

Notes

Abbreviations

Boorman, <i>Biographical Dictionary</i>	Howard L. Boorman, <i>Biographical Dictionary of Republican China</i> (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), 4 vols.
Chiang Diaries, Hoover	Chiang Kai-shek Diaries, Chiang Kai-shek Collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, Calif.
Columbia interviews	Columbia University, Chinese Oral History Project, 1990–1991
Currie Papers	Lauchin Currie Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, Calif.
<i>FEER</i>	<i>Far Eastern Economic Review</i>
FOI	Freedom of Information Act
<i>FRUS</i>	<i>Foreign Relations of the United States</i> (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, various years); http://www.state.gov/r/pa/no/frus
National Archives	National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, Md. branch
Qin Xiaoyi, <i>Zong tong</i>	Qin Xiaoyi, ed., <i>Zong tong Jiang gong da shi chang pian chu gao</i> (Preliminary Draft of President Chiang's Chronological Biography), 12 vols. (Taipei: Chungchang Cultural and Educational Foundation, various years)
RGASPI	Russian State Archives of Social and Political History, Moscow
T. V. Soong Papers	T. V. Soong Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, Calif.
<i>White Paper</i>	<i>United States Relations with China, with Special Reference to the Period 1944–1949</i> (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949)

1. A Neo-Confucian Youth

1. Michael Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Reference*, vol. 2 (London: McFarland and Company, 1992), p. 956.

2. Theodore H. White, *Theodore H. White at Large: The Best of His Magazine Writing*, ed. Edward T. Thompson (New York: Pantheon, 1992), pp. 118–119.

3. Text of Chiang's broadcast remarks, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2639–2643.

4. Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946), pp. 277–278.

5. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2639–2643.

6. White and Jacoby, *Thunder*, pp. 118–119, 277.

7. Chiang's message to Mao, August 14, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2639. The message was sent in full anticipation of the surrender.

8. In the rice areas of China in the 1890s, five acres would have ranked a household among the "rich peasants." A governmental survey in 1922 reported an average holding across the nation was 3.6 acres, but in Zhejiang only 1.2 acres. See R. H. Tawney, *Land and Labor in China* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1932), p. 40.

9. Interviews with Sun Yishu, personal secretary to Chiang Kai-shek in the late 1930s and 1944–1949, then again in the mid-1950s, Taipei, May 14, 1996, and May 30, 1996. His great aunt was Chiang Kai-shek's sister and his wife was a relative of Wang Caiyu. A Xikou local researcher, Wang Caiyu, however, reports that Wang Caiyu had been taught at home and knew some characters (interview with Wang Shunqi, Fenghua, June 19, 1996).

10. Pichon P. Y. Loh, *The Early Chiang Kai-shek: A Study of His Personality and Politics, 1887–1924* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 7.

11. Mexican and Spanish silver dollars (*yin yuan*) were a highly valued currency of the times in China, although the dynasty also issued silver ingots (the tael) along with bronze coins. The Yuan Shikai regime minted silver dollars as did some warlords, and in 1933 the Nationalist government minted the Sun Yat-sen dollar and abolished the tael. Chiang's diaries and other material used in this book usually do not make clear to which silver dollar or yuan they are referring. See Zhaojin Ji, *A History of Modern Shanghai Banking* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), pp. 33–35, 184–185. The account of the adoption of Xuhuo and the division of the salt store and the bamboo grove comes from an interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 5, 1996. Wang Shunqi adds that the Chiang family still held the rice paddy and this went to Kai-shek in the settlement (interview with Wang Shunqi, Fenghua, September 30, 1995). Mr. Wang reports that Kai-shek also inherited one or two other old houses that were next to the family home. For an excellent study of traditional inheritance in China, see David Wakefield, *Fenjia: Household Division and Inheritance in Qing and Republican China* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1998).

12. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 14.
13. Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1983), p. 32.
14. Interview with Sun Yishu, May 14, 1996; interview with Wang Shunqi, June 19, 1996.
15. Wang Shunqi, “Jiang Jingguo nianxing he xuesheng de er zi,” unpublished article, 1995, in author’s possession.
16. Wang Shunqi, “Jiang Jingguo.”
17. S. I. Hsiung, *The Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, trans. (London: Pete Davies, 1948), p. 41; Cheo-kang Sie, *President Chiang Kai-shek: His Childhood and Youth* (Taipei: China Cultural Service, 1954), p. 52.
18. Wang Shunqi, July 1996, answers to my written questions.
19. At a meeting on September 27, 1995, in Fenghua with a number of local researchers and others (including one distant cousin of Mao Fumei) interested in the Jiang family history, it was generally agreed that the stories of physical abuse were probably true, although no one knew of letters or accounts of the subject from family members of the time. Physical abuse of wives was not uncommon then, and is not today.
20. Group interview, Fenghua, September 27, 1995. See also Chiang Diaries, April 19, 1921, in “Jiang Jieshi bi xia de jiating yu hunyin—Jiang Jieshi Riji zhai bian,” *Minguo dang an* (Nanking) 1 (1993): 3–10.
21. Harold Schiffrin, *Sun Yat-sen and the Origins of the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, pp. 170–172.
22. See the compelling account of the uprising in Diana Preston, *The Boxer Rebellion* (New York: Berkley, 1999).
23. Borthwick, *Education and Social Change*, pp. 70, 86.
24. According to Mao Sizheng (1936), Chiang was expelled from the Phoenix Mountain Academy for leading a student protest over the heavily classical curriculum. Given Chiang’s deep sense of discipline and fealty this story seems unlikely. See Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 16.
25. Wang Shunqi, July 1996, answers to my written questions.
26. Wm. Theodore de Barry, *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), pp. 571–573, 711.
27. Hollington K. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek* (Shanghai: China Publishing Company, 1938), vol. 1, p. vii.
28. Huang Tzujin, *Jiang Jieshi Yan Zhong De Riben* (Japan in the Eyes of Chiang Kai-shek), unpublished paper based on 313 articles and lectures by Chiang Kai-shek on the subject of Japan (Taipei, 2003), p. 917; Cheo-kang Sie, *President Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 69; Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 18.
29. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, p. 15.

30. Herman Mast III and William G. Saywell, "Revolution Out of Tradition: The Political Ideology of Dai Jitao," *Journal of Asian Studies* 34, no. 1 (November 1974): 73–98; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 200.
31. Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: From War to Peace, 1894–1972* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), p. 122.
32. Wang Shunqi, July 1996, answers to my written questions.
33. Chiang family member notes to author, February 10, 1999.
34. Ibid.
35. Huang Tzujin, ed., *Jiang Zhongzheng liu ri zue xi shi lu* (The Historic Record of Chiang Kai-shek's Study in Japan) (Taipei: Chungchang Cultural and Educational Foundation, 2001), p. 917.
36. Ibid., pp. 742–752.
37. S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 61.
38. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, p. 12. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 40.
39. Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War, 1901–1949* (New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 32–39.
40. Wang Shunqi, July 1996, answers to my written questions.
41. Crozier, *Man Who Lost China*, pp. 40–41.
42. R. Keith Schoppa, *Chinese Elites and Political Change: Zhejiang Province in the Early Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), pp. 146–147. Western writers, including myself—see Taylor, *The Generalissimo's Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 7—have generally repeated the heroic account as well as the story that Chen was so impressed that he offered Chiang the governorship of Zhejiang. Unfortunately, when I wrote the earlier book I did not check with Keith Schoppa, who has read most of the Zhejiang provincial gazetteers of the time. Schoppa reports that immediately after the uprising in Hangzhou, the gazetteers named the various individuals involved in the planning and execution of the coup but not one mentioned Chiang Kai-shek. Nor is there any mention that Chen offered him the governorship, an even more unbelievable claim. Email from R. Keith Schoppa, October 30, 2001.
43. Stella Deng, *Shanghai: The Rise and Fall of a Decadent City* (New York: William Morrow, 2000), pp. 86–87.
44. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, p. 23. The unit he headed was reputedly the Fifth, later the Ninety-third, Regiment.
45. Earl Albert Selle, *Donald of China* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 111; Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 19, tape 12, pp. 929–932.
46. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang yu Jiang Jieshi zhenxiang* (Facts about Chiang Kai-shek from His Secret Archives) (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Press, 2002), pp. 1–10.

47. Ibid.; Schoppa, *Chinese Elites*, pp. 148–149; email from R. Keith Schoppa, October 30, 2001.

48. The story about the sentry comes from Chen Lifu, Columbia interviews, December 1958–February 1959, p. 61. The report of “some people” comes from Chiang’s later eulogy for Chen Qimei in 1916. See S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 91. For “rickshaw puller” see Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 33.

49. Zhang Xianwen and Fang Qingqiu, *Jiang Jieshi quanzhuan* (Complete Biography of Chiang Kai-shek) (Zhengzhou: Zhengzhou People’s Publishing House, 1996), p. 55; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 320.

50. Mast and Saywell, “Revolution,” pp. 73–98; see also Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 200.

51. Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency of Yuan Shikai* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1977), pp. 87–88.

52. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 165.

53. Chiang noted that he came to collect her in late 1912. See Mao Sicheng, *Min guo shi wu nian yi qian qi Jiang Jieshi xian sheng* (Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, 1887–1926) (Hong Kong: Longman, 1965), vol. 1, pp. 4b–5b.

54. For the “old regiment” see Li Shoukang, “Chiang Kai-shek and the Anti-Yuan Movement,” *Chinese Studies in History* 21, no. 1 (1987): 71; for the “Green Gang,” see Ernest P. Young, *The Presidency*, pp. 131–133; for “the list” see Keji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times* (New York: St. John’s University, 1981), pp. 52–53, 55.

