The Anti-Japanese War

MAO Min
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Chapter 4.1 The Xi'an Incident

ZHANG Xue-liang's Contacts with the CPC

After being captured by the Red Army in the Yulinqiao fight in October 1935, Regiment Commander GAO Fu-yuan of the Northeast Army was educated at the Political Study Class for the Northeast Army Officers, and finally released and returned to Xi'an City. Together with Army Commander WANG Yi-zhe, he visited ZHANG Xue-liang, the commander of the Northeast Army. When GAO talked about that the Northeast Army should unite the Red Army to fight against Japanese invasion, ZHANG shouted: "You dare to say that! Dare to call me colluding with bandits! I shoot you!" GAO immediately stood at attention and said: "I report of Deputy Commander: if I feared death, I would have not come back to do this thing." Then, GAO passionately stated: "The Communist Party and the Red Army are in good faith to help the Northeast Army fighting to regain the lost land, and to unite together with us against Japanese. We did not resist Japanese during the September 18th Incident and lost the entire Northeast. In recent years, did the Northeast Army get good results in suppression on the Communists? If it goes on, the Northeast Army will be wiped out. How can we be worthy of the thirty million folks in the Northeast? How can we be worthy of the deceased Grand Marshal (referring to ZHANG Xue-liang’s father)?" When it came to here, GAO made a pitiful plea. ZHANG's eyes were also full of tears. In fact, ZHANG had already seen that the group of people in the Communist Party are rather remarkable: after escaping for tens of thousands of kilometers and arriving in northern Shaanxi, they used their broken weapons but still destroyed well-
equipped Northeast Army for three times: a whole division for the first time, then a whole regiment, and finally a whole division again. This time, after listening to GAO, he finally decided to send GAO back to the Soviet area delivering a personal letter of his own to the CPC, expressing the hope that the Red Army could send a representative to talk with the Northeast Army.

After receiving ZHANG’s letter, MAO Ze-dong sent LI Ke-nong, with four entourages. They were guided by GAO, started from the Wayaopao Town and went to Luochuan where the Northeast Army Headquarter stationed. After arriving, LI secretly discussed with Army Commander WANG Yi-zhi, and finally reached a verbal consensus for a partial ceasefire. Then, LI met ZHANG Xue-liang, and ZHANG expressed his wish to meet with Chairman MAO or Vice Chairman ZHOU of the CPC.

In April 1936, ZHOU En-lai came to Yan’an County Town (occupied by the Northeast Army then) and met ZHANG Xue-liang in a Catholic church. As soon as they met, ZHOU said: "I grew up in the Northeast." ZHANG responded: "I know that, as mentioned by my teacher, ZHANG Bo-ling." ZHANG smiled and continued: "I used to smoke opium and inject morphine, and then completely got rid of them after listening to ZHANG Bo-ling's advice. And therefore I consider ZHANG Bo-ling as my teacher. You and I have the same teacher." (Note: ZHOU studied in Nankai Middle School, and the school principal was ZHANG Bo-ling.) After exchange of these greetings, the two cut into the main issues, and reached a verbal agreement on non-aggression, mutual help, sending representatives to the other side, etc. When it came to the question as to whether JIANG Jie-shi should be united in fighting against Japanese, however, the views of the two sides were different. ZHOU said that our policy is "Anti-Japanese and anti-JIANG", as we have to, because JIANG pursued the policy of "Making safe internally first, and then resisting foreign aggression", where "making safe internally" means "suppression of communists". ZHANG said that your
slogan of "Anti-Japanese and anti-JIANG" is not conducive to uniting all forces to resist Japanese invasion. He said he advocated to the policy of "Unite JIANG to resist Japanese". He continued: "JIANG Jie-shi put forward the policy of "Making safe internally first, and then resisting foreign aggression", which of course is wrong, but did not surrender to Japanese. He also stressed that "to resist Japanese, we must unite JIANG", and explained: "JIANG is the largest faction of domestic powers, and the mainstream of the GMD." If against JIANG, he said, it is bound to abandon the country's largest force. He added: "Among the important personage in the GMD, I admire only JIANG Jie-shi, as he has a national mood and leadership ability. So, I hope JIANG Jie-shi to resist Japanese. However, around him there are a lot of Japanophile, which makes him unable to be determined to resist Japan, and is in contradiction. I advocate that I try to persuade him from inside, while you put pressure from outside, and so to urge JIANG to change the wrong policy and take the road of resisting Japan." After listening attentively to ZHANG's opinion, ZHOU said: "I personally agree with you, General ZHANG. But this is a big policy, and I want to go back, bring the views of General ZHANG to the Central Committee of the CPC for consideration and decision." ZHANG felt satisfied for ZHOU's position. The two men continued talking with sincerity until 4 AM of the next day. When ZHOU was going to leave, ZHANG took out a color map of China, which was the first such map of high resolution in China, printed by the newspaper "Shanghai Newspaper", and said: "Jointly defend China!"

After returning to Wayaopao Town, ZHOU reported to the CPC Central Committee on the talk with ZHANG Xue-liang, and conveyed ZHANG's opinion of "Unite JIANG to resist Japan". After discussion, the CPC leaders felt that they can make some changes in the wording. In May 5, ZHU De and MAO Ze-dong jointly published "Open telegram on armistice negotiation and joint resistance against Japan", in which JIANG Jie-shi was directly named but not "Traitor JIANG Jie-
The internal instruction of the CPC Central Committee issued on September 1 stated even more clearly: the main enemy of China at present is imperialism of Japan, so it is wrong to equal imperialism of Japan and JIANG Jie-shi, and the slogan of "Anti-Japanese and anti-JIANG" is not appropriate; when imperialism of Japan continues to attack China and the national revolutionary movement continues to develop, all or most of the JIANG Jie-shi army would possibly participate in the fight against Japan. The instruction added that our general policy should be "to put pressure on JIANG and so to make him resist Japanese".

**Seize JIANG and Release JIANG**

In late October 1936, JIANG Jie-shi flew to Xi'an City to deploy troops for suppressing and annihilation of the Communist bandits in northern Shaanxi Province. When the commander of the Northeast Army, ZHANG Xue-liang, came to see him, he strictly ordered ZHANG to suppress the Red Army. ZHANG told JIANG his opinion: we should stop the civil war and unite against Japan. But JIANG said: "You do not understand. You do not understand the rational of the policy of 'Making safe internally first, and then resisting foreign aggression'."

A few days later, ZHANG persuaded JIANG to unite the CPC and resist the Japanese again in the event of JIANG’s birthday, but was still refused by JIANG.

At the beginning of December, JIANG once again came to Xi'an. This time, he made clear to ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng (the commander of the 17th Route Army stationed in the Xi'an area): you could either advance to suppress the communists, or the Northeast Army move to Fujian Province and the 17th Route Army move to Anhui Province.

