving the quantity of meals, increasing the number of interpreters and altering the curriculum but without a senior Chinese political or military patron the military school program remained underutilized. Stilwell made attendance of U.S. Army run schools a requirement for Chinese officers prior to their

[251] Col. Henry M. Spengler, "American Liaison Groups," *Military Review*, 27:1 (April 1947). Fort Leavenworth Kansas, 1947.
[252]Romanus, *Stilwell's Mission to China*, pp. 293-294.

units receiving Lend-Lease supplies but enthusiasm was often lacking.[253] Col. Walter Wood, a senior U.S. liaison officer wrote disparagingly,

> The sad thing was that it did not teach. No one fired on the ranges. No one maneuvered on the training areas. Haphazard lectures, or to be more accurate, speeches were the order of the day. … The feeling seemed to be that, so long as the opening ceremony went well, the student body remained in attendance and the graduation ceremony and banquet went smoothly, then the school was a success.[254]

The experience of many American liaison teams was similarly dispiriting with American officers put in the ambiguous position of supporting Chinese officers but having no authority to lead Chinese soldiers even in cases of battlefield expediency. Liaison officers were often forced to influence Chinese officers by withholding American supplies which could lead to tensions between Chinese and American officers. Liaison officer Frank Lilley wrote that in his Chinese unit, "the Chinese battalion commander is poor[in quality]-he runs around in his jeep with singsong girls and cares nothing about training," to which he could only respond by cutting off the supply of gasoline to curtail his joy riding.[255]

Only after the Cairo Conference in November 1943 did Chiang fully support developing the Y force and assent to its use in attacking North Burma. By February 1944, the Y Force had expanded to fifteen divisions spread over two group armies. Although significantly understrength with only 72,000 men assigned the Y Force, renamed the "Chinese Expeditionary Army" was the largest and best trained offensive force in China.

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[253] W.J. Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yenan* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1992), p. 10.
[254] Romanus, *Stilwell's Mission to China,* p. 296.
[255] James Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), p. 50.

In addition to infantry and artillery schools, American weapons had been laboriously air lifted over the Himalayas. Large numbers of sub-machine guns, rocket launchers, mortars and small howitzers had been specifically selected for offensive operations in mountainous terrain were transferred to the Chinese troops.[256]

On 12 April, 1944, the Y Force began attacking northern Burma attempting to link up with the Chinese Army in India. American liaison forces remained with Chinese troops during combat operations to advise, assist in supply operations and to coordinate air force support. Increasing numbers of Americans in the China Theater allowed for the expansion of U.S. liaison units down to the regimental level, with teams of officers ranging from six to twenty being assigned to regimental units depending on mission requirements. American portable surgical units and field hospitals supplemented the rudimentary Chinese army medical services.[257] American assessments of the Y Force effectiveness were mixed with praise for the conduct of junior officers and soldiers but sharp criticism of the senior officers.[258]

Wedemeyer and the Shift to a 'Big Army' Program

By the spring of 1944, General Stilwell and the fully re-trained, American equipped Chinese Army in India (X Force) and the Chinese Expeditionary Army (Y force) in Yunnan province were both engaged in offensive operations in northern Burma. Although the basic framework and crucial procedures had been established for close

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[256] Yang Chenguan, "Guojun weiwan cheng de junshi shiwu daige (1943-1945) yi guojun meishi zhuangbeihua budui wei zhongxin de shentan," *Zhonghua junshi xue huiyi huikan* 10 (April 1995), pp. 166-168; Charles Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problems* (U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington DC, 1985), p. 334.
[257] Romanus, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 340.
[258] Memorandum for General Hsiao I-Hsu From General Frank Dorn, 18 May 1944, Hoover Institution Archives, Frank Dorn Papers, Box 87.

American involvement in assisting, advising and supplying the Chinese army, progress in changing the performance of the overwhelming majority of China's 300 division army had been minimal. The excellent performance of the Chinese Army in India and less successful Y Force experience still encompassed less than 200,000 men from a total Chinese Army strength of roughly 2 million soldiers.[259]

In April 1944, after almost two years of near stasis in its military operations in China, the Japanese Army began a series of large scale offensives designed to systematically cripple Chinese military capability. Operation Ichi-Go (*yi hao zuo zhan* 一号作戦) targeted key rail links, vital food producing areas, and airfields used by the American 14th Air Force to bomb Japan. Further Japanese attacks in East China during the summer and fall of 1944 alerted Chinese leaders to their military weakness, and only through massively increased logistical support provided by streamlined air transport over the Hump and the re-opening of road communications by the re-taking of the Burma Road was the Japanese offensive blunted.

The political fallout from the disastrous Chinese military performance in Ichi-Go resulted in increased pressure on Chiang Kai-shek from previously supportive American leaders and from inside the Chinese military command to undertake military reforms based on American guidance.[260] The growing American pressure on Chiang was most directly applied by General Stilwell, whose discussions with Chiang were becoming increasingly acrimonious. American political and military leaders, including President Roosevelt, demanded that Chiang make Stilwell his Chief of Staff and give him authority

[259] Distribution of the Chinese Army by War Zones as of 4/27/1944, Central Intelligence Agency (Farmington Hills: Gale Publishing, 2011), pp. 1-9.
[260] "Stillwell to Marshall-Eyes Alone," 26 September 1944, NARA, M1419, Reel 5.

over the Chinese Army.[261] Chiang's rebuttal conceded the need for a direct American presence as his Chief of the General Staff, but Chiang stated that he would accept any American General except Stilwell. Rumors that China might sign a separate peace with Japan led President Roosevelt to accept Chiang's terms and recall Stillwell.

Stilwell's replacement, General Albert Wedemeyer, perceived his role in China as an organizer and coordinator rather than a battlefield leader, skills he had developed as one of the key architects of American strategic planning, helping prepare for a ground campaign in Europe during the first two years of the war.[262]

Wedemeyer's experience and talent for organizational planning, as well as the successful conclusion of the north Burma campaign resulted in increased supplies of American equipment for China, allowing for the creation of an integrated plan to reform the Chinese Army for the first time. Wedemeyer's program for the Chinese Army, code-named "Alpha," envisioned a gradual shift from defensive to offensive operations in Southern China, with the end goal being the taking of a port on the Chinese coast, (Operation CARBONADO), in September or October 1945.[263]

The backbone of the Alpha Plan was the creation of thirty-nine combat divisions of the Chinese Army. The organizational and administrative framework for the planned Alpha divisions was based on the experience of the Chinese Army in India. Compared to

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[261] Marshall, George. *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall, vol. 4, "Aggressive and Determined Leadership," June 1, 1943-December 31, 1944, ed. Larry I. Bland and Sharon Ritenour Stevens* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), pp. 503-506.

[262] Charles E. Kirkpatrick. *An Unknown Future and a Doubtful Present: Writing the Victory Plan of 1941* (Washington: Center for Military History, 1992), p. 6.

[263] "Priority Message: Secret, McClure to Wedemeyer," 10 February 1945, NARA, Record Group 493, Box 1.

a regular Chinese division with roughly 2,400 men, an Alpha division would have over 6,100 personnel assigned to it, with a regular system of replacements for combat losses.[264] Although all Alpha divisions were classified as infantry formations, independent armor and motorized regiments would be assigned to operate with divisions to increase their mobility and firepower.

Wedemeyer identified the biggest problem to Chinese Army reforms to be a lack of trained, competent officers. Wedemeyer wrote Chinese officers appeared, "incapable, inept, untrained, petty…altogether inefficient."[265] One element of improving the performance of Chinese officers was the integration of patchwork Chinese training centers into a comprehensive military school system. The newly formed Chinese Training Command (CTC) was responsible for all schools from basic training to General Officer refresher courses. Headquartered in Kunming, the CTC included training centers for the functional areas of infantry, artillery, automotive and ordnance specialists, an introductory officer course for lieutenants and captains, and a Command and General Staff Course for senior officers.[266] The combined effect of Wedemeyer's reforms was to unify and rationalize the ad hoc, fragmented training centers established by Stilwell. *Time* magazine accurately noted in 1945 that "These institutions [training schools] were conceived by General Stilwell and were in existence when Wedemeyer arrived. But Wedemeyer welded them into a cohesive whole."[267]

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[264] "T/O for Chinese Army Group Troops: Organization of the Division," 22 February 1944, NARA, Record Group 493, Box 13.
[265] Romanus, *Stilwell's Command Problems*, p. 233.
[266] "Black Book on China: Chinese Training Command," 6 November 1944, NARA, Record Group 493, Box 15.
[267] "China: The New Army," *Time Magazine*, 4 June, 1945.

The largest school was the Field Artillery Training Center, which at its peak utilized over 1,000 American personnel training up to 10,000 Chinese at any one time.[268] Lessons learned in the Burma campaign had shown that Chinese commanders frequently used artillery to make up for tactical deficiencies in their units by reducing bunkers and fortifications through lengthy barrages rather than direct attacks. A key element of the Alpha training was a shift to larger 105mm howitzers, drawn by trucks and used for indirect (non-line of sight) firing. This made the Alpha division formations much more powerful in terms of firepower but necessitated increased American logistical support and training for support units.

The most prestigious of the new training centers was the Command and General Staff School, which provided a three month course for senior officers. Nicknamed "Little Leavenworth" by American instructors, the program was a direct copy of the U.S. Army Command and General Staff School at Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas, but of shorter duration.[269] The school program was heavily focused on the leadership of units through staff exercises rather than directly leading combat operations, with the majority of the instruction time being concerned with reports, record keeping and order formats.[270]

In addition to regular army schools, each Alpha division, with the exception of units from the Chinese Army in India, was designated to go through two thirteen-week training programs as a unit. These unit training programs were conducted by Chinese officers who had been through the U.S. Army school system, with the assistance of the

[268] Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in CBI* (Washington: GPO, 1958), p. 374.
[269] "U.S. Army Officers Run China School," *New York Times*, 8 January, 1945.
[270] Schedule, Command and General Staff School, March 45, NARA, Record Group 493.

U.S. liaison officers attached to each division. The focus of the initial thirteenweek program was weapons training, because many of the men had no experience with the new American weapons and insufficient training in basic soldier skills like rifle marksmanship. American adviser Colonel Boye noted, "A part of the training time was employed in weapon training. The expenditure of target ammunition was pleasing and amazing to the Chinese; until that time each soldier had been limited to firing three rounds with the weapon with which he was armed."[271] In the second thirteen week training cycle, units would focus on tactical and operational training with a variety of exercises in offensive operations.[272] By the beginning of August 1945, all Alpha divisions had started at least the first thirteen week program with roughly half completing it prior to the Japanese surrender.[273]

For highly specialized training such as aircraft operations, radar directed anti-aircraft artillery, complex bridging operations, etc., Chinese officers were sent to American schools in the United States. By V-J day there were approximately 2,300 Chinese military officers participating in training in the United States with over 1,200 addition personnel en route.[274]

In conjunction with a reformed school system, Wedemeyer initiated a massively expanded liaison program under the designation Chinese Combat Command (CCC). In contrast to the small observation teams that had been in China with the Y Force prior to

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[271] F.W. Boye, "Operating With a Chinese Army Group," *Military Review*, 27:2 (May 1947), p. 3-8
[272] Romanus, *Time Runs Out in CBI*, p. 267.
[273] *Ibid*., p. 372.
[274] The Secretary of War (Patterson) to the Secretary of State, 18 February 1946, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946* (Washington: GPO, 1972), vol 10, *China*, p. 733.

1944, the new liaison effort was planned to encompass over 4,000 Americans.[275] Considering that Wedemeyer had only 5,549 troops directly under his command in November 1944, the liaison effort represented both a major expansion in the American personnel assigned to the China theater and the largest portion of American troop strength.[276] Each Alpha division was assigned roughly ten American officers and twenty to thirty enlisted men, with additional air-ground liaison teams attached to Chinese units during combat situations.[277] U.S. advisory teams were specifically instructed not to attempt to take command in any way and the preferred method of dealing with units that failed to address advisory concerns was through reporting failures to higher headquarters and withdrawal of American support from non-cooperative units. Beginning in early 1945, the U.S. liaison teams produced a steady stream of accurate, timely information on the strengths, weaknesses and operations of Chinese Army units. Each advisor submitted a note card for his assigned unit, keeping a log of key events and grading Chinese performance.

U.S. Army liaison teams were the subject of a significant amount of reporting from American magazines and newspapers who promoted them as an example of the shared wartime effort. Glowing press reports could not disguise the fact that liaison duty was gritty, exhausting work which put a great deal of stress on American personnel. *Time* magazine described the teams,

> The smallest knots are air liaison teams, artillery and regimental liaison units. They makeshift as they can. They consist of an officer, one or two

[275] Romanus, *Time Runs Out in CBI*, p. 235.
[276] "Information Book: China Theater," 6 November 1944, NARA, Record Group 493, Box 15.
[277] "Roster of American Personnel with Chinese Alpha Units," 11 February 1945, NARA, Record Group 493, Box 15.

> enlisted men, a Chinese interpreter and a Chinese cook. This is the nervous system by which control runs up to American headquarters in Kunming and Chungking, 700 or 800 miles away. Each tiny cell of it consists of four or five American boys sitting in a tent or ruined farmhouse, slapping at mosquitoes, coding and decoding messages, trudging through paddies, piling up dirty tin cans beside their tents, living in stinking clothes and incessant squalor.[278]

The stress of combat operations and cultural isolation led to a degree of tension in the Sino-American relationship which often found expression through heavy drinking and low morale.

Non-Combat Issues of American Troops in China: Low Morale/High Crime

Two enduring problems hindered the development of a truly effective partnership between the Nationalists and American forces during WWII; low morale and high rates of crime. Each of these mutually reinforcing issues hindered the development of a fully transparent and trustworthy relationship. Crimes and misbehavior by American forces in China were often widely reported in the local Chinese press and it was often portrayed as indicative of continued "unequal treaty" thinking by Americans. Similarly, Chinese corruption and mismanagement destroyed much of the initial enthusiasm Americans had about working in China.

An ongoing problem with the assignment of American personnel to China was low morale. This problem transcended the Stilwell/Wedemeyer command transition and was systemic in both Army Air Force and Army ground units. Among the major complaints by American personnel were the personal habits of the Chinese, especially Chinese peasants, who often spit and defecated in public view, practices which most

[278] "World Battlefronts: Battle of Asia: Farewell Performance," *Time Magazine*, 9 July 1945.

Americans considered to be both repugnant and unhygienic. A more substantive problem was the endemic corruption of the Nationalist regime. State Department attaché Edward Rice wrote,

> Of the substantial number of servicemen with whom I have come in contact, I have found almost all to be adversely and often bitterly critical of China and the Chinese and somewhat bewildered by what they considers to be the true facts about China are not, or in the past were not, available to the American public. Typical American officers and men have mentioned to me such things as follow: seeing few planes on Chinese airfields but many in warehouses near Chengtu; buying from the wife of a Chinese official gasoline assumed by the serviceman to have come to China under lend-lease; and several instances of catching Chinese in circumstances such as to indicate beyond reasonable doubt that they were engaged in espionage on behalf of the Japanese and turning them over to Chinese officials only to have the latter quickly release the culprits.[279]

Criminal activity by and against U.S. military personnel in China was common enough that incidents were a prominent feature in American military reports. Assignment to China offered a wide range of temptations to Americans: easy access to alcohol for those under 21 (the legal drinking age in most of the United States), widespread prostitution and a favorable currency exchange rate, which made even lower enlisted soldiers comparatively wealthy. This was not a new problem, when the U.S. 15th Infantry Regiment had been stationed in China before the war it had led the U.S. Army in both rates of alcoholism and venereal disease.[280] Chinese soldiers working with Americans commented that, "For Americans, there was no fun without alcohol," and complained

[279] Second Secretary of Embassy of China (Rice) to Secretary of State, 2 October 1944, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1944* (Washington: GPO, 1967), vol. 6, *China*, pp. 163-164.
[280] Edward Coffman, "The American 15th Infantry Regiment in China, 1912-1928: A Vignette in Social History," *The Journal of Military History 58:1* (January 1994), pp. 71-72.

that U.S. personnel would sometimes trade military supplies for alcohol.[281] Crimes against U.S. personnel were mostly robberies but they could be violent. Judge Advocate General (JAG) reports show that several young American soldiers were killed during robberies; a favorite tactic involved Chinese women luring Americans into an isolated location where they were attacked by accomplices.[282] Chinese bandits and criminal gangs sometimes attacked American vehicles, forcing them to stop, robbing the passengers and, if the loot was not sufficient, abusing the passengers.[283]

Due to rising numbers of such incidents, General Boatner, Commander of the Chinese Combat Command ordered that all Americans under his authority had to attend command briefings on their role in China as "salesman of American standards of conduct."[284] Boatner also began a program of cultural education, especially language training, designed to eliminate some of the more glaring lapses. His orders state that, "it is especially desired that stress be laid upon acquainting the officers and enlisted men of your command with China, the Chinese people and Chinese customs. Elementary and advanced classes in the Chinese language should be instituted, making use of both language officers and interpreters."[285]

Assessments of Four Years of Army Building

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[281] Jean Pei and William Wang, *Under the Same Army Flag: Recollections of the Veterans of the World War II* (Beijing: Wuzhou zhuanbo chubanshe, 2005), p. 11.
[282]Correspondence from Major General H.S. Aurand to Lt. General A.C. Wedemeyer, 13 August 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[283] W.J. Peterkin, *Inside China, 1943-1945: An Eyewitness Account of America's Mission in Yenan* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1992), p. 9.
[284] Memorandum, Chinese Combat Command, 27 May 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[285] *Ibid*.

In spite of isolated cultural difficulties and lingering problems of coordinating two sharply different military systems the overall result by 1945 was generally positive and the first reaction of many observers on the different look and military bearing of American trained Chinese soldiers was surprise and delight. American Consul General Langdon wrote of a recent public ceremony,

> These men were from Ramgarh, India, (American-trained) units, most of them veterans of the North Burma campaigns. Sturdy, cleancut, confident, and jaunty, and dressed in khaki wollens and British-type helmets, they looked as unlike their local brothers in Chinese uniform as men of a different race. It did not seem possible that food, good care and training could work such a physical and psychological transformation on ordinary Chinese peasant soldier material.[286]

Time magazine was similarly glowing in its portrayal of the Alpha divisions during the last months of the war. A report from July 1945 describing the "New" Chinese Army noted,

> On our way back we saw one of the divisions of the new army marching down the road. They had flesh on their biceps, meat on their legs. On their shoulders they carried American Enfield rifles marked: "USA 1917." Their pack bearers had huge spools of telephone wire slung on bamboo staves across their shoulders. When the infantry in this division goes forward, it will need no runner to carry back reports; it will use American telephones to call the artillery in from the very point of attack, and American howitzers directed by an American officer will bring support down before them at the right place at precisely the right time.[287]

At the end of the war the model of a unified military school system, American liaison teams and sustained logistical support had accomplished much of the initial goal

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[286] The Consul General at Kunming (Langdon) to the Ambassador in China (Hurley), Kunming, 12 February 1945, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1945,* (Washington: GPO, 1969), vol.7, China, pp. 48-49.
[287] "World Battlefronts: Battle of Asia: Farewell Performance," *Time Magazine,* 9 July 1945.

of reforming the Chinese Army and making it more combat effective. Unfortunately for American and Chinese military planners, these efforts relied on political will in Washington which after the Japanese surrender, rapidly evaporated.

General Xue Yue and the Regional Alternative

From the very beginning of the American Military Mission to China (AMMISSCA) in 1941, throughout General Stilwell's command and into General Wedemeyer's term, there was a constant American focus on building a "national" army. This emphasis was not only based on a desire for a large army to attack or at least tie down the Japanese army but also a political desire for China to play a role as a regional power, one of FDR's "Four Policeman.

The alternative to building up a national Chinese army under Nationalist control was the support of Chinese military leaders with a more localized and independent political standing. The decentralized government, military, and political structure in China provided opportunities for American military officers to favor specific Chinese commanders with preferential access to supplies, training and air support. Systematically encouraging local forces to attack the Japanese would likely have resulted in an intensification of combat operations in a far shorter time span than training entire new divisions. However, sponsoring localized forces would have made coordination of larger offensives difficult.

The U.S. Navy took the localized approach through its partnership with the Nationalist Secret Service, the feared Juntong (軍統) led by the notorious Shanghai gangster turned spymaster Dai Li (戴笠). U.S. Navy Captain Milton Miles partnered with

Dai to form the Sino-American Cooperative Organization (SACO/*zhongmei tezhong jishu hezuosuo* 中美特种技术合作所) which was organized to provide intelligence, conduct guerilla operations and sabotage in Japanese occupied areas. Throughout the course of the war SACO was continually attacked by American Army officers as a diversion of resources and an ill-advised partnership with the worst elements of the Nationalist government. Stilwell in particular was sharply critical of Miles for supporting the Juntong, which he referred to as equal to the Gestapo.[288]

The most obvious potential subject of this regional approach was General Xue Yue (薛岳), commander of the 9th Military Region which encompassed most of Hunan and Guangdong. Xue had a strong regional base in South China, being originally from Guangdong and spending most of his military career in the area. Although Xue had studied in the first graduating class at the Whampoa Academy, and had proven himself during both the Northern Expedition and anti-Communist campaigns of the 1930's, he was regarded as insufficiently loyal to Chiang personally. Xue had been appointed to command the 9th military region in 1937 and had personally appointed the majority of his officers, and operated with little to no oversight by the Nationalist government in Chongqing. Faced with wartime problems of recruitment and logistical support Xue had also appointed trusted military officers to ostensibly civilian administrative positions within his war zone.

During the summer of 1944, Japan's Ichi-Go offensive cut into Xue Yue's 9th War Zone and directly threatened the American bases in the area. Xue had come to a tacit understanding with General Chennault and received token material and air support when

[288] Joseph Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers* (New York, Sloane and Associates, 1948), p. 190.

needed in return for protecting the bases. During Ichi-Go, Chennault officially requested that Xue be supplied with American arms and equipment, but his requests were denied by Stilwell. Chennault repeated his requests after Wedemeyer had assumed command, but the result was the same. All American military support would go through the Nationalist government in Chongqing.[289]

In the spring of 1945, as American arms and personnel flooded into China, several American officers, who felt that Nationalist corruption, slow progress in training programs and a lack of political will by Chiang Kai-shek were hindering the war effort, again argued to supply Xue Ye directly. In a Top Secret memorandum an Army observer team recommended that Xue be provided with American liaison teams, that weapons be air lifted to his forces, and that medical support be established in his units. The clear feeling expressed in the report was that Xue was a likeminded, patriotic young officer, eager to fight the Japanese, but had been poorly supported by Chiang. The report stated, "I am convinced that Hsieh Yoh [Xue Yue] is eager to undertake limited objective attacks to the south or west, provided he is furnished with the means.[290]

In contrast with many American reports, which highlighted Nationalist corruption and military passivity, Xue was presented in a highly favorable light. The report stated that, "According to all Americans who have served with him, Gen. Hsieh Yoh [Xue Yue] as a competent, tactically sound, energetic Commander. He is aggressive, progressive and sold on American methods of training."[291]

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[289] "Message: Chennault to Wedemeyer," 15 February 1945, NARA, RG 493, Box 1.
[290] Memorandum for Record: Capabilities of the Ninth War Area, 11 July 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[291] *Ibid*.

These reports went unanswered by American headquarters in China and no significant liaison teams, instructors or weapons transfers took place. The proposal to support local forces cut against the cultural and political norms of the successive American commanders in the region, who likely perceived military leaders such as Xue, who even if nominally Nationalist forces, as legacies of China's warlord past. The political costs of supporting local forces would likely have also made supporting Xue the prelude to a major loss of influence with Chiang Kai-shek.

Sun Liren: Rise to Fame

In December 1941, after the destruction of the American fleet in Pearl Harbor the Japanese moved against Dutch and British possessions in Indonesia, Malaysia and ultimately Burma. Japanese goals in Burma were initially confined to occupying the vital port of Rangoon where Chinese supplies were landed and stored before transport by rail to Lashio and ultimately by truck over the border to Kunming. After a relatively easy occupation of Rangoon, the weakness of Allied forces in Burma and further Japanese reinforcements allowed for a Japanese drive northwards into central Burma.

To stop the Japanese offensive, which threatened to cut off China's last overland supply route, three Chinese armies and three independent divisions, a total force of roughly 100,000 men were dispatched into northern Burma in February 1942, to aid the British defense. The severe manpower problems confronting China after four years of war and the quick pace of the Japanese advance meant that the Chinese Expeditionary Force in Burma (*Zhongguo yuanzhengjun* 中國遠徵軍) contained a random assortment of Chinese divisions. A last minute addition to the Expeditionary Force was the recently

created 38th Division, which was formed by grouping all of the anti-smuggling forces into one unit with command given to Sun Liren.

The 38th Division had been one of the last Chinese units to enter Burma and its initial deployment was near the vital transportation junction and oil producing region of Yenangyaung. On 16 April a force of 7,000 British soldiers and a large numbers of civilian refugees were cut off in Yenangyang after the Japanese seized the roads to the north and south. British appeals for the nearby 38th Division to attack and open a line of retreat were denied by the Commander of the Chinese Expeditionary Army Luo Zhuoying (羅卓英) due to a lack of artillery. Sun Liren took personal command of one regiment and attacked the Japanese position with the support of a British armored brigade.[292] By 19 April the relief column reached the British forces, evacuated them north and sabotaged the oil refineries.

The battle at Yenangyaung was one of the few bright spots in an overall disastrous Allied campaign in Burma. In the Chinese press, the victory was hailed as a great victory (*ren an guang dajie* 仁安羌大捷) and Sun was hailed as a hero. Sun's tactical performance, willingness to interpret his orders without relying on a superior officers counsel and close coordination with the British were all favorably received among allied commanders. During the chaotic Allied retreat into India, British General William Slim interacted frequently with Sun and shared the high praise of the American officers. Slim wrote of Sun, "He was alert, energetic, and direct. Later I found him a good tactician, cool in action, very aggressively minded, and, in my dealings with him,

[292] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi. 2004), pp. 87-89.

completely straightforward. In addition, he had a great advantage that he spoke good English with a slight American accent, having, as he rightly proud to tell, been educated at the Virginia Military Institute. The Institute could be proud of Sun; he would have been a good commander in any army."[293] Based largely on Slim's account of the battle of Yenangyaung, Sun was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (CBE) by King George VI.

Sun's battlefield performance was an isolated success in an overall failure by the Allies to contain the Japanese offensives during the spring of 1942. By late April, Allied forces were retreating into India, losing much of their equipment and suffering heavy losses due to inadequate food, disease and Japanese attacks. Sun argued that because of more difficult terrain, lack of logistical support, and poor road networks along the Burma-China border, it would be better to withdraw along with the main body of allied personnel into India, rather than withdraw back to China's Yunnan province. In spite of clear opposition to the plan by the senior Chinese General, Du Yuming (杜聿明), Sun and two other division commanders led their forces into India where they re-grouped and were supplied by British and American support units. The majority of the twelve division Chinese force attempted to return to China but was decimated by inadequate supplies, hostile tribes along the border and continual Japanese attacks, leading to the deaths of an estimated 50,000 Chinese troops.

The Chinese forces that had made it to India in late May and early June 1942 were re-designated the Chinese Army in India (CAI, *zhuyinjun* 駐印軍) and assigned to

[293] William Slim, *Defeat into Victory* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc. 1961), p. 47.

Ramgarh for re-training and re-equipping. The Ramgarh training center was run by American personnel, with funding provided by the British. Most of the classes consisted of basic solider skills, leaving little for Chinese officers to do. British General Willaim Slim remarked that for the Chinese commanders leaving the training to the Americans was a tremendous loss of prestige or "face." Slim noted that, "Sun, I think, especially felt this, but when I advised him to make the best of it and reap the benefit later, he was too sensible not to agree."[294] During the training period, Sun remained the commander of the 38th Division. Then following the removal of Luo Zhuoying from overall command of the CAI due to his refusal to allow for a direct distribution of pay to his men, a move that would have eliminated his ability to skim a percentage for himself, Sun was designated the senior Chinese officer in India and reported directly to American General Joseph Stilwell.

Sun and his troops spent over a year in Ramgarh training with a complete set of American equipment, integrating replacement troops, and developing an integrated Sino-American command structure with American advisors and technical troops attached to Chinese units. By October 1943, Sun was in command of 30,000 Chinese troops and had been able to select, train and mentor a force of over 2,500 officers.[295] The overall strategic plan for an offensive in Burma called for Sun to drive south from India, down the Hukawng Valley to reach the important road junction at Myitkyina. In spite of the extensive training and close coordination between Chinese and American forces the offensive, which started on 30 October 1943, produced no breakthrough of Japanese

[294] William Slim, *Defeat into Victory* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc. 1961), p. 119.
[295] Romanus, *Stilwell's Command Problems,* p. 32.

lines. The mountainous terrain, poor artillery support, and tough Japanese resistance slowed the advance to a crawl. American commanders were critical of Sun's performance and perceived his slow maneuvering to be overly cautious.[296]

As the campaign progressed from the fall of 1943 into the spring of 1944, a pattern emerged with Sun's Chinese forces moving forward to engage and fix the Japanese in their defenses while American light infantry forces moved through the jungle to flank the Japanese positions and cut their supply lines. Sun's maneuvers were slow and deliberative, with American artillery and close air support used in conjunction with Chinese ground attacks. By early June, Sun's 38th Division and was advancing on Myitkyina, but the Japanese had withdrawn behind World War One style trenches and prepared positions, which Chinese frontal assaults provided unable to overcome. A two month blockade of the Japanese positions, American artillery and heavy bombing eventually degraded the Japanese force and the town was taken on 3 August but almost 1,000 Chinese were killed and 3,000 wounded in the victory.[297]

The heavy losses suffered by the 38th Division in the Myitkyina campaign required most of their infantry units to be moved back to India for recovery and reintegration. Replacement personnel were flown in from China but the lengthy retraining process required for raw Chinese recruits meant the 38th Division was largely inactive from mid-1944 through the end of the war. Sun was promoted to deputy commander of the New 1st Army, a formation that was organized around the New 38th Division but

[296] *Ibid*., p. 48.
[297] *Ibid*., p. 253.

included follow-on units that had flown from China to India to be trained at Ramgarh during the long Myitkyina campaign and were now combat ready.