55. On the “Black Dragon Society” see Jansen, *Japan and China*, p. 170; for “swear an oath” see Chiang Kai-shek, “Ti-san-tzu Nanyou chun shih hui i shun-tzu” (Address to the Third Military Conference at Nanyou, Hunan), October 20, 1941; on “tutelage” see K’ung Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung), Columbia interviews, part 1, p. 42.

56. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 56.

57. *Soong Mayling* (Soong Mayling’s Century), television documentary produced by the public television foundation of Taipei, 2003.

58. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, pp. 265–266; K’ung Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung), Columbia interviews, p. 4.

59. K’ung Hsiang-hsi (H. H. Kung), Columbia interviews, pp. 4–25; Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 59–60.

60. Selle, *Donald of China*, pp. 139–140.

61. Edgar Snow interview with Qing-ling in Snow, *Journey to the Beginning* (New York: 1958), pp. 88–89.

62. Snow, *Journey*, pp. 88–89; Lyon Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen: His Life and Its Meaning* (New York: John Day Company, 1934), pp. 180–181.

63. Ibid.

64. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 58–59.

65. Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 58–59; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 116.
66. Li Shou-kung, “Chiang Kai-shek and the Anti-Yuan Movement,” *Chinese Studies in History* 21, no. 1 (1987): 80.
67. Edwin P. Hoyt, *Japan’s War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1986), p. 45.
68. K’ung Hsiang-hsi, Columbia interviews, p. 42.
69. Edwin O. Reischauer, *Japan: The Story of a Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1970), p. 151.
70. Li Shou-kung, “Chiang Kai-shek and the Anti-Yuan Movement,” pp. 85–93; *North China Daily Herald*, December 11, 1915. For a different version, see Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, pp. 42–44. See also S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 86–87.
71. Huang Tzujin, *Jiang Zhongzheng liu ri xue shi lu*, p. 917.
72. Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 264–265. The Japanese also provided funds to the southern commanders and the Manchu monarchists in Manchuria.
73. S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 90–91.
74. *Ibid.*
75. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 10, 1918, box 1, folder 2; Paul H. Tai, “History Talks: How Did Chiang Kai-Shek Write His Diaries?” us.f353.mail.yahoo.com/yym/Showletter/boxan (accessed July 3, 2006). Tai is a private individual who has studied Chiang’s diaries.
76. Lucian W. Pye, *War Lord Politics* (New York: Praeger, 1971), p. 18. Edgar Snow interview with Chingling in Snow, *Journey*, p. 89.
77. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 75.
78. S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 97–98.
79. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, 1917, box 1, folder 1.
80. *Ibid.* The Chiang family has indicated that such redacted material will not be released until the year 2035.
81. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 132–133 n.77, citing a November 29, 1926, confidential letter from the U.S. consul general in Shanghai, C. E. Gauss, to the U.S. minister to Peking, on the subject “Criminal Record of Chiang Kai-shek.” At this time the Consular Corps in Shanghai was very alarmed about the triumphant march northward of the “Red General, Chiang Kai-shek.” Gauss, who as U.S. ambassador to Chiang’s government during most of the war years retained his disdain for Chiang, did not mention any of the anomalies of the three reports of criminal activity. Apparently none of the charges was ever followed up on by the British-controlled settlement police. In the case of the charges by the military governor, he had a strong political motive to make such charges.

82. The family source for the statement about the contents of the redaction has been involved in the release of the diaries. Source email to me, May 19, 2008.

83. Tai, “History Talks.”

84. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 66; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, pp. 174–175.

85. Pye, *War Lord*, pp. 17–18; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 125.

86. Lloyd E. Eastman, “Nationalist China during the Nanking Decade, 1927–1937,” in *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927–1949*, ed. Lloyd E. Eastman (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 29.

87. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 15, 1918, box 1, folder 4; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 176.

88. Zhang Xianwen and Fang Qingqiu, *Jiang Jieshi quanzhuan*, pp. 49–51.

89. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, pp. 50–51.

90. Zhang Xianwen and Fang Qingqiu, *Jiang Jieshi quanzhuan*, pp. 51–53.

91. R. R. Palmer and Joel Colton, *A History of the Modern World* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1992), p. 725.

92. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 23, 1919, box 1, folder 21.

93. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 10, November 2, 1919, box 2, folders 1, 2.

94. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 16, 24, 26, 27, 1919, box 2, folder 2; Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, pp. 38–57.

95. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 19, 27, 1919, box 1, folder 15.

96. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 22, 1919, box 1, folder 15. Chiang’s diary accounts indicate that Jiemei was not a nickname for Yao Yicheng but another woman. For numerous references to Jiemei, Chiang’s infatuation with her, and at least one letter she wrote to him, see Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, pp. 38–57.

97. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 22, 23, 1919, box 1, folder 17.

98. Mao Sicheng, *Min guo shi wu nian yi qian qi Jiang Jieshi xian sheng*, pp. 105–106.

99. This version comes from my interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 7, 1996, and his memoirs, *Qian shan du xing: Jiang Weiguo de ren sheng zhi li* (Walking Alone in the Midst of a Thousand Mountains: Chiang Wei-kuo’s Life Journey) (Taipei: Tian Xia Culture Publishing Company, 1990), p. 20; also my interview with local researcher Wang Shun-chi, Xikou, June 19, 1996.

100. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 32.

101. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 12, 1919, box 2, folder 1.

102. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 4, 1920, box 2, folder 10.

103. Leslie H. Dingyan Chen, *Chen Jiong-ming and the Federalist Movement* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, Center for Chinese Studies, 1999), p. 99.

104. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 10, 1920, box 2, folder 13.

105. Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), *Guo fu zhuan shu* (Complete Works of the Founding Father of the Republic) (Taipei: Institute of National Defense, 1960), pp. 798–799; Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 34–35.
106. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 36–38.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 42–45.
108. Dingyan Chen, *Chen Jiong-ming*, p. 101.
109. “Jiang Jieshi ri ji lei chao-an” (Selected Diary of Chiang Kai-shek, Part 3), *Minguo dang an* (Nanking) 2 (1999): 4–5.
110. Dingyan Chen, *Chen Jiong-ming*, p. 105.
111. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 48.
112. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 24, 1921, box 2, folder 20.
113. Diana Lary, *Region and Nation* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press 1974), p. 32.
114. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 60–65.
115. *Ibid.*
116. Chiang Kai-shek, entry for March 6, 1921, Nanking Diaries, no. 2, National Archives, Nanking.
117. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, pp. 68–69, 73; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 17, 1921, box 2, folder 22.
118. In July 1921, Chiang said he had “spent” 17,000 silver dollars so far that year.
119. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 23, 1922, box 3, folder 9.
120. Interview with Huang in a 2003 television documentary by China Central Television (CCTV) and Shanghai Television titled *Hai shang chen fu* (Fortune Bobbing on the Water), part 2, producer Chen Xiaoqing, director Song Yichang. According to the interview, in 1949, Huang made a deal with the Communists shortly before their takeover of Shanghai. The film in which he recounted this story was part of a mainland China TV documentary, so he may have simply made up the anecdote, but it would not be surprising if it were true.
121. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 21, 1922, box 3, folder 7.
122. *Minguo dang an* 4 (1998): 3–10.
123. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 23, 1922, box 3, folder 9.
124. Chen Jieru, *Chiang Kai-shek's Secret Past* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993), pp. 4–26.
125. Crozier, *Man Who Lost China*, p. 114, citing Ting (n.p.).
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 27–42.
127. Interview with Chiang, *New York Times*, September 27, 1927. Chiang Wei-kuo also maintained during our interview of June 6, 1996, that Jieru and Chiang Kai-shek were never married. Wang Shunqi, the Fenghua researcher, likewise disputes the claim. Chen Jieru provides the text of their marriage certificate but not a photocopy. Likewise, among the photos in her book, there is not one of the wedding or the wedding party on December 5, 1921. Chiang's diaries from 1921 to 1922 de-

scribe his frequent nocturnal visits to Jieru. Later they seem to take up housekeeping, but there is nothing about a marriage in the diary entries as published.

128. For “chief of staff,” see “Jiang Jieshi riji leichao-si” (Selected Diary of Chiang Kai-shek, part 4), *Minguo dang an 4* (1999): 24–25; for Sun’s escape, see Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 143; Edgar Snow, interview with Ch’ing-ling in Snow, *Journey*; for Wei-kuo as the addressee, see interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 5, 1996.

129. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, p. 79.

130. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 2, 1922, box 3, folder 11.

131. Bergère, *Sun Yat-sen*, p. 279.

132. Conrad Brandt, *Stalin’s Failure in China, 1924–1927* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press), pp. 26–27.

133. *Ibid.*, pp. 30–32. Maring attended the CCP Central Committee plenum in August in Hangzhou and insisted on the new plan.

134. Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971), vol. 1, p. 247; C. Martin Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China, 1923–1928* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 2.

135. Xiong Yuwen, “Dang nei he zuo xing shi da ge ming de jie ju” (Achievement of Party Cooperation and the Great Revolutionary Period), *Minguo dang an 2* (2001): 71–75.

136. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 366; Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 40.

137. Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 78–81. Chiang gave three options, but essentially they broke down into two choices.

138. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 40.

139. “Jiang Jieshi riji leichao-si,” pp. 21–31; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 18, 1922, box 3, folders 13, 14.

140. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, p. 31. Loh reports that the letter was sent to the new Soviet ambassador in Peking and described Chiang as “my chief of staff and confidential agent.” Chiang, it said, was “fully empowered to act in my behalf.” Loh, *Early Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 88.

141. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 19, 24, 1923, box 4, folder 1.

142. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 20–23, 1923, box 4, folder 2.

143. Eugene W. Wu, “Divergence in Strategic Planning: Chiang Kai-shek’s Mission to Moscow, 1923,” *Republican China* 16, no. 1 (November 1990). Also see Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang*, pp. 35–56.

144. Chiang’s diary, but for some reason not his 1957 book, refers to a September 7, 1923, meeting with “the CPSU General Secretary.” See Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (1957; New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1967), pp. 16–17.

145. The text of this address was found at the Russian Archives by a Taiwan scholar, Yu Minling. See her “A Reassessment of Chiang Kai-shek and the Policy of Alliance

with the Soviet Union, 1923–1927,” in Mechthild Leutner, Roland Felber, Mikhail L. Tarenko, and Alexander M. Grigoriev, eds., *The Chinese Revolution in the 1920s* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 7. In his diaries Chiang does not discuss the contents of his remarks. See Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 25, 1923, box 4, folder 4.

146. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 25, 27, 1923, box 4, folder 4.

147. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 24, 1923, box 4, folder 5.

148. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 7, 1923, box 4, folder 2.

149. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 9, 1923, box 4, folder 3; Yu, “Reassessment,” p. 46.

150. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 4, 1923, box 4, folder 4.

151. Chiang’s diaries for all of 1924 are missing. Possibly they were lost, but it might well be that they were destroyed because of excessive pro-Soviet sentiments. See Mast and Saywell, “Revolution,” pp. 84–86.

152. According to later KMT histories, Chiang penned a letter on March 14, 1924, to Liao Zhongkai that set out very critical views about the Soviet Union. This supposed letter, first referred to in Mao Sicheng’s 1937 collection, now at the Nanking Second National Archives, is the only document that contains Chiang’s supposed warnings before 1927 about cooperation with Moscow and the Communists.

153. For “comrade” and “very poor” see Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 331–332. For “2.7 million” see Louis Fischer, *The Soviets in World Affairs: A History of the Relations between the Soviet Union and the Rest of the World*, vol. 2 (London, 1930), p. 640, cited by Mast and Saywell, “Revolution,” p. 40. Borodin gave this figure to Fisher. Also see Robert C. North and Xenia J. Eudin, *M. N. Roy’s Mission to China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 20. For “revolutionary army” see F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924–1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 8.

154. The original senior military adviser, General Pavlov, accidentally drowned soon after his arrival.

155. Liu, *Military History*, p. 20.

156. Michael Richard Gibson, *Chiang Kai-shek’s Central Army, 1924–1936*, Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1985, p. 36; Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 124. Liu, *Military History*, p. 12.

157. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), p. 64.

158. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 46.

159. S. I. Hsiung, *Life of Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 199.

160. *Ibid.*

161. Liu, *Military History*, pp. 14–15.

162. *Ibid.*, p. 6, citing documents seized from the Soviet embassy in Peking in 1927 and published in “Soviet Plot in China,” *Chinese Social and Political Science Review* 11 (1927): 131.

163. Sharman, *Sun Yat-sen*, pp. 303–310.
164. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 14, 1922, box 3, folder 15.
165. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 23, 1925, box 4, folder 8.
166. Liu, *Military History*, p. 10.

2. The Northern Expedition and Civil War

1. *New York Times*, June 5 and 12, 1925.
2. *New York Times*, May 31, 1925. *Shen Bao*, Shanghai, May 31, 1925, reports that seven were killed. For Ching-kuo's role, see Chiang Ching-kuo, "My Days in Soviet Russia," in *Chiang Ching-kuo Remembered*, ed. Ray S. Cline (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Global Strategy Council, 1989), p. 153.
3. *New York Times*, June 5, 1925.
4. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 340.
5. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 23, July 29, September 16, 1925, box 4, folders 11, 12, 14.
6. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 21, 1925, box 4, folder 11.
7. Diana Lary, *Region and Nation: The Kwangsi Clique in Chinese Politics, 1925–1937* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 58–61.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Proposal of the Military Commission on Reform, December 15, 1925, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 1, p. 109.
10. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 23, 1925, box 4, folder 12.
11. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 20, 1925, box 4, folder 13.
12. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen (Li Congren), *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979), p. 148.
13. C. Martin Wilbur, *The Nationalist Revolution in China* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 27.
14. Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1972), p. 480, quoting Borodin.
15. *Ibid.*; Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 111, 192.
16. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 20, 1925, box 4, folder 13.
17. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 18, 1925, box 4, folder 15.
18. Yu Minling, "A Reassessment of Chiang Kai-shek and the Policy of Alliance with the Soviet Union, 1923–1927," in *The Chinese Revolution in the 1920s*, ed. Mechthild Leutner, Roland Felber, Mikhail L. Tarenko, and Alexander M. Grigoriev (London: Routledge Cruzon, 2002), p. 113.
19. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, pp. 30–31; Yu Minling, "Reassessment," pp. 108–109.
20. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, p. 479.

21. S. I. Hsiung, *The Life of Chiang Kai-shek* (London: Pete Davies, 1948), pp. 238–240.
22. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), p. 64. This was the KMT intelligence estimate and may have been inflated by adding those simply suspected of CCP membership or Communist sympathy. See also Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 36.
23. Yu Minling, “Reassessment,” p. 113.
24. C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Documents on Communism, Nationalism, and Soviet Advisers in China, 1918–1927: Papers Seized in the 1927 Peking Raid* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 259.
25. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 44.
26. C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How, *Missionaries of Revolution, Soviet Advisers and Nationalist China, 1920–1927* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), p. 249.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 248–250.
28. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 7 and 11, 1926, box 4, folder 19.
29. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, pp. 45–46.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
31. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 17, 1926, box 4, folder 20.
32. Interview with Chen Lifu, May 29, 1996.
33. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 28–29.
34. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 19, 1926, box 4, folder 20.
35. *Ibid.* Seventy years later, Chen Lifu recalled that on that day he and Chiang were on their way not to the First Corps encampment but to board the Russian ship then in Canton. It was then that Chiang decided to go back and make a stand. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 27–28.
36. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 19, 1926, box 4, folder 20.
37. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang yu Jiang Jieshi zhen xiang* (Facts about Chiang Kai-shek from His Secret Archives) (Peking: Social Sciences Documentation Press, 2002), p. 13.
38. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 12, 1926, box 4, folder 18; Yu Minling, “Reassessment,” p. 114, citing a Comintern archival document—a report of A. Bubnov, head of a commission evaluating Soviet aid to the Chinese Revolution. The commission happened to be in China at the time of the March 26, 1926, incident and its report focused on the reasons for this setback. See also *ibid.*, p. 131.
39. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi*, p. 132.
40. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 37.
41. *Ibid.*, pp. 134–135.
42. “Jiang Jieshi riji leichao: zhengdang yi” (Selected Diary of Chiang Kai-shek: Party and Government Affairs, part 1) *Minguo dang an* 4 (1998): 8, 9.

43. Chen Duxu, “The Policy for the Unity of the Chinese Revolutionary Forces and the Kwangchow Incident,” *Guide* (Shanghai), April 3, 1926, no. 148; Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi*, pp. 140–141.
44. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 17, 1926, box 4, folder 22.
45. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 325.
46. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 58–59.
47. Ruth Altman Greene, *Hsiang-ya Journal* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1977), p. 43.
48. Michael Gibson, “Chiang Kai-shek’s Central Army, 1924–1938,” Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1985, p. 56.
49. Greene, *Hsiang-ya Journal*, pp. 40–47.
50. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 183.
51. Gibson, “Chiang Kai-shek’s Central Army,” p. 93.
52. Chen Lifu, Columbia interviews, part 2, p. 1; Hollington Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek* (Shanghai: China Publishing Company, 1938), vol. 1, p. 180.
53. Ray Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek and His Diaries as a Historical Source* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), part 1, p. 31.
54. Zhang Ruide, “Chiang Kai-shek’s War Time Directives,” paper given at War-time China Conference, Cambridge, Mass., June 27–29, 2002.
55. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 30–31.
56. Chen Lifu, Columbia interviews, part 2, p. 2.
57. Emily Hahn, *Chiang Kai-shek: An Unauthorized Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), p. 119.
58. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 186.
59. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), pp. 70–72.
60. Hahn, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 122.
61. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, p. 605.
62. Mao Zedong, *Selected Works* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), vol. 1, pp. 26–29.
63. Greene, *Hsiang-ya Journal*, p. 51.
64. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 80.
65. Conrad Brandt, *Stalin’s Failure in China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), pp. 88, 94.
66. Harold R. Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (1938; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 111.
67. Donald Jordan, *The Northern Expedition* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1976), pp. 190–207. Michael Gibson read numerous memoirs and recollections of the Chinese militarists of the period but none mentioned rural pro-KMT resistance against them as a factor in the military outcome or in their separate decisions to retreat, give up, or defect to the KMT. Gibson, “Central Army,” pp. 78–144.