On December 7, ZHANG made a special trip to Huaqing Hot Spring in the Lintong area near Xi'an, where JIANG resided. He repeatedly made earnest admonition, but sternly reprimanded by JIANG again.
On December 9, Xi'an appeared a mass rally, calling for the recovery of lost territory of Northeastern China. Police shot and wounded a pupil. Mass angered and decided to go to Lintong to petition JIANG himself. JIANG ordered ZHANG to stop the students and said you could shoot when necessary. After receiving the order, ZHANG rushed to catch up with the parade and tried hard to persuade the students to go back. Students of the Northeast University shouted slogans: "The Northeast Army should fight back home to recover the lost territory of Northeast!" "Chinese people don't fight against Chinese people!" ZHANG said to students that he will act within a week to respond to student demands and, if he could not make it, "any of you can kill me, ZHANG Xue-liang". The students sang the song of "On the Songhua River" in front of Huaqing Hot Spring, and then left. At that night, ZHANG went to see JIANG. When talking about the student demonstration, JIANG said: "For these students, there is no other way but using machine gun onto them." After listening of these words, ZHANG asked: "Use machine guns onto students but not Japanese?" The two men quarreled badly.

After left from JIANG’s residence, ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng discussed for a long time, and finally decided to catch up JIANG Jie-shi, launching a forced remonstration.

ZHANG called the commander of the Cavalry 6th Division, BAI Feng-xiang, into his residence and ordered him to carry out the task of catching JIANG. BAI said: "I have seen photos of JIANG, but not face to face. I afraid of making mistakes in the chaos." On the second day, ZHANG therefore took BAI to attend a meeting in Lintong, which was presided over by JIANG and discussed the military plan of the Sixth Encirclement and Suppression Campaign on the Communist bandits.

On the evening of December 11, JIANG invited CHEN Cheng, ZHU Shao-liang, JIANG Ding-wen, ZHANG Xue-liang, YANG Hu-cheng and other generals for dinner. During
the dinner, JIANG announced that the Central Army will replace the Northeast Army and the Northwest Army (i.e. the 17th Route Army) to carry out the task of suppression on the Communists, and appointed JIANG Ding-wen as the commander in chief of the Frontline Headquarter of the Suppression Army in Northwestern China.

After coming back from the dinner, ZHANG and YANG separately summoned the senior generals of the Northeast Army and the 17th Route Army, and announced that we will "invite" JIANG Jie-shi from Lintong to Xi'an on the morning of the next day, and issued the relevant orders. ZHANG also called the commander of the 2nd Battalion of his own guarding troop, SUN Ming-jiu, into his office and said to him: "Now I want you to go there and ask the Generalissimo please come to the city. You should absolutely not kill him!" He added: "At this time tomorrow, maybe I can't see you again. You die or I die, all possible." SUN Ming-jiu realized that once left here, he would probably have only little chance of returning alive. He hastily wrote a note of will, and put it in the up-right pocket of his uniform.
At midnight, the forced remonstration started. BAI Fengxiang and LIU Duo-quan (served as the general commander of the action to catch JIANG, who was the commander of the Independent 105th Division of the Northeast Army, and the former commander of ZHANG’s guarding troop with the rank of Major General) led two battalions of ZHANG’s guarding troop and headed for Lintong. They said to soldiers of the guarding troop that the Deputy Commander ZHANG Xue-liang was detained in Huaqing Hot Spring, and we must hurry to rescue him and to capture JIANG Jie-shi alive. They ordered SUN Ming-jiu lead the 2nd Battalion going to Huaqing Hot Spring to catch JIANG, dealing with the military police of 80 people there; WANG Yu-zan lead the 1st Battalion of ZHANG’s guarding troops, responsible for solving the problem of the military police of 70 people stationed in Yuwang Temple adjacent to Huaqing Hot Spring. As a subordinate of SUN Ming-jiu, the Company Captain WANG Xie-yi led 50 soldiers, riding on a truck, was the first arriving at the gate of Huaqing Hot Spring. The military police in the front of the gate blocked them and fired. The two sides had a fierce gunfight. At this time, SUN Ming-jiu's, together with 50 soldiers on a truck, arrived. In the melee, SUN and WANG swept through the gate, bypassed dense bullets near the second door, and crept into JIANG's bedroom. They found, however, JIANG was not in the room, but only saw his cap, leather bags and dentures being on the table, and the coat hanging on the hanger. SUN touched the quilt with his hands, and found it was still warm. A window near the bed was open, indicating that JIANG might have left through the window. LIU Duo-quan immediately reported these to ZHANG Xue-liang. At this time, SUN reported to LIU Duo-quan that a soldier found a shoe in the foot of the building wall facing the hills behind, indicating that JIANG might go to the hills. So, LIU Duo-quan issued the order to search the hills.

Soldiers of the Northeast Army began to search the hill. Officers told the soldiers that when searching the hills, you should absolutely not to hurt JIANG Jie-shi, and you will
receive a reward of 10,000 Yuan if you capture him alive. At the dawn, soldiers in a hillside caught JIANG Jie-shi's personal bodyguard JIANG Xiao-zhen who is JIANG Jie-shi's nephew. After hearing this, SUN Ming-jiu rushed to there. The bodyguard shivered in the cold wind, but refused to tell where JIANG Jie-shi was. SUN Ming-jiu used his pistol pointing at his head and pressed him to tell where JIANG Jie-shi was. JIANG Xiao-zhen still refused to speak, but inadvertently glanced at a hill. SUN immediately directed the soldiers to search in the direction of his glance. Not long after, a monitor named CHEN Si-xiao shouted: "Report to the battalion commander: Generalissimo is here! Here he is!" SUN rushed there and saw that JIANG Jie-shi was coming out from a cave and then stood there, relying on a rock. JIANG wore a brown silk gown and white pants, with barefoot and no cap, quivering in the chilly wind. JIANG asked: "Where do you come from?" SUN answered: "The Northeast Army!" JIANG seemed a little relief. SUN continued: "The Deputy Commander ordered us to protect you, the Generalissimo, to ask Generalissimo please go to the city and lead us to fight against Japanese and go back to the Northeast!" JIANG seemed understand something, and said: "If you are a good comrade, shoot me to death." SUN replied: "We don't shoot. We only ask you to lead us against Japan." JIANG sat down on a big rock and said: "Call Young Marshal ZHANG here, and then I'll go down the hill." SUN again asked him to please go down, and JIANG said: "I can't go because of back pain." SUN said: "I can carry you on my back and go down the hill, Generalissimo." And SUN squatted down in front of JIANG. JIANG hesitated for a moment, and then labored down on the young officer's back. As so, they went down while guarded by soldiers. Then someone shouted: "It's a success!" " Fight and go home!"

