

# George Marshall & 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> CCP-KMT Truce

by Ah Xiang

[*Excerpts from "Civil Wars: 1945-1950"*]

Marshall followed Chiang Kai-shek onto Mt Lushan on July 14th. Marshall made nine trips to Mt Lushan from July to Sept 1946.

On July 11th, KMT secret agents assassinated Li Gongpu, one of the Democratic League leaders, and four days later, assassinated another leader Wen Yiduo who had just attended Li Gongpu's funeral. There are some people who claimed that CCP could be behind the assassination for sake of stirring up the anti-KMT swirls; however, Democratic League investigator, i.e., Liang Suming, after meetings with KMT's Kunming investigators, stated at Aug 25th news conference that KMT authorities had disclosed that some lower level officials had conducted assassinations on their own accord. After the death of Dai Li, Tang Zong, i.e., Chiang Kai-shek's attache, was authorized in investigating the assassinations. Tang Zong's Diaries disclosed that KMT "jun tong" told him that Kunming city's garrison commander office (led by Huo Kuizhang) might be implicated. Tang Zong flew to Kunming on July 23rd & July 31st, carrying Chiang Kai-shek's message of anger over Huo Kuizhang as well as ways of pacification. President Truman sent over a warning on Aug 10th, and Marshall rebuked Chiang Kai-shek over the assassinations, too. Chiang Kai-shek was said to have an intellectual pass on condolence to Wen Yiduo's brother later.

The first Mt Lushan trip was on July 18th Per LK. Mrs Marshall arrived at "Little Heavenly Pond" of Mt Lushan days earlier for escaping from Nanking, i.e., of the three "furnaces" of China. Ambassador Stuart also came but lamented the death of his wife who accompanied him to Mt Lushan 20 years ago. Since Zhou Enlai stayed downhill while Chiang Kai-shek uphill, Marshall had to take the trip via sedan chair back and forth. Reporters followed Marshall on every trip. At one time reporters asked Mme Chiang Kai-shek why her relatives were engaged in business while still acting as government officials. Mme Chiang angrily countered, "Don't you see that American politicians were all of businessmen background?" On July 19th, "Central Daily" printed Tao Xisheng's editorial entitled "A Courteous Notice To Ambassador Stuart" which sealed the coming breakup of peace talk Per LK. On this day, Chiang Kai-shek couple took Marshalls for a picnic in a place that overlooks Panyanghu Lake. Chiang Kai-shek was quoted to have used two English words 'Darling' and 'picnic' in asking his wife where they were to have picnic. (Lu Keng guessed that Marshall had counted his last trip to Jiujiang for fetching his wife as the 9th trip. Marshall, as Truman's special envoy, was sent to China for brokering a peace on Dec 15th 1945.)

On July 22nd, Soviet Union's radio in Moscow claimed that Russians would not allow Americans to ferment civil wars in China for nothing. On July 29th, communists troops openly attacked American troops at Anpingzhen Town on Peking-Tientsin Highway.

On Aug 6th, Chiang Kai-shek proposed 5 conditions to the communists which looked even more unacceptable than before. On Aug 8th, Marshall warned Chiang Kai-shek of the possibility that

communists could control China in a war. On Aug 11th, Chiang Kai-shek further demanded that CCP withdraw from all territories occupied before June 7th. On August 17th, communists issued a general mobilization in Yenan.

On Sept 14th, KMT's "Central Daily" reported that Marshall made an 8th trip to Mt Lushan the day before. In this month, Marshall complained to the Chinese communists about vicious propaganda attacks at the American impartiality, personal integrity and honesty of purpose. Marshall claimed that he had stayed on in China due to "repeated private requests from the Communists that he continue his mediation efforts. [page 19] On Sept 22nd, Wang Bingnan presented Marshall with a memorandum, requesting with the Military Panel for a new meeting to stop civil wars but threatening the other parties with the consequence of unrestrained military action by the communist side should meeting fail to convene. Marshall, who resented the communist propaganda of attacks at his personal integrity, nevertheless continued his mediations by applying pressure on Chiang Kai-shek and extracted the third truce order that would become effective on Nov-8-1946. Chiang Kai-shek agreed to a truce by late September. Marshall threatened Chiang Kai-shek with going home on Oct 1st. On Oct 2nd, Chiang Kai-shek added more demands and relayed them to Zhou Enlai without advance notice to Marshall. Marshall was so discouraged that he requested for a resignation with President Truman. US ambassador and Marshall discussed with Chiang Kai-shek for 8 hours on Oct 6th, and managed to have Chiang Kai-shek agree to a truce of 10 days in exchange for communist acceptance of i) limited quota inside of coalition government and ii) restricted military districts. On Oct 9th, Zhou Enlai sent Marshall a memorandum with communist rejection of the two new demands. Li Ao cited Dong Biwu and Wang Bingnan accounts in stating that Marshall was shivering as a result of fury over CCP memo.

On Oct 11th, KMT forces took over Zhangjiakou [Kalgan] from CCP. On 12th, CCP raised a protest as to the date for convening the "National Assembly". On Oct 25th, KMT forces took over Andong. In late Oct, 25th Division of 52nd Corps, in attacking Andong, was encircled by communists, and by Nov 2nd, the whole division was destroyed by waves of communists under "human-sea tactic", a term defined as an attack with 4-5 times the number of opponents.