In the fall of 1944, Sun was the primary Chinese ground force commander in North Burma, coordinating the drive south from Myitkyina to open a land route into China. Most of the fighting was conducted by the New Sixth Army under Liao Yaoxiang (廖耀湘). A major responsibility was coordinating American and CAI efforts with a Chinese offensive from Yunnan moving southwest. Commanded by Wei Lihuang (衛立煌), this new Chinese Expeditionary Army had received some training and new equipment from American advisors. With a marked superiority in manpower, air support, and artillery, the combined Allied forces slowly drove the Japanese south until, eventually, the two fronts met at Hsipaw on 21 January 1945 with the first truck convoy reaching Kunming on 4 February.

Sun's position and prestige was not affected by the contentious recall of General Stilwell on 19 October 1944. Sun had benefitted from Stilwell's removal of Luo Zhuoying as the senior Chinese commander in India, but had never been closely identified with Stilwell due to a reluctance on Sun's part to attack as aggressively as Stilwell wanted during the Mytikina campaign. Nevertheless, one day after his recall, Stilwell wrote a glowing farewell to Sun that both noted his work over the past two years but while encouraging him to complete the transformation of the Chinese Army. Stilwell wrote, "You have amply demonstrated the bravery and ability of the Chinese Army, and I am very proud to have had a small part in it…You have laid the foundation for a new and

efficient national force, and with this example, China can go on and build up an Army that will make her free and strong."[298]

[298] "General Joseph Stillwell to General Sun Liren," 20 October 1944, NARA, Microfilm M1419, Reel 5; Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 305.

Chapter Four:

A National "Chinese" Army, 1945-1949

The abrupt end to the World War Two was a surprise and relief to Chinese and American military officers but it also disrupted the planned development of the Chinese Army into a mobile, firepower-oriented force. During the 1945-1949 period, the Sino-American military partnership continued to influence the development of Chinese military identity but to a much lesser extent than during the 1942-1945 period.

Within the GMD army, military officers struggled to adapt to a new political climate that led to the development of the Republic of China Constitution of 1947, which stipulated that the GMD Army would become a national "Chinese Army." From 1945-1949, Chinese military officers in key cultural nodes such as educational centers and military journals strongly pushed the idea of a professional military focused on inter-state conflict based on mobile warfare. This program was only indirectly supported by United States military efforts, which stalled due to State Department pressure, highlighting the high degree of active agency among military officers. The military identity developed by Chinese officers during this period also displays concern to adopt global military norms, develop a Chinese military comparable to other world powers and present a professional, apolitical image to the Chinese public. These inclinations are indicative of normative isomorphism, and show that a desire for social, international, and professional status was a primary motivator of officer behavior.

The State Department and a Stalled Sino-American Military Partnership

In August 1845, the basic framework of Operation CARBONADO, which called for a force of American-trained Chinese "Alpha" divisions to attack and open a seaport in Southern China was still being worked out when Japan surrendered. The U.S. response to the Japanese surrender was the immediate suspension of all training, liaison and advising activities in China. A Presidential Directive dated 11 August 1945 specifically, "precludes any assistance except that required to support the reoccupation mission, and therefore does away with any program which, as a program, is designed only to strengthen the Chinese Army."[299] Driven by the political imperative to bring American forces home as quickly as possible only American logistics and supply efforts continued to function. Throughout the 1945-1949 period, the effective model of military assistance and advising developed by American and Chinese officers was systematically neglected in favor of political strategies advocated from the U.S. State Department. Although this slow process of bureaucratic maneuvering limited American military support to China during 1945-1949, the eventual consensus decision to create a military advisory group focused on introducing American equipment and training techniques became the template for numerous Cold War partnerships.

Two weeks after the Japanese surrender, the American Ambassador to China, Patrick Hurley, notified the President Truman that he had been officially requested by Chiang Kai-shek to develop plans for a peacetime American Military Advisory board

[299] Memorandum by Brigadier General C. V. R. Schuyler, of the Department of the Army, to the Under Secretary of the Army (Draper), 1 November 1947, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. 7, China, pp. 905.

with General Wedemeyer specifically requested as the head of the mission.[300] The proposed mission would encompass air, ground and naval forces in the areas of unit training, logistical support, organizational reforms and military education for the Chinese military over a period of five years. Hurley was enthusiastic about the proposal which was the realization of wartime plans, "The Generalissimo states categorically that he desires to adopt American equipment, tactics, techniques as well as organization throughout Chinese Army."[301] Chinese initiatives by both Chiang Kai-shek in Chongqing and by T.V. Soong, the Chinese Ambassador in Washington sought a massive U.S. presence in China with the assignment of thousands of American advisor officers and equipment for over 100 divisions. From the Chinese perspective, getting American agreement for a sustained advising and equipment transfers would tie the United States government closely to the Nationalist position, with obvious political benefits for Chiang. The initial Chinese request asked for a staggering 120 divisions worth of arms and equipment, in addition to a sizable air force.[302] Moreover, Chiang requested active duty American Generals be assigned as Chief of Staff to the three proposed post-war military regions, a necessary move in terms of integrating American logistical support but which would have made American military officers complicit in Nationalist military operations.[303]

The dramatic collapse of the Japanese Empire and the abrupt halt of American support for the Chinese army left a large gap in the training program of the Chinese

[300] The Ambassador in China (Hurley) to the Secretary of State, 1 September 1945, *FRUS, China,* vol 7, China, 1945, p. 546.
[301] *Ibid*., p. 547.
[302] "Message, U.S. Forces China Command," 21 August 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[303] "Message, COMGENCHINA to WARCOS," 11 August 1945, NARA, RG 493.

Army, with different units at varying degrees of completion. Chinese and American military officers in China were strongly supportive of a continued Sino-American military relationship until the Alpha plan objective of training thirty-nine divisions was completed. In early September, messages from U.S. Headquarters in China argued that, "it is our belief that Americans should participate as strongly as possible in assisting the Chinese [military] effort…stated bluntly we are today on the ground floor and should not lose existing favorable opportunity to insure full American participation…other countries have already made overtures to the Chinese government in this connection."[304] The desire of American military officers to continue that partnership was shared by Chinese officers who had formed a strongly favorable impression of American organizational abilities and military structure. One Chinese General remarked, "We saw the American system win the war…Any system which won the war must be a good system."[305]

By early October, 1945, the broad outlines of the advisory group were being formed, to consist of American officers stationed at Chinese military schools and within Chinese units. The proposed mission of the group was to form "a well-trained and well equipped Chinese national (non-political) army,…"[306] This repeated emphasis on creating a non-political army and restricting the American role to a purely training capacity at military schools with no liaison officer system was strongly influenced by the State Department, which felt that an overt presence by American military advisors would threaten U.S.-U.S.S.R relations. Moreover, the State Department was concerned that, "In

[304] "Message, WARCOS", 3 September 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[305] "China to Get U.S. Mission to Reorganize Her Armies," *New York Times*, 3 November 1945.
[306] "Report by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee," 22 October 1945, NARA, RG 493, Box 20.

granting any military assistance to China we should therefore exercise care to give no basis for a suspicion that we are creating a de facto colonial army in China under our official aegis."[307]

Although the War Department was advised of State Department concerns the plan it presented for the Advisory Group was very large in scope, including over 1,000 officers and almost 3,000 enlisted men.[308] The War Department plan entailed not only a robust Chinese Army school system with Americans directly teaching classes but also a liaison system of appointing Americans to headquarters units in the field.[309] Although this structure had been developed during the war and had proven an effective model, ongoing clashes between Nationalist and Communist Chinese forces in the fall of 1945 meant that assigning Americans to field forces raised the potential of involving Americans in combat operations of a Chinese civil war.

The State Department response to the proposed military mission was direct and highly critical, attacking the military conception of the proposed Advisory Group and calling into question its background assumptions about supporting Chiang's Nationalist government. John Carter Vincent wrote,

> It has been made clear to China on many occasions that we do not intend that military assistance and advice shall be used in support of an administration not in conformity with the general policies of the United States, or in support of fratricidal warfare, or as a threat of aggression. We should have reasonable assurances that an Advisory Group of the size and character proposed would in fact encourage the development of a unified and democratic China… if the [Advisory] Group serves simply to encourage Chiang to seek a settlement of his difficulties by means of force

[307] "Report by the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, Appendix B," 22 October 1945, *FRUS: China,* vol 7, 1945, p. 589.
[308] Report by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Annex to Appendix, 22 October 1945, *FRUS: China*, vol 7, 1945, p. 594.
[309] *Ibid*., p. 595.

> and if maintenance of unity in China were to become dependent upon American military assistance in the form of material and advice, we would find ourselves in an unenviable, and perhaps untenable, position.[310]

Vincent's position was strongly supported by Secretary of State Byrnes, who argued that the large-scale War Department proposal, "might be construed as a projection of U.S. military power onto the Asiatic continent rather than simply aid to China in modernizing its Army."[311]

The State Department position in favor of a "light footprint" U.S. military presence in China won the bureaucratic battle in Washington, and in December 1945 a new directive was sent to Wedemeyer, (who remained the Commanding General of the China Theater), which neglected to mention any training or advisory effort. Instead, the directive stated that the priority of the U.S. military forces in China was relocation of Japanese nationals back to the Japanese Islands.[312] In early February 1946, the War Department withdrew its plan for a 4,500 plus personnel Advisory Group and proposed a stripped-down initial authorization of only 750 Army personnel.[313] Furthermore the mission statement given to the advisory group was extremely constrained, focusing on international obligations for peaceful military development rather than assistance with specific Chinese military needs. The bland official mission statement of the advisory

[310] Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (Vincent) to the Secretary of State, 12 November 1945, *FRUS: China*, vol 7, 1945, p. 617.
[311] Memorandum by the Secretary of State to the State Department Member on the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee (Dunn), 5 January 1946, *FRUS: China*, vol 10, 1946, p. 811.
[312] The Joint Chiefs of Staff to the Commanding General, United States Forces, China Theater (Wedemeyer), 14 December 1945 in *FRUS: China*, vol 7, 1945, p. 699.
[313] Memorandum of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, 13 February 1946, *FRUS: China*, vol 10, 1946, pp. 817-820.

group stated they were to "assist and advise the Chinese Government in the development of modern armed forces for the fulfillment of those obligations which may devolve upon China under her international agreements, including the United Nations Organization, for the establishment of adequate control over the liberated areas in China, including Manchuria and Formosa, and for the maintenance of internal peace and security."[314]

While the American foreign policy bureaucracy had been haggling over the organizational structure of the American advisory group, the Chinese had re-located and expanded the military training centers established by the American Army during 1943-1945. The Chinese school network was an exact copy of the American officer training system with branch schools at the junior office grades, command and staff training at the field grade level and specialized courses in strategy for general officers. Junior officer education received the greatest share of Chinese attention and a comprehensive network of branch qualification schools were established, including: infantry, field artillery, cavalry, quartermaster, signal, engineer and adjutant general.[315] These branch officer training centers were based on American course schedules, training activities and equipment, and in many cases the training manuals were direct translations of American materials. Compared to the wartime training programs these schools were massively increased in size. The infantry school supported 500 officers at one time, military police 200 and artillery 120 etc. In total, the officer branch school program was capable of

[314] The Chief of the Army Advisory Group in China (Lucas) to the Ambassador in China (Stuart), 28 June 1947, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1947* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. 7, China, p. 860.
[315] "Message: From COMGEN China to Warcos," 16 April 1946, NARA, RG 493, Box 1.

producing over 1200 trained officers every six months.[316] Nonetheless, only in May 1946, nine months after the Japanese surrender did the first group of peacetime American advisers begin their assignments in China and to assist the Chinese military education program.[317]

By the summer of 1947, the small size and restricted mission of the Military Advisory Group continued to lag behind U.S. Army objectives and real-world requirements. The War Department's acquiescence to State Department framework in 1945 had suggested that the 750 personnel were only an initial personnel strength, allowing for a future increase. But over eighteen months after the mission was established there had been no increase in adviser strength. General Lucas, Chief of the Army Mission in Nanjing wrote about the organizational limitations of the group,

> …the core of the problem-the actual modernized training of the combat echelons; the development of adequate administrative, technical, and logistic service in all echelons, and the elevation of the common soldier from the status of a feudal serf to that of a self-respecting and efficiently trained fighting citizen-remains to date untouched. No effective steps in this direction can be taken until the restrictions as to personnel and equipment necessary for training, can be removed. Without the removal of these restrictions, further effort on our part can hope to achieve only rapidly diminishing results.[318]

In addition to the small size and limited influence of the military advisory mission, lingering problems of low morale and high levels of alcoholism continued to hinder efforts. In a scathing critique of the Army advisors the *Chicago Tribune* described

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[316] Message, COMGEN China, 16 April 1946, NARA, RG 493.
[317] Message, COMGEN China, 7 May 1946, NARA, RG 493.
[318] The Chief of the Army Advisory Group in China (Lucas) to the Ambassador in China (Stuart), 28 June 1947, *Foreign Relations of the United States, China,* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol 7, 1947, p. 861.

daily behavior as "going through the motions at the office and hurrying off to the officers' club where they drown their sorrows at the bar."[319] Prostitution remained a problem, with women frequently reported to be staying overnight in Army barracks. A high level of misbehavior by military personnel led to the imposition of an 11PM curfew in the China for all U.S. forces in China.[320]

Only after a significantly deteriorated political relationship between the U.S. and U.S.S.R., and the loss of significant Nationalist military forces in Manchuria, did the War Department's continued advocacy of a stronger American presence in China lead to a reshaping and redefinition of the U.S. military mission. The Joint U.S. Military Advisory Group (JUSMAG) directive of 17 September 1948, was a direct rejection of the "light footprint" military policy and political neutrality that the United States had attempted to maintain from 1945-1948.[321] The first priority for refining of the American military role was better integration of the divided American advisory efforts from separate Army, Air Force and Navy missions into a unified JUSMAG structure under the command of a general officer. Second, the 1948 JUSMAG directive specifically focused on maintaining control over all areas of China, openly acknowledging that a civil war existed in China and that the U.S. desired a Nationalist victory. Lastly, the JUSMAG directive called for furnishing direct logistical assistance to the Chinese Army, entailing American participation in supply efforts.[322]

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[319] Donald Starr, "U.S. Army Group Advising China Called Failure," *Chicago Daily Tribune*. 14 June 1948.
[320] General Order 22, Chinese Combat Command, 25 October 1945, NARA, RG 493.
[321]Establishment and Organization of JUSMAGCHINA, 1 November 1948, NARA, RG 334.
[322] Memorandum by the Chief of the Division of Chinese Affairs (Sprouse) to the Director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (Butterworth), 15 June 1948, in *Foreign*

The renewed military to military contact provided by the creation of the JUSMAG was overtaken by events as the Chinese Nationalist Army suffered a series of battlefield defeats in 1948 and 1949. Civilian factors such as weak Chinese political leadership, rampant inflation and a desire for land reform in the countryside have all been used to explain the underlying cause for the success of the Communist Revolution in China but the battlefield defeat of the Nationalist Army by Communist forces is the most proximate cause of the power transition in 1949.[323]

Sun Liren, 1945-1949, Frustration and Failure

With the end of major combat operations in Northern Burma, Sun and the Chinese Army in India (CAI) redeployed as a strategic reserve force in southern China and India. During the period from March through August 1945, Americans took the lead in further re-training new personnel in preparation for a planned drive towards the Chinese coast in the fall of 1945 leaving Sun Liren with no significant duties. To broaden his military skills, make connections with Allied officers, and as part of the American public relations effort to promote China as one of the big four allied powers, Sun went on an extensive tours of the European theater in the spring of 1945. Sun visited Allied combat units and reviewed recent operations in Europe, had discussions with General Eisenhower, and toured German arms factories and advanced weapons programs.[324]

Relations of the United States, 1948 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), vol. 8, China, pp. 257-259.

[323] See: Eastman. *Seeds of Destruction: Nationalist China in War and Revolution, 1937-1949*; Suzanne Pepper. *Civil War in China: The Political Struggle, 1945-1949* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1999); Odd Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[324] Chinese Army India-Burma Campaign. http://cbi-theater-1.home.comcast.net/~cbi-theater-1/cai/genSun.html, accessed 5 November 2012.

Sun did not return to a troop command after his European tour but undertook a wide variety of military diplomatic missions, primarily with the United States. While in the United States, Sun took the politically hazardous decision to visit General Joseph Stilwell, who was still viewed hostility by Chiang Kai-shek, at his home in Monterrey California. In a long conversation, which was reported in major newspapers, Sun presented himself as a devout student of the now ailing Stilwell, which was a direct challenge to the narrative presented by Chiang Kai-shek that Stilwell was an arrogant, isolated leader.[325] The political implications of this overt critique of Chiang's decision likely played a part in the failure of Sun to be re-assigned to a unit commanding Chinese troops. The next major task for Sun was his appointment to the Joint Military Staff Committee of the United Nations Security Council which met in London on 1 February 1946.[326] Designed to give military advice to members of the Security Council, Sun was part of an international staff of senior military officers.[327] With the increasing break-down of international cooperation due to the incipient Cold War, the Military Staff Committee never fulfilled its intended role of coordinating military policies and peacekeeping operations, but it further delayed Sun's return to China.

Sun remained in London or New York through the spring of 1946 and was only recalled to China in late April because of increasingly heavy fighting between Nationalist and Communist units in Manchuria. After Japan's surrender in August 1945, the majority of the American-trained units such as the CAI and Chinese Expeditionary Army (Y

[325] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi, 2004), p. 224.
[326] United Nations, Military Staff Committee Resolution 1 (1946), 25 January 1946.
[327] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi, 2004), p. 223.

Force) were in South China, and spent the following months moving into areas south of the Yangzi River. Beginning in November 1945, Chiang ordered the elite American trained units into Manchuria to forestall the entrenchment of a Chinese Communist government in the economically vital region.

In May 1946, Sun was appointed the deputy commander of the Northeast Region.[328] More specifically he was given command of the New 1st Army, which was charged with driving the CCP out of the Siping area. Liao Yaoxiang (廖耀湘), Sun's wartime partner in India was assigned to command the nearby New 6th Army. Less fortunately for Sun, Du Yuming, a more orthodox GMD general, whom he had disobeyed in the 1942 battle of Yenangyaung, was appointed the senior commander in Manchuria. By the time Sun reached the battlefield in late May 1946, the major GMD offensive to re-take Siping was essentially over and main military task for GMD forces was garrison duty in the major cities of the Northeast.

Between May 1946 and May 1947, the military situation in Manchuria was largely static with Communist forces regrouping around Harbin and in the countryside. Meanwhile, the ill-fated American peace negotiation led by George Marshall and internal GMD political conflict curbed the scope for new operations.[329] In late May 1946 Sun visited Nanjing for a series of conferences, political meetings and visits with the press. In

[328] Shen Jingyong, *Zhongguo jungui: Sun Liren jiangjun fengshan lianjun shilu* [China's Warrior: Sun Liren at Fengshan Training Center] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1993), p. vi.

[329] See: Ernest R May, The Truman Administration and China, 1945-1949 (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1975); Larry Bland (ed), *George C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945-January 1947* (Lexington: George C Marshall Foundation, 1998); William Stueck, *The Wedemeyer Mission: American Politics and Foreign Policy During the Cold War* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1984).

a rambling interview, a clearly frustrated and angry Sun severely criticized the GMD course of action in Manchuria:

> Question: Deputy Commander Sun, what are your accomplishments in your position?
>
> Sun: (Dismissively) What have I done? What have I done well?
>
> Question: How do you see the situation in Siping? Will you be able to resolve the situation? What do you think of a new report that will come out on the situation in two days?
>
> Sun: The overall situation in Siping, uh I'm not totally clear on it, I'm a military commander but no one asks my opinion. The main problem isn't losing control of the countryside, the problem is people with no military experience making military decisions. This is not just about Siping, the whole Northeast is being lost because of them.
>
> Question: How can this situation be turned around.
>
> Sun: In the Northeast the situation is pretty bad, in Siping we really only have one route in and out but Du Yuming doesn't want to do anything about it! Du sits in Changchun and Jilin with all the troops when we could be planning to strike the undefended city of Harbin. The end result is that even though the Siping situation could be settled, Du doesn't have the guts to do it.
>
> Question: If Changchun and Jilin were lost would you be surprised?
>
> Sun: This kind of question shows that you and Du Yuming think alike, but you are a reporter so its natural, Du Yuming is just a defeatist who is afraid of his own shadow so he wastes every good opportunity…
>
> …
>
> Question: General Sun, why haven't you proposed a plan to attack Harbin to General Du, perhaps he would accept it.
>
> Sun: Du lacks the guts to do anything. I just don't believe in him. Let me give you an example, on the north bank of the Songhua River I left a small force of three hundred men as a beachhead protecting a vital bridge but when Lin Biao launched an attack elseware, Du asked me to redeploy the 300 men to other areas but I refused. If we are going to win in the northeast we are going to have to take Harbin and this bridge was vital…."[330]

[330] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi, 2004), pp. 265-268.

Shortly after the disastrous interview, which made public the deep rooted differences in personality and professional opinion between Du and Sun, Sun was transferred to the Army training command.[331] The move was widely perceived as a demotion and the transfer removed Sun from the troops that had served with him since Burma. Chinese and foreign media reported the news as a great blow to GMD chances for military victory in the Northeast. The American Herald Tribune reported that,

> The New 1st Army is the cornerstone of the Chinese military forces in the northeast, which is the most politically crucial part of China. Several weeks ago, General Sun Liren was removed from command and his position assumed by his superior Du Yuming. His [Sun's] new position lacks any real power, the conventional wisdom is that his reassignment is the result of continuing friction between Sun and Du. It has been said that Du has long been envious of the reputation of the New 1st Army…According to the opinions of American military observers the effect of Sun's removal will be immense. The observers noted that that this situation has strongly lowered the morale of the New 1st Army which has always been strongly linked to General Sun.[332]

Sun as Army Builder in Taiwan

Sun's new assignment also relocated him far from the northeast area, which saw large combat operations in the summer of 1947, to the relative backwater of Taiwan. Sun assumed command of the Taiwan Training Command in July 1947, and began to establish a network of army training centers clustered around the southern end of Taiwan. Sun's decision to devote his time and energy to military training in Taiwan, appeared to be a mistake in mid-1947, but by 1949 as GMD forces fled to the island, Sun's control

[331] Shen Jingyong, *Zhongguo jungui: Sun Liren jiangjun fengshan lianjun shilu* [China's Warrior: Sun Liren at Fengshan Training Center] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju, 1993), p. vii.
[332] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), pp. 455-456.

over the only remaining effective GMD military force made him the de facto head of the army, and after 1950 the Commander in Chief of all ROC armed forces.

Shortly after Sun Liren's de facto demotion in May 1947, he used his authority to create a military education and training system in Taiwan. Sun arrived in Taiwan on 23 July 1947 with authority to develop training facilities only for enlisted personnel but after personal lobbying of Chiang Kai-shek, Sun was granted authority to establish a small officer training center.[333] With this grudging approval, Sun developed a comprehensive system of officer education, training and development centered on the city of Fengshan, near the city of Gaoxiong.[334]

Sun attracted nearly four hundred young officers, many with overseas education and combat experience with the New 1st Army in World War Two to serve as instructors in Taiwan, including Sun's deputy Gu Youhui (贾幼慧), a Stanford graduate. Many of the officers who moved to Taiwan had received training at American military schools in China during the war or in the United States.[335] During the 1947-1955 period, these several hundred officers were able to complete the transformation of the ROC Army into a thoroughly American-style force.

In contrast to most of the Chinese military schools operating during the 1945-1949 period, Sun's school system had an extremely strenuous program of instruction.

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[333] Guojun shiliao yeshu, *Lujun junguan xuexiao di su junguan xunlianban guansheng fangwen jilu* (Taipei: guofangbu shi zhengbian yishi, 2003), p. 2; Wang Liben, "Taiwan junshi diwei weisheng-Sun Liren Fengshan zhengjun yu guningtou zhanshe," Zhonghua junshi xuehui 14 (September 2009), p. 369.

[334] Zheng Jieguang, "Zhonghua minguo zhi zhengshi, fei zhengshi junshi jiaoyu-yi sun liren zhuchi zhi zhengshi junshi jiaoyu wei zhuzhou," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan* (October 2006), p. 97.

[335] Guojun shiliao yeshu, *Lujun junguan xuexiao di su junguan xunlianban guansheng fangwen jilu* (Taipei: guofangbu shi zhengbian yishi, 2003), p. 6.

Training days normally lasted for twelve hours or more with lengthy field training exercises several times a year. A particular emphasis of Sun's training was physical fitness and all personnel began the day with American-style calisthenics, followed by a 5,000 meter run, often up one of the surrounding hills.[336] Being isolated from effective control by ROC military headquarters in Nanjing, political instruction was discontinued and no class hours were devoted to political or "moral" instruction.[337]

Between November 1947 and July 1951, when the independent Taiwan army training program was merged into the larger ROC training system a total of over 450,000 personnel were instructed by Sun's training command.[338] Sun's creation of a stand-alone army training facility, staffed by pro-American officers implementing a depoliticized training program, represented the fruition of the Sino-American army-building ideals first developed in 1942. While this program did not represent the entirety of the ROC military it provided a firm organizational foundation for growth after the 1949 retreat to Taiwan and dramatically increased Sun's military importance. In combination with ideas of scientific warfare developed in military journals, Sun's training program shows that American norms had been fully embraced by ROC military officers who pursued reforms during a period without extensive American involvement.

The Idea of a Chinese Army

[336] *Ibid*., p. 34.
[337] Wang Liben, "Taiwan junshi diwei weisheng-Sun Liren Fengshan zhengjun yu guningtou zhanshe," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui* 14 (September 2009), pp. 371-372.
[338] Chu Hongyuan, "Taiwan xinjun de yaolan: Fengshan di su junguan xunlian ban," *Zhongyang yanjiu yuan zhongshan renwen shehui kexue yanjiu suo zhuanshu* 31 (November 1993), pp. 443-447, 454.

The end of China's eight-year war with Japan initiated a prolonged phase of intellectual debate and discussion among Chinese military officers on the role, missions and organization of the future Chinese Army. Within the Chinese officer corps, the idea of an army based on loyalty to the nation, a professional military organization insulated from political debates, and a normative belief in restricting military operations to "core" tasks had gained widespread support. This is most clearly shown by examining the military journals and writing from the 1945-1949 period.

In professions, journals are a core element of the professionalization process in that they promote a sense of shared identity, which is both continually reinforced by regular intellectual contact from the "top-down" through research centers or noteworthy members, but also from the "bottom-up" through member participation. Professional journals are part of the pedagogical process by reinforcing many of the values and skills developed in formal training schools, and also providing additional education in newly developed techniques, ideas, procedures that help support professions jurisdictional and normative claims as a "learning" occupation. Lastly, journals provide feedback from professional members working in the field, and institutional members in training centers or research positions. This feedback process benefits the profession by allowing its institutional apparatus to refine the focus of its efforts and procedures.

Within a military, journals are especially important because they provide a unique space for semi-public debate in an otherwise hierarchical work environment. In China, a key element of this space was the ability for all ranks of officers to read and contribute articles for publication. In the late 1940's it was common for low ranking junior officers to have articles published alongside senior generals and field commanders, with rapidly

changing technology often making the most recently commissioned officers the most alert to the challenges and opportunities of new equipment and techniques. Chinese military journals almost never identified the rank and position of individual writers, and while some were well-known soldiers or prominent intellectuals, many were unknown junior officers. Military journals also offered a space for substantial criticism of military and civilian personnel, institutions and policies through attacks on their "ideas." Analysis and commentary in Chinese military journals sometimes included direct and brutal criticism, many using episodes of military history to allude to contemporary folly, a characteristic that was impossible in other public spaces without dismissal of the officer involved.

From a low point in the early 1940's, Chinese military journals increased in quality and scope throughout the remainder of the decade. The increase in quality had several inter-related reasons. First, the start of truly global military operations after the German invasion of Russia in the summer of 1941 and the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor in December 1941 meant that China was now part of a global alliance, requiring some understanding of the international military situation by Chinese officers. Second, the pace of military change accelerated throughout World War Two with the poorly equipped armies of 1939, reliant on horse drawn transport and light tanks, evolving into large scale mechanized formations operating with integrated air and naval support. While Chinese units still were primarily infantry based, even in 1945, the experiences of other nations provided a wide range of experiences for study and analysis. Third, the inclusion of China as one of the 'Big Four' Allied powers might have been an empty gesture in 1942, but Chinese officers believed, and were supported in their belief by American

officers, that in a post-war world China would be a major power with security interests throughout Asia. Lastly, the massive American presence in China from 1942-1945 included the development of vastly expanded and increasingly centralized officer training centers, which served as the ideal sites for the production of military journals. American and Chinese officers assigned to these schools as instructors developed military journals as a way to prepare future students prior to arrival, reinforce lessons learned in training, and increase the esprit de corps and collective identity among the officer corps.

In August 1945, the War College began to publish an official journal, *Xiandai Junshi* (modern military affairs 現代軍事) with articles on a wide variety of international and Chinese military developments. Under American influence, the War College had been comprehensively restructured in late 1944 and early 1945. The War College had initially been located in Beijing to serve as a national institute of high level military education, but during the 1930's it had relocated to Nanjing and lost its distinctive identity and became one among many GMD military schools in the capital.[339] Drawing on American educational patterns, in late 1944 the Chinese Army shifted its military educational structure towards a unified system of officer training in centralized facilities. The War College mission was re-focused during the 1942-1944 period into a tertiary educational facility which took mid-career Chinese officers, gave them training in advanced staff techniques, and returned them to their units.