In front of the gate of Huaqing Hot Spring, Division Commander BAI Feng-xiang gathered the troops and said to them: "We are for the war against Japan, and we have to be polite to JIANG Jie-shi." After a while, two men stood JIANG and came. BAI saluted JIANG, and said: "Deputy Commander ZHANG sent me to protect you. Please go to the city." JIANG
said: "I am the leader of the country. Call the deputy commander to come here." Later, BAI let someone to pull JIANG into the back seat of a car. SUN Ming-jiu and TANG Jun-yao sat on JIANG’s left and right. On the front seats sat the driver and TAN Hai, an adjutant of ZHANG Xue-liang. In the convoy of several large trucks carrying soldiers of the Northeast Army, the car headed for Xi'an City. The team entered the city of Xi'an, and went straightly to the Xincheng Building where the Pacification Commission was located. JIANG was sent to the east wing of the building. After BAI reported to ZHANG, ZHANG let him go back to rest.

Almost at the same time when JIANG was caught, the troops of YANG Hu-cheng seized military and political officials who came to Xi'an with JIANG, including JIANG Zuo-bin (the Interior Minister), CHEN Cheng (the deputy minister of Military Affairs), WEI Li-huang (the director of the Pacification Commission of the Hubei-Henan-Anhui border area), et al. They were concentrated in the Xi'an Hostel.

In the same day, ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng jointly issued an open telegram to the whole country, putting forward eight proposals, including the restructuring of the government in Nanjing, accommodating all parties to be jointly responsible for saving the nation, stopping all internal wars, etc.

In Nanjing City, the Army Chief HE Ying-qin received emergency information in the same morning that ZHANG mutinied in Xi'an, and that the Generalissimo was unaccounted for. Stunned, he invited three people coming to discuss, and they were Dai Ji-tao (the head of the Examination Yuan), WU Zhi-hui (a member of the Political Committee of the GMD) and XIONG Bin (the Minister of Military Affairs). In HE's home, the four men discussed the current situation, and decided to temporarily keep the news secret and apply press censorship strictly.
At that night, HE convened another meeting at his home, participated by DAI Ji-tao, ZHU Pei-de, CHEN Gong-bo, LI Lie-jun and YE Chu-run. At the meeting, HE remarked fervently, advocating a military crusade against ZHANG and YANG. LI Lie-jun opposed, believing that the urgent task was to ensure the safety of Generalissimo JIANG, rather than sending troops to Xi'an. Some people had questioned who would be the commander if sending the crusade troops, HE Ying-qin, CHENG Qian or FENG Yu-xiang? After two hours of discussion, people thought that this meeting was just a brief meeting and it is not necessary to have a resolution, and that an emergent meeting of the Party’s Central Committee should convene. As so, HE issued a notice to immediately convene an emergent meeting of the Central Committee.

At the emergency meeting of the Central Committee, HE let the participants to circulate the full text of the public telegram issued by ZHANG and YANG. Some people said that the telegram had made it very clear that they guarantee JIANG's safety. As a result, more participants were advocating a peaceful settlement. But HE was still tough, saying that ZHANG and YANG had hijacked the supreme commander, ignored the party disciplines and the national laws, and acted of treachery already, and therefore we have to crusade against the rebellion, to justify laws and disciplines. There were many different opinions in the meeting and the meeting had lasted for four hours already. Finally, the crusading faction won the trend, and the meeting decided to dismiss all positions of ZHANG Xue-liang, send troops to Xi'an under the command of HE Ying-qin. As soon as the meeting was over, HE immediately issued a public telegram to the whole country, in the name of the National Government, revoking all the posts of ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng. He then deployed troops to be ready to crusade ZHANG and YANG.

Just before dawn of December 13, JIANG’s wife SONG Mei-ling flew from Shanghai to Nanjing. After learned that HE Ying-qin was summoning to crusade against the troops in
Xi'an, she said: "HE Jing-zhi (another name of HE Ying-qin) is not a thing!" In the afternoon, she was invited to participate in a joint meeting convened by HE. At the meeting, she said: "ZHANG and YANG at present only request to fight against Japan. We may temporarily agree to their demands. So, why do you want to go to war, putting the Generalissimo in a dangerous situation? Even if a crusade is necessary, it should be done after the Generalissimo is rescued. As for now, we must not act rashly." However, HE said firmly: "In order to safeguard the prestige of the government, there is no other choice but to crusade." SONG asked: "As you want to send troops to Xi'an, what exactly do you think in your heart?" HE replied: "You are a woman and understand nothing. You only know how to save husband! You should not interfere the issues of the country!" SONG was angry and left the meeting room. She immediately went to the head of the Executive Yuan, KONG Xiang-xi, who is her brother-in-law. The result of the discussion between the two was to let an Australian, Donald William Henry, go to Xi'an. Henry was an adviser to JIANG, and a former adviser to ZHANG Zuo-lin and ZHANG Xue-liang, and therefore had a very good relationship with both JIANG and ZHANG. On December 14, Henry flew to Xi'an, met with JIANG, and handed to him a letter of SONG. In the letter, there was a sentence, saying: "In the city of Nanjing, there is a play in the play."

On December 16, the Crusade Army, with HE as the commander in chief, advanced toward Xi'an via Tongguan. Seeing this, ZHANG discussed with JIANG the possibility of letting JIANG Ding-wen, who was detained in Xi'an, go to Luoyang City, asking the Central Army to temporarily suspend military action. JIANG Jie-shi agreed. On December 18, JIANG Jie-shi sent JIANG Ding-wen flying from Xi'an to Nanjing, to show HE his personally written order for truce. The Crusade Army then stopped further military action.
ZHANG Xue-liang (left) was looking at a letter of SONG Mei-ling brought by Henry.

On the noon of the day of the Incident, MAO Ze-dong and ZHOU En-lai received a telegram from ZHANG Xue-liang, saying: "For the sake of the Chinese nation and the future of the Anti-Japanese fight, we have flung caution to the winds, but detained JIANG, together with important generals CHEN Cheng, ZHU Shao-liang, JIANG Ding-wen and WEI Li-huang. We want to force him to release of patriots in prisons, reshuffle the government and form a coalition government. Please quick reply to let us know your opinions." The telegram continued by saying that they will send an airplane to Yan’an to invite ZHOU En-lai and others coming to Xi'an for discussions, and that he and YANG Hu-cheng had concentrated troops along the line connecting Xi'an and Tongguan, hope the Red Army to move southward from the Yan’an area to deal with possible emergency.