68. Wilbur and How, *Documents*, p. 371; “Jiang jieshi riji leichao er” (Selected Diary of Chiang Kai-shek, part 2), *Minguo dang an* 1 (1999): 4–11.
69. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 2, 1927, box 5, folder 8.
70. Leon Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967), p. 401.
71. Robert C. North and Xenia J. Eudin, *M. N. Roy’s Mission to China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 47.
72. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 81.
73. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 1 and 25, 1927, box 5, folder 8.
74. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, p. 581.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 570, 584–585; Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War* (New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 142; Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, p. 56. The general strikes were joint KMT and CCP efforts and thus it seems unlikely, as frequently charged, that Chiang ordered the army to wait outside of the city to allow the warlord forces time to suppress the workers.
76. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, pp. 91–92; Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 53–54.
77. Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 30; Chen Lifu, Columbia interviews, part 1, pp. 27–29.
78. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 5, 1927, box 6, folder 10.
79. *Ibid.*
80. Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 98.
81. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 60–64. *Hai shang chen fu, er* (Upheaval on the Sea, part 2), TV documentary on the Shanghai underworld, produced by China Central Television (CCTV) and Shanghai Television, 2003; Chen Lifu, Columbia interviews, part 1, p. 29; Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, p. 104.
82. *Ibid.*
83. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 141. The documents also showed how the USSR aided the KMT as well as the CCP. See also Trotsky, *Problems of the Chinese Revolution*, pp. 383–384.
84. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 60–65; *Hai shang chen fu, er*.
85. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 62, 68; Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, pp. 68, 108–112.
86. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 14, 1927, box 5, folder 10.
87. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1976), p. 108; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 164.
88. *Time*, April 25, 1927; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo’s Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), pp. 49–73.

89. Coble, *Shanghai Capitalists*, pp. 36, 262.
90. Ji Peng, “1927–1935: Nian guomin zhengfu jinyan pingshu” (Review of the Republican Government’s Drug-Control Measures during 1927–1935), *Minguo dang an 1* (2000): 77–81.
91. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 30, 1927, box 5, folder 10.
92. Brandt, *Stalin’s Failure*, pp. 130–133.
93. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 636–640.
94. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 216–217.
95. The currency promised was probably paper yuan issued by the Peking government. On April 4, 1927, the Shanghai Native Bankers Association advanced the Revolutionary Army one million silver, probably Mexican, dollars. The new Nationalist government established on April 18 did not issue its own silver-backed paper currency until 1928. See Zhaojin Ji, *A History of the Modern Shanghai Banking System* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 2003), pp. 169–171.
96. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
97. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 3 and 10, 1927, box 5, folder 14; *ibid.*, p. 217.
98. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 145–146.
99. Protocol no. 119 of the meeting of the Politburo of the All Union Communist Party or AUCP (later, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), August 11, 1927, RGASPI, collection 17, inventory 162, file 5, sheets 74–79; Protocol no. 120 (special no. 98) of the meeting of the AUCP (All Union Communist Party), Politburo, August 18, 1927, RGASPI, collection 17, inventory 162, file 5, sheets 86–88. US\$300,000 would be equivalent to US\$3.373 million in 2005 correcting for inflation, but in terms of relative share of GDP about US\$39 million in the United States in 2005 and possibly US\$300 million in China today. For relative values see the Economics History website at <http://eh.net/hmit>.
100. Robert C. North and Xenia Eudin, *Roy’s Mission* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 121.
101. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 221.
102. *Ibid.*, pp. 221–222.
103. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1, p. 173.
104. *Ibid.*, pp. 181–182.
105. Chen Jieru, *Chiang Kai-shek’s Secret Past* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1993), p. 210.
106. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 1, 1927, box 5, folder 16.
107. *New York Times*, September 27, 1927.
108. Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 81.
109. *Ibid.* p. 80.
110. Hahn, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 125.

111. *Soong Mayling de Shi ji* (Soong Mayling's Century), TV documentary by the Public Television Foundation of Taipei, 2003.
112. William Manchester, *The Last Lion: Visions of Glory* (London: Little, Brown, 1983), p. 81.
113. Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 57.
114. Interviews in Taipei with several of Chiang's secretaries, aides, and assistants, 1995–2003; Edgar Snow, *Journey to the Beginning* (New York: Random House, 1958), p. 85; and interview with a longtime friend and confidant of Madame Chiang, March 19, 2008.
115. RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 225, file 77, sheet 1.
116. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 5, 1927, box 5, folder 17; Wilbur, *Nationalist Revolution*, pp. 160–161.
117. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 5, 1927, box 5, folder 17.
118. F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924–1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 61–64.
119. Documentary: *Hai shang chen fu, er*.
120. Wang Ke-wen, "Counter-Revolution from Above," *Republican China* 15, no. 1 (1989): 49.
121. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 17, April 25, and April 28, 1928, box 5, folder 19, and April 25, 1928, box 6, folder 3.
122. John Robinson Beal, *Marshal in China* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), pp. 15–19.
123. Coble, *Shanghai Capitalists*, pp. 44–46.
124. Editor's note, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 1, pp. 203–204.
125. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 16, 1928, box 6, folder 3. See also Grace Huang, "The Politics of Knowing Shame: Agency in Jiang Jieshi's Leadership (1927–1936)," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2003.
126. Wang Wei, "Wang Wei Xiansheng gangwen jilu" (The Reminiscences of General Wang Wei) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Modern History, 1996), p. 22.
127. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 5, 1928, box 6, folder 3.
128. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 27, 1928, box 6, folder 3.
129. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 2, 1928, box 6, folder 4.
130. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 2, 1928, box 6, folder 6.
131. For the best account of these events see Zhang Yu-fa, "The Shandong Battlefield during the Northern Expedition," in *Chiang Kai-shek and China*, part 2, ed. Li Yu-ning (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1988), pp. 3–65.
132. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 31, 1928, box 6, folder 4.
133. Ibid.
134. Huang Zejin, "Jiang Jieshi yan zhong de riben" (Japan in the Eyes of Chiang

Kai-shek), unpublished paper based on 313 articles and lectures by Chiang Kai-shek on the subject of Japan (Taipei, 2003).

135. The Japanese Guangdong Army stationed in Manchuria is not to be confused with the name of the southern province of Guangdong, home of the Cantonese and the Guangdong Army.

136. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 121.

137. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 19, tape 12, pp. 929–932.

138. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 20, 1928, box 6, folder 6.

139. Lary, *Region and Nation*, p. 79.

140. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 257.

141. Keji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek, His Life and Times* (New York: St. John's University, 1981), p. 264.

142. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 63.

143. Zhang, Columbia interviews, vol. 5, pp. 3-239 to 3-242.

144. Zhang, Columbia interviews, vol. 84, pp. 51-4152 to 51-4153.

145. Chiang's speech of January 5, 1929, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 1, p. 260.

146. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 66–67.

147. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 37, p. 24-1823, and vol. 7, p. 4-335; O. Edmund Clubb, *China and Russia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 256; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 278, 282–284.

148. Chiang speech on the Northern Expedition, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 278, 282–284; Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, 1990–1991, vol. 7, pp. 4-331 to 4-333; Robert C. North, *Moscow and the Chinese Communists*, 2d ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 123.

149. J. A. Piatnitsky to J. V. Stalin, June 11, 1928, RGASPI, collection 508, inventory 1, file 112b, sheets 1–2. The one million Chinese (probably silver) dollars were for an “extra,” or emergency, fund. According to one Comintern document, in February 1928, 2.80 Chinese dollars were equal to US\$1.

150. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 262–265; J. A. Pliatnitsky to A. E. Albrecht, Moscow, December 12, 1928; RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 23, file 50a, sheet 138.

151. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, vol. 2, pp. 164–165.

152. Stuart Schram, *The Political Thought of Mao Tse-tung* (New York: Penguin Books, 1967), pp. 245–246.

153. Lary, *Region and Nation*, pp. 155–156.

154. William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), pp. 109–110.

155. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 286.

156. Gibson, “Chiang Kai-shek's Central Army,” pp. 205–207.

157. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, pp. 58, 60, 62.

158. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, p. 109.
159. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, p. 61.
160. Zhu Yuanzhang made Nanking the capital of his Ming dynasty. His son moved the capital to Peking (Beijing or “northern capital”) and named his father’s brief capital Nanking, or “southern capital.”
161. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 25, 26, 29, and 31, 1929, box 7, folder 2.
162. Interview with Leo Soong, Walnut Creek, Calif., May 15, 2004.
163. Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 98.
164. Hahn, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 130.
165. Interview with Zhou Lianhua, Taipei, October 18, 2004.
166. Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 159–160.
167. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
168. Chiang speech, September 1, 1931, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 375–382.
169. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 12, 1931, box 8, folder 9.
170. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 169.
171. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 15, pp. 8-706 to 8-708, and vol. 16, pp. 8-756, 9-793, 9-794.
172. Huang Zejin, “Jiang Jieshi yan zhong de riben,” p. 124, citing *Manzhouguo and the Guandong Army* (English trans.) (Tokyo: Xin renwu wanglai she, 1994), p. 220.
173. Zhang Xuehliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 15, pp. 8-706 to 8-708, and vol. 16, pp. 9-793, 9-794.
174. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 20, 1931, box 8, folder 10.
175. U.S. Consul General Nanking cable (Johnson) to Secretary of State, October 18, 1931, *FRUS (1931)*, vol. 3: *The Far East*, pp. 228–229.
176. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi*, p. 352.
177. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 7, 1931, box 8, folder 11.
178. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 395.
179. Yang, *Chiang Chieh-shih*, p. 357.
180. *Ibid.*
181. *Ibid.*, pp. 359–362.
182. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 344.
183. Yang, *Chiang Chieh-shih*, p. 366.
184. *Ibid.*
185. *Jiang Jieshi ri ji* (Chiang Kai-shek Diaries), entry for January 25, 1931, Nanjing National Archives. Notes were provided in October 1996 by Yang Tianshi, former director of the Institute of Modern Chinese History and a specialist on the Republican period.
186. Yang, *Chiang Chieh-shih*, p. 367.