The reshaping of the War College was codified in the War College Education Act (*lujun daxue zuzhifa* 陸軍大學校組織法) which removed many of the basic military

[339] Meng Guanghan, *Minguo shiqi de lujun da xue* (Jiangsu: Di er lishi dong an guan, 1994), pp. 16-21.

training requirements such as marching drill or rifle marksmanship, and streamlined the school bureaucracy around academic studies rather than tactical issues. Departments of translation, military history and international affairs were also added to the school organization. The overall size of the school was also increased with student numbers during the late 1940's averaging over 140 officers per class, which was a significant increase from the low point of only 60 per class during the period of neglect prior to World War Two.[340]

In addition to organizational changes, personnel changes increased the intellectual rigor and international connections of the War College. General Xu Peigen (徐培根), a Jiangsu native with close ties to Chiang Kai-shek, was appointed as head of the school. Xu's record as a combat soldier was very brief, but he had graduated from the Baoding Academy and the War College when it was still in Beijing before studying at the elite Kriegsacademie in Berlin before the war. After 1941, Xu had served as a member of the Chinese military mission to Washington D.C. Xu was a prolific writer and during the period from 1945-1949 produced several books in addition to numerous articles.

The broad reforms undertaken to turn the War College from a teaching institution to a graduate level research center were clearly reflected in the production of the premier Chinese military journal of the early twentieth century, *Xiandai Junshi*. Beginning in July 1945, *Xiandai Junshi* would function as the China's most articulate and comprehensive military journal. During its brief publication history from July 1945 through August 1948

340 http://www.hudong.com/wiki/%E9%99%86%E5%86%9B%E5%A4%A7%E5%AD%A6 , accessed on 12 September 2012.

it included a wide range of articles by senior generals, young commanders with field operations experience, foreign military analysts and Chinese military theorists.

The clear impression gleaned from close reading and interpretation of *Xiandai Junshi* is that mainstream Chinese military officers believed that scientific and technological progress had fundamentally altered the character of military operations by 1945, and that China needed a highly skilled, standing national army. The purpose of this highly skilled national army was strongly implied to be either a large-scale land conflict with the Soviet Union in the near-term, three to five years, or an integrated land-sea-air conflict with a resurgent Japan in the long-term, fifteen to twenty years in the future. Almost totally lacking from professional military discussions are immediate military requirements involved in fighting the Communists or GMD policies.

The inaugural issue of *Xiandai Junshi*, written in the last days of the war against Japan, exhibits an emphasis on technology and firepower. General Xu Peigen wrote in the first issue introduction, "Modern military education has undergone great progress and is changing everyday. From World War One until our current great struggle, a little over twenty years time, military technology has rapidly advanced, strategy and tactics have changed tremendously."[341]

During its brief publication history, several key themes were consistent topics of discussion and debate. The most salient topic was the role of the United States in the world, its connections with China and its function as a military model on which to base Chinese military reforms. During the 1945-1948 period, Chinese officers published a wide variety of articles detailing U.S. officer training programs, many of which Chinese

[341] Xu Peigen, *Xiandai Junshi* 1 (1945), p. 2.

participated in, and organizational reforms, such as the integration of the U.S. Army and Navy into the Department of Defense in 1947. Related to discussion of the United States was the prominent role of the atomic bomb in Chinese military thinking. The atomic bomb was regarded as the most direct manifestation of "scientific" warfare, which was felt to be characteristic of the age. Related to both the United States and the atomic bomb was the concept of tactical and strategic mobility, which similarly interested Chinese military intellectuals.

United States

As China's major strategic partner, and with the experience of a close wartime working relationship, the United States was the subject of frequent discussion and reporting in *Xiandai Junshi*. Chinese military officers had a very favorable impression of the United States. The United States had been able to mobilize, train, equip and deploy a massive number of troops thousands of miles from its shores. Chinese officers were amazed at the ability of the U.S. forces to deploy against both European and Pacific theaters while maintaining overall strategic coordination. Chinese statistical analysis of the U.S. forces highlighted that almost fifty percent of U.S. personnel were assigned to logistical or support units, with a further fifteen percent assigned to the Air Force, leaving only thirty-four percent of the total U.S. Army strength in ground combat units.[342] The United States was seen as an unrivalled "scientific" power after the defeat of Germany. Although the Soviet Union might have had a larger ground army, U.S. skills in radar, aviation, naval construction, etc., where seen as barometers of military power. In

[342] Zhou Quji, "Meiguo lujun dimian budui zhi zuzhi yu xunlian," *Xiandai Junshi 4* (1947), p. 44.

addition, during the later stages of World War Two, thousands of Chinese officers had studied at American military facilities such as West Point, Ft. Leavenworth's Command and General Staff College, and many of the officer branch schools. Lastly, Chinese officers viewed the United States' model as a much better fit for China's cultural and social environment than Soviet or British models.

Like many Chinese officers, Xu Peigen was a strong supporter of a close Sino-American alliance and he wrote frequently in *Xiandai Junshui* and elsewhere on the "special relationship." His affinity for the United States was broad, with recognition of scientific accomplishments, effective political structures, and integrated air-ground-naval capabilities being prominently discussed. Xu was a prolific writer and two of his books from the 1940's dealt with U.S. defense policy. One book examined economic mobilization and economic warfare, while the seond dealt with the impact of the atomic bomb on military tactics and strategy. *American Economic Mobilization and Economic Warfare* (*meiguo jingji dongyuan jiqi jingji douzheng* 美國經濟動員及其經濟戰鬥力) was published in 1945, and *The Effect of the Atomic Bomb on Chinese Military Affairs* (*yuanzidan duiyu junshi zhi yingxiang* 原子彈對於軍事之影響) was published in 1946.

Bai Chongxi (白崇禧), one of the GMD's most senior generals, was a frequent contributor to *Xiandai Junshi* and, from 1946-1949, China's Minister of National Defense. Bai wrote knowledgably about the advantages of the U.S. political system, "The United States has a population of 170 million, and has a great leader in Franklin Roosevelt…before WWI they had an army of less than 200,000 men but increased it to 4 million during wartime, before this war they had an army of only 1 million but within a

short time after the outbreak of war had over 11 million in the armed forces."[343] Bai elaborated that the stability of the U.S. political system allowed for a high degree of unity among the population that made it easy to have a large percentage of the population potentially in uniform without significant political opposition.

The U.S. military education system was almost universally praised by Chinese officers, many of whom had studied in the United States at both civilian and military schools. Bai Chongxi commented, "As to the question of the [Chinese] military education system, at present most of the army's equipment is American, the military education and training system need to adopt American methods."[344] A common type of article detailed Chinese officers experiences at U.S. schools and provided a detailed examination of the school organization and methods. Two aspects that Chinese observers admired in U.S. military schools was the intra-school competitions for academic performance, which helped inculcate a competitive spirit, and the regular rotation of instructors between command and academic posts, unlike in China where instructors often served their entire careers at military schools.[345] On a more philosophical level, Chinese observers felt basic education for American officers at West Point was successful in inculcating a sense of responsibility and correct behavior in future leaders. Chinese officer Luo Hongyan (羅宏彥) neglected to describe details of the cadet curriculum but made the concept of "Soldier and a Gentleman" (*junren yu junzi* 軍人與君子) a key part of his description.[346]

[343] Bai Chongxi, "Xiandai lujun junshi jiaoyu zhi qushi," *Xiandai Junshi* 5 (1945), p. 4.
[344] Bai Chongxi, "Xiandai lujun junshi jiaoyu zhi qushi," *Xiandai Junshi* 5 (1945), p. 5.
[345] Gan Yi, "yi jiu su san nian zhi meiguo canmou daxue," *Xiandai Junshi* 4 (1945), p 96.
[346] Luo Hongyan, "Xi dian junxiao canguanji" *Xiandai Junshi 6* (1945), pp. 88-89.

The fundamental problem for Chinese officers was adapting elements that they liked about the United States military model and making it work in a Chinese environment which had significantly fewer material and human resources. For example, officer training in the U.S. model, with short term officers trained in ROTC programs at civilian universities, could not be adapted to China because of vastly fewer universities.[347]

In stark contrast to China's relationship with the United States, which was close, broad based and revolved around a wide range of Chinese interests, Chinese officers views of the Soviet Union were quite harsh. While there was some respect shown towards the USSR as a shared partner in World War Two, there were deep suspicions of Soviet geo-political motives. In the early years of *Xiandai Junshi* one of main points of discussion regarding the Soviets was their continual desire for territorial expansion. In a translated article segment drawn from the work of historian R.J. Sontag, the Soviet Union was compared directly to Imperial Russia, with the assessment made that the methods and principles of Soviet and Russian warfare and diplomacy seem remarkably similar in spite of differing ideologies.[348]

Atomic Bombs and Scientific Warfare

The theme most commonly expressed throughout the 1945-1948 period was that modern warfare was "scientific." *Xiandai Junshi* articles consistently repeated the mantra that modern warfare would be decided by science and the skills of officers in managing the application of firepower from airplanes, tanks and artillery. Although the meaning

[347] Jia Yibin, "Lun Yubeiganbu zhidu," *Xiandai Junshi* 5 (1947), p. 23.
[348] *Xiandai Junshi* 9 (1946), p. 41-43.

and emphasis on what exactly "scientific" meant was vague, the clear impression conveyed was that an emphasis on firepower, technology and cold-blooded management was now more important than martial spirit.

Bai Chongxi spoke of science as one of the trends of the time, "The modern era is characterized by science, modern warfare is scientific warfare, the entire military has become automated. Today we understand that we must use the most modern equipment and the most modern tactics, in a period where technology changes daily we must always be on our guard."[349] Fan Chengyuan agreed that, "The modern era has passed through steam power to electric and now to atomic science, warfare has become dominated by artillery and the tank, on the ground and in the air we have advanced into the era of radar and atomic bomb centered scientific warfare."[350]

One of the strongest supporters of a highly professional army was former Army War College head Yang Jie (杨杰), who along with Jiang Baili, Xu Peigen and Zhu De in the PLA was one of the preeminent military intellectuals of twentieth century China.[351] In a 1947 article, Yang strongly argued that future wars would be decided by three factors: 1. scientific abilities, 2. mass production of sophisticated military equipment, 3. high levels of mobility. Yang argued that since 1914, military science had triumphed over individual bravery, "Modern warfare is scientific warfare. This modern age is the age of science and that has been shown in its application in the military…Now that the second

[349] Bai Chongxi, *Xiandai Junshi 5* (1945), p. 3
[350] Fan Chengyuan, "Lun Xiandai junshi jiaoyu yingyou zhi gaijin," *Xiandai Junshi* 7 (1947), p. 10.
[351] Yang De, "Lun Yangjie de guofang sixiang," *Junshi lishi yanjiu (2012)*, p. 43.

world war is over some people say that a third world war is impossible, I say it is possible."[352]

The atomic bomb and its effect on warfare was a major element of Xu Peigen's work in particular and *Xiandai Junshi* in general. Xu wrote in *Xiandai Junshi* during 1946, "Army weapons have already entered the atomic age, in the future victory or defeat will be determined by atomic bombs and the ability to produce atomic material in quantity…"[353] In Xu's conception, atomic firepower would shape the battlefield, but forward thinking and planning, such as a shift to armored forces, which are both more mobile and sheltered from blast effects would be a useful reform.

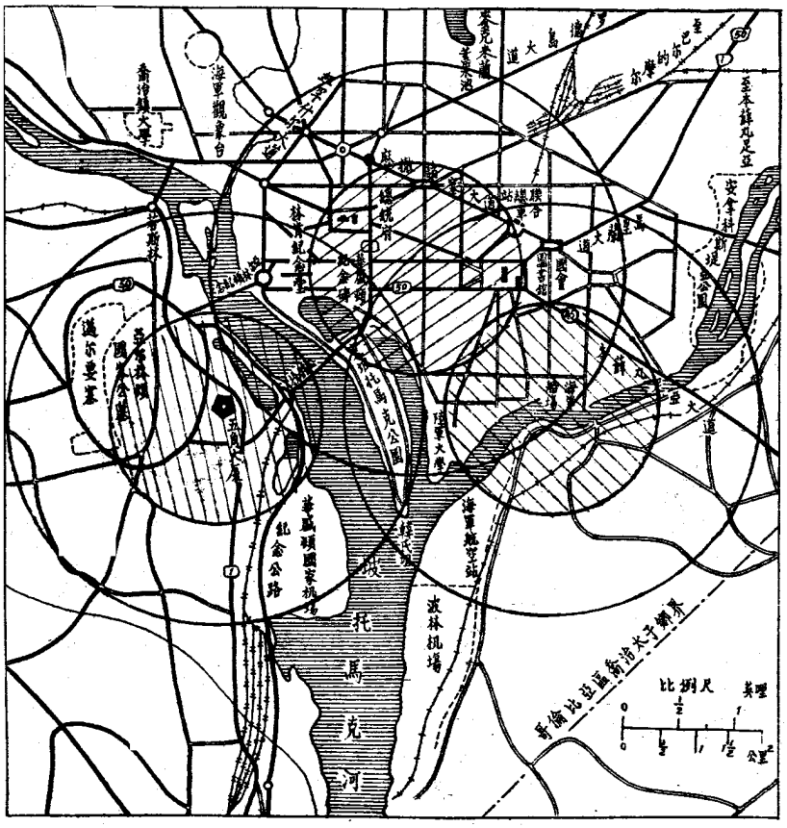
Many Chinese military intellectuals felt that the atomic bomb was both symbolic of profound shifts in warfare towards scientific methods of fighting but also a potentially useful weapon if used on the battlefield. In 1947, a special issue of *Xiandai Junshi* focused exclusively on the role of atomic bombs in warfare, drawing from a wide range of foreign commentary and Chinese analysis of future atomic warfare.[354]

In addition to its battlefield use, Chinese officers worried about defending cities from an atomic bombing campaign. One 1947 article used American projections of an atomic bombing on Washington D.C., with detonations centered on the Pentagon, Washington Naval Yard, and the Mall as evidence of the atomic threat. At the time the article, was published the Soviet Union was still two years away from developing their

[352] Yang Jie, "Jianshe xiandai guofang yingyou de renshi," *Xiandai Junshi 6* (1947), pp. 1-2.
[353] Xu Peigen, *Xiandai Junshi* 9 (1946), p. 11.
[354] *Xiandai Junshi* 7 (1947).

own atomic bomb and had no viable delivery system. Moreover, at this time Mao Zedong was living in a cave in the northwest China.

Diagram of Atomic Bomb Attack (Three Bombs) on Washington D.C.



[355]

The Chinese obsession with atomic bombs completely transcended any semblance of near-term military utility. For example, in 1947 *Xiandai Junshi* published two articles that detailed the American atomic bombs tests at Bikini Atoll (Operation Crossroads). Two articles offered a straightforward and insightful analysis of the testing, but failed to see the contradiction between the purpose of the American tests, to evaluate the effects of

[355] Daheng B. Pike, "Huachengdun neng fangyu yuanzibaodan zhi gongjihu," *Xiandai Junshi* 11 (1947), p. 27.

atomic bombs detonated underwater on naval ships, and any conceivable relevance to Chinese strategic or tactical conditions.[356]

The Chinese military obsession with technology and the most advanced military equipment approached the surreal. An article in early 1948 focused on defense procedures of major cities and cruise and ballistic missiles based on the experience of London's attack from V-1 and V-2 rockets.[357] Another 1948 article stated matter of factly that "future warfare will be push button warfare, atomic warfare, we should not dwell on the military lessons of WWI but look at the recent lessons of WWII."[358]

Mobility

In addition to a strong affinity for the Unites States and belief in a military paradigm shift towards "scientific" warfare, *Xiandai Junshi* articles frequently discussed military history and re-occurring challenges for Chinese forces. A primary discursive thread running through the military history articles was the importance of mobility.

In mid-1946, a major article by Major General Lu Fengge (盧鳳閣), head of the history department at the War College, analyzed the experiences of successive Chinese dynasties in defending the northern frontier and what lessons could be drawn for the future. After examining over ten individual dynasties and their frontier policies, Lu argued that strategic and tactical mobility was crucial in securing border areas. Lu found that dynasties such as the Han and Tang had been more successful in defending themselves because they had a more highly developed cavalry force, which could engage

[356] Zhou Quji, "Yuanzidan shuizhong baofa chengli zhi shiyan," *Xiandai Junshi* 7 (1947), pp. 30-37; Liu Fuling, "Bijini dao yuanzi dan, shiyan de wenda," *Xiandai Junshi* 7 (1947), pp. 28-29.
[357] Li Tianduan, "Feidan jiqi fangheng," *Xiandai Junshi* 1 (1948), p. 48.
[358] Zheng Naihou, "Ruhe baozhang woguo anquan," *Xiandai Junshi* 2 (1948), p. 13.

invading groups on their own terms while more defensive postures, such as those employed by the Song, only led to eventual defeat.[359] In a thinly veiled critique of the United Nations, Lu alluded to the short-sighted Song dynasty diplomatic policy of using money, gifts or flattery (*zhong wen qing shi* 重文輕武) while neglecting the development of military power.[360]

Almost immediately after the Japanese surrender, Chinese officers began discussing future conflicts and future military requirements. General You Fengchi (遊鳳池) argued that the lesson of World War Two was the dominant role played by motorized and armored warfare. General You calculated that a force of forty regular infantry divisions, ten armored divisions, ten motorized divisions and ten cavalry divisions would be sufficient to defend Chinese borders. This proposed military structure would have been forced to rely on external, i.e. American, support for the majority of the tanks, trucks, and artillery equipment. The structure of the force also pointed to Manchuria as the most likely area of future conflict and the Soviet Union as the most likely future antagonist.[361]

The most obvious and frequently discussed example of the effects on mobility in modern warfare was the German invasion of France in 1940 and the success of *Blitzkrieg* warfare to accomplish in six weeks what Germany could not achieve in four years during World War One. Xu Peigen wrote of these changes, "as global communications and transportation rapidly develop the world is becoming a smaller and smaller place, we

[359] Lu Fengge, "You lishi guancha wuguo jundui jidongxing daxiao yu guolian longti zhi guanxi," *Xiandai Junshi* 10-12 (1946), pp. 9-25.
[360] *Ibid.*
[361] You Fengchi, "Ruhe shishi guofang junshi jianshe," *Xiandai Junshi* 5 (1945), pp. 7-9.

cannot cling to conservative habits but should embrace the new world…For example, France won the last victory of WWI under the leadership of General Gamelin [commander of French forces in 1940], but they clung to old victories, ignoring new thinking and failing to evolve and adapt."[362] The negative example of the French collapse in the spring of 1940 was also used to suggest that officers should be careful that civilians would unwisely step into military affairs with firm opposition. Fu Chaojie, writing in 1947 argued that France had poor strategy pushed on it by a weak government, not a weak military, "In 1934 the French High Command came out with a new plan, *The Army of the Future*, which advocated establishing a mechanized force of 100,000 men, in order to better defend the country but this was voted down by the legislature."[363]

Chinese Communist Party (CCP)

With the benefit of hindsight, the most glaring omission from *Xiandai Junshi* is the almost complete lack of discussion about the contemporary difficulties of contain the Chinese Communist movement or operations against the People's Liberation Army (PLA). In spite of over a dozen articles which deal with the role of the atomic bomb in future warfare, an entire special issue on the role of naval forces in history, or discussion of the opportunities presented by jet propelled aircraft, there is only one article which deals with the CCP. In spite of the brevity of discussion the sole article presents a highly nuanced and proactive approach to defeating the CCP through an integrated doctrine of counter insurgency.

[362] Xu Peigen, "Mingri zhi zhanzheng" *Xiandai Junshi* 1 (1948), p. 11.
[363] Fu Chaojie, "Benxiao di ershiyi qi sanshi wu niandu qiuweiyanxi zagan," *Xiandai Junshi* 1 (1947), p. 36.

Published in the fall of 1948, "How to Eliminate Communist Bandits," (*ruhe jiaojian gongfei* 如何剿滅共匪) is a brief, almost terse analysis of the core issues of dealing with an insurgency and proscribes a short list of methods for dealing with the problem. The writer, Ye Du (葉渡), did not publish other articles and was not a high ranking official. The detailed descriptions of low level concerns suggests that he had experience in northeast China in a military position.

Ye's primary argument regarding the civil conflict is that the CCP thrives in situations of disorder. In areas with a weak government, poor economic conditions and a socially segmented population the CCP will exploit opportunities to entrench itself. The behavior of the CCP is presented as opportunistic, with CCP efforts directed to areas of persistent weakness rather than a policy of direct confrontation. Based on this assessment, Ye believes that an integrated political, economic and military response will be necessary to both eliminate the pre-conditions for CCP success and destroy CCP organizations already in place.

The majority of Ye's recommendations for ending the CCP's growth were related to political and economic development. The most important political factor determining CCP success is the political climate of law and order. Ye contends that "We must recognize that the CCP thrives in areas with social disorder and poverty; they swim in this chaos like a fish in the sea."[364] Ye's proscription for dealing with political chaos was increasing the stability of social order by encouraging the formation of local groups and providing government assistance to community efforts. In a similar vein of thinking, Ye

[364] Ye Du, "Ruhe jiaojian gongfei," *Xiandai Junshi* 7 (1948), p. 30.

argues that unless the army is able to protect commerce and industry from attacks on transportation, economic development will stall, further fueling popular dissatisfaction.

Ye's proposals for the Chinese military are a radical oppositional view of the dominant military school of thought concerning role the Chinese Army should play in society, how it should be structured and where is should place its mission priorities. In a brutal five point critique of contemporary standards and procedures, Ye attacks the Chinese Army as neglecting personnel at the expense of hi-tech new equipment. Points one and two both focus on the debilitative effect of poor financial support on officers and soldiers of the Army. Ye argues that the rapid inflation occurring in China during the late 1940's was having a large and adverse effect on soldiers performance. Third, the Army was neglecting the issue of morale and had been unable to articulate a clear military-political vision of why it was fighting and what it was fighting for. Ye writes, "We must attach greater importance to political work and increase our intelligence efforts, at the present time our forces are highly centralized, with difficult living conditions and our soldiers are often homesick [low morale], at the same time our understanding of the role of ideology in this conflict is lacking, and when we got into an enemy area or clear an enemy village our military-political efforts are disjointed and often ineffective,…"[365] Fourth, the major area of military involvement should be at the local level, working is villages, towns and districts in a hybrid military/political role.

The most radical of Ye's points, number five, argues that the Army should promote the development of local self-defense organizations which often serve to fulfill valuable roles in organizing local youth and leadership for mutual benefit. Ye writes, "All

[365]*Ibid.*, p. 33.

weapons in a district should be collected for the creation of local self-defense forces, relying on regular army units is not appropriate for small groups of bandits,…"[366] Ye argues that encouragement of local self-defense forces will increase security against CCP forces, encourage the identification of local residents, especially young men, with the government, and free up regular army units for offensive operations. This point is directly opposite to the highly centralized vision of a national Army expounded in other articles and in a country recovering from an era of local warlords was likely viewed skeptically by officers eager to make the Army the sole military institution.

Chinese Officers at American Schools

In addition to military journals, Chinese officers also used foreign military education opportunities to develop new ideas about military structures and strategies. During the 1945-1950 period, several dozen Chinese officers attended American military schools such as the Armor School at Ft. Knox or the Command and General Staff College in Ft. Leavenworth, Kansas. In these schools, Chinese officers were expected to produce, like their American classmates, written research papers on a topic of their choosing. Chinese exchange officers ranged from junior lieutenants to senior colonels and although their English language ability varied, their written work shows a high degree of understanding of global military affairs and military history.

The selection of topics and the proposed solutions to military problems exhibited in the school papers exactly mirrors the thinking expressed in military journals. The two dominant themes developed by the Chinese military exchange students were first and foremost a need for increased professional competence among Chinese military personnel

[366] *Ibid.*, p. 34.

and secondly, increased centralization of military organization in order to promote specialization.[367] One student summarized the failure of Chinese logistics in the war against Japan, "if we confine our comment purely to the logistical professional point of view, I would admit that our logistical effort was a failure, because it was inefficiently managed, loosely knitted and uneconomically organized and operated to meet our military requirements."[368]

In another similarity to military journal mentalities, Chinese officers presented the post-1946 reorganization of the Chinese government and army to be the most important defense reform since the fall of the Qing dynasty. Lt. Colonel Huang wrote that regarding the Chinese defense structure,

> The establishment of the Ministry of National Defense and consequently the unification of the armed forces is probably the major military reform of post war China,…the establishment of the Ministry of National defense was based on four important policies:
> (A) That military affairs should be subjected to the control of politics, and the Ministry of National Defense should be under the jurisdiction of the Executive Yuan.
> (B) That the control of the armed forces should be returned to the national as a whole. As soon as the constitutional government is formed, the armed forces will no longer be considered as a Party instrument.
> (C) That the command of the armed forces should be unified.

[367] See for example works produced by Chinese officers at U.S. schools from 1945-1949: Wu Shih-weh, "History, Organization and Operation of the Armored School and Chinese Military Academy," Military Monograph, Advanced Officers Class #1, The Armored School, Ft. Knox, 25 February 1947; C.S. Chang, "Logistical Service of Chinese Army in the Last War," Monograph of Analytical Study, Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, 1947; Peng Chen-Kai, "Proposals for Improvement of the Chinese Army Supply System," Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, 24 May 1949; Y.K. Yang, "The Supply Service of the Chinese Army," Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, 1 November 1948.

[368] Huang Chan-Kuei, "The Logistical Organization of the Chinese Army," Analytical Study, Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, 12 November 1947, pp. 9.

(D) That the new system should be able to meet the requirements both of peace and war time.[369]

During the period from 1945-1949, Chinese military journals and professional writings show a clear preference for an organizational model based on a highly professional, technically focused and organizationally insulated military. The interests of Chinese officers in atomic weapons, mobile warfare and firepower appears radically at odds with the reality of an impoverished country riven by internal conflict. This contradiction between military ideals and Chinese reality highlights the insularity of Chinese military officers and their professional objectives being pursued in spite of the real-world consequences.

The Trickle-Down of Ideas

Although *Xiandai Junshi* was a very elite journal and the number of Chinese officers who studied in the United States, while significant, never approached ten percent of total officer strength, the ideas of firepower, mobile and technologically advanced warfare did trickle down into the army.

In complete symmetry with *Xiandai Junshi*, the mainstream military newsmagazine, Zhongguo junren zhou kan, (*Chinese soldier weekly* 中國軍人周刊), lauded U.S. military and technological forces as the primary victor of the world war. In cold calculations of troop strength, analysis of firepower and the important ability to logistically support expeditionary forces, the weekly magazine agreed with the *Xiandai*

[369] Huang Chan-Kuei, "The Logistical Organization of the Chinese Army," Analytical Study, Command and General Staff College, Ft. Leavenworth, 12 November 1947, pp. 12.

Junshi that a new era of technologically determined warfare had arrived.[370] A subsequent article makes the connection between technology and warfare even more explicit. It stated, "Science is unceasingly advancing, weapons are being refined everyday, what worked in the past will not work in the present, its not that we should change our strategies, it's a fact that we cannot change because warfare has already moved on."[371]

Another similarity to *Xiandai Junshi* was the disproportionate emphasis Chinese officers placed on aircraft and atomic bombs, both weapons systems which were tremendously expensive and of dubious utility in the Chinese setting of 1945-1949. A 1946 article in *Zhongguo Junren* (Chinese soldier) describes in glowing terms the combination of American technological advances in radar, atomic bombs and long-range aircraft, specifically the B-36, all of which enabled highly destructive and accurate, inter-continental bombing.[372]

During the 1945-1949 period, the dominance of ideas of scientific warfare found a healthy environment to grow in part due to the absence of a strong political officer system. The lack of political interference was a product of a complex civil-military discussion between 1945-1947 and the creation of a "national army" idea in China.

Political Officers in Retreat

By the end of the war with Japan in August 1945, the Political Department could take credit for training and placing over 20,000 political officers with the GMD army, thereby contributing to the defeat of Japan by improving the morale and cohesion of

[370] "Meiguo de zhanfei bijiao-genju meiguo fangmian de tongji," *Zhongguo junren zhoukan*, 2 February 1946.
[371] Ji, Cheng "Cong zhanzheng bianzhi shuadao guofang jianshe," *Zhongguo junren zhoukan*, 2 March 1947.
[372] "Weilai zhanzheng de yuce," *Zhongguo junren zhoukan*, 9 March 1947.

GMD forces. In reality, at the organizational level, the Political Department was increasingly weakened throughout the course of the war by the massive numbers of poorly trained political officers. It had also never been able to regain administrative control over political officers at the unit level, where many remained isolated by skeptical or hostile military commanders. A key indicator of the poor level of training was the inability of the Political Department to create a centralized school for political officers, where all training could be monitored, students taught the same material, and evaluations would be systematically conducted by the faculty. Instead, political officers were trained at ten different programs attached to either civilian or military schools, with ad hoc "training detachments" conducting five week courses whenever needs were particularly acute. Training was also conducted through correspondence courses.[373] The result of this chaotic system of piece-meal organization and shoddy training was a complete lack of organizational standards, shared norms or feeling of group identity.

In addition to training problems, during the 1937-1945 period the content of GMD party and political work also became increasingly devoid of meaning and significance. The tentative United Front between the GMD and CCP meant that explicit demands for GMD unity was submerged beneath broader patriotic themes in propaganda and recruiting. Relocation of the primary political education schools from the cosmopolitan region around Nanjing to undeveloped interior provinces also destroyed the ability of the GMD to inculcate new leaders in high quality education institutions, and

[373] Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), pp. 147-148; Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 845.

hindering the teaching and training staff from developing new materials. The demands of conducting military operations also reduced the amount of time senior GMD leaders could devote to political education and training. The result of this degradation of the intellectual foundations of the GMD military's political structure was a steady erosion in the applicability and sophistication of political officer material.

Less than two years into the war, GMD journals devoted to the political indoctrination of military members had become intellectually barren. A typically inane article from 1939 reads, "The military's implementation of political training is in order to receive the [GMD] Party's training, receive Party ideas, and to allow every soldier to believe…"[374] No mention is made as to what exactly to believe in. At no time does the article express what types of content are applicable to the wartime situation or how it might differ from concepts developed during the Nanjing decade. Rather than Sun- Yat-sen'ism or the tenants of Chiang's New Life Movement, wartime political discussion used the bland phrase *faith in belief* (*xinyang zhuyi* 信仰注意), without any development of exactly what soldiers should have faith or believe in.[375] Instead, a bland focus on the form of political training but a complete lack of function is evidenced. Political instruction still called for the forms of small group discussion and formal teaching by political officers but no material was provided for political officers to use in lectures or classes. This situation continued throughout the war, with even the highest levels of the

[374] "Jundui dangbu de shiming," *Jundang yu zhenghu*, no 1, Tebie dang bu, Zhengzhi xunlian chu

[375] "Gaijin zhengxun gongzuo de jiben yaowu," *Jundang yu zhenghu*, no 5, Tebie dang bu, Zhengzhi xunlian chu.