This unexpected telegram caused great excitement among the CPC leaders. ZHU De, who was usually moderate, said first: "Now, do not talk about anything else, but kill them first!" But ZHOU En-lai interfaced: "This matter is not entirely up to us. It depends mainly on the attitudes of ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng." MAO Ze-dong said: "For this matter, we should stand behind, and let ZHANG and YANG go to the front." ZHANG Guo-tao said: "We might as well speculate how Moscow will look at this matter." ZHANG Wen-tian, BO Gu and WANG Jia-xiang indicated that we should ask Moscow for instruction. Then, the meeting decided
to immediately send a telegram to the Comintern for instruction. They also decided that before receiving a reply from the Comintern, they should (1) Telegraph ZHANG Xueliang, expressing our praise and ensuring him that we will follow him in future actions; (2) Send ZHOU En-lai, BO Gu and YE Jian-ying as representatives flying to Xi'an via Yan'an; (3) Telegraph PENG De-huai, asking him to lead the troops advancing southward to Yan'an and the areas south of it, while on the way keeping close contact with the allies; (4) Telegraph the liaison personnel in Xi'an, asking them to do nothing before ZHOU En-lai and others arriving, except providing some technical suggestions on the anti-Japanese declaration; and (5) ZHOU En-lai and others, when in Xi'an, should express our specific opinion only after receiving a instruction from Moscow. After the meeting, ZHOU En-lai and others immediately rushed to Yan'an. MAO drafted the telegram to Moscow, reporting the passing of the Xi'an Incident, saying that the CPC Central Committee intends to actively promote ZHANG and YANG to break with JIANG, and asking please instruct as soon as possible.

Representatives of the Communist Party of China, from left: BO Gu, YE Jian-ying and ZHOU En-lai

ZHANG Xue-liang sent a few more telegrams to the CPC. MAO drafted all the replies. The replies respectfully addressed ZHANG Xue-liang as "the national anti-Japanese leader", praised him "had turned the tide of country… and been sufficiently careful, and therefore the fierce and powerful
person (referring to JIANG) would be hard to escape. ... Just as you said in the telegrams, JIANG is a traitorous autocrat and should be justified by the law, and we strongly support to have a public trial." ZHANG Wen-tian criticized the wording in MAO's draft for how to deal with JIANG was not tough enough. MAO criticized ZHANG's argument is impractical view of a bookish person. ZHANG Wen-tian flushed with shame and left away. MAO said to ZHANG Guotao: "There is no fundamental difference between me and ZHANG Wen-tian. The draft had hinted ZHANG Xue-liang to resolutely deal with JIANG, but we should not say naked words on it, otherwise it will leave a trace in the future." ZHU De interrupted MAO's words and said: "Unhesitatingly tell ZHANG Xue-liang: Kill JIANG first and then talk about other issues. ... Now it is a crucial moment, and we should act decisively, without waiting for Moscow instructions. 'Act first and report afterwards.'" MAO comforted ZHU with a smile: "There is no difference between your opinion and mine, except a different method. I have tried hard to hint ZHANG what we should do, but this word of 'kill' should not come out from our mouth directly. ... Don't think too simply and rigidly, how can you conclude that ZHANG will listen to us without any doubt at all?"

In December 13, Moscow replied. The reply had three sections. In the first section, it said that the Xi'an Incident was a conspiracy made by Japanese, and that around ZHANG Xue-liang there were some hidden Japanese spies who used ZHANG’s ambition or even anti-Japanese slogans to make chaos in China. The reply added that if we let it go, China will have a long time civil war, the anti-Japanese forces will lost completely, and Japan can reap the benefits. And it said that the Soviet Union would never be used by the conspiracy, nor will it give any support; on the contrary, it will now show its opposition clearly. In the second section, the instruction stated that China currently needed a nationwide anti-Japanese united front. Therefore, the most important thing is unity and cooperation, rather than split and civil war. It said ZHANG
Xue-liang can't lead the Anti-Japanese War, but JIANG Jie-shi would be the only person who can take the leadership of the Anti-Japanese War if he would change his mind. In the third section, the instruction stated that the CPC should strive for peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident, use this opportunity to make friendly discussions with JIANG to promote his agreement of the Anti-Japanese War, and take initiative to release him on the basis of a favorable peaceful settlement.

After receiving the instruction, the CPC leaders gathered in the cave-house where MAO lived. Some people said: "How can the Xi'an Incident be described as a Japanese conspiracy?" Some other people said that though a long civil war should be avoided, but if JIANG would be release, his revenge would be inevitable. MAO said: "Something we used to say to ZHANG and YANG, are very different from what we could say now. Would not ZHANG and YANG say we're fickle?"

At that night, they gathered again in MAO's cave-house, and finally decided to immediately forward the Moscow instruction to ZHOU En-lai in Xi'an, asking him to sound ZHANG out according to the instructions, do it according to the instructions' principle if it was carried out smoothly; otherwise, leave us a room for maneuver.

Later, more senior cadres was gathered in LIN Bo-qu's cave-house and had a meeting, so to convey the instructions of Moscow in a broader coverage. The vast majority of people supported a peaceful solution, but there were also people who have concerns, such as ZHANG Guo-tao. He said: "I am not optimistic on a peaceful solution. Even if JIANG Jie-shi would agree with our request now in Xi'an, he may still change his face by using an excuse after returning to Nanjing."

On December 14, ZHOU En-lai talked with ZHANG Xue-liang, secretly telling him that the Soviet Union wanted to have a peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident. ZHANG had been not going to harm JIANG from the very beginning, and now the CPC also said so, and therefore he of course agreed, but added: "This thing (referring to peaceful settlement) should
not let the outside know, and also not mentioned to YANG Hu-cheng. We two discuss specific measures first, and as soon as having a slight grasp, it could be then released to the outside." Then, they agreed with specific measures for treating JIANG favorably and for suggesting JIANG on the current situation. ZHOU also said that the Soviet Union would probably not aid us in Xi'an. After listening this, ZHANG was indignant and felt betrayed by the Communist Party, because the CPC always said previously that the Soviet Union would help, but now it is not fulfilled. ZHOU explained in every possible way and said that even the CPC had never thought of it, and that the Soviet Union had its difficulties, for example, the pressure of diplomacy could not be ignored, and so on.

At the night of December 17, ZHOU telegraphed MAO and the Central Committee, saying that he had agreed with ZHANG to let the Red Army move southward to the Yan’an-Qingyang line, and that SONG Zi-wen will come to Xi'an tomorrow. On December 18, ZHOU telegraphed to Yan’an again, saying: "The goal of the Japanophile in the Nanjing Government is to cause a civil war, but not to save JIANG. SONG Mei-ling wrote a letter to JIANG, saying that one should fight the Japanese rather than die at rival’s hands. KONG Xiang-xi tried to reconcile. SONG Zi-wen came to Xi'an, taking armistice as a condition. WANG (Jing-wei) will return China."