3. The Nanking Decade

1. Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: From War to Peace, 1894–1972* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), p. 384; Parks M. Coble, *The Shanghai Capitalists and the Nationalist Government, 1927–1937* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 88–96.

2. Coble, *Shanghai Capitalists*, pp. 88–96.

3. Robert C. North, *Moscow and the Chinese Communists*, 2nd ed. (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1963), p. 161; O. Edmund Clubb, *China and Russia* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), p. 269.

4. *Shen Pao* (Shanghai), January 15, 1932; Chiang speech of January 11, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 421.

5. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), pp. 111–112.

6. U.S. Consul General Nanking cable (Peck) to U.S. Legation, Peking, January 24, 1932, *FRUS (1932)*, vol. 3: *The Far East*, p. 79.

7. Zhang Heng and Lue Lun “1–28 Kangzhan qijian Guomindang nei de he yu zhan zhi zheng” (Negotiation or Fighting Back: Argument in the KMT about the January 28 Incident), *Minguo dang an* 1, no. 27 (1992): 111. The telegrams are in the Nanking Second National Archives.

8. Keji Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek: His Life and Times* (New York: St. John’s University, 1981), pp. 351–355.

9. Parks M. Coble, “CKS and the Anti-Japanese Movement in China: Zou Taofen and the National Salvation Association, 1931–1937,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 44, no. 2 (February 1985): 296.

10. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 356–357.

11. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 150.

12. Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War* (New York: Longman, 1995), pp. 186–187.

13. Chiang speech “Eradicating the Communists and Reforming the Military,” July 2, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 465.

14. F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924–1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 102.

15. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 400.

16. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 1, 1933, box 36, folder 13.

17. Editor’s notes, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 515–553, 583, 585.

18. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 1, 1933, box 36, folder 18.

19. Chiang speech, April 12, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 552.

20. Appendix to Fourth KMT Central Executive Committee Plenum, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 652.

21. Chiang speech, March 18, 1934, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 670.
22. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 21, 1935, box 38, folder 4.
23. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 86, p. 52-4289; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 65.
24. Wang Chi interview, July 26, 2003, Washington, D.C. Wang's father, General Wang Xuchang, was a longtime senior commander under Zhang Xueliang and a classmate in Japan of Chiang Kai-shek.
25. Chiang speech at the Wulan School in Xikou, January 10, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 465.
26. Chiang cable to Wang Jingwei, August 21, 1933, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 610.
27. Chiang speech on land reform, December 15, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 500–503.
28. On November 18, the Comintern reported that it was sending the U.S. dollars in batches of \$50,000, RGASPI, collection 514, inventory 1, file 759, sheet 105; collection 495, inventory 184, file 54, sheet 69; collection 495, inventory 184, file 36, sheet 263; and collection 495, inventory 184, file 54, sheet 57.
29. William C. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1984), p. 147; Chiang Wei-kuo interview, Taipei, June 5, 1996.
30. Joseph J. Heinlein Jr., "Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model," Ph.D. thesis, American University, 1973, pp. 303–312.
31. April and October 2003 interviews with various assistants and secretaries of Chiang Kai-shek, going back to mainland days. His Whampoa students called him "Hsiao Chang," meaning principal or (school) director; military personnel called him "Xiansheng" or "Zong si ling" (commander in chief).
32. Lloyd E. Eastman, "Fascism in Kuomintang China: The Blue Shirts," *China Quarterly* (January–March 1972): 1–31. The material is said have appeared in something called "Toyo Bunko." The same citation also lists a Japanese foreign ministry document by Iwai Ichii. One wonders if Iwai's source could be the "specially bound" document. Significantly Professor Eastman, in a review article written fifteen years later—"The Rise and Fall of the Blue Shirts: A Review Article," *Republican China* 13, no. 1 (November 1987)—notes that new material has corrected some of his previous views on this subject, and he does not repeat the alleged quotation from Chiang Kai-shek.
33. Wilbur Burton, "Chiang's Secret Blood Brothers," *Asia* (May 1936): 309. I am unable to locate this publication in the Library of Congress or elsewhere to check Burton's own citation. Healthy skepticism seems warranted. Burton's quote is cited by Frederick Wakeman Jr., "A Revisionist View of the Nanking Decade: Confucian Fascism," in *Reappraising Republican China*, ed. Frederick Wakeman Jr. and Richard Louis Edmonds (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 141.
34. Eastman, "Rise and Fall of the Blue Shirts," pp. 34–35, 40.

35. Hsu Ch'o-yun interview, Taipei, October 16, 2004.
36. CCP Central Committee to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, Shanghai, October 20, 1930, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 19, file 117, sheets 35–37a.
37. Hsu Ch'o-yun, e-mail, June 10, 2004.
38. Wakeman, "Revisionist View," p. 149.
39. Kirby, *Germany and Republican China*, p. 176.
40. Eastman, "Rise and Fall of the Blue Shirts," pp. 31–32.
41. Frederick Wakeman Jr., *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 279–280.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 177.
43. Comintern archival papers show that the Comintern at least once secretly gave Issacs US\$500 for his journal. See Comintern memo, Moscow, April 9, 1932, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 4, file 182, sheets 8–9, and collection 514, inventory 1, file 707, sheets 56–59, 63–66.
44. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 274.
45. Wakeman cites numerous articles and biographies from the mainland and Taiwan. A full assessment would require looking at the sources cited by these writers.
46. Wakeman, *Spymaster*, pp. 178–179.
47. Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971), vol. 2, pp. 150–151.
48. *Ibid.*
49. Mary Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1957).
50. Stephen C. Averill, "The New Life Action: The Nationalist Government in South Jiangxi, 1934–1937," *China Quarterly* 88 (December 1981): 595.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 606–607.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 626–628.
53. *Ibid.*
54. Chiang speech, February 17, 1934, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, pp. 660–662.
55. Eastman, "Fascism," pp. 1–31.
56. "Shilue kao pen" (Draft Manuscripts), May 4, 1934, ed. Yuan Hui Zhang, Archives of President Chiang (Chiang Kai-shek), Academia Historica, Xintian, Taiwan.
57. Mrs. Chas. E. Cowman, *Streams in the Desert* (Los Angeles: Oriental Missionary Society, 1931).
58. Emily Hahn, *Chiang Kai-shek: An Unauthorized Biography* (New York: Doubleday, 1955), p. 72.
59. U.S. Legation in Peking to Secretary of State, radiogram, August 6, 1934, *FRUS* (1934), vol. 3: *The Far East*, p. 217.

60. Ji Peng, “1927–1935 Nian guomin zhengfu jinyan pingshu” (Review of the Republican Government’s Drug Control Measures during 1927–1935), *Minguo dang an* 1 (2000): 77–81.

61. RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 184, file 47, sheets 81, 130.

62. North, *Moscow*, p. 164.

63. Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 23.

64. Mao gave this figure in his March 31, 1956, conversation with Soviet Ambassador P. F. Yudin. See Yudin Journal, entry April 5, 1956, no. 289, Woodrow Wilson Center International Cold War History website. Mao told Edgar Snow the number was “estimated at 90,000” and did not include “thousands of Red peasants.” I have chosen to use the number he gave Yudin and correspondingly reduced the usual numbers given along the route of the Long March.

65. Ross Terrill, *A Biography: Mao* (New York: Random House, 1980), p. 121.

66. Telegram from CCP Shanghai Bureau to Comintern, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 184, file 61, sheet 58. On September 4, the Comintern informed the CCP in Jiangxi that it was sending a foreigner to set up an apparatus for purchasing and transporting arms and ammunition for the Jiangxi soviet: see collection 495, inventory 184, file 48, sheets 9–10.

67. In 1903, one Mexican silver dollar was reportedly worth 38 U.S. cents (*New York Times*, March 11, 1903). Assuming the same value in 1934, three million Mexican silver dollars then would be equal to about US\$7 million in 2005, adjusting for inflation. But it would be many times more today in terms of its corresponding relative share of China’s GDP. However measured, it was a good deal of money, without which the famous Long March may not have happened.

68. Edgar Snow was told that many weapons, much equipment, and “even much silver” had to be buried along the way. See Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (1938; New York: Random House Modern Library, 1944), pp. 194–195. It seems doubtful that Mao would have left silver behind, but if so, he may have had even more than available documents indicate.

69. Cheng Siyuan, *Bai Chongxi Zhuan* (Biography of Bai Chongxi) (Hong Kong: South China Press, 1989), pp. 195–180.

70. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 26, 1934, box 37, folder 13.

71. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 194; Stuart R. Schram, *Political Thought* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1966), pp. 80–81.

72. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen (Li Congren), *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979), pp. 295–296. Li records that the Guangxi Army inflicted 10,000 CCP casualties and took 7,000 prisoners.

73. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 114–115. Chen reports that the assassin was killed on the spot.

74. Wakeman, *Spymaster*, pp. 182–186.

75. Chen Minzhong, “Shi lun 1935–1936 nian zhong ri hui tan” (On Sino-

Japanese Negotiations in 1935–1936), *Minguo dang an* (Nanking) 2, no. 16 (1989): 105–118.

76. Ibid.

77. Chen Minzhong, “Shi lun 1935–1936 nian zhong ri hui tan,” pp. 105–118; “Material Concerning the Negotiations between China and Japan from December 1935 to February 1937,” *Minguo dang an* 2, no. 12 (1988): 19–44.

78. See, for example, Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: From War to Peace, 1894–1972* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), p. 390.