GMD lacking any clear understanding of what types of content and messages the Political Department should employ.[376]

The one concrete benefit to the political officer system to emerge from World War Two was the creation of a dedicated supply system under American guidance. This complete system of acquisition and distribution eliminated the need for political officers to assist in the logistics of their units, which had been a major drain on their time and often created difficulties with local communities.[377]

During the closing days of the war and into the post-war period, the Political Department came under increasing criticism from the Chinese public and American military advisors. In May 1945, Chiang Kai-shek attempted to assuage public feeling and prepare for a post-war "national army" by publicly calling for the removal of all GMD organizations from the military.[378] Besides an attempt to curry popular support, Chiang appears to have been genuinely concerned that political officers remained a dangerous distraction for military commanders and cited the old Chinese saying "Power unified is strong, power divided is weak" (*quan chuyu yi zhe qiang, chu yu er zhe ruo* 權出於一者強， 出於二者弱).[379]

Army Nationalization

The sudden end of World War Two, occurred before a unified GMD-CCP-U.S. military strategy could be created in China. American efforts to develop rudimentary

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[376] Junshi weiyuan hui, *Gao jin ge junshi xuexiao zhengxun gongzuo jihua* (Chongqing: Zhengzhi bu, 1943).
[377] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 432.
[378] Ministry of Information, *The China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 52
[379] Wang Qisheng, "Wuzhu wencong beijing xia de duozhong bianzou: zhanshi guomindang jundui de zhenggong yu dangwu," *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu* (2007:4), p. 72.

cooperation between GMD and CCP forces remained restricted to high level contacts between visiting delegations with little institutionalized military connections. Between August 1945 and March 1946, a variety of political forces including U.S. diplomatic pressure, Chinese political leaders and public opinion worked in concert to pursue an agenda of military "nationalization" (*jundui guojiahua* 軍隊國家化). The effect of this six month process was to create a public consensus around the creation of a Chinese Army, conceptualized as a small elite force, separate from civilian administration and oriented towards combat along China's northern border. The desire for an elite Army was most directly manifested in plans to cut the military strength of the Chinese army from over four million to 800,000. The desire for a professional, national military rather than hybrid party-army authority was highlighted in legalistic discussions over militia versus army responsibilities. Moreover, the negotiations clearly directed the Chinese Army into an offensive force posture with the majority of forces positioned along China's northern border with the Soviet Union.

At its most basic level, the Chinese military nationalization debate was derived from two core political concepts. First, Chinese military forces need to be centrally organized, funded and controlled by a civilian ministry of the national government. Second, military forces should operate only through a civilian chain of command that functioned within the Executive Yuan of the government, not within a political party structure. Affecting both of these core ideas was the more practical issue of military organization. By 1945, the organizational baggage of over twenty years of CCP-GMD conflict, United Front efforts, and wartime initiatives had left a trail of frequent departmental re-organizations, as well as the creation of new offices and myriad

"coordination" groups. Many of these offices had overlapping fields of authority, conflicting missions and mixed civilian/military functions. Albert Wedemeyer identified over sixty independent sections reporting to the National Military Council that had duplicated functions with unclear statutory authority.[380] A fundamental re-shaping of the organizational chart of Chinese military system was seen as the only way to achieve the goal of centralization of authority and civilian control.

A major player in Chinese military reforms was the United States, specifically in the personal role of George Marshall. In November 1945, President Truman ordered General Marshall to China as his special representative to assist in the "unification of China by peaceful, democratic methods" and to limit the possibility that the U.S. or USSR would be drawn into an internal Chinese conflict.[381] While in China, Marshall developed a diplomatic strategy of mutual engagement between the CCP and GMD that he hoped would develop into political competition within a government rather than military conflict between two party structures. A key component of this strategy was to comingle GMD and CCP forces under the control of the civilian leadership of the government Executive Yuan. Between December 1945 and March 1946, Marshall attempted to broker a framework of military reorganization and Chinese leaders "to develop a nationalized, non-political armed force."[382]

Marshall's strategy of military reorganization was based around the ideas of "nationalization" of military force, was echoed by political leaders within China. In

[380] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China*, p. 235.
[381] *Ibid*., p. 238.
[382] *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, ed. Larry I. Bland and Sharon Ritenour Stevens (Lexington: George Marshall Foundation, 1981), Document #5-341.

January 1946, a Political Consultative Conference (PCC) met with representatives from the GMD, the CCP and many smaller Chinese political parties in attendance. Advocacy of military nationalization was a prominent component of many of the smaller political parties that operated in the shadow of the massive GMD and CCP organizations. Military nationalization was also a politically useful strategy for small parties because it was a "wedge issue," which denigrated military CCP-GMD methods. Also, because the two large parties would likely veto their counterparts appointment into the senior position in a Ministry of Defense, it was also possible for a minor party official to become a senior government minister as the compromise candidate. In January 1946, the Youth Party and the Democratic League, co-sponsored a statement calling for an end to internal conflict, the reduction of Chinese military forces and the nationalization of all Party controlled military forces into a national army organization.[383] On 10 January 1946, the PCC approved the formation of a military subcommittee to consist of representatives of the GMD, CCP and the United States.[384]

To provide guidance to the military representatives, the PCC adopted a detailed resolution of principles. The first point was brutally direct, "The Army belongs to the state."[385] To achieve this goal, the PCC resolution outlined several more concrete steps that the military subcommittee would have to organize: first, the separation of party systems from military systems; second, the separation of civilian and military authority

[383] *Shenbao*, 17 January 1946; Zhang Shiying, "Kang zhan shengli hou guomin zhengfu jundui guojiahua de nuli," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan* 1: 5 (December 1999), p. 199.
[384] *Shenbao*, 12 January 1946; *United States Relations with China* (Washington D.C.: Department of State, 1949), pp. 138.
[385] Ministry of Information, *The China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 745.

with military officers expressly forbidden from holding office as a civil official in any capacity; and third, the desired end goal of a military drawdown to a force of fifty to sixty divisions.[386]

The PCC tasked a military subcommittee, to be composed of representatives of the two major parties, GMD and CCP, with General Marshall as Chairman, to work out the details of a comprehensive military reform. The GMD representative General Zhang Zhizhong, was a well-respected military leader, but one who had spent more time behind a desk than in command positions. The CCP was represented by Zhou Enlai, technically also a general but with negligible military experience and training.

The guidance provided by the PCC was a useful starting point for discussions, but during the six weeks of intensive talks, three areas of concern were most salient and occupied the majority of the discussion. First, the size of the proposed national army needed to be established in detail, with troop strengths, the ratio of GMD to CCP personnel and the timing of troop reductions worked out in detail. Second, the duties of the national army versus other branches of the national and local government needed to be firmly fixed and agreed upon. Marshall was extremely careful that neither side could "hide" military personnel under the title of para-military or police forces. Lastly, the three representatives needed to establish where the Chinese Army was going to be deployed.

Reduction of the size of military forces had been one of the reoccurring goals of all foreign advisors to the Chinese military, especially the German and American contingents, and was outlined by the PCC as a core element of the reorganization. A reduction in the number of Chinese military personnel was hoped to bring about

[386] *Ibid*., p. 745.

numerous financial, political and military benefits. Financial savings from cutting the government payroll of over two million personnel would allow the saved funding to be used on infrastructure development. Limiting the numbers of soldiers was also perceived to limit the amount of trouble they could cause, and prevent a return to the 1920's era of numerous but decentralized military forces. Lastly, the commitment to a reduction in the number of military personnel was based on the belief that increased emphasis on training, the acquisition of new equipment such as trucks and tanks, and increased professional behavior by officers would create a smaller but more effective fighting force.

Even with small reductions in the strength of GMD and CCP forces after the Japanese surrender, the military strength of both sides was unsupportable in a peacetime environment. In January 1946, U.S. observers estimated a total of 3.1 million military personnel remained in the GMD military, spread across over 250 divisions. This was after reduction of forty-nine divisions, containing five hundred thousand men, between August 1945 and January 1946.[387] CCP forces were estimated to include over 1.2 million personnel, not including extensive CCP militia organizations.

The tentative goal set by the PCC called for a drawdown to a force of fifty to sixty divisions, with ten of these divisions under CCP control. From a baseline of over 300 divisions, this was highly ambitious. American plans during World War Two had foreseen a force of ninety Chinese divisions being eventually created, but American

[387]Memorandum Prepared by the Plans Staff of Lieutenant General Albert C Wedemeyer, 13 January, 1946, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, p. 181.

estimates after the war stated that sixty divisions, if properly trained and equipped, was the limit of China's economic and industrial capacity.[388]

As an incentive for the Chinese to reduce troop numbers, and as part of the continuation of American wartime supply and advisory efforts, a streamlined Chinese Army was planned to be trained by Americans and would use American equipment. General Wedemeyer argued that a strong American commitment to developing Chinese military power would benefit China economically and politically as well as serve U.S. national interests in creating a long-term partnership in East Asia. Wedemeyer bluntly stated that this program would mean the training and equipping of Communist military forces on an equal basis as GMD forces if the training program was to be a viable program.[389]

The second major area of detailed staff work was the restriction of military personnel from contact with civilian administration or police functions. An easy agreement among the three representatives was the banning of military personnel from holding public office, either in the Legislative Yuan or government while on active duty.[390] Much more complicated was the role of Chinese para-military forces. In addition to strictly military forces, China had developed a militia system, organized and led by local leaders and a "Peace Preservation Corps" (*bao an tuan* 保安團), which were professional soldiers operating in a gendermie function. Throughout the discussions, General Zhang consistently attempted to downplay the importance of clearly defining the

[388] Lieutenant General Albert C Wedemeyer to General Marshall, 5 February 1946, FRUS, 1946 (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, pp. 207-209.
[389] *Ibid*..
[390] Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai junshi wenxuan* (Beijing, Renmin chuban she, 1997). p. 52.

militia system and its relationship to the national army but General Marshall especially slowly forced Zhang to define each militia organization, its responsibility and authority.

As early as 25 January, in one of his first meetings with General Marshall, Zhang Zhizhong argued that provincial control over militia forces was a Chinese custom that should be retained. Marshall skeptically believed that "militia" units could be used as a "local army" by both the GMD and CCP in addition to local warlords.[391] In February, Zhou Enlai also expressed concern about the ambiguous status of "military police" and "railroad guards" in China.[392] Unlike the American system of small military police units attached to military commands, Chinese military police units operated mostly in urban areas, often far removed from the frontlines to enforce authority among military personnel. Officially, military police units reported to the central government and in times of emergency could be used by the central government to exert authority, but on a daily basis they were heavily involved in mundane policing, such as providing security at bus and train stations.[393] Marshall agreed with Zhou that the ambiguous nature of military police and their pattern of involvement in civilian law and order needed not only clarification but also restriction of their mission.[394] The railroad guards were even more problematic because they technically fell under the authority of the Ministry of

[391]Minutes of Meeting Between General Marshall and General Chang Chi-chung, 25 January 1946, *FRUS, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, p. 200.
[392] Meng Guanghan, *Zhengzhi xieshang huiyi jishi* (Chongqing: Chongqing chuban she, 1989), p. 1002.
[393]Minutes of Meeting of the Military Sub-Committee of the Three, 18 February 1946, *FRUS, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, p. 249.
[394] Minutes of Meeting Between General Marshall and General Zhou Enlai, 15 February 1946, *FRUS, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, pp. 223-224.

Communications but their large size, eighteen regiments with a total strength of over 75,000 men, and heavy weapons made them a potent military force.[395]

On 16 February 1946, the panelists talked at length on the issue of military police and the Peace Preservation Corps. Both Zhou and Zhang accepted the need for prefecture and provincial administrations to be the sole authority for law and order, including large-scale disorders such as riots. Zhang and Zhou differed on the issue of military police with Zhou maintaining that "in the future, the military police should have nothing to do with civil order and civil affairs."[396] After direct questioning by Marshall and Zhou, Zhang agreed with the principal of limiting militia organizations but no strict, clear framework was confirmed. The effect of Zhang's attempted obfuscation and the resulting discussion was to establish a clear public agreement in favor of a military devoted to combat action but with an undefined and unclear system of provincial level gendarme handling domestic emergencies.

The greatest practical factor facing the military sub-committee was the basing of a streamlined and integrated national army. The PCC had not given any guidance as to the strategic threats facing China, but for GMD and CCP negotiators the location of military bases was a major area of uncertainty and distrust. Both the GMD and CCP sought to have their forces be preponderant in vital military regions of China with their opposition scattered across the country. Moreover, the low level of strategic mobility among Chinese

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[395] George Catlett Marshall, Minutes of Military Subcommittee, 18 February 1946, *Marshall's Mission to China, December 1945-January 1947* (College Park: University Publications of America, 1976), Volume II, Document 5d.
[396] Guo Rugui, *Guo rugui huiyi lu* (Beijing: gongchandang shi chuban she, 2009), p. 131; Minutes of Meeting of the Military Subcommittee of the Three, 16 February 1946, *FRUS, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, p. 244.

divisions, most were infantry that could move only ten miles a day, meant that a Chinese Army needed to be stationed near likely trouble spots. The development of a viable "force posture" the structuring of the military organization to suit potential threats, is revealing of the strategic environment of 1946 and Chinese military leaders view of the world.

At the conclusion of world war two, the majority of GMD forces were deployed in south China, beginning a drive on the Chinese coast while the CCP was primarily based in north China, scattered in dozens of base areas. The scramble to occupy Manchuria in 1945 resulted in a confused mixture of GMD-CCP control, with Soviet administration further complicating matter.

In late February 1946, Zhang, Zhou and Marshall agreed to the division of China into five military regions: Northeast (encompassing the vital Manchurian area), Northwest, Central, North and South China. In each area they fixed a number of divisions for both the GMD and CCP armies with the CCP concentrated in their base area regions. The final plan allocated the overwhelming majority of Chinese forces to the northern border region with six armies to the Northeast, five to the Northwest, and ten to North China. Central China was planned to receive eight armies and South China six.[397] In total, twenty-one out of thirty-five armies were planned to be garrisoned along China's northern border, in spite of severe logistical challenges in the relatively un-developed region.

[397] Minutes of Meeting of the Military Subcommittee of the Three, 21 February 1946, *FRUS, 1946* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972), vol. IX, China, p. 268.

The final agreement worked out between Zhou, Zhang and Marshall was an unambiguous expression of military nationalization. Completed on 25 February 1946, the military reorganization agreement stipulated that all command and control authority would be centralized in the executive branch through a National Military Council with the President as its head.[398] Moreover, the purpose of the Army was also specified; "the primary function of the Army shall be to defend the Republic in time of war. In time of peace the principal function of the Army shall be training."[399]

The plan for the drawdown of Chinese military forces outlined a time period of twelve months in which to reach a target of one hundred and eight divisions. Restrictions on the size of these divisions to less than 14,000 men meant a total force strength of roughly 1.5 million at the conclusion of the program. Of the total one hundred and eight divisions, it was stipulated that eighteen "shall be formed from Communist forces," which allowed for the reassignment of CCP officers as necessary but with enlisted forces left intact.[400] This meant approximately nine GMD divisions for each CCP division, a ratio the GMD felt would be sufficient to prevent the CCP becoming a credible military threat within the reformed army.[401] After the completion of the initial drawdown over a period of twelve months a second phase of defense personnel cuts were planned to reduce

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[398] Meng Guanghan, *Zhengzhi xieshang huiyi jishi* (Chongqing: Chongqing chuban she, 1989), p. 981.
[399] Ministry of Information, *The China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 755; Chin Hsiao-yi (ed), *Zhonghua minguo zhongyao shiliao chubian: dui ri kangzhan shiqi* [Compilation of Important Historical Material: Period of Anti-Japanese War] (Taibei: Zhong yang wen wu gong ying she, 1981), p. 78.
[400] Shenbao, 26 February 1946, pp. 1; Ministry of Information, *The China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 755.
[401] Chin Hsiao-yi (ed), *Zhonghua minguo zhongyao shiliao chubian: dui ri kangzhan shiqi* [Compilation of Important Historical Material: Period of Anti-Japanese War] (Taibei: Zhong yang wen wu gong ying she, 1981), p. 74.

the composite army to a final strength of fifty Nationalist government divisions and ten Communist with a total strength of 840,000 men.[402]

On the contentious issue of using military forces for law and order activities, the final agreement allowed military forces to "quell domestic disorders" only after the certification that local police and the provincial level Peace Preservation Corps was unable to cope with the situation. Usage of military forces following a governor's request would also require approval of the full State Council, encompassing several civilian ministers, rather than the approval of the smaller military council.[403]

Armament for the Peace Preservation Corps was to be restricted to light weapons: pistols, rifles and light machine guns. Peace Preservation Corps units were to be funded, trained and administered at the provincial level.[404] Coordination of high level training for Peace Preservation Corps officers, standardization of equipment and regular coordination with military units were left unclear, a reflection of China's diverse provincial administrations but also because of a lack of specificity reached by the three representatives.

Two days after the Military Subcommittee agreed on the reorganization directive, Zhou, Zhang and Marshall agreed to designate the American Executive Headquarters in Beijing as the primary executor of the program.[405] The headquarters' staff, although an American organization did include Chinese Nationalist and Communist personnel.

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[402] *United States Relations with China* (Washington D.C.: Department of State, 1949), p. 141.
[403] Ministry of Information, *The China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 755.
[404] *Ibid*., p. 757.
[405] *United States Relations with China* (Washington D.C.: Department of State, 1949), pp. 142-143.

Nevertheless, the designation of a foreign government entity as the primary agency to execute the military reforms revealed both of the distrust between the GMD-CCP and the central American role in the process.

Although the program for Chinese army nationalization and depoliticization quickly ran into difficulties after the outbreak of fresh fighting in Manchuria, the public statements of senior GMD and CCP remained on record as the guiding principles. During the discussions, both Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Zedong were kept informed of the specifics being discussed and did not offer objections. By publically lending their approval to the army nationalization program, even if it was a cynical political maneuver, senior Chinese leaders, particularly GMD leaders, gave further impetus to officers who sought a more professional military structure.

As the de facto ruling party of China, the GMD under Chiang Kai-shek sought to reassure the Chinese public that they supported the army nationalization program as part of a larger transition to democracy and civilian administration. In early 1946, Chiang stated that, "The objective of this reorganized army is simple, to change from a militarily dysfunctional force into a powerful army, from an army seen as a shameful disgrace into glorious beacon for the nation."[406] Publicly available GMD military publications were equally gushing in their praise of the new constitutionally structured military. The *Guofang Yuekan* (National defense monthly) hailed the creation of a civilian Ministry of National Defense as "the most important day in China's constitutional development in half a century."[407]

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[406] Zhang Shiying, "Kang zhan shengli hou guomin zhengfu jundui guojiahua de nuli," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan* 1:5 (December 1999), p. 197.
[407] *Guofang yue kan* 1:3 (November 1946), p. 1.

Zhou Enlai emerged as the public face of the CCP in the army nationalization discussion, and made numerous public statements supporting the process of military integration and de-politicization. In a statement for Xinhua, the CCP news service, at the announcement of the final agreement on 25 February, Zhou was gushing in his praise, "We believe that this agreement will change our ways from eighteen years of armed conflict into a new era for China of peace, democracy and unity…"[408]

On an organizational level, the structural changes to China's military system were extensive. Between 1945 and 1947, over 75,000 personnel were eliminated from staff positions within the Ministry of National Defense and all military functions were re-organized into six staff sections.[409] The re-organization program also implemented an American style system of staff offices arranged from G-1 to G-6 responsible for training activities. After the ROC Constitution went into effect on 1 January 1947, the Ministry of National Defense, which began operating in June 1946, took on all authority stipulated by the PCC, including the appointment of a civilian Minister.[410] Although the spirit of the reforms was never fully realized, the integration of GMD and CCP forces never took place, and the force reductions of Chinese military units never occurred, subsequent Chinese military and political leaders did have to work through the administrative structures and precedent established by the PCC and the military subcommittee. Moreover, the public debate and on record agreement of senior political leaders with the

[408] Zhou Enlai, *Zhou Enlai junshi wenxuan* (Beijing, Renmin chuban she, 1997), p. 67.
[409] Liu, *A Military History of Modern China*, p. 235.
[410] *Shenbao*, 3 June 1946; Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, *The Government and Politics of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 189.

goals of a professional, nationalized military provided normative support for reformers within the Chinese military

On a theoretical level, the effects of the army nationalization debate was far reaching and reaffirmed Chinese military claims to exclusive professional jurisdiction over military affairs. Claims to legal jurisdictions by professions can occur in three areas: legislative, judicial and administrative. Successful attempts to gain legislative support can result in laws prohibiting rival occupations from participating in certain fields of work, require qualifications that favor certain groups or grant self-disciplining functions to professional groups. Judicial contestation involves both an articulation of a legal basis for a professions claims, the organizational backing to pursue professional claims within the often lengthy and expensive judicial process, and a continued presence within the judicial sphere to pursue cases of non-compliance by competing occupations with legal prerogatives. Lastly, administrative contestation utilizes government procedures and codes, in both their drafting and enforcement phases to gain professional advantage and a monopoly of occupational authority. In all three of these areas, the ROC Constitution of 1946 affirmed the professional role of an apolitical, national military.

During the constitutional debate, the formerly GMD but now ROC army, had been essentially silent. Discussion of the changes occurred after the 1947 Constitution became law but there was no disagreement with the political consensus from military officers. Military officers seemed pleased by the changes, and in several articles in military journals, felt confident that the organizational changes would be implemented quickly and efficiently. In an article in the Army's weekly news magazine, a front-page column praised the Constitutional changes as allowing for a truly "democratic army" for

the first time. More specifically, the column argued that the key change would be that the military must now "obey the law (*shoufa*, 守法)," a subtle critique of the party-army concept of political supremacy.[411] Another front-page article argued that under the terms of the new Constitution, "the Army must strive to be above politics and regions, not serve the interests of individuals, and not serve as a tool of political battles."[412]

Among the organizational changes during the transition from a National Military Council under GMD control to a civilian Ministry of National Defense (MND) of the ROC was a reform of the Political Department system. On 30 May 1946, Political Department was abolished and some of its political functions, but not party work functions, were assumed by the Information Bureau (*xinwen ju* 新聞局) of the Ministry of Defense.[413] Officers assigned to the information bureau were highly restricted in their duties, with building up the morale of soldiers being most important, while surveillance and monitoring of military activities was not allowed.

The Information Department was headed by Deng Wenyi (鄧文儀) a former private secretary of Chiang Kai-shek who had previous experience as a political officer, but Deng had few connections within the military.[414] During the brief existence of the information department no attempt was made to create a more centralized political

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411 "Minzhu jundui junren," *Zhongguo junren zhoukan*, 23 February 1947.
412 "Dangqian junshi jiaoyu shang ying zhuyi zhi yi dian," *Zhongguo junren zhoukan*, 9 March 1947.
413 Charles Barber, "China's Political Officer System," *Military Review* 33:4 (July 1953), pp. 11; Zhong Hua, "Kangzhan shiqi guomindang jundui zhengzhi gongzuo shulun," *Lishi xue yanjiu* (2005:4), p. 53; Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 160.
414 Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 1053.

education structure. The Information Department produced pamphlets, short films and articles based on the model of the U.S. Office of War Information but had little contact with ordinary soldiers.[415]

Although the Information Department was allowed to conduct "political work," this type of work was defined as promoting nationalism, rather than party loyalty. During the brief 1947-1949 period, the Information Department was unable to develop an intellectually coherent or meaningful ideology. Working materials from the period use a variety of terms: vocation (*tianzhi* 天職), spirit (*jingshen* 精神), and national responsibility (*guojia de zeren* 國家的責任), but none of the terms were defined or resonated with the political education material.[416]

After the relocation of GMD forces to Taiwan an extensive review was conducted of almost all aspects of GMD policies and organizational practices was conducted to determine the reason for the failure to limit the CCP. GMD studies of the Political Department during the 1928-1949 period highlighted a wide variety of poor organizational strategies and anemic implementation. One of the primary critiques concerned the steady erosion of the prerogatives of the political officer compared to military commanders. GMD analysts believed that due to the failure to create an independent, proactive political officer system, policies that should have ideally been a combined effort between the ROC civilian government, GMD party apparatus and the military became almost exclusively military operations.[417] The lack of a Political

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[415] *Ibid*., p. 1045.
[416] Tan Jiquan, *Jundui zhengzhi gongzuo de lilun yu shishi* (Nanjing: Xin zhongguo chubanshe, 1948), p. 1-2.
[417] Shaokun Feng, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* [National Military Political Warfare History] (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 173-176.

Department with centralized authority and aggressive leadership was identified a key aspect of this de facto militarization.

Thus after the retreat of GMD forces to Taiwan in 1949, senior GMD leaders, especially Chiang Kai-shek and his son Ching-kuo became steadfast in their opposition to a professional, apolitical military and sought to subvert the ROC military structure under GMD political control.

Chapter Five:
Sun Liren in Command, 1950-1953

After the withdrawal of ROC military forces to Taiwan in 1948 and 1949, significant changes in personnel composition, equipment, and mission requirements were necessitated by the changing strategic environment, but the core ideals and structures established in the 1947 ROC Constitution remained intact. Between 1950 and 1953, the ROC military became a highly focused military organization with a clear mission, opposing a Communist invasion, a streamlined military structure built around well-trained and fully equipped infantry divisions, and a reliable, long-term security relationship with the United States. Underneath these surface considerations the core elements of the ROC military, especially its key doctrinal, intellectual and educational concepts remained essentially unchanged from the professional model developed from 1942-1949.

Training Centers and the Central Military Academy

One of the key differences between the pre-1949 and post-1949 ROC military was the amount of time devoted to training activities and exercises. Training in the pre-1949 period had been restricted due to a lack of funds, as well as geographic and transportation difficulties, which made moving military units difficult, and led to a focus on current operations at the expense of preparing for future activities. After 1949, the ROC military became highly focused on conducting high intensity military training exercises that were used to introduce key concepts to soldiers and served to provide a method of evaluation for officers.

Training in Taiwan was often highly specialized around skills such as night fighting, parachute training, and close air support. Training was centralized at military training bases spread throughout the island, with American advisors attached to all training staffs, ensuring that instruction was uniform across all units. Large-scale exercises were conducted by units at least once a year and were observed by military staff officers and American advisors. Both training and exercises were conducted at very high intensity with live-fire exercises and close inter-service coordination, such as beach landings or air support creating stressful situations and realistic evaluations.[418]

General Sun Liren's successful establishment of a comprehensive military training system on Taiwan during the 1947-1949 period proved invaluable to the ROC military as it sought to regain its footing. Rather than reform the Central Military Academy (*zhongguo lujun junguan xuexiao* 中國陸軍軍官學校), which had been located in Nanjing, staff and students were assigned to the officer training facilities Sun had developed at Fengshan (鳳山). Although the name of the school was transferred to emphasize continuity, the reliance on Sun appointed instructors and training schedules meant there was little real cross-over between schools.[419] This de facto organizational takeover of the core elements of the ROC military training system by schools established by Sun represented a clear opportunity for Sun to spread his beliefs and ideas throughout the military.

The new Central Military Academy (CMA) at Fengshan quickly became a key node in the rejuvenation of the ROC military, training officers for all three services.

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[418] Wu Zhenzheng, *Qun ying yi wang: Lujun xiao di su junguan xunlian ban ruwusheng zongdui koushu lishi* (Taipei: Guofangbu shizheng bianyishi. 2011), pp. 83-84.
[419] *Lujun junguan xuexiao xiaoshi* Vol II, (n.p., n.p., 1969), p. 59.

Beginning with an initial class of 950 students in October 1950, the school provided yearly classes of roughly one thousand students with an integrated, two-year training program prior to commissioning as officers.[420] During the 1950-1955 period distinguished guests such as President Chiang Kai-shek and American Ambassador Rankin, U.S. Military Assistance Advisory Group (MAAG) officials and senior American military officers, frequently visited the school to inspect the cadets and speak on a wide range of issues.[421]

The content of the training at the CMA was a balance of military science courses on weapons, tactics, and military history, combined with courses in writing skills, basic science, and engineering, as well as Chinese culture. Political education encompassed roughly fifteen percent of coursework and was conducted by political officers but during the early period from 1950-1953, political instruction was focused on moral training, such as the cadet honor code, rather than GMD propaganda.[422] Physical fitness was highly emphasized and Sun Liren in particular appears to have encouraged the creation of a large system of physical training instruction and intramural sports leagues among cadets.

Military Journals

In comparison to military education and training, which improved remarkably after 1950, military journals show little change in their subject matter or tone. The primary journals of the ROC Army continued to show an emphasis on highly technical

[420] Yuan, Shouqian and Jie Huang. *Huangpu Jianjun* (Taipei: Unknown Publisher, 1971), pp. 123-124.
[421] *Lujun junguan xuexiao xiaoshi* Vol II (n.p., n.p., 1969), pp. 31-34.
[422] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

military skills such as armored attacks, combined arms operation and air-ground coordination. Many of the journal articles of the period also presented military analysis of areas such as Xinjiang and Mongolia, locations far removed from the military realities of the ROC in Taiwan. The tone expressed by the journals revealed that the ROC military retained a strong affinity for the organizational structures and tactical thinking it had developed during the 1940's and viewed its status in Taiwan as temporary. This "*army in exile"* mentality on appears to have only been brought to an end in 1955 when intellectual discussion finally became more focused on defensive operations and the Taiwan region exclusively.

As in the 1945-1949 period, a large percentage of Chinese military journals focused on U.S.-related military topics. Technical developments, American organizational techniques and combat experiences in Korea were all prominently featured. Analysis of American methods often focused on the organizational structure of the U.S. Army, particularly the staff officer system, which Chinese officers felt was an effective way to provide a wide range of capabilities without infringing on the power and authority of the commander.[423] Another topic of frequent study was the American officer education system that included both public and private military schools, as well as military officer training at civilian schools, such as the Reserve Officers Training Corps (ROTC) program.[424] This interest in a massive officer training program appears disproportionate considering the context of a small island whose military contained a

[423] Bo Yin, "Meijun zuozhan zhihui yuanze yu canmou yewu," *Binglu Zazhi* 26 (September, 1953), pp. 11-16.
[424] "Meiguo lujun yubei junguan zhidu," *Binglu Zazhi* 27 (October 1953), pp. 113-116.

disproportionately high number of officers (up to twenty percent in some units), but would be applicable after a return to power in China.