Chiang Kai-shek agreed to a truce on Nov 8th after two days' talk with Marshall who had stayed on in China after he declared his failure of mission months back. The 1949 US White Paper on China later acknowledged that Marshall had "remained at his post even though active negotiations have been broken off by the Communist Party", further proving the "dupe" nature of the Marshall mission by Freda Utley. With Nationalist forces gaining an upper hand over communists, Chiang Kai-shek pushed for a "National Assembly". However, Chinese communists refused to attend the "All-China National Assembly". Communists, with full knowledge of its capabilities, did not want reconciliation, and threatened to boycott the convention that was set to open on Nov 12th 1946.

"Third Parties" tried a last ditch effort at mediating over the conflict with target set on the successful launch of the "National Congress". In Shanghai, Shao Lizi and Lei Zhen held talks with Wu Tiejeng and Zhou Enlai in the respective places, i.e., Wu Tiejeng's residency and Zhou Enlai's CCP representative office on Masi-nan-lu Southern Street. On Oct 21st, Zhou Enlai agreed to go to Nanking. In Nanking, members of "Third Parties", i.e., Zuo Shunsheng, Shao Lizi & Lei Zhen, visited KMT reps at Sun Ke's residency and CCP's reps at Meiyuan-xincun office. Mo Dehui, Liang Shuming & Huang Yanpei stipulated three points in regards to i) ceasefire, ii) regional administration, and iii) "National Congress". Specifically, "third parties" wanted communist forces to take control of Qiqihaer, Bei'an and Jiamusi while vacating 20 counties along the Manchurian Railway. The democratic party folks made three certified copies for CCP, KMT and George Marshall. However, Shen Junlu and Zhang Shenfu suddenly requested that their names be erased. Zuo Shunsheng stated that Shen & Zhang might

have been rebuked by the communists for signing the stipulated petition. When Liang Shuming, Mo Dehui & Li Huang arrived at Zhou Enlai's place, Zhou suddenly cut off Liang Shuming while Liang was reading the 2nd stipulation. Zhou Enlai, with tears, shouted: "No need to read further on. My heart is broken. How could you "third parties" oppress us the same way as the KMT? Today, peace is broken, but let me break with you folks first. Ten years' friendship, let us terminate it here. Today, you are our enemies." After Huang Yanpei & Luo Rongji came over with the two other documents and surrendered to Zhou Enlai, Zhou Enlai stopped tears. Zuo Shunsheng, after seeing the communist trickery, decided to have his Youth Party participate in the "National Assembly".

On Nov 15th, First Session of the National Assembly started with 1355 representatives. On Nov 22nd, the Legislative House passed the draft of the Constitution of the Republic of China. On Dec 3rd, Zhou Enlai wired to Marshall, stating that the communist side was willing to relaunch the truce talk should the National Assembly be dismissed.

Communists did not withdraw the representative offices in Nanking & Shanghai till March 8th 1947. In early Nov 1946, in Shanghai, CCP Shanghai leader Zhang Hanfu, having foreseen the closure of CCP's "New China Daily Newspaper", would order that Li Shenzhi buy a train ticket for Nanking and then take ride of American advisers' plane for Yenan. Zhang Hanfu cautiously told Li Shenzhi that should communist cause go well, they could have a reunion in either 10 or 8 years, but should things go out of hand, then it would be a final farewell. They never expected to see a communist victory in 3 years.

On Dec 1st, Marshall warned Chiang Kai-shek of the possible economic collapse should China go into a fully-blown civil war, and Marshall also advised Chiang Kai-shek of communist military strength. Marshall declined a Chinese minister's request for financial aid, stating that "it was also useless to expect the United States to pour money into a Government dominated by a completely reactionary clique bent on exclusive control of government power". [page 21] Marshall, having defined what he meant by "reactionary" in farewell statement of Jan 7th 1947, believed that "reforms" of Chinese government would be the "best defense against Communism" [page 22]. Chiang Kai-shek, however, believed that communists had no intent for peace and he had no choice but to fight back even without US aid. On Dec 18th, Truman issued another statement, insisting that "peace" and "unity" were the conditions for Republican China to receive American financial aid, and furthermore emphasized that Byrnes, Molotov and Bevin, three foreign secretaries from US, Britain and Russia, had a consensus that China must be organized into a "coalition government" with Chinese communists. In the farewell statement of Jan 7th 1947, Marshall expressed regret that the Chinese communists "did not see fit to participate in the [National] Assembly" but understood that the communists as having "good excuse" for their distrust of the Kuomintang leaders" [page 23].

In Peking, students launched a massive anti-America demonstration on Dec 30th under the communist leadership. Nationwide, students echoed in support. The fuse was the purported rape of a female leftist student by the name of Shen Chong. Multiple reporters interviewed Shen Cong the victim and published conflicting accounts as to the 'rape'. While Marshall found himself 'mission over' finally, the communist side no longer saw any utility in retaining the service of Americans, either.