Almost at the same time, the CPC Central Committee received another telegram from the Communist International issued on December 17, clearly stating: "We hope that the CPC to push ZHANG and YANG release JIANG, because if China wants to fight the Japanese, it can only be led by JIANG as he has millions of troops." After receiving it, MAO discussed with ZHANG Wen-tian, BO Gu and other leaders, and decided that the CPC advocate a peaceful settlement of the Xi'an Incident, and restore of JIANG's freedom conditionally.

On December 22, SONG Mei-ling, SONG Zi-wen (a brother of JIANG's wife), DAI Li (the deputy director of Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Military Council)
and Donald Henry flew from Nanjing to Xi'an. On the plane, SONG Mei-ling handed her pistol to Henry and said to him: "If the rebels have any rude action against me, you can shoot and kill me immediately with this pistol." After getting off the airplane in the Xi'an Airport, SONG Mei-ling saw ZHANG Xue-liang and YANG Hu-cheng waiting there. She pointed to her baggage and said: "Han-qing (another given name of ZHANG Xue-liang), this is my stuff. Is it okay not to check it?" ZHANG immediately responded: "Madam, I do not dare to do so! Not dare!" ZHANG then accompanied SONG Mei-ling and Donald Henry to see JIANG Jie-shi, carrying a lunch box filled with pickled vegetable of the Ningbo style. When seeing SONG, JIANG shed tears.

Next, ZHANG and YANG held talks with SONG Zi-wen and SONG Mei-ling. In that night, ZHOU En-lai also attended the talk. After the talk, ZHANG went to see JIANG and said: "A former subordinate of Generalissimo asks you please to receive him. Please meet him, Generalissimo." JIANG did not respond. ZHOU then entered JIANG's room, solemnly saluted to JIANG, and called JIANG "the headmaster". JIANG kept a stiff face and did not answer. ZHOU sat down himself and said: "The Communist Party of China absolutely does not have any idea unfavorable to Headmaster, but hopes to have a peaceful solution. The Communist Party of China is willing to support you as the national leader, implementing the anti-Japanese fight." After listening this, JIANG’s attitude gradually became more peaceful. ZHOU had been keeping respectful and submissive, and repeatedly asked JIANG to give instructions. He added that JIANG Jing-guo (JIANG Jie-shi's son) had been well treated in the Soviet Union. Hearing this, JIANG asked some questions about his son. ZHOU then followed up by saying: "We will help you, the father and the son, to reunite." Though on a private issue, it also showed that there was reconciliation between the two sides.

ZHANG Xue-liang and SONG Zi-wen went to see JIANG Jie-shi. JIANG made a verbal commitment to "stop the suppression on the Communists, and unite the Red Army to
fight against Japan", but said he will not sign any document. In this regard, ZHANG's subordinates were dissatisfied, and asked ZHANG: "As we did it when facing the possibility of being killed, how can we do not have even a signature at the end?" ZHANG answered: "Now that we are going to let him go and take him as our leader, and therefore it is good to have a gentleman's agreement; otherwise even if he was forced to sign now, he could change his words at a later time." YANG Hu-cheng also objected to let JIANG go without signing. Under ZHOU's persuasion, he finally agreed, reluctantly.

ZHANG also said to YANG that he will personally accompany JIANG back to Nanjing, because he made the trouble to forcefully remonstrate JIANG, and "one should be responsible for what he did". YANG tried hard to persuade him not to do so. Even JIANG himself didn't want ZHANG to accompany him to go to Nanjing. The only person who supported it was SONG Mei-ling, and she said if ZHANG can personally send JIANG returning to Nanjing, that is the rebel general came personally to offer a humble apology, which tells more that the event had a happy ending. Hearing that ZHANG would accompany JIANG to Nanjing, ZHOU said: "Shao-qing (another given name of ZHANG Xue-liang) has looked at child books too much." The child book he mentioned here is a kind of book with small size and each page has a picture with a textual description below it, and therefore is also named "picted-story book", loved by children; and China's ancient masterpieces, such as "Three Kingdoms" and "Water Margin", all have a pictured-story book version. ZHOU meant that ZHANG was too much influenced by ancient heroes.

On the afternoon of December 25, JIANG was accompanied by ZHANG and went to the Xi'an airport. Before leaving, ZHANG left a hand-written order, letting YANG Hu-cheng to command the Northeast Army. When heard that JIANG, ZHANG and others had gone to the airport, ZHOU En-lai immediately rushed to the airport, trying to get ZHANG back. But when he arrived at the airport, the plane had already taken off.
At the night, ZHOU telegraphed the CPC Central Committee, saying:
"(1) SONG Zi-wen is absolutely responsible for the organization of a satisfactory government and clean up Japanophile in the government. The two SONGs (referring to SONG Zi-wen and SONG Mei-ling) guaranteed armistice and withdrawal of troops. They also guaranteed that JIANG will stop suppression on the Communist army, adapt the Red Army under unified command of him, and be ready to launch the anti-Japanese war.

"(2) Situation when I visited JIANG. He is ill. He said to me: (a) he will stop suppressing Communists, unite the Red Army to fight Japan, and unify China under his command; (b) SONG (Zi-wen), SONG (Mei-ling) and ZHANG (Xue-liang) plenipotentiary represent him to solve all problems (as I sated previously); (c) after he returned to Nanjing, I can go directly to there for negotiations.

"(3) JIANG, SONG and SONG are going to leave today. YANG Hu-cheng and I believe that there should be a political document as a guarantee. But before the notice has arrived, ZHANG has personally accompanied JIANG and SONG flying to Luoyang.

"(4) Assessment of the situation: there would be no big problem, and SONG Zi-wen is very sincere.

"(5) But we should still be on alert, just in case."

ZHANG Xue-liang was Under House Arrest

JIANG Jie-shi, ZHANG Xue-liang and others flew to Luoyang City, Henan Province, stayed there for a night, and arrived in Nanjing on December 26. All the high-rank political and military officials were waiting at the airport. ZHANG was put into the SONG Zi-wen Mansion located at the Arctic Pavilion. SONG Zi-wen was a good friend of ZHANG and, when he was in Xi'an, he had received an oral commitment from JIANG to ensure personal safety of ZHANG. WU Tie-cheng, ZHANG Qun and KONG Xiang-xi had come to visit ZHANG. ZHANG also went out to visit friends. Every
time when he went out, there were always four cars going together: one for ZHANG and mostly accompanied by SONG Zi-wen, the second one for ZHANG’s secretaries and adjutants brought from Xi'an, the third one for special agents of the Nanjing City Police Department, and the fourth one for special agents of the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Military Council.