The development of armored forces and offensive doctrines also seems excessive for an infantry force based on defensive tactics, but this similarly highlights aspirations for a return to China and large-scale warfare. In a lengthy article in 1952, it was argued that the combat experience of World War Two validated reliance on fluidity of force (huodongxing 活動性) and that the development of atomic weapons had only accelerated this change away from infantry forces. The article concluded that the ROC military must enter the era of "road-less tactics" based on tanks and armored cars.[425]

Another area of seeming incongruence between the strategic situation of the ROC military and Taiwan and the topicality of research was the high degree of interest in German operations on the eastern front during World War Two. Throughout the early 1950's, Chinese officers were fascinated by the tactical methods, equipment and experiences that German officers developed fighting the Soviet forces. As in the analysis of the American staff system, Chinese analysts argued that in a fluid tactical environment, a military commander needed to have unhindered command and control over their forces with no interference from external authorities, such as political leaders.[426] A key element of the German system was the use of "mission-type orders (*Auftragstaktik, renwu xing de mingling* 任務性的命令), which gave a commander an objective and a deadline but left all other functions to the discreion of military leaders.

[425] She Fang, "Yuxiang yuanzi zhanzheng de budui zuzhi he lianyong," *Binglu zazhi* 27 (October 1953), pp. 24-30.
[426] Wang Junzhao, "Di erci shijie dazhan dejun zuozhan zhidao zhi tese," *Binglu zazhi* 26 (September 1953), pp. 31-32.

Throughout the 1950-1955 period, military intellectuals within the ROC military continued to promote policies, weapons acquisitions and training programs remarkably similar to the 1945-1949 period. Within the journals, ROC officers argued for a simplified organizational structure with clearly defined military staff system, the development of a mission-type order system and increased specialization of technical branches such as armored forces. These affinities exhibit a clear preference for a military isolated from political interference or civilian oversight as well as a strong preference for offensive military action. Throughout the articles, the role of the commander as the sole focus of power and authority within military units is presented as both a military necessity to enable decisive action and a moral requirement because it links power and responsibility.

Structures and Equipment

The basic structure of the ROC military, in terms of organizational system, chain of command and branch networks remained in place after the transition to Taiwan in 1949. During the early 1950's American military aid enabled the full equipping and funding of many of the army branches, especially armor, which had been hindered by a lack of equipment or funding. By the end of 1952, all three services had re-established separate Command and General Staff schools, officer academies and one or more specialized courses, such as anti-air raid or communications school, for junior officers.[427]

One new element of the Ministry of National Defense was the creation of the Mainland Operations Division that was tasked to conduct guerilla operations inside the

[427] The China Handbook Editorial Board, *China Handbook, 1952-1953* (Taipei: China Publishing Company, 1952), pp. 186-187.

PRC. During the early 1950's this organization operated from small islands controlled by the ROC and carried out several dozen raids, reconnaissance operations, and infiltration of areas of Fujian province.[428] These operations were often supported by U.S. CIA officers and had some intelligence value but were not central to either the ROC or MAAG military programs.

American aid solved the biggest contradiction in ROC military doctrine and reality, a gap between a desire to pursue mechanized warfare but a lack of economic means to support the logistics required, through direct transfer of equipment at no cost. American military transfers also resolved the problem of ad hoc acquisition of weapons. Speaking in 1953 on the new weapons, Sun Liren noted favorably that in contrast to 1949, when the ROC military used over ten kinds of basic military rifles, the army now had a standard rifle in use for all troops.[429] The effect of these weapons transfers was felt not only in the combat potential of ROC forces but also in the morale of its troops. In 1952 Sun remarked that "Our present defense capability, compared to where we were two years ago is beyond our dreams."[430]

Taiwan's constrained economic base placed stress on military budgets throughout the early 1950s and led to the real cuts in military strength. In 1950, the ROC military consisted of thirty-nine divisions. Many of these formations suffered under an abundance of officers in staff positions but a shortage of junior enlisted personnel. By July 1952, the ROC military had been stream-lined into a force of twenty-four divisions arranged in

[428] *Ibid*., p. 186-187.
[429] "Meiyuan shoupai pen sheji," *Lianhe Baodao*, 16 March 1953, p. 1.
[430] "Zhu mao fei bangru qinfei Taiwan," *Lianhe Baodao*, 5 March 1952, p. 1.

eight armies falling into two army groups.[431] This was accomplished by assigning over 24,000 officers who were either too old or poorly trained for the demands of modern warfare, into "officer combat groups" (*junguan zhandou tuan* 軍官戰鬥團), where they received full pay but lacked any real military authority.[432]

During the 1950-1953 period, the branch of the ROC Army that benefitted the most from American aid and the program of creating a technology intensive force was the ROC armored forces. Between 1950-1953, the ROC Army took possession of dozens of American M5 Stuart, M4 Sherman and M24 Chaffee tanks, as well as hundreds of trucks, half-tracks and armored cars.[433] The armored force also benefited from being commanded from March 1950 through May 1953 by Chiang Wei-kuo (蔣緯國), the adopted Sun of Chiang Kai-shek.[434]

Sun Liren: Commander in Chief

Sun's ability to influence the ROC military identity benefitted tremendously from the increasing amounts of schools, personnel and equipment under his command jurisdiction. Rather than Taiwan being a dead-end post and his responsibility being confined to basic training of short term draftees, Sun now had authority over the entire ROC army school system. As noted, the first officer school to be re-established in Taiwan was the Central Military Academy, which re-opened in Fengshan (鳳山), on Taiwan's southern coast in August 1950. This was closely followed by the infantry officer school,

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[431] Gong Jianguo, "Zhonghua minguo zhengfu qiantai hou lujun zhengbian guocheng yu chengxiao chushen (1950-1961)," *Zhonghua junshi xuehui huikan* (September 2007), pp. 240-241.
[432] *Ibid*., p. 247.
[433] Sun Jianzhong, *Guojun zhuangjia bin fazhan shi* (Taipei: Guofang bus hi zhengbian yishi, 2005), pp. 525-576.
[434] *Ibid*., p. 323.

in February 1951, the artillery officer school in March 1951 and the armor officer school in January 1952. A command and general staff school for senior officers was established in the summer of 1951 and with the opening of specialized engineer and communications schools in 1952 the ROC army school system was completely re-established.[435]

The development of a de facto independent training system by Sun was seen as dangerous by political leaders such as Chiang Kai-shek. The high numbers of personnel with previous experience with Sun, the comprehensive nature of the training and Sun's reputation for independence were all regarded with suspicion. More directly, Sun's development of military training programs for women and youth represented a system of military penetration of key social groups, which GMD political leaders needed to keep within their own political bases.[436]

The period from August 1950 through April 1954 was the time of Sun's greatest influence in shaping the internal culture and intellectual framework of the ROC Army. Like many Chinese commanders, Sun used frequent speeches and lectures to increase the morale and esprit de corps of his troops. The collected public speeches of Sun are a rare resource to study the development of ROC officers and their conceptions of professional responsibility, mission and shared culture.

Sun's intellectual concepts illustrate the interplay with Chinese and Western military concepts during the early twentieth century. The ideas expressed by Sun during the crucial 1947-1954 period drew from his experiences studying in the United States,

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[435] Zheng Jinju, *Yi dai zhanshen: Sun Liren*, [A Generation's War Hero: Sun Liren] (Taipei: Shuiniu chuban youxian gongsi. 2004), pp. 292-294.
[436] Liu Hongxiang, *Zhenggong zhengbu xuexiao zhi yanjiu (1950~1970)* (dissertation, Guoli zhongyang daxue, 2006), pp. 145-147.

wartime exploits, political views and his interest in Chinese history. At their most basic, Sun's ideas revolve around four key concepts: nation, people, profession and honor. These four concepts were frequently used by Sun during his public speeches to describe his aspirations for the Chinese army and to instruct his audiences on their role in the army's development.

Nation (*guojia* 國家)

Of the four concepts that Sun regularly alluded to, "nation," was the least used and most vague. Throughout Sun's speeches, lectures and writings, he almost never uses the word Party, Guomindang or uses party positions to describe the political leadership of China. Instead he used the term 'nation.' But Sun left out any specifics on what a nation encompasses. Sun spoke of the nation as a governing body that ruled by the consent of the governed but did not include a discussion of any specific government institutions or organizations. The deliberate ambiguity in Sun's use of nation appears motivated both by a desire to avoid messy political ideology and by a lack of interest on Sun's part about political forms and civilian governance.

The one aspect of the relationship between the Army and the nation that Sun frequently and articulately promoted was the idea of a clear military obedience to civilian authority. Sun states that the primary objective of the Army is to 'protect' the nation from external threats and enemies. Sun's notion of objective civilian control was in stark contrast to official GMD ideology, which held that the Army was primarily under the direction of the Nationalist Party. The GMD idea of Party rather than national control was firmly rejected by Sun. Thus, in public speeches Sun was sharply critical of this

ideology, "Our Army officers belong to the nation, the Army as a whole belongs to the nation, it is not a private army."[437]

People (*minzu* 民族)

Like his concept of nation, Sun developed his notion of the "people" of China as both a partner of the army and as an object needing protection. The theme of civilian-military cooperation ran throughout Sun's public statements and highlighted his strong belief that the army must pursue tasks that are seen as valuable and legitimate in the eyes of the Chinese people. The second theme Sun developed was that the army must serve as the protector of the people. Although most of Sun's public comments occurred during a period of civil war, the prospective enemy Sun alludes to was rarely the Communists but vaguely defined foreign forces. In Sun's speeches on this theme there is a clear tension between a desire to protect the people and a caution about military involvement in a messy civil war, which might jeopardize civilian support.

A major element of Sun's desire to create a more cooperative and respectful relationship between civilians and the military was to exorcise the past notions of warlord or Japanese Army authoritarian rule. Sun sought to create a sharp break with the negative connotations of the military in China and place the GMD Army in a less politicized role. Speaking to military officers, Sun noted, "Today we can tell our fellow citizens, don't be afraid of our homeland's army, our military is your sword, its stands up for you, all of the military's actions are according to your thoughts and needs. Protecting the nation and people is the army's sacred mission; everyone in the army wants to help the common

[437] Chu Hongyuan, *Sun Liren yanlun xuanji* [Collected Speeches of Sun Liren] (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jundai yanjiusuo. 2000), p. 53.

people, love the common people, and never again harass or bother the common people."[438]

Sun's concepts of honor and profession were closely linked to his notion of the people in that the Army would receive honor from the people if and only if it maintained its professional discipline and military bearing. During his period of command in Northeast China Sun castigated several units for poor behavior and the resulting break-down in trust between local populations and the GMD Army. Sun lambasted the officers of the 3rd Division for letting the men behave worse than the Japanese,

> When we [the GMD Army] got to Haicheng there were big problems, our hard won reputation for honor and glory was ruined by some bad elements who lost their conscience…People told me that when the Japanese were here there were many things that were oppressive and unfair but at least their troops had discipline…If we as an army maintain our discipline, cherish our honor and dignity, the people will respect us.[439]

Profession (*tianzhi* 天職)

The concept of profession, and the military as a profession was the most complicated of the four terms Sun repeatedly emphasized. Sun used two distinct intellectual strands to highlight the military as a profession: technical competence in their chosen field and the need for concepts of self-policing and internal organizational control.

Sun's notion of technical competence for all military personnel led him to emphasis rigorous training, especially intensive weapons training and physical fitness, as a hallmark of the military profession. Throughout Sun's numerous commands long periods of time were devoted to the training of soldiers, first at the individual level and

[438] *Ibid*., p. 44.
[439] *Ibid*., p. 22.

later in progressively larger units and formations. Embedded within Sun's focus on training was a strong desire to accentuate the differences between a modern army, with the highly technical requirements of its personnel, and poorly trained warlord soldiers, motivated by money or personal loyalty. The term Sun used to define this idea was skilled, or well-practiced abilities (*shu lian* 熟練). This term encompasses not just the ability to conduct specific functions but also a sense of craftsmanship and a clear sense of defined abilities that are different than other occupations and professions.

The poor performance of GMD forces during the Chinese Civil War from 1945-1949 was particularly galling to Sun because it meant that organizational changes to develop a mechanized, combined arms force would be wasted due to poor performance of basic skills. In 1948 Sun identified basic military skills as the most pressing army issue,

> Today our army's biggest weakness, from the top to the bottom, is that towards military techniques and tactics we lack the necessary skills, even if we are shooting from only 200 meters we can't kill the enemy, with these kind of skills how can we win?...If skills aren't up to the necessary level, you might have great weapons, great equipment, all sorts of great things but they will have no utility. Being a modern military soldier means being able to use all kinds of weapons to achieve victory.[440]

Sun's notion of the military as a relatively autonomous, self-contained organization is best expressed with the term *zizhi* (自治), self-control or being in command of oneself. Sun frequently used the concept of *zizhi* when describing his time at VMI in the 1920's and the formative effect it had on his conception of a military that utilized peer pressure, behavioral norms and internal disciplinary functions to inculcate good behavior. VMI utilized senior classmen as the primary instructors of all basic military training such as marching, shooting and field exercises. Staff restricted their

[440] *Ibid*., p. 50.

instruction to technical and academic subjects with little interaction between staff and cadets outside of the classroom. VMI's system was also famous, sometimes notorious, for extreme hazing of new students and extremely harsh disciplinary measures implemented by cadet officers. Another example of VMI's self-discipline concept was the honor code that stipulated that any cadet caught lying or cheated would be summarily expelled and that fellow cadets who did not report incidents would be similarly expelled. Sun felt that this style of mutual responsibility and mutual observation was a vital part of military education. In late 1944 he spoke to members of the Chinese Army in India that like VMI, "I think that no matter what kind of school, all should cultivate the sense of duty, a sense a shame, a desire for public responsibility, to not just rely on managers for supervision; this is true autonomy."[441]

Honor (*rongyu* 榮譽)

The concept of honor was how Sun sought to link profession, nation and people together into an integrated whole. In Sun's intellectual framework, the military gained honor by serving the people and fulfilling their need for defense. The military also gained honor from the nation by being focused on its distinctive mission and not interfering in civilian affairs. Lastly, the military gained honor by remaining true to its internal values and professional competency. Sun's frequent references to honor, dignity, self-respect within the military, and respect shown to the military by the Chinese citizenry, is pervasive and highlights a deep rooted sense of insecurity. Like many other GMD officers of his generation, the formative experiences of Sun's youth, when large,

[441] *Ibid*., p. 10.

undisciplined warlord military forces became an object of social scorn and derision remained salient features of Sun's thinking and a prominent negative example.

> Sun frequently spoke of the concept of honor as a term that applied not to an individual but to the army as a discrete body and institution, "An individual has his own honor, which functions like a second life apart from his body, an organization also has its own honor that functions in exactly the same manner. No matter if it is an individual or an organization both must value their honor as equal in importance to their very existence…Our untarnished honor is something we have earned by spilling blood and the sacrifice of many of our comrades lives it is something that we have struggled to earn and it has not been an easy task.[442]

Sun's notion of honor as the connective tissue linking together the military's role, the Chinese nation, and the Chinese people was most evidenced during his lifetime during the brief civil-military honeymoon period after the victory against the Japanese. Speaking in 1946, Sun noted the when the army had returned to Beijing and Tianjin in 1945 relations with the civilian population had been respectful and cooperative. He noted that,

> If we needed a house to stay in, people of their own volition volunteered a place for us to stay; if we needed to something people helped us…this was because of our great reputation had preceded us and influenced the people; so that even though our army had not been to this place before, the people believed we were their heros. The military's model was to be the protector of the nation's people, this was why the people adored and respected us.[443]

U.S. in Taiwan 1950-1953: Influence through Education

After the collapse of the ROC military during 1948 and 1949, the United States was faced with the unenviable choice of supporting a government that appeared to have little competence in economic, political or military affairs or acquiescing to a Communist

[442] *Ibid*., p. 21.
[443] *Ibid*., p. 21.

dominated China. Formation of American policy towards the ROC on Taiwan was also buffeted by multiple domestic constituencies that sought conflicting goals in East Asia. Strong elements within the Republican Party, led by Senator Knowland of California, advocated strong support for the ROC and the emphasized the need for a strong anti-Communist ally on Taiwan, both for immediate American security interests and if possible, as an example of reform and development for East Asia.[444] Elements of the American military, particularly the Joint Chief of Staff (JCS), also sought to aid ROC forces on Taiwan through large-scale transfers of equipment, training and logistical support. Although not advocating military action in support of the ROC, the JCS argued that American support for the ROC could distract Chinese Communists from the ongoing conflict in Indochina.[445]

The Truman administration and the State Department strongly opposed continued support for the ROC and argued that based on intelligence estimates, ROC forces on Taiwan could not defend themselves without direct U.S. military support, which was not in the interests of the United States. Accordingly, in January 1950, President Truman suspended military aid to the ROC that had been allocated under the China Aid Act of 1948.[446]

With the ending of official American support for the ROC forces on Taiwan, several private American sources offered military advice and equipment. In February

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[444] Joseph Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy* (Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1952), pp. 118-119.
[445] Robert Accinelli, *Crisis and Commitment: United States policy toward Taiwan, 1950-1955* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 20.
[446] Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy*, p. 139; *New York Times*, Truman Bars Military Help for Defense of Formosa; British End Nationalist Tie, 6 January 1950, p. 1.

1950, retired Admiral Charles M. Cooke arrived in Taiwan as an accredited correspondent of the International News Service with an official side business in selling fertilizer. Unofficially, over the next six months, Cooke arranged the transfer of millions of dollars' worth of military equipment, including large amounts of aircraft spare parts, artillery shells and armored cars from the United States and Japan.[447] Cooke also offered personal military advice to Chiang Kai-shek, achieving some policy changes to ROC military strategy, most notably the abandonment of several vulnerable islands off the Chinese coast, that were indefensible and difficult to supply.[448]

Only after the North Korean invasion of South Korea on 24 June 1950 did official American policy shift to support for the ROC government on Taiwan. On 27 June 1950, Truman ordered the U.S. 7th Fleet to prevent any attack on Taiwan and also prevent ROC attacks on China.[449] On 28 July, the State Department announced the dispatch of a representative to Taipei as charge d'affairs with responsibilities for maintaining diplomatic contacts, which had lapsed since the United States Embassy had closed in China.[450] More significantly, on 31 July, General MacArthur visited Taipei to hold meetings with Chiang Kai-shek and other senior ROC leaders where he stated that joint planning had been done to meet any possible attack on Taiwan. MacArthur also

[447] Lin Hsiao-ting, "Taiwan's Secret Ally," *Hoover Digest*, No 2, 2012.
[448] William Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase* (Houston: Pacesetter Press, 1975), p. 168; Lin Hsiao-ting, "Taiwan's Secret Ally," *Hoover Digest*, No 2, 2012.
[449] Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy*, p. 127.
[450] *New York Times*, Ordered to Formosa, U.S. Names 2 Aides to Chiang Regime, 29 July 1950, p. 5.

dispatched his deputy chief of staff, Major General Fox to Taipei on 4 August to serve as permanent military liaison with the ROC government.[451]

While in Taipei, General Fox and a small staff of Americans worked with ROC military officers to prepare a comprehensive report on the necessity of American military assistance, and the potential for a successful defense of Taiwan. Complicating the work of the Fox Survey Group were the statements of General MacArthur, who in November and December recommended that ROC forces be used in the ongoing fighting in Korea.[452] The Fox Group report identified the ROC ground forces as the most "important deterrent" of a Communist invasion of Taiwan, although their actual fighting ability was hurt by logistical problems.[453] ROC military training and morale was judged to be good but a lack of small arms and sufficient ammunition made realistic exercises difficult.[454] The Fox Survey Group recommended a large military aid package estimated to be over $158 million dollars in value to be absolutely necessary to raise the immediate combat effectiveness of ROC forces, with additional follow-on funding bringing the total over $200 million.[455] By March 1951, after the Survey Group report wound through the Washington bureaucracy, the total cost estimate for military aid had risen to $300 million.

The State Department initially argued against such a large advisory and aid package, favoring a "light footprint" approach of less than two hundred officers in any

[451] Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy*, p. 129.
[452] Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy*, p. 141.
[453]Memorandum by Mr. Richard E, Johnson of the Office of Chinese Affairs to the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 8 December 1950, *FRUS, 1950* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), vol. VI, China, p. 593
[454] *Ibid*.
[455] Ibid., pp. 591, 596.

advisory mission. Furthermore, the State Department argued that all military efforts in Taiwan should fall under the authority of the American Ambassador in Taipei.[456] In light of the massive quantity of equipment, specialized military skills required, and difficult military situation in the Far East during early 1951, the State Department program was rejected. Instead, to assist in the distribution, usage and training of the ROC Army as it integrated the massive American aid program a large, explicitly military, assistance group was formed in April 1951. Modeled after the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group that had operated in China from 1947-1949, the group, named Formosa MAAG (Military Assistance Advisory Group) was under the command of Major General William Chase. Initial strength for the group was set at 116 officers and men, but with the expectation that future expansion would bring the final strength up to 400-500 advisors.[457]

Formosa MAAG operated under a set of assumptions and guidelines developed by multiple government agencies during the winter of 1950. First, the objective of the MAAG was not to create a ROC military capable of offensive action. This was in accordance with the President's 27 June 1950 statement.[458] Second, assuming the support of the U.S. 7th Fleet, ROC forces should include a ground force component of 31 divisions, a Navy of roughly 20 ships and an Air Force fielding four fighter groups and

[456] Karl Rankin, *China Assignment*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), p. 81; Memorandum for Record. Mr. Merchant. Subject: Military Advisory Personnel for Formosa, 19 January 1951, *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Reel 5.
[457] Ballantine, *Formosa: A Problem of United States Foreign Policy*, p. 142.
[458]The Under Secretary of State (Webb) to the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (Lawton), 17 April 1951, FRUS, 1951, Volume VII. pp. 1631-1637.

one light bomber squadron.[459] Lastly, American support would focus on areas of funding, equipment and transportation where the ROC was deficient in supporting itself.[460]

Although the State Department concurred with the establishment of a MAAG on Taiwan, it continued to argue strongly that MAAG operations should fall under the control of the Ambassador in Taipei, Karl Rankin, rather than Commander in Chief, Far East (CINCFE), Douglas MacArthur.[461] The State Department even went so far as to notify the ROC Ambassador that the Formosa MAAG was under the direction of the American Ambassador in Taipei without consulting with the Department of Defense or Executive administration.[462] While the State Department ultimately lost the jurisdictional battle with the Commander in Chief Pacific Fleet being designated the primary supervisory authority over the MAAG group, in reality Formosa MAAG was largely independent. Unlike the JUSMAG effort in China from 1947-1949 where Americans had operated from a headquarters separate from the Chinese, MAAG on Taiwan established offices in the same building as the ROC Ministry of Defense with staff sections directly attached to their ROC counterparts.[463] For the duration of the 1951-1955 period, the most important relationship for MAAG was not with the U.S. Embassy or U.S. military but the officers of the ROC military with whom they worked with on a daily basis.

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[459] *Ibid*., p. 1634.
[460] *Ibid*., pp. 1634-1635.
[461] FRUS, 1951, Volume VII. Memorandum by the Director of International Security Affairs (Cabot) to the Assistant to the Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Burns), 31 March 1951, pp. 1614-1615.
[462] FRUS, 1951, Volume VII. The Secretary of State to the Embassy in the Republic of China, 25 April 1951, pp. 1648-1651.
[463] Henry R. Lieberman, "U.S. Advisory Work in Formosa Drags: Delayed Arrival of Training Equipment Retards Task of Military Aid Mission," *New York Times*, 11 November 1951.

General William Chase and Chains of Command

The assignment of a senior American General to command of the MAAG force on Taiwan was potentially tricky because many American officers with experience in China were associated with the discredited Stilwell program of American military training for Chinese forces during World War Two. Moreover, many of officers who had served under Stillwell and Wedemeyer had been relatively old. Many retired after the war or had been assigned to the CBI theater against their wishes and had no particular affinity for China and no wish to return. Command of a MAAG unit was also as much a political assignment as a military one, with the cultivation of good relations with the host country being a primary, and often difficult, task of the American commander.

In early 1951, General William Chase was Chief of Staff to the Third Army, which handled military affairs in the southeast United States, and likely destined for a succession of quiet administrative positions followed by retirement. Unlike the overwhelming majority of American senior officers during this period, Chase had not gone to West Point but had instead entered the Army through the National Guard. Chase had enlisted in the Rhode Island National Guard while attending Brown University and had entered active duty as a private when several state units were activated to defend against Mexican border raids during the Mexican Revolution.[464] Chase rose in rank as the Army expanded during World War One, reaching the rank of captain in 1918. He was one of the few provisional officers given a regular army commission after the war. During the inter-war years Chase was assigned to a variety of academic positions as a student at Army command schools, an instructor in training units, and with ROTC

[464] Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, pp. 2-3.

detachments at civilian schools.[465] Chase's affinity for schools and education continued after his retirement when he became a Professor at the University of Houston.

During World War Two, Chase was assigned to the Pacific theater, commanding the 1st Cavalry Division in the Admiralty Islands and the 38th Infantry Division in the Philippines. Chase served in the American occupation forces in Japan from 1945-1949, and became associated in Army circles with General MacArthur, who had been his direct superior from 1943-1949. The connection to General MacArthur made Chase's appointment as MAAG commander understandable in that it would aid coordination with the East Asian region. The political firestorm resulting from the relief of General MacArthur by President Truman in April 1951, however, made association with MacArthur a source of concern for many in Washington. Only with the support of General George Marshall was Chase's assignment confirmed and he arrived in Taipei on 1 May 1951.[466]

The initial impression of the ROC military by the MAAG officers was not good. Chase noted the most common equipment as "grass sandals, palm leaf hats, very brief shorts, and old [World] War I Springfield rifles."[467] In spite of this less than promising beginning, the sheer number of available troops offered strategic potential, "Here was a strategic reserve capable of being moved ashore on the mainland of China or almost anywhere else in the Orient."[468]

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[465] *Ibid*., pp. 21-23.
[466] *Ibid*., pp. 164-167.
[467] *Ibid*., p. 170.
[468] *Ibid*., p. 170.

An implicit assumption of United States planning, which the Fox report had seemingly confirmed, was that the core ROC military was not in need of systematic reform but merely needed increased material support. In this context, the role of Chief of MAAG was often as a facilitator of supplies and promoter of education rather than a director of hands-on training. The mission statement given to General Chase specified that his primary task was, "Advising the military staff of the Chinese National Government on the initiation and development of requests for aid."[469] This would have given the Chinese armed forces the primary responsibility of producing assessments of their abilities, requirements and necessary equipment with MAAG refining and then delivering requests to Washington.

General Chase, however, perceived his job slightly differently than as a facilitator of Chinese requests. He stated, "Our job (said Chase) is to get them the hardware they need--what I say they need, not what they think they need--and then teach them how to use it and take care of it. It doesn't do radar any good, you know, to set it up in a rice paddy."[470]

While not explicitly stated in the MAAG mission, one of the primary tasks of General Chase and MAAG was working with American political leaders, the source of all appropriations and military aid, and encouraging their commitment to the MAAG effort. In just one month, November 1953, General Chase welcomed separate American delegations including Vice President Nixon, two Senators, one Congressman, the Chief

[469] FRUS, 1952-1954, Volume XIV, Report Submitted by the Senior Defense Member of the NSC Staff (Nash) to the Sterling Committee on NSC 128, 13 June 1952, p. 67.
[470] *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Chase Says Nationalists in 'Last Half of Ninth," 29 August 1951, p. 4.

of Naval Operations as well as the owner of the *Chicago Tribune* newspaper.[471] General Chase was the most senior American official in Taiwan during 1951-1953, because the U.S. Embassy in Taipei was headed by a "Chargé d'Affaires" rather than a fully accredited Ambassador. This meant that Chase was compelled to represent the Unites States government at numerous ROC ceremonial functions as a demonstration of American political support for the ROC.[472]

During his time on Taiwan, General Chase does not seem to have been particularly interested in Chinese culture or history. When asked if he had learned any Chinese during his time with MAAG he replied, "Oh, yes. I now speak fluent Chinese. Shih Shih nee. Okay. Coca Cola, With that I can get by anywhere in Formosa."[473]

Refining the Professional Chinese Army

The military reform programs developed by MAAG shifted from an initial focus on defensive operations during the 1951 and 1952 period into a program designed to develop offensive capabilities during 1953 and 1954. Within the broader system emplaced by MAAG were three main areas of emphasis. First, the most immediate problem for the MAAG was downsizing the ROC Army from a top-heavy force of 40-50 under strength divisions into a smaller but more combat effective force. Second, extensive training and education needed to be undertaken to allow ROC forces to use more sophisticated American equipment and to conduct military operations with

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[471] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Headquarters, Military Assistance Advisory Group Formosa, Activity Report for November, 1953, Reel 6, Secret, p. 3.
[472] *Ibid*., p. 3.
[473] *Pacific Stars and Stripes*, "Chase Says Nationalists in 'Last Half of Ninth," 29 August 1951, p. 4.

increased unity of air/sea/land forces. Third, MAAG was consciously aware that extensive military aid programs eventually diminish so the ROC needed to increase the sustainability of its manpower and equipment by encouraging the development of local sources of supply.

Throughout the early years of MAAG on Taiwan, Americans benefitted from the support of a group of ROC officers who shared their aspirations for the ROC Army. Sun Liren's excellent English skills and reputation as a competent commander in the Burma campaign under Stilwell endeared him to American MAAG officers.[474] Sun had no strong political ties to the GMD, and like many younger and professional officers, Sun stood to gain in power and influence from American plans to increase the combat effectiveness of the ROC Army.

The most immediate problem faced by MAAG officers on arrival in May 1951 was the chaotic organization of the ROC military. The poorly planned retreat to Taiwan in 1949 had resulted in bits and pieces of 40-50 divisions being present on Taiwan but with none at full strength in terms of personnel or equipment.[475] Moreover, ROC military forces suffered from a surplus of officers and poorly trained, often illiterate junior soldiers, but with very few NCO's and competent junior officers to provide tactical leadership. Tactically, the priority task of American advisors was "changing a Chinese

[474] *New York Times*, Appraisal of Formosa: Chiang's Island Has Big Potential Power But it Must be Developed and Directed, 2 April 1951, pp. 4; Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, p. 171.
[475] Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, p. 170.