79. Chen Minzhong, “Shi lun 1935–1936 nian zhong ri hui tan,” pp. 105–118; “Material Concerning the Negotiations between China and Japan from December 1935 to February 1937,” pp. 19–44.

80. Jansen, *Japan and China*, pp. 390–391.

81. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 8, 1935, box 38, folder 6.

82. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 25.

83. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 116–119. Chen provides a photocopy of the handwritten note from Zhou. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahay, 1957), p. 72, reports that Zhou first contacted a KMT representative in Hong Kong in the autumn and winter of 1935, declaring that the CCP wanted only to stop the fighting with the KMT and resist Japan together; there were no other conditions. Zhou then wrote directly to the Chen brothers. See also Wu T'ien-wei, *The Sian Incident* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies, 1976), pp. 21–22.

84. June Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao* (New York: Knopf, 2005), p. 167, citing Soviet foreign ministry files.

85. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 116–119.

86. Chiang Kai-shek speech to students and scholars, January 15, 1936, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 3, pp. 912–917.

87. Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 32–33.

88. Warren I. Cohen, *America's Response to China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 112–113.

89. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 449–450.

90. Ibid., pp. 638–640; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 421.

91. Yu M. Ovichinnikov, *Stanovlenie I razvitie edunogo nationalnogo fronta sopreotvileniya Yaponii v Kitae* (The Formation and Development of the United National Front of the Resistance against Japan in China) (Moscow: Nauka, 1985), pp. 44–45.

92. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 84, p. 51–4192.

93. Alexander Dallin and F. I. Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin, 1934–1943: Letters from the Soviet Archives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 98–99.

94. Ibid., pp. 101–105.

95. Chiang public statement, August 25, 1932, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 3, p. 966.
96. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, p. 68.
97. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 116–121; Clubb, *China and Russia*, pp. 297–298.
98. *New York Times*, February 12, 1936, p. 12.
99. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 24, October 1, October 7, 1936, box 39, folders 2, 3; Chen, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 114–115, 121–125.
100. Hollington K. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, vol. 1 (Shanghai: China Publishing Company, 1938), p. 427.
101. Liu, *Military History*, pp. 101–102.
102. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
103. Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Nationalist Era in China, 1927–1949*, paperback ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 46.
104. Franz Michael, “The Role of Law in Traditional, Nationalist, and Communist China,” *China Quarterly* 9 (January–March 1962): 124–148.
105. Eastman, *Nationalist Era*, pp. 46–47.
106. *VKP (b), Komintern, I kitai Dokumenty* (The AUCP [All Union Communist Party][b], Comintern, and China Documents), vol. 4 (Moscow: AO Bulket, 2003), p. 892; L. M. Kaganovich and V. M. Molotov to I. V. Stalin, telegram, September 8, 1936, RGASPI Moscow, collection 495, inventory 184, file 36, sheet 263.
107. Soong Chingling to Wang Ming, January 26, 1937: “Not long ago answering Mao Zedong’s letter in which he asked for money, I managed to send him some [later specified as ‘50,000 dollars’] three months ago.” RGASPI collection 495, inventory 74, file 281, sheets 34–35, and collection 514, inventory 1, file 1037, sheets 90–94.
108. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, p. 73.
109. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, p. 120; Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 28–29; Ovichinnikov, *Stanovlenie I razvitie edunogo nationalnogo fronta sopreotvileniya Yaponii v Kitae*, pp. 44–45.
110. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 19 and November 1, 1936, box 39, folder 4.
111. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 38, p. 25-189.
112. *Ibid.*, vol. 38, p. 25-1900.
113. *Time*, November 9, 1936.
114. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 24, 1936, box 39, folder 4.
115. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 38, pp. 25-1892 to 25-1893. For “strong words,” see Chiang Diaries, December 10, 1936, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, p. 1010.
116. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 478–479; Yang Kuisong, *Xi’an shibian xintan* (A New Study of the Xi’an Incident) (Taipei: Dongta tushu gongsi, 1995), cited by Chang and Halliday, *Mao*, pp. 181–182.

117. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 119–120.
118. T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3. In the 1950s when Soong gave the Hoover Institution Archives his journal of the Xi'an Incident and other selected private papers, he requested that they not be opened until after the death of Soong Mayling. T.V. was perhaps culturally and politically inclined to value objectivity in history more than the other participants who later wrote about the incident. In his negotiations with T. V. Soong in December 1936 over Chiang's release from captivity, Zhou Enlai revealed the number of troops to be allowed as agreed to by the two sides in Nanking. In his 1957 book *Soviet Russia in China*, on p. 73, Chiang said the agreement called for the CCP to "abolish the Red Army," not just its name, but the account in the Comintern archives records that the question was the size of the new Communist force. On page 81 of his book, Chiang repeats the four points of the CCP in the softer version, but then provides a statement he made in February 1937 welcoming the points but describing them as calling for the "abolition" of the Red Army. Chiang does not mention the condition spelled out in the autumn 1936 talks that called for Mao and others to go abroad.
119. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 119–120; Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, p. 73.
120. Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, pp. 119–120.
121. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China*, pp. 73, 81.
122. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 39, p. 25-1901.
123. Chiang Kai-shek, "A Fortnight," in *Sian: Extracts from a Diary* (Shanghai: China Publishing Company, 1937), pp. 58–63.
124. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), pp. 182–183.
125. Chiang, "A Fortnight," pp. 54–55.
126. Earl Albert Selle, *Donald of China* (New York: Harper Brothers), p. 324.
127. Furuya, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 15.
128. Michael Gibson, "Chiang Kai-shek's Central Army, 1924–1938," Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1985, pp. 333–334.
129. Crozier, *Man Who Lost China*, pp. 184–185.
130. T. V. Soong Papers, box 10, folder 3, pp. 4–10. Madame Chiang's memoirs emphasize and probably exaggerate her role, but they strike me as probably an accurate account of her thoughts and actions as she remembered them. Her statements that Zhang Xueliang may have had "a reasonable grievance" and her attacks (cited later) on He Yingqin seem to vouch for her frankness.
131. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 479–482; Zhou Enlai to Mao, December 17, 1937, radiogram, in "Zhongguo gongchandang guanyu Xi'an shibian dangan shiliao xuanbian" (A Selection of CCP Archive Documents on the Xi'an Incident) (Peking: Zhongguo dangan chubanshe, 1997), p. 213.
132. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 482–483.

133. Han Suyin, *Elder Son: Zhou En-lai and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), p. 152.
134. *Cheloviek meniyaet kozhu, ili zhizn I nieobichainiye prevrashchieniya gospodina Dzian Dzingo* (The Man Changes the Skin, or the Life and Extraordinary Metamorphoses of Mr. Ching-kuo), Russian Tele-Radio TV documentary produced by Samariy Zelikin, 1994.
135. Han Suyin, *Eldest Son*, p. 154.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 153. Whether he actually used these words is uncertain, but the message was plain.
137. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 39, p. 25-1928.
138. *Ibid.*
139. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 479–487.
140. Zhang Xueliang, Columbia interviews, vol. 73, p. 42-3643.
141. Soong Mayling, *Sian: A Coup D'Etat* (Shanghai: China Publishing Company, 1937), pp. 15–17.
142. Cables referring to the Wang-Hitler meeting between Ambassador Trautmann and Berlin, German Foreign Office Archives 1928–1938: German Embassy Nanking radiogram October 1, 1937, AA/DB VIII 24/137442; and German Foreign Ministry radiogram, December 1, 1937, Nanking/zu Pol.VIII 24/137443. This citation was provided to me by Professor Chen Peng-jen. The German Foreign Ministry, when asked by reporters about what took place, said the reports of the meeting were “hearsay.” Also see Clubb, *China and Russia*, p. 303.
143. T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3; Chiang, “Fortnight,” pp. 54–55; Soong Mayling, *Xi'an*, pp. 54–55.
144. Chiang “Fortnight,” p. 97.
145. In his journal, T.V. does not mention a meeting with Zhou until December 24. He says he spent the evening of December 20 “exploring a solution,” but does not say with whom.
146. Soong Mayling, *Xi'an*, pp. 12–13.
147. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
148. Wakeman, *Spymaster*, p. 234.
149. Soong Mayling, *Xi'an*, pp. 32–36.
150. Wang Chi interview, Washington, D.C., December 9, 1995, as told to him personally by Zhang Xueliang.
151. T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3, pp. 6–7.
152. *Ibid.*
153. *Ibid.*, pp. 8–9.
154. *Ibid.*, pp. 10–12.
155. *Ibid.*, p. 12.
156. Selle, *Donald of China*, pp. 333–334.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

158. Ibid. T. V. Soong on page 13 of his journal also relates a comment by Chiang to Zhou that it “was long his intention that the Communists should be pushed north against Japan.”

159. Han Suyin, *Elder Son*, p. 154. Han’s source was a CCP member who, she reports, was listening outside the door. T.V., however, did not record this remark in his journal, possibly believing it was too personal a matter.

160. Soong Chingling complained of these indiscretions in a letter to Wang Ming in Moscow. See Soong Chingling to Wang Ming, January 26, 1937, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 4, file 143, sheet 7.

161. Selle, *Donald*, pp. 333–334; Soong Mayling, *Xi’an*, pp. 47–51.

162. Chiang Kai-shek, “A Fortnight,” pp. 109–115.

163. T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3, p. 15.

164. The anonymous journal of the Xi’an Incident apparently was written by a code clerk of T. V. Soong. See T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3.