In December 31, ZHANG went to the Military Commission of the National Government for a trial, accompanied by SONG Zi-wen. He wore woolen uniforms, with collar and badges for Admiral General, a sword hanging on waist and boots on feet. He entered the waiting room, accompanied by SONG, and took off collar, badges and sword in accordance with the procedure, and was then brought into the courtroom. He approached forward with a smile. The presiding judge of the military court, LI Lie-jun, asked him to sit down, but he did not.

The presiding judge began to interrogate, asking: "Do you know what your crime was?" ZHANG answered: "I don't know what crime I committed." The presiding judge opened the book of *The Army Criminal Law*, and showed ZHANG the terms for the intimidation of commander in chief, and said to him: "All the first few crimes listed in *The Army Criminal Law* are the crimes committed by you. How can you be so reckless?" ZHANG calmly responded: "I implemented forced remonstration to the Generalissimo to request for unity and resistance of invasion, and against Japan and saving China." The presiding judge said: "We will ask you a few questions, one by one. Would you like to take a look at these questions first?" After ZHANG finished reading the question list, the presiding judge continued to ask: "As a military man, why do you hijack senior officers and mutiny?" ZHANG answered: "This question is really a great one. Generalissimo JIANG knows very well all the details, and the presiding judge will understand after asking the generalissimo, but I can't say just here. What I would like to say here is that I have definitely not hijacked the generalissimo but take care of the generalissimo;
I did not mutiny but, in the contrary, I love our country and the nation. I had no other way but implementing the forced remonstration to fight Japan and save China. As I see it, in our country, the party is not a party, the country will not be a country, internal wars continue, and administration successes by bribe. I was full of expectations that the generalissimo would be shaken after the forced remonstration, and do self-reflection. But my sincerity ended as such. The sun and sky can testify my sincerity. I have expressed our views and opinions in front of the generalissimo. How can we be said of treachery? If it is a mutiny, I would like to ask the presiding judge: Had Generalissimo JIANG returned to Nanjing safely? Did I, ZHANG, follow him to Nanjing?" The presiding judge asked: "Was it under the direction of somebody or did you plan by yourself for threatening the commander in chief?" ZHANG responded: "My own idea. ‘One is responsible for what he did’. For what I did, I myself take the responsibility. Am I a man whom somebody can direct? I have a sentence to consult the presiding judge, can I?" "Of course," said the presiding judge. ZHANG then asked: "In the Year 2 of the Republic of China, the presiding judge denounced YUAN Shi-kai in Jiangxi, is it true?" The presiding judge replied: "There were such things." ZHANG continued to ask: "Is it true that denouncing YUAN Shi-kai was to oppose his tyrannical dictatorship and his announcement to become an emperor?" Presiding judge said: "Exactly." ZHANG then said: "What I did in Xi'an is to admonish the central government to stop being autocratic." The presiding judge scolded: "Nonsense! The generalissimo has noble personality and great career. How can you compare him with YUAN Shi-kai? That you engaged in the incident in Xi'an is for yourself to look for an end. You can blame nobody." Seeing the presiding judge LI Lie-jun and ZHANG being deadlocked, Judges ZHU Pei-de and LU Zhong-ling asked the presiding judge to adjourn for a moment. After the break, the session continued. The presiding judge said sternly: "What was the fundamental purpose of you in the Xi'an Incident? Did you intend to overthrow the government? You should confess truthfully. Otherwise, it will be
disadvantageous to you." Judge LU added: "Han-qing (another given name of ZHANG), the presiding judge is sincere and generous, which you know of. You should not miss this opportunity." ZHANG said: "Yes, yes, it is." The presiding judge continued to ask: "The Generalissimo has meritorious service and great achievement, and is generous to people. How can you go against all the heavenly laws of morality and move as such? Did an outside party stir you up? Otherwise, why are you confused so much? Hope you seize the opportunity, tell the truth as soon as possible. Otherwise, it is impossible to have a good way out. Such a chance must not be missed!" ZHANG said: "It is true that when launching the incident in Xi'an, I had the intention to reshuffle the government, but it was nothing but asking the generalissimo to unite all internal forces to fight against Japan and save China." The presiding judge asked: "If it is so, why do you personally accompany the generalissimo to Nanjing?" ZHANG replied: "I read the generalissimo’s diary in the incident, and learned that he is surrounded by diehards and those who fear Japan, but he himself is not without the idea of unite all forces to fight against Japan and save China. In addition, he has agreed with my request of stopping internal wars and uniting to fight Japan. Since my goal of uniting all forces, fighting against Japanese aggression and saving China has been reached, I do not count my personal gains and losses, and personally accompany the generalissimo to Nanjing and wait for the deserved punishment."

The presiding judge said: "You detained important central and local officials. Is not it a mutiny?" ZHANG replied: "The presiding judge, as you mention these officials, I have to tell straightly. These important officials usually live in luxury but put the national issues behind, and are responsible for China to be in such a worst situation. They are busy for their own benefits but fear of anti-Japanese fight, and without even a little thought of sacrificing for the country and the nation. Are they admirable? No. For example, CHEN Diao-yuan, as head of the Military Senate, was detained in Xi'an but still had mood of flirting with the maidservant of WAN Yao-huang. Is such
an old amorist worthy of respect?" The presiding judge quickly stopped ZHANG and said: "This has nothing to do with the case. Do not say it anymore." ZHANG refuted: "How can we say that this has nothing to do with the case? Everything has a root. If there is nothing wrong with the root, its branches and leaves must be bright and luxuriant. If the root is broken, its branches will wither and fall."

After the military trial ended, SONG Zi-wen said to ZHANG Xue-liang: "The trial is just a procedure, and I promise that you can return to Xi'an five days later."

Finally, the military court ruled as follows: "As the principal plotter, ZHANG Xue-liang, together with others, violently stressed supervisors. Sentence him for ten years of imprisonment, and deprive of civil rights for five years, as the result of reduction." But ZHANG soon received an amnesty order of the National Government: "After discussion, the government committee has unanimously resolute to accept the request of Generalissimo JIANG to grand ZHANG Xue-liang amnesty, and give the pardon for HANG Xue-liang’s sentence of ten years imprisonment. He should still be sent to the Military Commission for strict control, however."

After the verdict, ZHANG did not return to the SONG Mansion, but changed to live at the KONG Xiang-xi Mansion, where he began to accept "control" of the Military Committee. The Bureau of Investigation and Statistics of the Military Council, and the Military Police Headquarter jointly carried out the surveillance task. The team of the Investigation and Statistics Bureau had 15 people, headed by ZHOU Wei-long. And the team of the military police had 7 people, headed by DING Chang. In addition, there was a platoon of military police, serving as armed guards in the gate and the surrounding of the mansion. ZHANG lived in the second floor, and there were military police or special agents in front of his room and stairs.