Nationalists' concept of defense from a pattern of static defense to a pattern of mobile defense."[476]

After 1951, with the United States Seventh Fleet continuing to limit either PRC or ROC military attacks in the Taiwan Strait and the increasing effectiveness of ROC Army units, the rationale for American development of the ROC Army was often referred to not as a strategic necessity but a "strategic bargain."[477] General Chase frequently used the idea of a "strategic bargain" when advocating greater aid for the ROC. Chase noted that for $300 per year, the United States could pay for all expenses for a ROC soldier while an American soldier was estimated to cost $5,000 per year to supply and train. Although ROC forces were less effective than American units, the massive gap in the cost of fielding military forces, particularly in an area like East Asia made further aid a good financial as well as a military investment.[478]

Early in the MAAG program, it was decided that a large portion of the American assistance effort would be devoted towards developing a comprehensive, American-type military school system. General Chase fully supported a heavy emphasis on officer education rather than low level training, "the more professionally qualified their senior officers are, the more chance of success they have."[479] Drawing on General Chase's

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[476] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), From FE, Merchant to Department of State. Subject: Progress in MDAP in Formosa, Reel 5, 17 September 1951.
[477] Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, p. 196.
[478] FRUS, 1952-1954, Volume XIV. Memorandum of Conversation by Leonard H. Price of the Office of the Special Assistant for Mutual Security Affairs, 20 February 1952, p. 10.
[479] Selected Executive Session Hearings of the Committee 1951-56, Mutual Security Program, Part 2, U.S. House of Representatives (Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1980), p. 574.

affinity for formal schooling and building from the framework of ROC military schools developed in 1947-1949, a large percentage of American MAAG personnel were assigned to military schools.

Prior to 1949, the ROC Army had operated a total of eighteen military schools, most patterned on American organizational structures and using variations of American course material. With MAAG assistance the number of schools was more than doubled, eventually including thirty eight separate institutions offering nearly four hundred courses.[480] The crown jewels in this pedagogical network were the senior officer colleges: the National War College, Armed Forces Staff College and the Command and General Staff College, all of which were established in 1952. Below these graduate level schools was a large network of officer training programs, with branch schools for armor, infantry, air defense etc., providing the main location for officer exposure to sophisticated equipment and tactics. MAAG's interest in ROC military schools even extended to assigning an U.S. Army Bandmaster to establish an ROC military band school.[481] Supplementing these schools was an extensive program of overseas study with thousands of ROC military personnel, the majority of whom were officers attending civilian and military schools in the United States.[482]

MAAG officers assigned to ROC military schools tried to remain in the background if possible and let qualified ROC personnel conduct direct training.

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[480] Ministry of Nation Defense, *MAAG's Decade in the Republic of China* (Taipei: Ministry of National Defense, 1961). p. 18; Headquarters, Military Assistance Advisory Group, Taiwan. Subject: Revision-Country Statement on MAP, Non-NATO Countries, 10 August 1957, p. 8.
[481] *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, An Army Man of Note: Mr. Music Maker, 7 April 1956, p. 24.
[482] William Chou, "MAAG—Saga of Service," *Taiwan Review*, 6 June 1966, p. 2

American advisors focused their efforts on "training the trainers" and tried to allow Chinese instructors to be seen as independent, a technique that was believed to be important for morale and in keeping with concerns that MAAG personnel not be seen as a separate chain of command within the ROC military.[483] The assignment of large numbers of MAAG officers to widely dispersed military schools, many of which were in the southern part of the island, also had a political purpose in removing American officers from political intrigues in Taipei and avoiding a concentration of American personnel in the capital, which might give the appearance it was an "occupied" town.[484]

In addition to personal involvement of American advisors at ROC military schools, MAAG undertook a large-scale program to translate American military manuals into Chinese. During the 1950's hundreds of training manuals, pamphlets and guides were produced on a wide range of subjects. These translated materials covered not only technical subjects such as how to fix engines or plot artillery trajectories but encompassed cultural patterns such as how to convey authority in a briefing or appropriate body language for officers.[485]

At the end of his four years in Taiwan, General Chase regarded American success in developing the ROC school system as his most important accomplishment. He noted that, "Increased numbers of well qualified instructors, in many cases trained in the United States, is [a] major contribution to the improved stature of these schools. In turn the

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[483] Charles Barber, "Military Assistance Advisory Group Formosa," *Military Review* 34:9 (December 1954), p. 54.
[484] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Telegram: From: Taipei (Rankin) To: Secretary of State, 15 June 1951, Reel 5.
[485] National Archives and Records Administration, College Park Maryland. Record Group 334, Box 1.

graduates of these schools have improved training and planning in units."[486] General Chase also used MAAG success within the ROC military education system when briefing Congress, "We have been very successful with the schools. The schools have been modeled after our own service schools, Army, Navy and Air Force, and we find that the Chinese accept our tactical doctrines and or principles of staff procedure almost entirely--not completely, but almost entirely."[487] The similarity in U.S. and ROC schools that Chase lauded had become so apparent that many American officers assigned to MAAG referred to locations as "Little Ft. Benning" or "Little Ft. Belvoir" instead of the ROC infantry or engineer school respectively.[488]

One example of this process of pedagogical influence was the artillery school, established in Tainan, July 1952. The school exclusively used American equipment such as the 75 mm and 105 mm howitzer with all training techniques borrowed from American methods. The artillery school course gave commissioned officers a three month program of instruction that was able to graduate over two hundred officers per course. Assigned to the school were twenty American artillery officers tasked to assist the Chinese instructors, who were led by Maj. General Wang Kuan-chow, a graduate of Ecole Militaire (St. Cyr) in France and five Chinese officers who had graduated from the U.S. Army artillery course at Ft. Sill.[489]

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[486] Headquarters: Military Assistance Advisory Group, Formosa. Subject: Country Statement on MDAP, Non-Nato Countries, 18 January 1955, p. 2.
[487] Hearings before the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, Eighty Third Congress, 16 July 1953, Washington D.C..
[488] *Star and Stripes, Pacific Edition*, "Nationalist China's Army," 9 March 1955, p. 9.
[489] *Stars and Stripes Pacific Edition*, Free China's Gunners, 23 April 1953, p. 8.

Direct advisory efforts were more challenging for American personnel because of the large number of variables during daily operations that made planning more difficult than in a school environment. Throughout the MAAG mission the cardinal rule for advisors was that "no United States officer or enlisted man in the advisory group has any command authority over any member of the Chinese armed forces."[490]

The last substantive military reform that changed the inherent structure of the ROC military was the introduction of a military draft on Taiwan in 1955. Unlike Japan, the United States or all the European nations, China had never had a functioning military draft system, even during the 1937-1945 Sino-Japanese war. On paper, the GMD had established a Ministry of Conscription in November 1944 but American pressures to downsize the Chinese Army and political disputes over the status of the army in the 1945-1949 period meant conscription was never implemented.[491]

In part, this was also due to large numbers of Chinese men available for military service who could be either bribed, threatened or entreated to enlist in the Chinese army. Although the Chinese Army under the GMD (pre-1947) and the ROC Army in China (1947-1949) had been able to rely on these loose, informal methods to gain sufficient recruits, the small population on Taiwan, roughly ten million in 1950, meant that skimming a large pool of potential recruits was no longer a viable policy.

A more enduring reason for Chinese military units not creating a military draft system were concerns about loyalty and a lack of administrative capacity. The Chinese

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[490] Charles Barber, "Military Assistance Advisory Group Formosa," *Military Review* 34:9 (December 1954), p. 54.
[491] Chinese Ministry of Information, *China Handbook, 1937-1945* (New York: MacMillan and Company, 1947), p. 287.

state, going back to the dynastic period has been authoritarian in method with little opportunity for civilian participation in government. With a lack of political participation to manage grievances there was potential danger in arming large numbers of civilians, giving them military training and organizational structures. At best, Chinese leaders had strong doubts as to the loyalty of military forces under them and at worst, such as during the 1911 Revolution, military units formed the core of political rebellions against authority. Moreover, the Chinese state often lacked the administrative and managerial abilities to induct large numbers of men on an annual or biannual basis and to provide them with training, equipment and sustenance. The first draft law in the ROC was established in August 1954, making men aged 18-45 obligated to serve two years in the Army or three years in the Navy or Air Force.[492]

In Taiwan, the necessity of a military draft became increasing apparent during the mid-1950's as the soldiers who had occupied Taiwan following their defeat in China aged. As early as December 1951, records show that over twenty percent of soldiers in the ROC Army were over thirty-five years of age and ten percent were over forty.[493] By 1955 the average age of many ROC units was sufficiently high (the average age of enlisted men was twenty-nine while officers averaged thirty-two years of age), that it attracted concern from MAAG personnel worried about the combat effectiveness of older soldiers, especially in physically demanding positions such as the infantry.[494] Moreover,

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[492] *New York Times*, Chiang Calls Men Born on Formosa, 17 February 1955, p. 1.
[493] Jennifer Liu, *Indoctrinating the Youth: Guomindang Policy on Secondary Education in Wartime China and Postwar Taiwan, 1937-1960* (Ph.D. dissertation. University of California, Irvine, 2010), p. 177.
[494] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Far East-Drumright to Chinese

because officers had been a disproportionate share of the evacuees who moved to Taiwan in 1948-1949, the ratio of officer to enlisted man was highly skewed with only three soldiers for every officer in 1951.[495] MAAG officers hoped to cut 80,000 ineffective soldiers from the ROC Armed Forces, and add 70,000 young, healthy draftees.[496] In April 1955, ROC military leaders finally responded to MAAG appeals and began the first of a series of phased cut-backs of older personnel and their replacement with native Formosan young men.[497]

During the initial phase of MAAG Formosa, from 1950-1953, the MAAG office was responsible for the defense of Taiwan in addition to the advising and equipping of ROC forces. This task was problematic because the U.S. chain of command in East Asia was divided between the Commander in Chief-Far East (CINCFE), a post held by General MacArthur until his relief in 1951, and the Commander of the Pacific Fleet, Admiral Arthur Radford. In the event of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan, the main air and naval operations, which would take place in the Taiwan Strait, would be under the command of Admiral Radford with only military operations on the main island of Taiwan being under the authority of General Chase.[498] Moreover, several CIA organizations

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Affairs, W.P. McConaughy, Subject: An Evaluation of the Military Situation in Formosa, 8 December 1955, Top Secret, Reel 6, p. 4.

[495] Liu, *Indoctrinating the Youth: Guomindang Policy on Secondary Education in Wartime China and Postwar Taiwan, 1937-1960*, p. 177.

[496] "MAAG Activity Report for Month of September 1954," 24 November 1954, NARA, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Record Group 59, Reel 37.

[497] "Message: CHMAAG Formosa 190614Z," November 1954, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Record Group 59, Reel 37, NARA.; FRUS, 1952-1954, Volume XIV, Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs (McConaughy) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson), Secret, 13 December 1954,p p. 1025; Rankin, *China Assignment*, pp. 275-276.

[498] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Far East-Drumright to Chinese

operating from the offshore islands, and acted in partnership with elements of the ROC military and intelligence services to conduct raids and reconnaissance within China.[499]

As part of Eisenhower's strategy of ending the Korean War, the U.S. imposed "neutralization" of the Taiwan Strait by the 7th Fleet was lifted, allowing for the possibility of ROC military operations against China.[500] This decision further complicated the role of MAAG, that under its mandate to assist with the supply and coordination of ROC military activities now had to integrate offensive actions into their plans. Although MAAG was assured that advanced notice of ROC operations against China would be informed prior to any "significant" raids, the meaning of the word "significant" was sufficiently broad to allow virtually unchecked ROC initiatives with no limiting factors.[501]

Eisenhower's decision further modified the MAAG planning objectives, which had shifted from purely defensive in 1950-1952, to being able to conduct small-scale offensive operations (battalion-sized attacks) in 1953, into an expectation that by the end of 1954 a force of 25,000 men would be assigned to the Korean Front.[502] The first report on the situation on Formosa prepared by the Eisenhower administration National Security

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Affairs, W.P. McConaughy, Subject: An Evaluation of the Military Situation in Formosa, 8 December 1955, Top Secret, Reel 6, pp. 8; William Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase* (Houston: Pacesetter Press, 1975), p. 165.

[499] Frank Holober, *Raiders of the China Coast: CIA Covert Operations During the Korean War* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1999).

[500] *Los Angeles Times*, Ike to Let Chiang Attack Red China: 7th Fleet Reported Set to Lift Barriers to Raids on Mainland, 31 January 1953, p. 1.

[501]The Chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group, Formosa (Chase) to the Chief of General Staff, Republic of China (Chow), 5 February 1953, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, pp. 144-145.

[502]The Charge in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, Secret, 23 March 1953, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 160.

Council outlined three primary objectives. First, ROC forces needed the capability to conduct raids into mainland China to gather intelligence and disrupt PLA operations. Second, the ROC military needed to present "an increasing threat to the mainland," presumably to tie down large numbers of PLA troops. Third, ROC forces needed to be capable of functioning as part of a larger free world military network in East Asia.[503]

The policy decisions made in Washington to shift from a defensive to an offensive military posture on Taiwan resulted in a tremendous boom in the size and importance of MAAG Formosa. In the spring of 1953, MAAG personnel strength had reached its assigned level of nearly nine hundred men that was sufficient to staff all major ROC training units, have advisors at the regimental level and above, as well as exercise oversight on military aid. Offensive operations required a far larger American MAAG presence, especially in the advisory capacity, resulting in a jump in MAAG requirements to over 2,500 personnel.[504] In addition, the difficulty of coordinating ROC military operations with American military units such as the 7th Fleet placed a premium on reliable communications, necessitating the assignment of a full U.S. Army Signal Battalion of seven hundred personnel to Taiwan in 1954. The addition of the Signal Battalion not only raised total MAAG strength to 3,240 men, almost four times the total strength of 1952, but also was the first assignment of regular American military forces to Taiwan.[505]

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[503] "A Report to the National Security Council by the NSC Planning Board by the NSC Planning Board on United States Objectives and Courses of Action with Respect to Formosa and the National Government of China," 27 March 1953, *Digital National Security Archive*, p. 3.
[504]The Charge in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 23 March 1953, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, pp. 161.
[505] *Ibid*., pp. 161.

The changing mission requirement entailed slight changes to the organizational structure of MAAG. General Staff sections were established to work with the ROC Ministry of National Defense and Pacific Fleet Headquarters in Pearl Harbor. U.S. advisors were also deployed to Jinmen (Quemoy) island were there was a much greater chance of them being involved in combat.[506]

Sensing the mood in Washington, ROC leaders seized the policy initiative and circulated a grandiose plan for further military development that would have made the ROC Army one of the largest and best equipped in the world. The "Kai Plan" proposed in December 1953 entailed a massive expansion in American military aid to bring the ROC Army to a total force of forty-one divisions, later reduced to twenty-seven (from twenty-one in 1952), including three armored divisions.[507] The Navy would be augmented by six destroyers and ten destroyer escorts, in addition to a wide range of amphibious landing craft added to the ROC fleet. The ROC Air Force was slotted to receive over one hundred new jet aircraft, including the F-86 fighter and the B-29 strategic bomber.[508] The overall manpower requirements for these new forces would have raised the number of men in the total ROC military forces to over 629,000 from a population of less than ten million.[509]

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[506] Rankin, *China Assignment,* pp. 290-291; Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, p. 184.

[507] *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Embassy-Taipei to Department of State. Subject: Report on the Mutual Security Program in Formosa, 21 July 1954, Secret, Reel 6, p. 6.

[508]The Ambassador in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 8 March 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 383.

[509] "Briefing Data on Chinese National Armed Forces," 30 September 1954, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Microfilm Reel 36, NARA;. Volume XIV, The Ambassador in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 8 March 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 385.

The Kai Plan was not met with enthusiasm by MAAG. General Chase noted trenchantly, "much of the plan is completely infeasible of execution and that nearly every aspect requires a vast augmentation in the level of U.S. support, as well as a material modification in U.S. strategic policy."[510] Although the Ambassador Rankin noted that many elements of the Kai Plan were "grandiose," he thought it was a conceivable structure and argued that the utilitarian logic of the low cost of supporting ROC soldiers compared to American soldiers made further expansion of ROC forces consistent with U.S. policy.[511] MAAG's successful argument against the Kai Plan marked the first limit on the growth of ROC military forces as well as an emphasis on defensive rather than offensive military operations in spite of political rhetoric from ROC and U.S, leaders.

By the end of 1953, ROC-U.S, relations had finally achieved the potential of intense military and government partnership first discussed in 1942. The ROC military had utilized American support and advice to create a highly effective and professional force under the leadership of officers who were military professionals rather than party appointees. From the perspective of MAAG and Sun Liren, the partnership had developed a solid organizational foundation for an enduring military relationship. The main problem in this "Golden Age" of US-ROC partnership was the animosity of senior ROC political leaders, most notably Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo to accept the limited role for political and party control over the armed forces. During the 1950-1953 period, the overwhelming necessity of defending a weak ROC on Taiwan led to the

[510]The Ambassador in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 8 March 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 385.
[511] Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 271; The Ambassador in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 8 March 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 385.

acqiesence of the GMD to a professional military. However, the desire to return the ROC armed forces to a de facto party-army status and eliminate competing sources of intellectual and organizational authority on Taiwan remained constant and from 1953-1955, the GMD was ready to go on the offensive.

Chapter Six:

Restoring Political Officers, 1953-1955

The training and role of political officers in the post-1950 period, especially after 1953, differed remarkably from the 1928-1937 period or the war era. First, there was a much higher degree of institutionalization, with the establishment of the political warfare school at Fuxinggang outside of Taipei, political officers received intensive education and indoctrination for the first time since the Whampoa period (1924-1926). This resulted in a much more cohesive and capable political officer cohort. Second, the direct role of senior leadership (most notably Chiang Ching-kuo) in military affairs, in designing political officer training, personally identifying himself with their collective identity, and providing organizational support for the political officer takeover of what had been previously military tasks. Lastly, political officers after 1950 began a program of comprehensive party functions and political activity that included all military personnel and a wide variety of civilian groups such as the China Youth Corps (CYC, *zhongguo qingnian qiuguo tuan* 中國青年救國團). This was a much larger scope of activity than had previously been allowed. By 1953, these reforms were bearing fruit and the political department began a sustained challenge to the professional identity of military officers. In spite of continued American opposition to political officers in military units, the increasing strength of Chiang Ching-kuo's organization led to a change in American policy in 1954 which recognized the principle of political oversight. Following this policy shift, Sun Liren became increasingly isolated and was eventually purged from his military position and sentenced to house arrest in 1955.

The defeat of ROC forces in 1948 and 1949, followed by the withdrawal to Taiwan began a process of massive strengthening of the role and authority of political officers. During the 1950-1955 period, political officers again became an integral part of the ROC military, with broad authority over military operations, and personnel management. During the early 1950's political officers were also heavily occupied with the development of a robust GMD role in the ROC Army, working around and ignoring restrictions placed on political activity in the armed forces.

The rebuilding of the GMD on Taiwan in the form of the creation of a viable party structure provided one institutional pillar of the post-1950 political structure on Taiwan with a capable ROC military being the other pillar. Without a dynamic GMD organization to which the political officers could connect their efforts within the ROC military, their efforts would have been fruitless. The re-vitalized GMD, under the day—to--day leadership of Chiang Ching-kuo, used the political officer system as part of a larger strategy of organizational penetration of all areas of the ROC government and Taiwanese society.

From the very beginning, a key aspect of rebuilding the GMD and the ROC military on Taiwan was the harnessing of the substantial American military support that flowed to Taiwan after June 1950. Rather than refute American practices and simple re-establish traditional GMD structures, Chiang Ching-kuo was clever to embrace some American inspired reforms, stall on many, but outright reject only a few. Peter Heinlein asserts that the "…military establishment which evolved on Taiwan was the product of an

artful Chinese manipulation of organizational form foisted on them by American advisors…"[512]

The expansion in the size and scope of political officer authority in post-1950 Taiwan was closely linked to the political guidance of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo (*Jiang Jingguo* 蔣經國). The appointment of Chiang Ching-kuo as head of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense served a variety of political purposes for Chiang Kai-shek, the GMD, and most importantly in the fulfillment of Chiang Ching-kuo's personal ambitions. Chiang Ching-kuo had become head of the GMD organization in Taiwan in January 1949 and began a program of Party revitalization and centralization. On 5 August 1950, Chiang Kai-shek, as Party Chairman formed the Central Reform Commission (CRC), which was composed of sixteen trusted subordinates, including his son, Chiang Ching-kuo. The CRC began a comprehensive program of broadening the party's reach in Taiwanese society by increasing membership and by strengthening discipline among party members through increased meetings and personal surveillance.[513]

As part of the CRC's efforts, many new organizations within the party, particularly in the fields of security were created, with Chiang Ching-kuo occupying either the head position or a key role in multiple organizations. In 1949 he became head of the Political Activities Committee, responsible for policing GMD members behavior. In 1950, in addition to his role on the CRC, he became the head of the National Salvation

[512] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 558
[513] Jiang Zhongzhang, *Ruhe gaizao women geming de fangfa* [How to Reform our Revolutionary Methods] (Taipei: Zhongyang gaizao weiyuan hui wugong yingshe. 1951); Bruce Dickson, "The Lessons of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-1952," *The China Quarterly* 133 (March 1993), pp. 65-67.

Anti-Communist Youth Corps (CYC). Within the military itself, Chiang Ching-kuo was head of the Political Department during the formative years of 1950-1954.[514] Chiang Ching-kuo also became the head of the Central Party School, which made his support crucial for advancement to the senior ranks of the GMD.[515]

These concurrent posts allowed Ching-kuo to link policies and initiatives in both Party and military organizations. These appointments were also due to Chiang Kai-shek's fear that military officers would co-opt political officers without a high-level "patron" for political officers to call on. In an interview with American MAAG Chief General Chase, Chiang Kai-shek noted that in the past,

> [In China] The political workers in the army were appointed by the local commander, hence they had no loyalty to the government but only to the commander, he said. On Taiwan he was determined to remedy this situation…To ensure loyalty and remove any fear the political worker might have of reporting disloyalty even in high-ranking officers, he had appointed his own son (Chiang Ching-kuo) head of this organization so that its officers might know they would be in no danger if they reported information derogatory to some strong commander.[516]

The most direct method of increasing political control was highlighted in the execution of several high ranking ROC officers in early 1950 on charges of corruption. This was followed by the exposure of dozens of Communist conspiracies, some real but other likely fabricated for political purposes over the next four years.[517] A more effective long-term solution to GMD control was the rapid expansion of GMD membership from

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[514] Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, p. 82.
[515] Bruce Dickson, "The Lessons of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950-1952," *The China Quarterly* 133 (March 1993), p. 68.
[516] The Charge in the Republic of China (Jones) to the Department of State, 19 September 1952, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 108.
[517] *New York Times*, 12 June 1950; Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, pp. 510-511.

50,000 in 1950 to nearly 300,000 by 1952.[518] Special attention was given to recruit potential leaders in Taiwan and coopt them into the GMD. The increasingly dense network of GMD members after 1952 made organization of an effective opposition difficult without alerting the GMD. The cross-over affiliation between military-political-civilian members meant that opposition to the GMD within the Army could also have repercussions after a return to civilian life.

In April 1950, a successor department to the Information Bureau was established as the re-named Political Work Department (it was later changed to the General Political Warfare Department in 1963), and given an expanded mission.[519] Six major areas of work, detailed in the "National Revolutionary Army's Guidelines of Political Work," (*Guojun zhengzhi gongzuo gangling* 國軍政治工作綱領) established the principle concerns of the GMD. Of the six goals, four were most relevant to the role of political officers within the military

1. The political warfare officer in each unit was to be equated to the chief of staff. He would have a staff which would be parallel to the military staff.
2. An inspection system was to be established to monitor military administration (particularly financial and personnel accounts), technical development (the military must get what it pays for) and combat capability (from a discipline perspective in time of war).
3. Security (protecting documents) and counterintelligence (preventing penetration of the military by spies) systems were to be strengthened.
4. Party work within the military was to be restored.[520]

[518] Ramon Myers and Hsiao-ting Lin, *Breaking With the Past: The Kuomintang Central Reform Committee on Taiwan, 1950-1952* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2007), p. 10.
[519] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 1415.
[520] Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, pp. 80-81.

The most important key idea expressed in the *Guidelines of Political Work* was the diminution of a military commander's authority. These guidelines provided political officers with formal authority to maintain a distinctive identity within the military regardless of the commander's wishes. More specifically, the guidelines required political officers to review the age, school performance, personal habits and political beliefs of all officers and to retain detailed files for examination by other departments.[521] Political officers were instructed to review all military orders, administrative procedures, and matters of military discipline In addition, political officers were instructed to develop an investigation system to maintain control over unit activities such as supply inventories, treatment of equipment and unit funds.[522] Although the mandate of political officers to conduct such intensive scrutiny of all military affairs was in many ways an understandable and effective way to limit corruption, the practical effect was to give the political officer oversight and de facto veto authority over all military matters.

Less newsworthy but more substantial was the steadily increasing number of highly trained and ideologically reliable political officers within the ROC military and the creation of an extensive GMD organization within the military. On a purely quantitative scale the level of investment in personnel and training was massive. By 1957, there were over 17,000 political officers in the ROC Armed Forces out of a total personnel strength of only 600,000 men, a ratio of 30 men for every political officer.[523] In contrast, during the Sino-Japanese war, the most favorable ratio of political officers to men had been over

[521] Gongzuo Gangling, Minguo sanjiu nian zhenggong gaizhi de jiben fagui-guojun zhengzhi. Cited in Feng Shaokun. *Guo junzheng zhan shi* (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 238.
[522] *Ibid*., p. 238.
[523] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 579.

150 to one. Moreover, in 1957, of the total of 17,000 officers, approximately eighty-six percent had attended a complete course at the Fuxinggang Staff College, a much more thorough and consistent training than political officers had previously received.[524]

Party Work and Political Work in the ROC Army

Within the ROC military, the role of the political officer was frequently more mundane than sinister. The main tasks of the political officer, both in party work and political work, was most often a paperwork laden exercise in filing and research. Organizational reforms of the Chinese Army had eliminated the need of political officers to serve as de facto logistics suppliers but another important change post-1950 was the capacity of the ROC government in Taiwan to staff local government offices and direct policy to a sufficient extent to limit the need for the direct involvement of political officers in local politics. For the first time since the formation of the party-army system in 1924, the ROC military could operate in an area that had a fully staffed, well trained and sufficiently competent civil service. In addition, because the ROC military in Taiwan was essentially defensive and based in unchanging garrisons there was no need for re-deployments, which meant re-locating families and dependents, another major task of political officers.

Political work had continued in the ROC army under the Information Bureau from 1946 to 1950 and remained essentially unchanged after 1950. Illiteracy remained a lingering problem, with over fifty percent illiteracy among soldiers from 1950-1955. The introduction of new conscripts who were better educated, the retirement of many of the older soldiers and a literacy campaign within the military raised literacy rates over ninety

[524] *Ibid*., p. 580.

percent for the first time in 1955.[525] Once the literacy rate had been improved, political work could include a wide variety of instruction on current events, Chinese history, and "character guidance" readings.[526]

Political work also included a wide variety of troop welfare activities expanded with the assistance of American aid, such as a U.S. style system post-exchange (PX) system and job placement for retired or wounded personnel. Due to the severe gender imbalance among the refugees who had moved to Taiwan in 1949-1950, the possibility of finding a spouse for most of the soldiers was extremely low. During the 1950's and 1960's the Political Department ran a network of military brothels, so-called "tea houses," that were even located in front-line locations such as Jinmen Island and employed over 1,000 hostesses.[527]

Party work in the post-1950 ROC military benefited from the official creation of a separate chain of command for political officers.[528] This reversion to the 1924-1927 model of political officer power meant that political officers were now under the direct command of their superior political officers, not the commander in the unit in which they were assigned. Political officers at the company level on up now directed their attention to the Commander of the Political Department.

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[525] Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, p. 121.
[526] General Political Department, Ministry of National Defense, *Briefing on the Political Establishment in the Chinese Armed Forces* (Taipei, Unknown Publishing, 1959), p. 60.
[527] Michael Szonyi, *Cold War Island: Quemoy on the Front Line* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 151-158.; Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 584.
[528] Gongzuo Gangling, Minguo sanjiu nian zhenggong gaizhi de jiben fagui-guojun zhengzhi, Cited in Feng Shaokun, *Guo junzheng zhan shi* (Taipei: Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao bianying, 1972), p. 235.

Empowered by the new chain of command the political officer in Taiwan had three primary ways to influence military commanders and modify orders. First, because the political officer had to ensure "compliance" of military personnel to government and party policies, they were allowed at all meetings and briefings, giving political officers not only a seat at the table but access to all planning decisions.[529] Second, political officers were entitled to see official orders and could disagree with the commander's interpretation of the orders or plan of action.[530] Lastly, political officers down to the company level were able to have several assistants, greatly easing their administrative burden and allowing for their staff to function as a mirror of the military staff.[531]

The significant way the political officer could exert power within the ROC military on Taiwan was through the political evaluation system, where he was required to write reports on all officers and many of the soldiers.[532] Dossiers on all members of the unit were kept by the political officer on every member of the unit but these were not regularly submitted to higher headquarters except when a solider was preparing to leave the military, was under review for promotion, or had been selected for a specialized training course.[533] Highly unfavorable reports could lead to an officer's removal from command and impact his career progression.[534] The political evaluation system gave political officers a de facto veto over officer promotion. Because they were submitted

[529] *Ibid*., p. 237
[530] General Political Department, *Briefing on the Political Establishment in the Chinese Armed Forces*, p. 28.
[531] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, p. 590.
[532] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 1853-1862
[533] Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, pp. 97.
[534] Heinlein, *Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model*, pp. 599-601.

through the separate Political Department chain of command, officers had no right to see or review their records, creating a sense of ambiguity that could be utilized by political officers.

The enhanced role of the political officer and particularly the intrusive nature of the political evaluation system was not well liked by ROC military officers, who felt it infringed on their authority. A general officer interviewed in 1966 referred to "the good old days" before 1949 when there had been no "looking over his shoulder on business the Political Department did not understand."[535] Another observer noted that in spite of the military principle of unified command authority, "the political officer no doubt has the final say on all matters."[536] American officers had an ingrained distrust of political officers and concurred with their ROC counterparts that that divided command was an "inherent weakness" in any political officer system.[537]

While the political officer did represent a threat to the military officer's personal authority he also threatened the underlying principles of military behavior. American observer W.W. Whitson noted, "In the philosophical realm, the commissar's faith in the efficacy of nonviolent techniques inevitably clashed with the military professional's faith in firepower…nonviolent techniques would appear naïve and ridiculous, if not threatening and insulting to a line officer."[538] Especially in front-line positions like Jinmen (Quemoy) Island, the role of political officers in diverting training time to

[535] *Ibid*., p. 611.
[536] *Ibid*., p. 611.
[537] George Reid, "The Political Commissar in the Red Army," *Military Review* 28:1 (April 1948), p. 20.
[538] Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 83.

propaganda activities such as launching balloons filled with toilet paper to drift into China must have seemed a ludicrous, if not dangerous diversion from military activities.

Fuxinggang College

The central core around which Chiang Ching-kuo, who was appointed director of the reformed Political Department of the ROC military on 1 April 1950, sought to institutionalize GMD control of the ROC military was the political officer cadre school at the Fuxinggang (復興崗) College located in the suburbs of Taipei.[539] Over the course of several decades, Fuxinggang graduates would become entrenched in every area of the ROC government and military, and the personal connections between students and Chiang Ching-kuo earned Fuxingang the reputation as Chiang Ching-kuo's "private Whampoa Academy."[540] Unlike the short-term training programs of the 1928-1946 period that were designed to give political officers only two or three weeks of training, the Fuxinggang program included a minimum of eighteen months of full-time instruction. The rigid curriculum, strenuous training, and the attempt by Chiang Ching-kuo to create a distinct political officer identity, which was a distinct hybrid military and party identity, resulted in the creation of a homogenous social norm among the graduates. After their placement within the GMD military, the highly trained Fuxinggang graduates utilized the strengthened statutory power of their political officer positions to undermine the ROC military authority from within the military organization.

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[539] Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi weiyuanhui, *Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi* [History of the Political Warfare Military School] (Taipei: Zhenzhi zuozhan xuexiao, 1980), p. 7.
[540] Jiang Nan, *Jiang Jingguo zhuan* [Chiang Kai-shek Biography] (Taipei: Qianwei chubanshe, 1997), p. 268-269.

The Fuxinggang College was formally opened on 1 July 1951 as part of an effort to consolidate and centralize political training. After the transfer of GMD and ROC government institutions to Taiwan, the Political Work Department had operated three separate facilities: in Danshui, Taipei and Zuoyang. In addition, each military area within Taiwan operated its own one-month refresher courses at six locations throughout the island.[541] These schools were all closed after Fuxinggang was opened and all political officer training from initial training to advanced research was done at the one Fuxinggang campus.

The first Commandant of the school was the mild mannered Air Force General Hu Weike (胡偉克), who was a graduate of Sandhurst, but real authority rested in the school director of student affairs, who was responsible of the curriculum development, Col. Wang Sheng (王昇). Wang was seen as Chiang Ching-kuo's right-hand man and he quickly rose to become the school's Dean in 1953 and Commandant in 1955.[542] Col. Wang Sheng, who had risen through the GMD ranks in the intelligence field and had worked with Chiang Ching-kuo in China, imagined Fuxinggang as the incubator of a new GMD elite on Taiwan.

Under the day to day supervision of Wang, the Fuxinggang campus quickly expanded the course length of the first two classes to a full 24 month period by 1953 and by the end of the 1950's Fuxinggang offered a four-year college program and a graduate

[541] Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi weiyuanhui, *Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi* [History of the Political Warfare Military School] (Taipei: Zhenzhi zuozhan xuexiao, 1980), pp. 9-10.
[542] Thomas Marks, *Counterrevolution in China: Wang Sheng and the Kuomintang* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), p. 152-156.

school with MA and PhD programs.[543] Later in the 1950's, as the political officer position in the military became fully staffed, Fuxinggang broadened its curriculum to include programs in journalism, music, fine arts and theatrical music to train political officers assigned to cultural positions within the armed forces.[544]

The course curriculum at Fuxinggang was prepared in an incredibly detailed and methodical manner. The majority of instruction, eighty percent, consisted of political training in theoretical topics such as Sun Yat-sen'ism (*san min zhuyi* 三民主義) and the threat of Communism, as well as practical issues such as how to conduct effective political lectures. Only ten percent of instruction covered military related topics, mostly training in basic military skills such as rifle marksman ship and close order drill.[545] Each instruction period was logged on an hour-to-hour chart for each class with continual changes to course curriculum due to changing world events or new techniques.

After graduation, Fuxinggang graduates were assigned to all branches of the GMD military. The majority of the first class, 361 out of 994 went into ground force units but large numbers, 198 and 197, went into the Air Force and Navy respectively.[546] Although in his later years Wang Sheng denied a close connection between political officers and the internal security apparatus in Taiwan, forty graduates of the first class

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[543] General Political Department, *Briefing on the Political Establishment in the Chinese Armed Forces*, pp. 112; Thomas Marks, *Counterrevolution in China: Wang Sheng and the Kuomintang* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), pp. 153-155; Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, p. 101.
[544] General Political Department, *Briefing on the Political Establishment in the Chinese Armed Forces*, p. 112.
[545] Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi weiyuanhui, Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi [History of the Political Warfare Military School] (Taipei: Zhenzhi zuozhan xuexiao, 1980), pp. 14, 257-278, 316-326.
[546] *Ibid*., p. 261.

were assigned to positions in the Military Police and Taiwan Defense Command organizations.[547]

While the main purpose of the Fuxinggang School was to train political officers for assignment to the ROC military, Fuxinggang graduates were also trained to conduct basic military training at civilian schools. The main vehicle for this was the China Youth Corps (CYC, *zhongguo qingnian qiuguo tuan* 中國青年救國團), a military training program under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of National Defense. The CYC had languished due to a lack of resources or attention by senior leaders but once re-established in 1952 under the command of Chiang Ching-kuo, the CYC became an organizational mechanism to expand the role of the Political Department into civilian schools and Taiwanese society at large.[548] Between 1952 and 1960 over six hundred Fuxinggang graduates were assigned to civilian schools and were credited with training and indoctrinating over 100,000 students during this eight year period.[549] In speeches, Chiang Ching-kuo stated that "military education and the education of society should be done together…with officers at every elementary school, middle school and high school."[550]

Chiang Ching-kuo-Ideology

[547] *Ibid*., p. 261; Thomas Marks, *Counterrevolution in China: Wang Sheng and the Kuomintang* (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1998), pp. 176-177.
[548] Liu, *Indoctrinating the Youth: Guomindang Policy on Secondary Education in Wartime China and Postwar Taiwan, 1937-1960*, pp. 112-168.
[549] *Ibid*., p. 185.
[550] Jiang Jingguo, *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng fuxinggang jiang ciji (vol 2)* [Chiang Ching-kuo Speeches at Fuxinggang] (Taipei: Zhonggong ganbu xuexiao chubanshe, 1963), p. 123.

A prominent feature of Fuxinggang's educational pattern was frequent visits and interaction with senior government and GMD leaders. At every graduation ceremony of the first five classes Chiang Kai-shek was the keynote speaker. Chiang Ching-kuo was a frequent visitor to the campus and in the first full month of classes he delivered speeches and lectures to Fuxinggnang students at least once a week.[551] In his speeches Chiang sometimes referred to Fuxinggang as a "spiritual bastion" not only of the military but Taiwan, or in his words "Free China," as a whole.[552] The ideas and norms that Chiang Ching-kuo developed at Fuxinggang differed substantially from the propaganda and educational programs used by the GMD and ROC government. In all his speeches, Chiang Ching-kuo attempted to develop the idea that political officers were a select elite, possessing both the right of authority by virtue of their ideals and the responsibility to manage the affairs of the military and society.

The cultivation of a sense of esprit de corps, organizational mission and tight loyalty to each other was not a unique concept adopted by Chiang Ching-kuo, but the unlimited scope of authority developed by Chiang Ching-kuo was a new development in GMD history, Fuxinggang graduates were told repeatedly that there were no fixed boundaries to their concerns and that although their primary field of work would be within the military they had a role to play as creators and guardians of a broader social structure. This broad mandate was in sharp contrast to ideas of military autonomy and insularity developed by General Sun Liren. The ideational struggle between these two

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[551] *Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi weiyuanhui*, Zhengzhi zuozhan xuexiao xiaoshi [History of the Political Warfare Military School] (Taipei: Zhenzhi zuozhan xuexiao, 1980), p. 34.

[552] Jiang Jingguo, *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng quanji* [Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo] (Taipei: Xin zheng yuan xinwen ju, 1992), p. 544.

systems of belief emerged as the primary organizational challenge of the 1950-1955 period.

Chiang Ching-kuo developed a coherent ideology at Fuxinggang built around five key values: ideology (*zhuyi* 主義), leadership (*lingxiu* 領袖), country (*guojia* 國家), duty (*zeren* 責任) and honor (*rongyu* 榮譽).[553] Country, duty and honor were commonly used by military organizations and schools around the world, most notably West Point, but ideology and leadership were distinctively used.

The ideological training at Fuxinggang drew from a wide assortment of GMD theory developed by Sun Yat-sen and later acolytes, but Chiang Ching-kuo simplified the ideas and increased the intellectual prerogatives of party leaders. Chiang Ching-kuo cynically noted in 1951 that ideology was a simple formula, "one part thought, one part belief and one part power."[554] Chiang Ching-kuo retained the notion of the GMD as a "vanguard" party, that had a right to define political policy without elections, but he did not outline any goals or objectives to justify this usurpation of Chinese political rights. Moreover, none of his speeches maintain that the period of "tutelage" defined by Sun Yat-sen as a temporary period could ever be ended. In Chiang's conception, political power was self-legitimizing because the unity and success of groups in achieving power made them best qualified and most entitled to it.

While the political and military situation after 1949, with the GMD restricted to a relatively small environment and challenged by a dominant CCP in China, was certainly

[553] Bullard, *The Soldier and the Citizen: The Role of the Military in Taiwan's Development*, p. 101.
[554] Jiang Jingguo, *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng fuxinggang jiang ciji (vol 1)* [Chiang Ching-kuo Speeches at Fuxinggang] (Taipei: Zhonggong ganbu xuexiao chubanshe, 1963), p. 9.

difficult Chiang attempted to highlight rather than downplay unique aspects of the challenge. Throughout his speeches and lectures, Chiang emphasized that the current situation was "special" in terms of difficulty and importance. The terms "new day" and "modern era" were frequently used to draw a sharp distinction between the pre-1949 and post-1949 GMD and ROC. Chiang's denigration of the pre-1949 did not extend to one element; Chiang Kai-shek was held to be a great leader, retaining the wisdom of Sun Yat-sen's vision with a lifetime of experience. Walking this mental tightrope of criticizing the past structure of GMD efforts without undermining the GMD's claim to ideological authority was a difficult task at Fuxinggang but Chiang Ching-kuo was able to develop criticism without attacking the underlying core beliefs of party rule.

Chiang noted in early 1950, "Our country is a poor country, with little money or weapons, but because for the people's existence we must continue to oppose the CCP and USSR. This war is a revolutionary war. Our military is a revolutionary army. It cannot base itself around material things."[555]

Chiang Ching-kuo was a harsh critic of military officers, most prominently Sun Liren, who sought to base the ROC military structure, mission and norms on global military patterns. In 1954 Chiang lambasted this idea at a Fuxinggang graduation ceremony,

> In our society we have a highly inaccurate and wrong-headed idea circulating, which is that some people think a military should be just a military. What does this mean? It means they want a military to be like a machine…thinking that what will work in China is what works in the rest of the world. Moreover, some people think that no matter where, a military organization should use similar organizations and training. They think that a military model can be used anywhere in the world…[I believe]

[555] Li Denghui ed., Jiang Jingguo xiansheng quanji [Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo] (Taipei: Xingzheng yuan xinwen ju, 1991), p. 504.

> every country's military, in the areas of spirit and thought has the unique character of their country, every country's military will have a different military character.[556]

Chiang's critique of "foreign models" came at a time when officers within the ROC military and the American advisory group were pushing for organizational changes designed to increase the level of ROC military professionalism. The unsubtle denigration of the military as a distinct institution, working on global norms was a key aspect of Chiang's effort to stress the discontinuity of Taiwan's situation, rendering outside ideas irrelevant.

Chiang Ching-kuo was unambiguous in his belief that the role of the individual, except for the leader, was characterized by service to others rather than personal interest. In Chiang's speeches he makes the clear point that in the Political Department the idea of the power the individual will not be tolerated. He argued, "Today's tasks are collective tasks, and today's battles are fought by organizations against other organizations."[557] Drawing on GMD experiences with warlords during the 1920's and 1930's, Chiang was skeptical of private interests. He noted in an early speech at Fuxinggang that "Our first task is to completely abolish the conception of private interest at this school…to our country, to its leaders and to the school we must have absolute loyalty and obedience."[558]

Chiang Ching-kuo felt that the total defeat of the GMD in the 1945-1949 Civil War had been due in large part to the failure to control military operations with

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[556] Jiang Jingguo. *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng fuxinggang jiang ciji* (vol III), [Chiang Ching-kuo Speeches at Fuxinggang] (Taipei: Zhonggong ganbu xuexiao chubanshe, 1963), pp. 22-23.
[557] Li Denghui ed., *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng quanji* [Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo] (Taipei: Xingzheng yuan xinwen ju, 1991), p. 528.
[558] Jiang Jingguo, *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng fuxinggang jiang ciji* (vol III) [Chiang Ching-kuo Speeches at Fuxinggang] (Taipei: Zhonggong ganbu xuexiao chubanshe, 1963), pp. 42-43.

systematic oversight. On this point he was strongly supported by Chiang Kai-shek who argued that without a "system," which to him meant a system of political control over the military. He lectured that during the Civil War, "our military commanders had total freedom in the northeast [Manchuria] and what happened? In the north, south, northwest and south-west our commanders all had freedom from authority, but it became only their freedom to lose it all. Now in Taiwan some military people want the same kind of freedom, they oppose the new personnel system."[559]

To achieve a sound military system Chiang argued for four main points that Fuxinggang graduates would need to master. First, political officers needed to not only to understand the main points of ideology in a literal sense but to be able to understand the larger purpose and mission of the GMD. This meant that Fuxinggang graduates would need to be educated to work with ideas rather than simply receive training. Second, the military needed to understand that's its efforts were part of a unified government effort towards "common objectives" set by political leaders Third, the military needed a "system" that could integrate policies with strategy. Finally, military forces needed to have tight discipline in the organizational sense.[560] In each of these areas, Fuxinggang graduates would supply the key element in integrating ideology, focusing the mission, creating a system and maintaining the organizational structure.

The abjection of the individual to the needs of the organization was lauded as selfless and efficient. In 1950 Chiang noted, "An organizations greatest achievement is to

[559] Cai Xianghui (ed), *Jiang zhongzheng xiansheng zai tai junshi yan lunji* [Chiang Kai-Shek Military Speeches on Taiwan] (Taipei, Guomindang hui chubanshe, 1994). p. 188.
[560] Jiang Jingguo, *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng quanji* [Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo] (Taipei: Xin zheng yuan xinwen ju, 1992), p. 89.

unify and cultivate cadres."[561] To achieve organizational unity Chiang argued that discipline needed to be extremely strict with constant supervision of members by senior leaders.

Sun and the Political Department

The greatest threat to Sun's conception of an apolitical, professional officer corps was not the PLA but the political officer system developed by Chiang Ching-kuo during the early 1950's on Taiwan. The political officer system was a regeneration of the political cadre position that had first been developed at the Whampoa Academy during the 1920's. In Taiwan though, it became a much more powerful and coherent element within the Army. By 1957 there were over 17,000 political officers in the military, one for every 35 personnel, with powers over military justice, promotions and assignments.[562]

The political officer framework developed at Whampoa in 1923 and 1924 had been the product of two objectives: to ensure the loyalty of the GMD Army and to enable the Army to operate effectively in the weakly governed and fragmented Chinese political arena. The first objective was accomplished through political officers indoctrinating officers and men in GMD ideology, evaluation systems that linked promotion to achievement of Party objectives and direct involvement of political officers in the military discipline system. The second objective entailed that the political officer would serve as a liaison between civilians and the military, an educator to teach GMD ideology to the public, and a political organizer acting to build coalitions around GMD policies.

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[561] Li Denghui (ed.) *Jiang Jingguo xiansheng quanji (vol I*) [Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo] (Taipei: Xingzheng yuan xinwen ju, 1991), p. 505.
[562] Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 215.

Both of these roles waned during the 1930's and 1940's due to external events that limited the necessity of political officer functions. The GMD-CCP split in 1927 and the GMD's successful development of central government administration meant that the role of political officers to interact with the public could be fulfilled by government departments. The increasing emphasis on specialized military skills during the 1930's and the military necessities of the Sino-Japanese War also functioned to push political officers into the background of the GMD army.

By the late 1940's, the continuing atrophy of the political officer role, internal desires for professional autonomy arising from within the GMD army and American opposition to a 'political commissar' system led to the abolishment of the political officer system in1946. A residual, office of war information, remained within the GMD Army organization but it functioned much like its American counterpart and was geared towards improving the morale of soldiers and distributing propaganda to enemy units.

Following the collapse of the GMD Army in 1948-1949 and the retreat of the GMD government to Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek outlined a series of comprehensive reforms designed to unify the Party, increase political control over the military and eliminate his political opponents. In a speech to GMD members on 1 March 1950, Chiang claimed that one of the primary causes of the military collapse was a lack of spirit and loyalty among GMD units and that the GMD had failed to maintain a system of overt control over military operations.[563] On 1 April, new guidelines for the establishment of a political work system within the military were announced and Chiang Kai-shek's son,

[563] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 714.

Chiang Ching-kuo, was given authority to develop a system of political instruction and political supervision within the armed forces.[564]

Sun was able to successfully limit the authority of political officers to areas outside of combat operations, which preserved the authority of commanders to conduct operations without oversight. Although blocked from combat roles, political officers gained the power to evaluate officers for political fitness, giving them a veto over promotions and dominance over military disciplinary functions. Moreover, within three years of the reestablishment of political officers, roughly 1/3 of the armed forces, 210,000 out of 600,000, and almost all of the officers had officially joined the GMD, creating a unified party structure within the military.[565]

MAAG Opposition to Political Officers

The tension between Sun's professional officer corps and the Party-Army notion advocated by Chiang Ching-kuo was frequently noted by observers. American MAAG reports and State Department messages frequently noted the difficulty of reconciling the two systems of values. In April 1954, a MAAG officer translated large portions of a Chiang Kai-shek speech attacking certain "senior officers," i.e. Sun Liren, for not displaying proper respect for the political officer system. Chiang argued that, "some of the senior officers are still unwilling to accept and observe the system of political work in our armed forces. They even abuse it before foreigners…If you have anything to

[564] *Ibid*., p. 714.
[565] *Ibid*., p. 215.

complain or protest, you can always tell your direct boss or a military conference. Why must you secretly approach foreign advisors for this."[566]

Dating back to American efforts to improve the performance of Chinese Army units during World War Two there had been friction surrounding the role of "political officers" within Chinese units. Technically, these officers had become "information officers" after the adoption of the 1947 Constitution of the Republic of China that made the military, which had previously been under the control of the GMD, a department under the authority of the Ministry of National Defense. American officers had been uncomfortable with political officers since the beginning of the Sino-American partnership in 1941 and felt that political officers were a form of political interference in military operations and a potentially dangerous division of command authority. Chinese political leaders argued in turn that American's "did not sufficiently understand" the need for ideological conformity and political surveillance within the ROC Army.[567]

In one of the first meetings between General Chase and Chiang Kai-shek, political officers emerged as an area of disagreement. In General Chase's initial survey of ROC military units, conducted immediately after he arrived on Taiwan, he noted that, "There is, throughout the Armed Forces, a highly objectionable system of Political Commissars, that acts to penalize initiative and under-mine the authority of commanders of all echelons."[568] Chase's use of the term "political commissars," rather than the Chiang and

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[566] "President Chiang's Views on the Political Officer System in Armed Forces," 29 April 1954, NARA, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Microfilm Reel 36.
[567] Goufangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 1499.
[568] The Charge in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 6 July 1951, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1951* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), vol. VII, China, pp. 1730-1732.

the U.S. State Department's favored usage of "political officers" is reflective of underlying negative associations of a Soviet style system of political monitoring of the armed forces. Chiang Kai-shek disagreed with Chase's desire to eliminate the political positions and stated that he would approve all MAAG recommendations, "With the exception of the parts dealing with political workers and the Combined Services which are features particularly demanded by the circumstances of the day."[569] Chiang's reasoning was that after the disastrous experience in the Chinese Civil War when senior commanders and sometimes even whole units had switched sides, there was little alternative to the system in spite of American objections.[570] Unwilling to take sides in the dispute, the State Department hedged its position,

> The question of political commissars, however, lies close to the heart of the gap which separates American and Chinese thinking…Unquestionably the Chinese Government must have a means of coping with subversion and espionage among both the Armed Forces and the civil population. There must also be appropriate provision for indoctrination and morale building among the troops in particular. However, informed Americans and many if not most Chinese military officers consider the present methods used in both fields to be seriously deficient…it seems likely that more harm than good is being accomplished as regards the effectiveness of the military establishment.[571]

In addition to American military objections to the political officer system, Chinese officers, including General Sun Li-jen, Commanding General of the ROC Army felt that the system represented, "an almost insurmountable barrier to the achievement of

[569] *Ibid*.
[570] Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase,* p. 180.
[571] The Charge in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 6 July 1951, *FRUS, 1951*, vol. VII, China, pp. 1730-1732.

good military discipline, high morale, and effective combat potential."[572] MAAG reported that concerns about the political officer system were shared by larger numbers of officers down to the platoon level and that many well-qualified junior officers were expressing their concerns and frustrations with American advisors.[573]

In contrast to American military concerns about the erosion of a commanders authority, American government officials were skeptical of the political officer system because it was perceived to be part of a broader secret police system responsible not to the government of the ROC but the GMD and the Chiang family. A State Department cable bluntly stated,

> The political commissar system, at present, is the creature of General Chiang Ching-kuo, the Generalissimo's son and Director of the Political Department of the Ministry of National Defense. Formosa does not have a unitary secret police system; it comprises the political commissars in the army, Chiang Ching-kuo agents other than the commissars, the Peace Preservation Corps of General Peng Meng-chi, the agents of the Ministry of Interior, the Generalissimo's own bodyguards, etc., etc…[574]

General Chase and officers within MAAG understood the limitations of their authority and did not attempt an administrative re-ordering of the Chinese military to included eliminating the political officer position. Instead, they tried to ignore political officers as much as possible and limit their role within the daily activities of military units. Acquiescence was the accepted policy, except "as long as it does not consume too

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[572]Memorandum by the Officer in Charge of Chinese Economic Affairs (Barnett) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Rusk), 3 October 1951, *FRUS, 1951*, vol. VII, China, pp. 1816-1827.
[573] "Morale Within Chinese Armed Forces," 30 December 1953, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, NARA, Record Group 59, Reel 36.
[574]Memorandum by the Officer in Charge of Chinese Economic Affairs (Barnett) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Rusk), 3 October 1951, *FRUS, 1951*, vol. VII, China, p. 1820.

much time, and as long as it does not introduce a separate chain of command within the military organizations,…"[575]

Rather than cooperate with the political officers, MAAG sought to limit the role of political officers and gradually isolate them within the military organization. American officers resisted assigning an advisor to the Political Department and eventually assigned a token one officer from the several hundred on Taiwan to serve as a liaison.[576] MAAG also devoted no resources to assist the Political Department, in spite of the large amount of American funding available. Within military units, American MAAG officers encouraged regular Chinese military officers to fill most of the functions that political officers were assigned to, such as promoting morale through sporting activities, presenting lectures, or helping soldiers with personal concerns such as moving their families after re-assignments.[577]

MAAG and DoD efforts to limit the role of political officers continued into 1954. In February 1954, under prolonged pressure from General Chase, Chiang Kai-shek formed a combined Sino-American study committee to investigate allegations that the Political Department of the ROC military was "increasingly interfering with the authority of the Chinese Army Commanders."[578] MAAG, with the support of the DoD also

[575]The Charge in the Republic of China (Rankin) to the Department of State, 11 December 1951, *FRUS, 1951*, vol. VII, China, p. 1865.
[576] *Ibid*., p. 1866.
[577]Memorandum by the Chief of the Navy Section of the Military Assistance Advisory Group, Formosa (Beyerly) to the Chief of the Military Assistance Advisory Group, Formosa (Chase), 9 November 1951, *FRUS, 1951*, vol. VII, China, p. 1868.
[578]The Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Nash) to the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Drumright), 23 February 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985), vol. XIV, China, p. 365.

continued to refuse to send American officers to act as liaisons and advisors in the Political Department, a position that the State Department did not support.[579] Under State Department pressure MAAG-Formosa assigned only one American officer at a time to "observe" the Political Department of the ROC military.[580]

Throughout the 1951-1954 period the State Department continually argued for a closer relationship between MAAG and political officers. In February, 1954, the U.S. Ambassador in Taipei wrote to the Secretary of the Office of Chinese affairs, Walter McConaughy, to describe the lack of coordination between MAAG and Chiang Ching-kuo's political officer administration as, "one of the most serious gaps in our effort on Formosa."[581] Rankin further argued that the constant "sniping at political commissars and police state methods," by MAAG officers was counter-productive and simplistic. By the end of 1954, the steadily increasing power and pervasive influence of the Political Department of the ROC Ministry of National Defense had reached a point where even the CIA noted it. A National Intelligence Estimate from September 1954 states,

> The [ROC] army's effectiveness is impaired by a failure of the highest command echelons to delegate authority and by a political officer system which interferes with command functions but has not resulted in infusing a great amount of political zeal in the army…The MAAG's task in this respect is difficult, however, for these proposed changes impinge upon certain of President Chiang's most strongly held desires: to maintain a tight grip on the army command, not to delegate authority, and to maintain a political officer system outside of the normal chain of command

[579] Ibid.
[580] Guofangbu zong zhengzhi bu, *Guojun zhenggong shigao* (Taipei: Guojun zhenggong shibian, 1960), p. 1500.
[581]Message: Karl Rankin to Walter McConaughy, 2 February, 1954, NARA, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Record Group 59, Reel 36.

> charged with the duties of political indoctrination, surveillance, and enforcing loyalty to himself.[582]

During late 1954, MAAG also lost its main partner within the ROC Army because General Sun Liren was removed from his command position and given the empty title of military advisor to Chiang Kai-shek. During his period of leadership from 1950-1954, Sun had supported MAAG in opposing the political officers inclusion in the ROC military. By 1954, Chiang's Political Department had also strengthened its position within the ROC military by installing over 10,000 political officers, trained at a newly founded Political Department academy, in all units of the ROC military.[583]

As a result of continued intransigence by senior Chinese leaders, especially Chiang Kai-shek and his son Chiang Ching-kuo, the loss of MAAG's main Chinese ally, Sun Liren, and MAAG desperation, American military policy changed from isolation of political officers to an attempt to moderate their influence through education. In the words of General Chase, "We could not whip it, so we joined it."[584] This change was signaled by the assignment of American military officers to Political Department schools and the inauguration of new courses designed to teach political officers military affairs in order to better integrate their efforts.[585] The MAAG belief was that the overall combat effectiveness of the ROC military would be improved through a "change from its former

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[582]National Intelligence Estimate, NIE-43-54, 14 September, 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 628.
[583]Memorandum for Record: From Advisor to General Political Department, NGRC to K. Rankin (Ambassador) Subject: MAAG Personnel for General Political Department, 1 August 1953, *U.S. State Department Confidential Files, Formosa-Republic of China, 1950-1954* (Frederick: University Publications of America, 1986), Reel 4, p. 6.
[584]Chase, *Front Line General: The Commands of William C. Chase*, p. 181.
[585]Supporting MAAG Formosa Request for Officers to be Attached to Political Department and Peace Preservation Corps, 18 February 1954, NARA, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Record Group 59, Reel 36.

policy of opposing the Political Department to one of trying to work with the Political Department and in the process bend it to the MAAG will."[586]

The "Sun Liren Incident" and the End of the Golden Age of ROC-MAAG

By the spring of 1955, Sun's position within the Army was increasingly vulnerable. In June 1954, Sun had been reassigned from his position as Commander in Chief of the Army to duty as the Personal Chief of the Military Staff in the Office of the President.[587] This move removed him from any direct command of troops and his relocation to the capital Taipei. American advisors noticed that the reassignment had not been viewed positively by Sun, "[Sun] Does not like his assignment as Senior Military Aide to the President. An active soldier, he does not like a desk job."[588] Although the new position provided Sun with more political access, he had never been close to Chiang Kai-shek and had few supporters within the GMD. In place of Sun as Commander in Chief of the ROC Armed Forces, Chiang appointed a Party loyalist, Huang Jie (黃傑), who had served under Chiang for twenty-five years and had graduated from the first class of the Whampoa Academy.

The signing of the Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty (*zhongmei gongtong fangyu tiaoyue* 中美共同防禦條約) in December 1954 also hurt Sun because it entailed clear treaty obligations on the part of the United States to defend Taiwan, making the

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[586] Political Department-Ministry of National Defense, *Briefing on Political Establishment in the Chinese Armed Forces*, (Taipei, Unknown Publishing, 1959); Memorandum by the Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs (McConaughy) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs (Robertson), 13 December 1954, *FRUS, 1952-1954*, vol. XIV, China, p. 1026.
[587] "Sunliren ren zongtong fucan junzhang," *Zhongyang Ribao*, 25 June 1954, p. 1.
[588]Comments on Some Recent Presidential Appointments in the NGRC Armed Forces, 16 September 1954, NARA, Records of the Office of Chinese Affairs, 1945-1955, Microfilm Reel 36.

effectiveness of GMD military units less crucial. The Treaty also stipulated that the no military forces in Taiwan would invade China, a goal that Sun and many younger officers had been planning and training for since 1949.