ZHANG depressed, not uttering a single word but sleeping all day, and ate little. The guards in the doorway found that ZHANG always took off his vest and put it under the bed mat
before sleeping, and slept above the vest. They therefore thought that this vest must have a secret thing, but it is not good to inspect it openly. So, they checked it when sleeping ZHANG turned over. They found nothing, but woke up ZHANG. ZHANG was very angry and scold: "You are really wicked! Wicked!"

ZHANG stayed at the KONG Mansion for two weeks. In the meantime, his former subordinated in the Northeast Army, WAMG Hua-yi and WU Han-tao, visited him, after approval, to discuss how to deal with the aftermath issues of the Northwest Army, but nobody else could go to see him, including his family members. His fourth brother ZHANG Xue-si came to see him, but was firmly refused by the gate guards by saying: "There is no such person." The brother entreated again and again, but still refused by the guards. After standing in front of the gate for more than an hour, he finally had to leave, disappointedly.

After ZHANG Xue-liang was detained in Nanjing, the Northeast Army stationed in the northwest China was in turmoil. On the future arrangement of the Northeast Army, the Northwest army and the Red Army, JIANG Jie-shi provided two options. Option A was that the Northeast Army to station in Gansu Province, the Northwest Army in the north of Wei River in Shaanxi Province, and the Red Army back to northern Shaanxi. Option B was the Northeast Army move eastward to the Huai River Basin in Anhui Province, the Northwest Army station in Gansu Province, and the Red Army return to northern Shaanxi. In this regard, YANG Hu-cheng and ZHOU En-lai expressed their willingness to accept Option A. In the Northeast Army, there was serious disagreement, however: Army Commander WANG Yi-zhe said they are willing to accept Option A, but other senior generals require Option B, so to let the Northeast Army have food in the fertile areas, leave the arid northwestern China, and leave the Red Army; most young officers advocated to have a decisive fight to rescue ZHANG Xue-liang back, and did not consider either Option A or B at all. These young officers are cadres at the regiment level or lower, or ZHANG's staff, who strongly
urged to fight against Japan, were in favor of uniting the Red Army to against Japan, had radical thinking, and were the backbone of ZHANG and YANG in launching the Xi'an Incident. ZHOU En-lai in Xi'an used a variety of occasions to point out to these young officers that military fight is not good for saving ZHANG Xue-liang, and one day Young Marshal ZHANG could come back as long as we insist on three-in-one system. But the young officers didn't listen to him. They just asked the Red Army sending troops to help them; otherwise they will break with the Communist party.

On the morning of February 2, 1937, young officers SUN Ming-jiu, YING De-tian and MIAO Jian-qiu took the risk and killed Army Commander WANG Yi-zhe. They also prepared a blacklist and were ready to kill more generals. After the murder, WANG Yi-zhe's good friend and the command of the 105th Division, LIU Duo-quan, immediately led his troops into Xi'an City to revenge for WANG. They searched the young officers, and made a trap and killed GAO Fu-yuan who had been promoted to a Brigade Commander. At this crucial moment, ZHOU En-lai took the risk and rushed to the residence of WANG Yi-zhe. At that time, WANG's body was still lying in a pool of blood, and his family was in chaos. ZHOU En-lai, LI Ke-nong and LIU Ding helped to take care of the aftermath affairs. Subsequently, ZHOU rushed to the Xincheng Building and discussed with YANG Hu-cheng. ZHOU sent LIU Lan-bo to tell LIU Duo-quan the stakes. In February 4, ZHOU sent SUN Ming-jiu, YING De-tian and MIAO Jian-qiu to the Sanyuan area where the Red Army stationed. In February 6, YANG Hu-cheng also moved to Sanyuan. The CPC Central Committee telegraphed ZHOU et al, asking them to "emergently transfer to Sanyuan". So, ZHOU sent YE Jian-ying, LI Ke-nong and LIU Ding to Sanyuan, in the name of carrying out a task, but he remained in Xi'an.

In March, the Northeast Army’s generals formally accepted JIANG’s Option B, moving eastward to southern
Henan Province, northern Anhui Province and northern Jiangsu Province.

From April to June, the National Government reorganized the Northeast Army. After the reorganization, the Northeast Army still had six Armies, but each army was downsized: from four divisions to two divisions.

[Note: Since the beginning of 1937, ZHANG Xue-liang had been under house arrest for decades. The locations of the house arrest included Fenghua (the hometown of JIANG Jie-shi) of Zhejiang Province, Chenzhou and then Yuanling of Hunan Province, Xiuwen of Guizhou Province, Chongqing of Sichuan Province, and Xinzhu, Gaoxun and Taibei of Taiwan Province. During the house arrest period, ZHANG repeatedly expressed his "repentance". He changed his religion from Buddhism to Christianity, divorced with wife and married with the long-term lover Miss ZHAO Si. After the death of President JIANG Jie-shi in 1975, he received partial personal freedom, and more freedom after the death of the successive President JIANG Jing-guo (the eldest son of JIANG Jie-shi) in 1988. In 1995, ZHANG left Taiwan and immigrated to Hawaii, the United States. After the restoration of freedom, ZHANG made some remarks on the historic events. On the reasons for the Northeast authorities to change the flag, he said: "Because I am Chinese." About the September 18th Incident in 1931, he said: "The nonresistance order was from me, and has nothing to do with Mr. JIANG." With regard to the motivation for the Xi'an Incident, he said: "My main enemy was the Japanese. The Communist Party fought against us, but they are still Chinese." "(JIANG) believed that only the Communist Party can capture his regime. I was different, believing that the members of the Communist Party are also Chinese, no matter they capture the regime or not."

On the CPC, he said he admired the Long March of the CPC, and added: "Why the Communist Party could not be destroyed by our suppressions? It is because the people supported them, while we (referring to the GMD) were unpopular." "I can say that I am a member of the Communist Party, not only sympathizing with them, but
also supporting them. This is what is really in my heart." He also said that he had said to Mr. JIANG: "We have to consider why we, being so powerful, cannot wipe them out? If you can't destroy them, then you should unite with them." Even so, ZHANG did not return to the mainland, even if the Communist Party sent his old acquaintances to mobilize him. When talking to people, he said he had eleven mistresses in all his life, and sometimes described some details. He had been always very interested in women. In October 14, 2001, ZHANG Xue-liang died in Hawaii, at the age of 101.

**The Second Cooperation between the GMD and the CPC**

In February 1937, JIANG Jie-shi sent GU Zhu-tong and ZHANG Chong going to Xi'an to negotiate with ZHOU En-lai of the CPC. At the beginning of the negotiation, the two sides stated their demands. In March 8, ZHOU drafted a provision for reference in further talks. Its main contents were:

(1) The CPC will admit the country obeying the "Three People Principles" and the leadership position of the GMD, completely cancel the policy of riot and the policy of confiscation of landlord’s land, and stop the communization movement. The National Government will release, in batches, the CPC members in custody, and allow the CPC to be public in an appropriate time.