With decreasing military utility and few political allies, Sun was an inviting target for Chiang Ching-kuo's faction to subvert through political accusations. In June 1955, two officers at the Army Infantry School, Guo Tingliang (郭廷亮) and Chiang Yunchin (江雲錦) were accused of engaging in armed rebellion. Chiang Kai-shek later informed the U.S. Embassy that the officers had been planning a mass protest during a military review on 6 June and to demand the removal of Army General Peng Mengji (彭孟緝), who was seen as a stooge of Chiang Ching-kuo and the return of Sun Liren to command of the Army.[589] American intelligence felt that although Chiang's reported fear of mass protest was dubious, there were increasing signs of division within the Army. CIA reports detail that young military officers were coming under harassment due to the political officer system and were being constrained from taking offensive action towards China. The report stated that both factors were leading young officers to a "dead-end future on Formosa."[590]

Sun Liren had served with Guo since 1942 and Guo had followed Sun throughout his career as a subordinate commander and staff officer. With Guo charged with subversion and suspicion of being a Communist agent, the implication was that Sun was either an accomplice to Guo's activities or incompetent in his supervision. On 3 August, Sun Liren resigned as Chief Military Advisor to the President and accepted responsibility

[589] *Current Intelligence Bulletin*, 21 October 1955, Central Intelligence Agency, FOIA.
[590] *Current Intelligence Bulletin*, 21 October 1955, Central Intelligence Agency, FOIA.

for inadequately supervising Guo while serving as his commander. Chiang Kai-shek accepted Sun's resignation but ordered a special Party investigative committee to examine Guo and Sun's relationship. The special committee was chaired by Vice President and Premier Chen Cheng (陳誠) and concluded that since Guo Tingliang and others had confessed to plotting a coup, Sun Liren had therefore obviously been negligent in his supervisory duties. On 8 October, Chiang issued an order that rather than the death penalty Sun would be: "granted special permission for reformation with no additional punishment and should be under the constant observation from the Ministry of National Defense for improvement."[591]

While GMD conducted its own investigation, the Control Yuan of the ROC government also launched an investigation under the guidance of Harvard trained lawyer Tao Baichuan (陶百川) Tao's investigation diverged sharply from the GMD investigation committee in both its methods and conclusions. Tao found that Guo Tingliang and the others had demonstrated no indication of inciting a military rebellion and had only confessed to their involvement under torture. This evaluation led them to conclude that because there was no wrong-doing, Sun could not be found guilty of being an accomplice or negligent. The tremendous gap between the GMD and government investigatory findings led to the Tao Investigation Committee report being classified as a state secret, until finally released in 1988.[592] Sun was kept under house arrest in Taichung, until 20 March, 1988.[593]

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[591] Sun Liren Incident. Encyclopedia of Taiwan. http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3868

[592] Shen Keqin, *Sun Liren zhuan* [Sun Liren Biography] (Taipei: xuesheng shuju youxiangongsi, 2005), p. 961.

[593] "Lingdao wencui" [Leadership Collections], *Nan Shifang*, July 2011, pp. 75.

Foreign evaluation of the "Sun Liren Incident" found it to be a blatantly political puppet show by Chiang Chingkuo. The CIA felt the entire affair was a dangerous distraction because, "This callous throat-cutting serves as example to the army, which could dangerously weaken Chiang regime, [which is] dependent on continued loyalty of troops."[594] The CIA placed the blame for Sun's downfall squarely on Chiang Ching-kuo, "Downfall of Sun appears mainly work of Chiang Ching-kuo, arch-conservative leader on Formosa…will be interpreted as victory for young Chiang, and thus will depress morale of westernized Chinese still on Formosa."[595] The *Washington Post* cited former Governor of Taiwan K.C. Wu who argued that Sun was purged because "he is too popular and has too democratic views," both of which are a threat to the Chiang family.[596]

Military officers in Taiwan were shocked by the persecution of a war hero and military leader. In an oral history collection of former ROC officers, the feeling of shock and subtle fear of political power was a nearly constant observation of military officers.[597] Many of Sun's closest aides, several of which were now senior commanders and generals, had served with Sun for nearly fifteen years, but were forbidden to have further contact with him after the house arrest.

The transparently political Sun Liren incident was the most important, but only one of a series of developments that slowly redefined and restricted the ROC-MAAG relationship in 1955. By 1955, the large American presence on Taiwan was firmly

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[594] *Current Intelligence Bulletin*, 21 October 1955 Central Intelligence Agency. FOIA
[595] *Ibid*.
[596] *Washington Post*, "Taipei Holds General, Ex-Governor Testifies," 15 February 1958.
[597] Chen Cungong, *Sun Liren an xiangguan renwu fangwen jilu* (Taipei, Zhongyang yanjiu suo koushu lishi congshu, 2007).

established with military advisors under MAAG, economic aid coordinated by the State Department and strong American political support for the ROC from the Eisenhower administration. During 1955 the Sino-American partnership shifted from a relationship seeking to develop the ROC Army and into a period geared towards preserving the status quo, the result was a diminishment in the importance of the MAAG effort.

The most direct diminishment of the MAAG mission in 1955 was the signing of the Sino-American mutual defense treaty, which came into effect on March 3, 1955. The treaty stipulated that the United States had a formal obligation to defend Taiwan from attack. This stipulation removed much of the urgency from ROC efforts because it could rely on American military power, including nuclear weapons, to defend its territory. With increased military security, Chiang Ching-kuo was able to move against the ROC's most effective military officer, Sun Liren.

The Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States and the ROC was the culmination of a steadily increasing network of political, economic and military cooperation during the early 1950's. Signed in Washington on 2 December 1954 and entering effect on March 3, 1955 the treaty stipulated that armed attack against the territory of either party would result in common action. Although this mutual defense treaty was only one of the many international agreements proposed by the Eisenhower administration the treaty expressly restricted American action to defend against the island of Taiwan and the Pescadores.[598]Any action against the ROC on the islands of Jinmen and Matsu was de facto not covered by the mutual defense conditions. This position was

[598] Article 6, *Mutual Defense Treaty between the United States of American and the Republic of China* Accessed on 12 January, 2013. http://www.taiwandocuments.org/mutual01.htm

modified in January 1955 by the "Formosa Resolution" of the U.S. Congress that authorized the President to employ armed forces on Taiwan, the Pescadores and "related positions and territories of that area."[599] Although the Congressional Resolution removed any ambiguity about areas under protection, both the Treaty and Resolution explicitly restricted American action to defensive operations making any attacks on the Chinese coast by ROC forces outside Treaty responsibilities.

The Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty also clarified the command and control arrangements on Taiwan through the creation of an official United States Taiwan Defense Command (USTDC) mandated to coordinate military operations in the event of war. The USTDC assumed this task on 11 November 1955 from the MAAG liaison office and operated from a military base in Taipei separate from MAAG facilities.[600] USTDC's commander was designed as a naval position in contrast to the Chief of MAAG that was an Army position. The USTDC command position was also designated the senior American military officer on Taiwan with a rank of Vice Admiral (three stars) rather than the Major General (two stars) assigned as MAAG Chief. The superior rank of the USTDC head meant they represented the senior United States military presence in the ROC.

Lastly, in June 1955 General Chase retired from U.S. Army active duty and was replaced by Maj. General George Smythe.[601] During his four years as Chief of the

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[599] Monte Bullard, *Strait Talk: Avoiding a Nuclear War Between the U.S. and China Over Taiwan*, Appendix 16 Monterey Institute of International Politics, 2004, p. 284. http://cns.miis.edu/straittalk/ accessed on 12 January 2013

[600] *Washington Post*, "Taiwan Defense Command Is Set Up by U.S. Forces," 23 October 1955, pp. A4.

[601] Chicago Tribune, "Report: Gen. Chase Will Retire as Head of MAAG," 19 June 1955, p. 9.

MAAG mission General Chase had worked closely with senior U.S. and ROC officials to initiate the MAAG program and undertake a wide range of political, military and training duties. After the retirement of General Chase, successive MAAG commanders did not radically alter the organization of MAAG and had a much reduced role in political issues. For the remaining years of MAAG Formosa the commanding officer would serve a shorter term, less than two years, followed by retirement.

Although the position of MAAG would continue to exist until the transfer of U.S. diplomatic recognition from the ROC to PRC in 1979 the continued development of the ROC forces and he economic growth of Taiwan made U.S, advising and assistance increasingly unnecessary. MAAG personnel strength steadily dropped from a peak in 1955 to total staff of less than 300 remained after 1968. U.S. military to Taiwan ended in 1968 with a total amount of 2.4 billion transferred between 1949 and 1968 (roughly 16 billion dollars in 2012 USD value).[602]

During the 1950-1955 period, Chiang Ching-kuo and the GMD was able to reintroduce political officers into the ROC military and intellectually challenge the concept of a professional military advocated by Sun Liren and MAAG advisors. By leveraging connections to other GMD organizations, the political department was able to steadily insert itself into military procedures, limiting the authority of commanders. The end of the this de facto "hostile takeover" of the ROC military, through the arrest of Sun

[602] *Stars and Stripes, Pacific Edition*, "Chiang to Honor U.S. Military Aid Group," Andrew Headland, 28 April 1971, p. 28.

Liren, marked the end of the period of military professionalism within the ROC military and the beginning of over thirty years of GMD control of the ROC military.

Epilogue and Conclusion

The arrest and sentencing of General Sun Liren was the capstone event of a larger process of steadily increasing political control by the GMD over the ROC military. The power of the Political Department to monitor, assign and coerce ROC military officers rested on a solid bureaucratic foundation that remained relatively unchanged until the mid-1980's. Only after thirty years of rapid social and economic development in Taiwan were political opposition forces and reformers within the GMD able to reexamine the party-military relationship. Between 1986 and 2002 a systematic pattern of reforms was able to eliminate the formal basis of GMD control over the military. This top-down approach was remarkably successful in establishing a new civil-military consensus with little opposition from the GMD or elements within the military. Although the return of the ROC military to civilian control and explicitly professional norms versus party loyalty, may appear the be a return to the values and role of the army in the 1945-1955 period, the ROC military mission changed radically The ROC military during the 1945-1950 period had perceived itself as the military of a world power, the army of 1950-1955 was a professional army in exile; but the ROC military after 2002 was a professional army but its mission focused on Taiwan itself, not China.

Although the return of the ROC military to full civilian control was most contentious during the 1990's the position of the military in Taiwan had been declining since the 1970's. Until 1972, a military officer was customarily assigned to serve as the Governor of Taiwan and military membership of the Central Standing Committee of the

GMD constituted thirty percent of the total.[603] Beginning in the 1970's a new generation of well-educated Taiwanese began to move into the civilian government, party and military systems, a generational transition symbolized by the death of Chiang Kai-shek in 1975. After his assumption of the ROC Presidency in 1978, Chiang Ching-kuo began the process of increasing the rank and authority of native Taiwanese GMD and civil officials, most notably in the appointment of Lee Deng-hui (李登輝) as mayor of Taipei in 1978 and Governor of Taiwan Province in 1981.[604] By 1988, sixteen percent of general officers and thirty-three percent of all officers, including a majority at the lower ranks of lieutenants and captains were native-born Taiwanese.[605] The process of ethnic "Taiwanification" of the ROC military continued in the 1990's and 2000's, aided by political support by President Lee Deng-hui and Chen Shui-bian to select and promote native Taiwanese officers.[606]

In September 1983, Chiang Ching-kuo had re-assigned his long-time political ally, and former head of the Political Department, Wang Sheng, to be Ambassador to Paraguay.[607] Wang Sheng had been seen as a possible successor to Chiang Ching-kuo but was viewed as a political reactionary and overly identified with the military within

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[603] Taylor Fravel, "Towards Civilian Supremacy: Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan's Democratization," *Armed Forces and Society* 29:1 (Fall 2002), p 59.
[604] Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) Taipei HEIPAI HSINWEN [TAIWAN WEEKLY] - 1995-07-08 'Taiwanization' of Military 'Unstoppable'. Daily Report. China, FBIS-CHI-95-169 on 1995-08-31, p. 71.
[605] David Kuehn, "Democratization and Civilian Control of the Military in Taiwan," *Democratization* 15:5 (Nov 2008), p. 881.
[606] *Ibid*., p. 879.
[607] Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS). Taipei Domestic Service - 1983-09-20 General Wang Sheng Appointed Ambassador to Paraguay. Daily Report. China, FBIS-CHI-83-186 on 1983-09-23, p. VI

GMD.[608] In a 1986 interview, Chiang Ching-kuo stated that after his death "there would be no military rule whatever," which hindered the ability of military officers to seize power in the future and retain legitimacy within the party.[609]

After Chiang Ching-kuo's death in January 1988, Lee Denghui assumed the Presidency for two years, before winning it outright in the 1990 election. Lee appointed a prominent army general and political conservative, Hau Pei-tsun (郝柏村), as Premier, a move some observers felt was a step back from democratization and civilian control of the military. While in office, Hau's political inexperience and lack of civilian support made it easy for Lee Deng-hui to isolate him, and after a poor showing by the GMD in the 1992 elections Hau resigned.[610] The elimination of Hau as a political force represented the end of any attempt by strongly pro-GMD "mainlanders" within the military to intervene in politics.

Attempts by pro-GMD officers like Hau to influence politics directly were fairly easily contained, the bureaucratic and organizational framework developed during the 1950's proved more difficult to reform. Reforming the military institutions was aided, however, by the growth of the opposition parties, especially the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, *Minjindang* 民進黨) in the Legislative Yuan. A relatively easy administrative change that could be accomplished through a Presidential Order, was the disbandment of the Taiwan Garrison Command (*Taiwan jingbei zong silingbu* 台灣警備

[608] Tzeng Yi-suo, *Civil-Military Relations in Democratizing Taiwan, 1986-2007*, (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 2009), pp. 76-82.
[609] Taylor Fravel, "Towards Civilian Supremacy: Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan's Democratization," *Armed Forces and Society* 29:1 (Fall 2002), p. 59.
[610] *Ibid*., p. 77.

總司令部), which had been established in 1950 to enforce martial law. In October 1993, the Legislative Yuan passed the laws that prohibited the establishment of political party organizations in schools and in the military.[611]

Restoring a large degree of power to the Legislative Yuan, part of the original concept of the 1947 ROC Constitution, required significant legal and constitutional maneuvering. In 1992, the Temporary Provisions of the 1947 Constitution, which had been the formal authority of the extra-legal activities during the "Period of National Mobilization for the Suppression of Rebellion" that had been in continuous force since 1948, were revised to limit the President's direct command authority over the armed forces. In an amendment passed in 1993, a National Security Council was created as part of the Executive Yuan. Furthermore, a revision of the Organic Law of the National Security Council (*Guojia anquan huiyi zuzhifa* 國家安全會議組織法) attempted to move the military structure away from a concept of direct control by a political leader and towards a more institutionalized command authority.[612]

The most important and concrete reform of the ROC military occurred in January 2000 when a new National Defense Law (*guofang fa* 國防法) and Defense Ministry Organization Law (*guofangbu zuzhifa* 國防部組織法) were adopted.[613] The National Defense law mandated that the national defense chain of command include the Ministry of National Defense, the Executive Yuan, and the National Security Council, in which the President of the ROC was the dominant authority. The National Defense Law also

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[611] *Ibid*., p. 68.
[612] York Chen, "The Modernization of Taiwan's National Security Council," *The China Brief* 10:22 (Nov 5, 2010), pp. 1-2.
[613] http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/web/content?ID=100411

stipulated that the Minister of Defense must be a civilian and that military orders from the President must pass through the Defense Minister before being given to military commanders.[614] The Defense Ministry Organization Law eliminated the statutory power of the General Staff Headquarters, which had been the dominant military staff organization, responsible for all military operations and answering only to the ROC President.[615]

The two National Defense Laws (*guofang erfa* 國防二法) had multiple residual effects to Taiwan's military professionalization in addition to changing the high-level command structure. First, to accommodate the needs of the Ministry of National Defense to develop defense policy and exercise oversight on personnel issues, the civilian staff of the Ministry rapidly expanded with civilian personnel in roughly equal ratio to military in Ministry staff positions. Second, the civilian leadership at the Ministry of National Defense had the statutory authority, and with increase numbers of trained civilian staff, the expertise to develop budgets and spending priorities without military dominance of the process.[616] The combined effect of this reduction in the bureaucratic power of the military was to further restrict the military role to operational and tactical concerns with the majority of coordination with outside government agencies handled by civilians.

Decline of the Political Officer

[614] Republic of China, National Defense Law, Article 11 and Article 12.
[615] Taylor Fravel, "Towards Civilian Supremacy: Civil-Military Relations in Taiwan's Democratization," *Armed Forces and Society* 29:1 (Fall 2002), p. 69.
[616] Cheng Ta-Chen, "guofang erfa zhi pingjia," [An Evaluation of the Two National Defense Laws] *Guojia fazhan yanjiu* 2:2 (June 2003), pp. 107-133.

During the long transition to a civilian-led ROC military, the Political Department, and political officers decreased in importance and power. By the 1980's the role of political officers to undertake political work had been reduced by the rising education levels of army recruits, the well-developed economy in Taiwan, and a stable political system that made many of the soldiers' welfare activities so crucial in the 1950-1955 period irrelevant. The de facto exiling of the main GMD leader associated with the Political Department, General Wang Sheng, also led to a decrease in the influence of the Political Department. In late 1984, the Political Department lost its official power to review military orders, a key element of the political officers "monitoring" function.[617] Moreover, in April 1988, Premier Yu Kuo-hwa (俞國華), proclaimed that party leadership of the military was officially ended. His statement came after an official order to end party work in the military on 1 January 1988.[618]

The organizational changes resulting from the two national defense laws of 2000 further restricted the Political Department to activity directed towards foreign countries rather than an internal role. After 1988, although the political officers were forbidden to promote a political party's ideology, "opposing Taiwan independence" (*fan tai du* 反台獨), which had clear implications of attacking the DPP, continued for many years. The anti-independence education program was allowed because technically it was in keeping with the ROC's claim to authority over all of China. By the 2000's, though, this program was also eliminated.[619] In 2012 the political warfare bureau website lists its internal

[617] Cheng, *Party-Military Relations*, p. 140.
[618] *Ibid*., p. 141.
[619] Su Jinqiang, *Guojun zhengzhi jaioyu yu jundui guojiahua de yanjin* (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuxxinggang College, 1998), pp. 86-87.

military functions only as, "psychological counseling, psychological warfare training, military news handling, and cultivation of soldiers' spirits and combat abilities."[620]

In a complete inversion of the key principle of absolute loyalty to the GMD, on which Fuxinggang College had been built, in 2002 ROC President Chen Shui-bian, the leader of the political opposition to the GMD spoke at the school. While not openly challenging the continued need for political officer functions in the military, Chen stated that Fuxinggang needed to change with the times and adjust their methods to a different contemporary situation.[621] In addition to political criticism from elected officials, political officers were increasingly open to attack by media outlets when they were perceived as politicizing their role. In December 2006, a political officer was publically named in a prominent newspaper and attacked for being part of a "Stalinist throwback" organization after he was photographed participating in a political protest.[622]

Professional Force Structure

The changes in civil-military relations within the ROC military during the 1986-2010 period was also reflected in a significantly revised force structure. Changes to the personnel policy to favor a more technically competent, long-term volunteer force, an increasingly prominent role for air and naval forces in military planning, and a shift to purely defense military strategies were key elements of this changing force structure.

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[620] Cultural and Political Affairs Division, About the General Political Warfare Bureau. https://www.mnd.gov.tw/english/Publish.aspx?cnid=420&p=51001, accessed on 11 November 2012

[621] Sofia Wu, "President Urges Political Warfare Officers To Keep Up With Changes," *Central News Agency*, 6 January 2002.

[622] Editorial, "Partisanship in the Military," *Taipei Times*, 1 December 2006, p. 8.

In conjunction with the passage of the two national defense laws in 2002 was a shift in the internal policies of the ROC military to devote increasing percentages of the defense budget and an increasingly prominent role in military operations to air and naval forces. The elimination of the dual command structure and integration of the planning and training for the three services under a unified command had been explicitly cited as a key goal of the new legislation by Defense Minister Tang Fei in 2000.[623]

The steady decrease in the importance of military affairs within the ROC government budget, measured in terms of total and percentage allocations, and reduction in the size of ROC military forces during the 1990's and 2000's decreased the political and social importance of the military. In July 1997, a downsizing program, "Jing Shih" (Streamlining and Consolidation), was implemented with the goal of reducing total personnel numbers below 400,000 by 2003 before reaching a target of roughly 340,000 by 2006 and 290,000 by 2012.[624] Most of the personnel cuts were made to the Army that by 2012 was reduced to 130,000 personnel, roughly a quarter of its peak post-1950 size. Most of the cuts were made by gradually decreasing and finally eliminating conscription, which was ended in January 2013.[625]

The power and influence of the military was also reduced by decreasing its share of the government budget that ranged from fifty-two percent to sixty-six percent during 1970-1987, down to twenty-three percent in 1996 before settling at consistent rate of

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[623] Edward Chen, Defense Ministry to Complete Restructure in 3 Years, *Central News Agency*, 9 January 2000.
[624] David Hsu, "Restructuring Making ROC Military Smaller but Stronger," *Central News Agency*, 29 November 2001; Michael Chase, "Defense Reform in Taiwan: Problems and Prospects," *Asian Survey* 45:3 (May/June 2005), pp. 369-370.
[625] Sarah Mishkin, "Taiwan prepares for end of conscription," *Financial Times*, 21 November 2012.

sixteen percent during 2001-2003. Similarly, the share of total Taiwanese GNP utilized by the military dropped from an average of over eight percent during 1970-1987 to two and a half percent by 2003. [626] An important aspect of the increasing civilian control over the military budget was the increasing transparency of defense expenditures during the 1990's. In 1993, 61 percent of the defense budget was treated as "secret" and not subjected to legislative scrutiny. By 2002, only seventeen percent remained classified.[627]

The drop in total personnel within the military enabled a large percentage of the increasingly austere military budget to be spent on advanced equipment, especially aircraft and naval vessels. During the 1990's, Taiwan purchased over 16 billion dollars' worth of equipment from the United States, spent an additional several billion dollars on French and German fighter jets and naval vessels, as well as funding indigenous development of jet fighters and naval patrol ships.[628] The comprehensive increase in the firepower and technical orientation of the ROC forces, combined with the increasingly selective personnel system was a return to idea of an elite ROC military imagined during the post-World War Two period but without the same great power aspirations.

U.S. Military Assistance

[626] Michael Chase, *Taiwan's Security Policy: External Threats and Domestic Politics*, (Boulder, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008), p. 34; David Kuehn, "Democratization and Civilian Control of the Military in Taiwan," *Democratization* 15:5 (Nov 2008), p. 878; York Chen and Martin Edwards, "An Overview of Taiwan's Defense Reform" in Edmonds, Martin and Michael Tsai (eds). *Taiwan's Defense Reform* (New York: Routledge Publishing, 2006), p. 68.
[627] Michael Chase, "Defense Reform in Taiwan: Problems and Prospects," *Asian Survey* 45:3 (May/June 2005), p. 373.
[628] *Ibid*., pp. 33-37.

The U.S. decision to transfer diplomatic relations from the Republic of China to the People's Republic of China in 1979 ended the formal treaty partnership between the two countries, but an extensive array of public and private military partnerships have continued to exhibit significant military cooperation. Especially in the area of equipment, most notably fighter aircraft, and education, the United States continues to be Taiwan's primary security partner.

The influence of the United States on the ROC military education system also remains strong with military-to-military exchanges supported by large numbers of Taiwanese students studying at private American schools before entering the ROC military at both the enlisted or officer level. The most direct education connection is the enrollment of three Taiwanese students at any one time at each U.S. academy: West Point, Annapolis and Colorado Springs. One student per year is sent state-level military school: Virginia Military Institute and the Citadel in South Carolina. Norwich University in Vermont accepts two per year.[629] At the graduate level, Taiwanese officers can attend a wide variety of U.S. military schools including the Army War College, National Defense University, and Navy Staff College at the discretion of the ROC Ministry of National Defense.[630]

The profound organizational influence that the United States established in the 1940's remains another constant area of U.S.-ROC cooperation. The United States continues to serve as the primary security model for Taiwan with government reforms such as the creation of a National Security Council system explicitly designed to be

[629] David Vernal, *Overseas Education for Taiwanese Military Officers: Policy, Practice and Effects* (Masters Thesis. National Chengchi University, July 2006), p. 27.
[630] *Ibid*., p. 29.

similar to U.S. mechanisms. At the organizational level, the United States remains deeply involved in ROC discussions over strategy, training and force structure. Talks between U.S. and ROC military leaders over these "software" issues is conducted at several venues: annual "Monterey Talks" at the Defense Language Institute in California, the annual U.S.-Taiwan Defense Industry Conference held in the U.S., and consultations at the East-West Center in Hawaii.[631] These meetings are designed increase the level of coordination between U.S.-ROC military staffs and provide a venue to develop personal connections that are often solidified through academic exchanges provided for military officers at research centers in the U.S. and Taiwan.

After the extensive re-equipping of ROC forces during the 1950's, American military support to Taiwan during the 1960's was restrained by U.S. supply problems during the Vietnam war and the increasingly conventional force structure of the ROC forces that made few demands on the U.S. defense industry. The focus of the ROC military on high-tech air and naval warfare has meant significantly increased purchases of American military equipment since 1990. Notable purchases include: one hundred and fifty F-16 fighters in 1992, ET-2 airborne early warning aircraft in 1993, Chinook helicopters in 1998, P3C maritime patrol aircraft in 2007 and Apache helicopters in 2008. In addition, substantial investments have been made during the 2000's in harden ROC military sites and protect against PRC missile forces through the purchase of the Patriot missile defense system and early warning radars.[632] Similar to the post-1950 rebuilding of the ROC military, the United States has constrained weapons transfers to "defensive"

[631] Shirley Kan, "Taiwan: Major U.S. Arms Sales Since 1990," *Congressional Research Service*, 29 November 2012, pp. 2.
[632] *Ibid*., pp. 66-69.

systems that are unable to significantly threaten the status quo in East Asia or allow the possibility of attacking China.

Ideas

The major changes to the ROC military identity, role and structure during the 1986-2010 time period were instigated by civilian political leaders. Military officers, except in a few cases such as Wang Sheng and Hau Pei-tsun, were largely isolated from broader discussion of civil-military development. ROC officers as a group remained largely passive during the 1990's as the new structure of the ROC military was being debated. The increasing pressures of a rising Chinese military power, especially the period surrounding the 1995 and 1996 Chinese missile tests, focused military attention on real-world issues rather than major reforms. Particularly after the implementation of the two National Defense Laws in 2003 officers supported the new civilian dominated, functionally specific military structure. In polling data collected from 2004-2007 the overwhelming majority of military officers understood and approved of the new military structure. When asked if they understood the significance and importance of the term "army nationalization" (*jundui guojiahua* 軍隊國家化), ninety-two percent of surveyed officers answered that they understood the concept. When asked if they agreed with the two national defense laws and the concept of "army nationalization" sixty-nine percent approved of the policies.[633]

A review of military journals during the 1987-2012 period also shows an increasing focus on highly specialized, technical issues rather than politicized appeals to

[633] Chu Chao-Hsiang, "Wo guo 'Junwen guanxi' fazhan de lichen yu xiankuang zhi yanjiu, yi guofang erfa dingding wei fenxi jidian" (Ph.D. dissertation. Guoli Taiwan shifan daxue, 2008), pp. 123-125.

"take back the mainland." In 2012 the most prominent journal in the ROC military, *Guofang zazhi* (National defense magazine 國防雜誌), focused heavily on the possibility and tactics of a hypothetical naval engagement off the coast of Taiwan. Examination of Chinese PLA military capabilities with extensive analysis of highly specialized military operations such as electronic counter-measure tactics and drone reconnaissance integration. The United States remained the most important foreign topic and in a similar form to ROC journals in the 1945-1955 period, United States technological, tactical and strategic developments are all reviewed, often by highly knowledgeable U.S. trained ROC officers.

Conclusion

The core historical argument presented in this dissertation is that Chinese military officers within the GMD military were able to create a depoliticized military institution, develop foreign partnerships and define a distinct military officer identity to create a true "national" army for the first time in Chinese history during the years 1942-1955.

This dissertation has traced the development of GMD/ROC military forces from 1942-1955 and analyzed the process by which armed forces constructed their identity and mission. This process was driven by the internal motivations of military officers to create a professional role that emphasized technical skills and insulated bureaucratic structures. These ideas, expressed most articulately by General Sun Liren, were able to achieve many of the status objectives of military officers. The process by which Chinese military officer selectively adopted ideas that supported their professional claims to jurisdiction over the management of violence strongly supports the conception of normative isomorphism where change is driven by desires for status and respect.

Throughout the 1942-1955 period, Chinese officers found that by adopting American military norms, techniques and conceptions, they could reshape their position within the GMD system and later ROC government. Throughout this process, the Unites States played a key role in introducing concepts and providing support to military officers but was never able to decisively shape the GMD/ROC military. The power of ideas, be it ideas of professional competence articulated by Sun Liren or political loyalty developed by Chiang Ching-kuo, and the ability to mobilize supporters of these ideas mattered far more than foreign advice or equipment.

During the 1942-1955 period, the power and influence of ideas of military professionalism fluctuated in inverse relationship to the power and influence of political officers. The power and influence of the political officer within the GMD military also varied widely from a high point in the 1926-1928 period, a long decline from 1928-1946, formal abolition of the political officer role from 1946-1950, and a resurgent political officer system created in Taiwan after 1953. With American support and political inattention from senior GMD leaders, military officers were able to move the GMD/ROC Army towards a technocratic and apolitical vision but could never fully eliminate the party-army idea. While the professionalization program was successful for brief periods, military officers were not able to defend their professional identity from a concerted effort by political leaders to reestablish GMD dominance.

Although the efforts of GMD/ROC military officers were unsuccessful in the short-term, in the long-term the driving forces of normative isomorphism, a desire for status and professional security have overcome political domination in Taiwan and perhaps eventually in China.

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