(2) Cancel the Soviet government and its system, change the name of the area where the Red Army stationed to "Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Administrative Region", where the unified laws and decrees, and the election system of the National Government will be implemented. Its administrative personnel will be recommended by local election and appointed by the National Government; and administrative expenses will be prescribed by the Executive Yuan and the provincial government.

(3) The Red Army will cancel its name and be adapted to the National Revolutionary Army, obey the unified command of the Military Council of the National Government and JIANG Jie-shi. Its staff, supplies and supplements will be treated in
the same way as the National Army. The personnel at all levels will be selected by themselves, reported to the Military Commission for appointment, and the Military Commission send liaison persons for political training. The strongest troops of the Red Army will be compiled into three defense divisions, a total of six brigades and twelve regiments, in addition to direct troops of engineering workers, artillery, communications and impedimenta. Above the three defenses divisions, a Route Army Headquarter will be set up. The local forces of the Red Army will be adapted as local militia or security team. The Red Army School will end after finishing this phase. In addition, the National Government will order the troops of MA Bu-fang and MA By-qing to stop offensives on the West Route Army of the Red Army in the Hexi Corridor. In accordance with ZHOU's request, ZHANG Chong directly submitted this provision draft to JIANG Jie-shi. After reading it, JIANG promised to talk with ZHOU in Hangzhou City, Zhejiang Province.

In late March, ZHOU En-lai flew to Hangzhou City and met with JIANG Jie-shi, accompanied by PAN Han-nian. ZHOU said that the CPC’s position for the cooperation between the GMD and the CPC is that the common programme of the two parties should be to maintain the national liberation, democracy and freedom, and improvement of people's livelihood. In addition, he also talked about the specific ideas for setting of the Border Regions and adaptation of the Red Army. After listening, JIANG said gently that the CPC has national consciousness and revolutionary spirit, and is a new force, and the peace movement in the past few months has had a very good impact. He also said that the separation of the GMD and the CPC had led to the failure of revolution in the past ten years, resulting in the situation that warlords and imperialists occupied China, for which each of the two parties should examine their own mistakes in the past. Then, he added: "I hope the cooperation this time will last forever. Even after I die, we should not split up anymore, so to avoid Britain and Japan taking the opportunity of our civil
strife to jointly divide up China. Therefore, we should discuss a way of permanent cooperation." ZHOU said it was the best to work out a Common Programme for the two parties. JIANG agreed and asked ZHOU returning to Yan’an immediately and the CPC drafting a Common Programme.

Carrying the telegram codebook for contact with JIANG, ZHOU returned to Yan’an. The CPC Politburo immediately held a meeting to hear ZHOU's report. In response to JIANG's proposal, the meeting decided to draw up a program for permanent cooperation of the National United Front. After the completion of the drafting, the document was named "On programme of the National United Front for resistance of invasion and saving China, and for revival of China (Draft)". The Programme acknowledged that JIANG Jie-shi is the leader of China, that all political parties and revolutionary organizations can participate in the United Front, and that every organization in the United Front will keep its independence and the freedom to withdraw from the United Front. In April 20, the CPC Politburo discussed and adopted the Programme.

At the beginning of June, ZHOU went to Mt. Lu to see JIANG who was preparing the Summer Training Group at the Mt. Lu. ZHOU handed to JIANG the document of "On programme of the National United Front for resistance of invasion and saving China, and for revival of China (Draft)".

JIANG further proposed to set up a "National Revolutionary Alliance". He said that the leading organ of the Alliance should consist of a number of the GMD’s cadres appointed by him and the same number of the CPC’s cadres; that he will serve as the chairman and has right to make the final decision; that the Alliance will discuss and decide all external action and publicity of the two parties; that in the future, the Alliance could be expanded to become a political party combining the two parties, which can replace the CPC and has relationship with the Third International, and so to firmly implement the policy of alliance with Russia.
In addition, JIANG proposed that after the adaptation of the Red Army, no headquarter above the three divisions will be set up, but a political training organ for commanding will. He also requested that MAO Ze-dong and ZHU De to leave the Red Army and go abroad for inspection; that the head of the government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region shall be served by a person from the National Government but recommended by the CPC, while the deputy head can be selected by the Border Region itself.

On these proposals of JIANG, ZHOU said that the establishment of the National Revolutionary Alliance is a very important issue, on which the CPC Central Committee shall make a decision; that the Red Army after adaptation should not be commanded by a political training organ but a headquarter; and that the proposal for the head of the Border Region is unreasonable.

Soon afterwards, ZHOU returned to Yan’an and made a report to the CPC Central Committee. After hearing it, the Central Committee decided to agree in principle to establish the National Revolutionary Alliance and to let JIANG serve as its chairman, admitting his right to make final decision on the basis of the Common Programme. On the adaptation of the Red Army, the CPC Central Committee decided that if JIANG would agree to set up a general military command organ, then the Red Army will be re-organized after the new name for the troops is given, otherwise the Red Army will self-declare its own re-organization on August 1, using the name of Temporary Army and Temporary Division of the National Revolutionary Army, complying three regular divisions, a total of 45,000 people; and that the Red Army after re-organization could be commanded by an political organ, but ZHU De should be the director of this organ. On the Border Region issue, the CPC Central Committee decided that the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region will hold a democratic election in July to elect the chief executive of the Border Region from three candidate of ZHANG Ji, SONG Zi-wen and
YU You-ren of the GMT; and that LIN Bo-qu of our Party will serve as the deputy chief executive.

Since then, the GMD and the CPC had continued to haggle over specific issues, but the general trend of the re-cooperation between the GMD and the CPC had been determined.

After the Anti-Japanese War broke out on July 7, 1937, the two sides reached an agreement in August 18: the Red Army to be re-designated as the 18th Group Army (later renamed to the 8th Route Army) of the National Revolutionary Army, and appointed ZHU De and PENG De-huai as the commander in chief and the deputy commander in chief, respectively; that it consists of three divisions: the 115th, 120th and 129th Divisions, with LIN Biao, HE Long and LIU Bai-cheng as the commander, respectively. Later, the various guerrillas of the Red Army southern China were reorganized into the New 4th Army of the National Revolutionary Army, with YE Ting and XIANB Ying as the commander and the deputy commander, respectively.

The commander in chief and the deputy commander in chief of the 8th Route Army, ZHU De (left) and PENG De-huai (right).
The commander and deputy commander of the New 4th Army, YE Ting (left) and XIANG Ying (right).
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