165. Owen Lattimore, *China Memoirs* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), p. 156.

166. On page 81 of Chiang Kai-shek’s *Soviet Russia in China*, Chiang lists the four points.

167. Chiang article or talk titled “the lesson from the crucifixion of Jesus Christ,” presented on Good Friday, March 26, 1937, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 3, p. 1073.

168. This paragraph was taken verbatim from my book *The Generalissimo’s Son: Chiang Ching-kuo and the Revolutions in China and Taiwan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 73, citing Chen Lifu, *Storm Clouds*, p. 126.

4. The Long War Begins

1. Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (1938; New York: Random House Modern Library, 1944), pp. 465, 471.

2. Anonymous journal of the Xi’an Incident apparently written by a code clerk for T. V. Soong, T. V. Soong Papers, box 60, folder 3.

3. Linda Chang, teleconference with author, May 30, 2003. Linda Chang is the niece of Zhang Xueliang.

4. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 7; Michael Gibson, “Chiang Kai-shek’s Central Army, 1924–1938,” Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1985, p. 336.

5. Zhang Guotao, *The Rise of the Chinese Communist Party* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1971), vol. 2, p. 497.

6. Ibid., p. 518.

7. Two Ping, “The Deployment of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army to the Front and Northern China and Their Strategic Expansion in the War of

Resistance against Japan,” paper given at the Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004.

8. Snow, *Red Star*, p. 471.

9. Chiang’s radiogram instructions to Gu Zhutong in Xi’an, January 31, 1927, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1061.

10. RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 74, file 281, sheet 28.

11. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 517–520.

12. Snow, *Red Star*, p. 474.

13. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 18, 1937, box 39, folder 8.

14. Akira Iriye, *The Origins of the Second World War in Asia and the Pacific* (New York: Longman, 1987), pp. 43–44; Donald S. Sutton, “German Advice and Residual War Lordism in the Nanking Decade: Influences on Nationalist Military Training and Strategy,” *China Quarterly* 9, no. 91 (1982): 401.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 386–410.

16. Snow, *Red Star*, pp. 473–475.

17. Fenghua relatives and researchers, group interview, September 27, 1995.

18. *FRUS (1937)*, vol. 3: *The Far East*, p. 87.

19. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 10, 1937, box 39, folder 12.

20. Kimitada I. Miwa, “Brief Notes on the Chinese Communists’ Role in the Spread of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident into Full-Scale War,” paper presented at the Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 318–320.

21. Editor’s note, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, pp. 1114–1115; “Chiang Zong tong mi lu” (The Secret Journal of President Chiang), in *Chung Yang jih pao yi lu* (Taipei, 1978), vol. 11, p. 12.

22. Editor’s notes, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1119; Miwa, “Brief Notes,” p. 321.

23. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 12, 1937, box 39, folder 13; Ma Chendu, “Analysis of the Strategy of the Chinese Troops during the Sino-Japanese War,” paper presented at the Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 5.

24. Warren I. Cohen, *America’s Response to China* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), pp. 118–120.

25. *FRUS (1937)*, vol. 3: *The Far East*, p. 385. Four days later, an American embassy assessment concluded that while Japan had not deliberately provoked the clash of July 7, the Japanese military had decided shortly after the outbreak to use it as a pretext for extending Japanese influence in North China (p. 434).

26. *Ibid.*, p. 397.

27. Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: From War to Peace, 1894–1972* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1975), pp. 394–395.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

29. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Jiang Jingguo xian sheng zhuan ji* (Collected Works of Chiang Ching-kuo) (Taipei: Cultural and Educational Foundation, 1989), vol. 2, p. 271.

30. For “Lushan,” see Miwa, “Brief Notes,” p. 323. For “Military Council” see Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 7, 1937, box 39, folder 14.

31. Yang Tienshi, “Chiang Kai-shek and the Battles of Shanghai and Nanking,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 8, quoting *Wang Shijie riji* (Diary of Wang Shijie) (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Modern History Institute, 1991), n.p.

32. Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 40–41.

33. Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience in Seeking Foreign Military Aid and Cooperation for Resisting Japanese Aggression,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 13–14; Yang Tienshi, “Chiang Kai-Shek and the Battles of Shanghai,” pp. 5–9.

34. Sutton, “German Advice,” p. 403.

35. Ma Chendu, “Analysis of the Strategy of the Chinese Troops during the Sino-Japanese War,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 13.

36. John W. Garver, “Chiang Kai-shek’s Quest for Soviet Entry into the Sino-Japanese War,” *Political Science Quarterly* 102, no. 2 (Summer 1987): 304.

37. Barbara Tuchman, *Sand against the Wind: Stilwell and the American Experience in China* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 168.

38. The larger estimate comes from Ma Chendu, “Analysis,” p. 19; the smaller is from Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War* (New York: Longman, 1995), p. 218.

39. Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience,” pp. 12–20.

40. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 7, 1937, box 39, folder 15.

41. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 20, 1937, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, pp. 1151, 1159; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 17 and 18, 1937, box 39, folder 15.

42. Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 537–539. At an earlier meeting in August, Mao described the CCP policy as superficial cooperation with the KMT, avoiding the real strength of the Japanese enemy, and enhancing the CCP’s military strength (pp. 533–537).

43. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 25, 1937, box 39, folder 16.

44. Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience,” pp. 18–20.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 23. China would actually use about \$173 million of the total aid commitment. In inflation-adjusted 2005 dollars, the commitment of US\$250 million in 1937 would be approximately U.S. \$3.34 billion, and in relative value to U.S. GDP, the equivalent in 2005 would be US\$24.5 billion. See <http://measuringworth.com>.

46. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 217.
47. Yang Tienshi, "Chiang Kai-Shek and the Battles of Shanghai," pp. 25–27.
48. Earl Albert Selle, *Donald of China* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), p. 340.
49. According to one Central Army general, Kuo Zhukui, "several hundred thousand troops would not have fallen" if the retreat had been organized earlier. See Yang Tienshi, "Chiang Kai-Shek and the Battles of Shanghai," p. 31. But most of the casualties occurred in the battle for Shanghai, not during the retreat.
50. Zhang Baijia, "China's Experience," p. 30.
51. Sutton, "German Advice," p. 403.
52. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 219.
53. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 20, 26, 27, 1937, box 39, folder 17.
54. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 20, 1937, box 39, folder 17.
55. Yang Tienshi, "Chiang Kai-Shek and the Battles of Shanghai," p. 40, citing a selected and abridged collection from Chiang Kai-shek's diaries called *Kunmian ji* (Anthology of Encouragement amid Difficulties) in the Archive of President Chiang Kai-shek, Bureau of National History, Taipei.
56. Garver, "Chiang Kai-shek's Quest," p. 309.
57. Yang Tienshi, "Chiang Kai-Shek and the Battles of Shanghai," pp. 39–40.
58. Irish Chang, *The Rape of Nanking* (New York: Penguin, 1997), pp. 81–105. Many Japanese scholars and some other historians say that Ms. Chang's book is exaggerated, but 10 percent of her figures would merit the title.
59. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, pp. 1199–1202.
60. *Time*, January 3, 1938.
61. Ma Chendu, "Analysis," p. 28.
62. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 28, 1937, box 39, folder 18.
63. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 2, 1938, box 39, folder 20.
64. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi midang yu Jiang Jieshi zhenxiang* (Facts about Chiang Kai-shek from his Secret Archives) (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Press, 2002), pp. 407–409.
65. Lloyd E. Eastman, "Relations between Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei during the War against Japan," *Republican China* 14, no. 2 (1989): 5–7.
66. Gibson, "Chiang Kai-shek's Central Army," p. 396.
67. Stephen MacKinnon, "Defense of the Central Yangtze and the Beginning of the War of Attrition," paper presented at Harvard University Conference on War-time China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 22–27.
68. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen (Li Congren), *The Memoirs of Li Congren* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979), pp. 361, 366.
69. Sutton, "German Advice," p. 404.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

71. Ma Chendu, “Analysis,” p. 33; Shen Jia-wen, “1938 nian huang he huayu-ankou jue di jing guo” (On the Bursting of the Banks of the Yellow River at Huayu-ankou in 1938), *Minguo dang an* 2, no. 4 (1986): 134–136.

72. Dana Lary, *China’s Republic* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 120.

73. MacKinnon, “Defense of the Central Yangtze,” p. 28.

74. Sutton, “German Advice,” p. 409.

75. Mao Tse-tung, *Selected Works*, vol. 2 (New York: International Publishers, 1954), p. 140.

76. “Chiang Kai-shek, handwritten letter to Stalin, August 26, 1939,” *Minguo dang an* 3, no. 45 (1996): 61–63.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

78. Jerrold Schecter and Leona Schecter, *Sacred Secret* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey’s, 2002), pp. 15–16.

79. MacKinnon, “Defense of the Central Yangtze,” pp. 29–35.

80. Editor’s note, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1299.

81. Jerome Chen, *Mao and the Chinese Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 215.

82. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1299.

83. Chen, *Mao*, p. 235; Zhang Guotao, *Rise of the Chinese Communist Party*, pp. 533–539.

84. Chiang Diaries, November 18, 1938, box 40, folder 1.

85. Chiang Diaries, December 1938, box 40, folder 2.

86. On Chiang’s proposal see Jin Chongji, “Kang ri zhan zheng zhu qi de guo gong guan xi wen ti” (Relationship between the Communists and the Nationalists in the Early Period of the Second Sino-Japanese War), *Minguo dang an* 1, no. 11 (1988): 76. Jin does not cite the specific source for this statement but his article is drawn from documents in the Second National (KMT) Archives in Nanking. On the CCP joining the KMT and other aspects of Chiang’s merger proposal, see Alexander Dallin and F. I. Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin, 1934–1943, Letters from the Soviet Archives* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p. 118. On Mao’s proposal, see Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 46. On Zhou’s proposal, see Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1957), p. 88.

87. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), p. 144.

88. Royal Leonard, *I Flew for China* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, Doran, and Company, 1942), pp. 206–209.

89. In his memoirs published on the mainland in 1985, Zhang Zhizhong claimed that Chiang Kai-shek in a panic ordered the burning of Changsha. Chiang had just fled the key industrial city of Wuhan, where he had ordered the destruction of key

facilities, but not the burning down of the city. Zhang defected to the CCP in early 1949. MacKinnon, “Defense of the Central Yangtze,” p. 39, cites the Zhang memoir.

90. Ruth Altman Greene, *Hsiang-ya Journal* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon, 1977), pp. 111–115.

91. Werner Gruhl, *Imperial Japan's World War II, 1931–1945* (Edison, N.J.: Transaction, 2007), p. 35.

92. Ma Chendu, “Analysis,” pp. 40–41.

93. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 2 and 11, 1938, box 40, folder 1.

94. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 10, 1938, box 40, folder 1.

95. Robert Payne, *Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Wright and Talley, 1969), pp. 233–234.

96. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

97. “Documents Relating to the Dispute between H. H. Kung and T. V. Soong in the Early Years of the Sino-Japanese War,” *Minguo dang an* 2, no. 52 (1998): 154.

98. MacKinnon, “Defense of the Central Yangtze,” pp. 7–8.

99. Zhang Ruide, “The Central Army from Whampoa to 1949,” in *A Military History of China*, ed. David Graff and Robin Hiphem (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2002), pp. 200–201.

100. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 461.

101. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 16, 1939, box 40, folder 6.

102. Yang Tianshi, *Jiang Jieshi*, pp. 415–420.

103. Payne, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 233–234.

104. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 152.

105. Payne, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 236.

106. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 2, 1939, box 40, folder 7.

107. Akira Iriye, *Origins*, p. 76.

108. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 25, 1939, box 40, folder 9.

109. Zhou later presented an abstract of this report to the Comintern. See Abstract of Zhou Enlai's Report to the CCP Politburo, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 10a, file 296, sheets 146–196.

110. Han Suyin, *Elder Son: Zhou Enlai and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), p. 170.

111. Edwin P. Hoyt, *Japan's War: The Great Pacific Conflict* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1986), p. 187.

112. Lyman P. Van Slyke, ed., *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the United States War Department, July 1945* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 212.

113. Chiang Kai-shek, handwritten letter to Stalin, August 26, 1939, *Minguo dang an* 3, no. 45 (1996): 63–64.
114. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 25, 1939, box 40, folder 11.
115. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 5, 12, and 30, 1939, box 40, folder 12.
116. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 2 and 26, 1939, box 40, folder 11.
117. Greene, *Hsiang-ya Journal*, pp. 122–126.
118. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 18 and 25, 1939, box 40, folder 7.
119. MacKinnon, “Defense of the Central Yangtze,” p. 38.
120. Ma Chendu, “Analysis,” p. 43.
121. See F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924–1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 204.
122. Frank Dorn (Stilwell’s assistant in China for four years), *The Sino-Japanese War, 1937–1941* (New York: Macmillan, 1974), pp. 304–322. Dorn and Stilwell ended their tours in China in September 1939.
123. Ma Chendu, “Analysis,” pp. 46–49.
124. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 115, 120.
125. *Ibid.*, pp. 116–117. Again, there is no reason to doubt that the cited documents are authentic.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 115, 116.
127. Eastman, “Relations,” pp. 6–9. For an account of the assassination attempt, see Frederic Wakeman Jr., *Spymaster: Dai Li and the Chinese Secret Service* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), pp. 337–338.
128. Editor’s note of August 21, 1940, referring to a speech by Chiang on January 24, 1940, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, pp. 1616–1617.
129. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 30, 1939, box 40, folder 15.
130. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 119–121.
131. Budget submitted to the Comintern in February 1940 by the Central Committee of the CCP, printed in full in *ibid.*, pp. 123–124. The CCP reported total monthly expenses equivalent to US\$701,000, of which \$600,000 was for military expenditures. In addition to the US\$110,000 a month received from the Chinese government, the Communist armed forces collected approximately US\$200,000 a month from “local government organs under the control of our party in the partisan zones of Northern China.” The party organs collected about US\$43,000 a month. It is not clear whether these collections included grain requisitions.
132. *Ibid.*, pp. 123–125.
133. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 2, 1939, box 40, folder 12.
134. The file is in RGASPI, Comintern Executive Archival Collection no. 495, inventory 225, file 77.
135. Mao, *Selected Works*, vol. 2, pp. 204–210.
136. In his diary, Chiang only notes that he had a meeting with Zhou. See Chiang

Diaries, Hoover, July 17, 1940, box 40, folder 23. Later entries, however, make clear the nature of the proposal.

137. Han Suyin, *Elder Son*, p. 174.

138. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, p. 120.

139. William W. Whitson, *The Chinese High Command: A History of Chinese Communist Military Politics, 1927–1971* (New York: Praeger, 1973), pp. 70–74; Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 253.

140. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 29, 1940, box 40, folder 25.

141. Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience,” pp. 40–42; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1636.

142. Chiang Kai-shek’s message to He Yingqin, October 19, 1940, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, p. 1637; Han Suyin, *Elder Son*, p. 174. Mao’s coded messages to the Comintern made plain that Chiang Kai-shek had demanded the withdrawal of all CPP armed forces to areas north of the old Yellow River course—that is, totally outside of Jiangsu as well as most of Shandong. See Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 125–134; Gregory Benton, “Maogate at Maolin? Pointing Fingers in the Wake of a Disaster, South Anhui, January 1941,” *East Asian History* 4 (1992): 119–141.

143. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 131–134.

144. *Ibid.*, pp. 125–134.

145. Han Suyin, *Elder Son*, p. 174.

146. Benton, “Maogate at Maolin?” p. 121. Gu Zhutong’s men captured the New Fourth’s chief of staff, Zhao Lingbo, who reputedly confessed that Xiang and Yeh were planning to move to southern Jiangsu and had sent 2,000 men ahead for organizing purposes. See Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1665.

147. Benton, “Maogate at Maolin?” p. 124.

148. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 28, 1940, box 41, folder 7; John W. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945* (Oxford, Eng.: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 144.

149. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, p. 139; Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations*, p. 146.

150. *Ibid.*, p. 139, which cites Mao’s February 13, 1941, radiogram to Dimitrov. Maintaining the fiction that the CCP accepted military orders from the Military Council, Mao told Dimitrov that Chiang’s requirement that the CCP forces move north was “not yet acceptable to us.”

151. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 139–140.

152. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 24, 1941, box 41, folder 10.

153. Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience,” pp. 43–44.

154. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 70.

155. Schecter and Schecter, *Sacred Secret*, pp. 16–17, 42–43.

156. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, p. 188.

157. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 13, 1941, box 41, folder 10.
158. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations*, p. 183.
159. Akira Iriye, *Origins*, p. 688.
160. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 13, 1941, box 41, folder 10.
161. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 19, 1941, box 41, folder 12.
162. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations*, pp. 184–185.
163. Tobe Ryoici, “Japanese 11th Army’s Operations in Central China, 1938–1941,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 29.
164. Dallin and Firsov, *Dimitrov and Stalin*, pp. 142–145.
165. Claire Lee Chennault, *The Way of a Fighter* (1949; Tucson, Ariz.: James Thorvaardson & Sons, 1991), pp. 82–83.
166. Robert Payne, *Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Wright and Talley, 1969), pp. 239–241.
167. Arthur N. Young, *China and the Helping Hand, 1937–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 257.
168. *Ibid.*, pp. 17–18.
169. Owen Lattimore, *China Memoirs* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), p. 87.
170. After the war, Senator Joseph McCarthy and his supporters would accuse Lattimore of being a Communist Party member and one of those Americans whose critical views of the KMT regime had brought about the “loss” of China. These charges seem patently false.
171. Lattimore, *China Memoirs*, pp. 135, 149, 155.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 149.
173. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 16, 1941, box 41, folder 14.
174. Akira Iriye, *Origins*, p. 179.
175. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 9, 1941, box 41, folder 17.
176. Schechter and Schechter, *Sacred Secret*, pp. 42–43.
177. Akira Iriye, *Origins*, p. 151.
178. Chiang Wei-kuo interview, Taipei, June 5, 1996.
179. Tobe Ryoici, “Japanese 11th Army’s Operations in Central China, 1938–1941,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 29–30.
180. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 25, 1941, box 41, folder 17.
181. Lattimore, *China Memoirs*, p. 160. In Washington, the FBI likewise reported that the Japanese embassy was burning documents.
182. Chiang to Roosevelt, December 8, 1941, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 4, pp. 1816–1817.
183. Lattimore, *China Memoirs*, p. 161.
184. *Ibid.*

185. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 428–429; Hauru Tohmatsu, “The Strategic Correlation between the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars,” paper given at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 3–4; Liu, *Military History*, p. 209.
186. Haruo Tohmatsu, “Strategic Correlation,” p. 3.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
188. Chiang Diaries, December 10 and 11, 1941, January 31, 1942, box 41, folder 18; Chiang Diaries, January 31, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1855.
189. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 126–127.
190. Lattimore, *China Memoirs*, p. 164. He might have conceded, of course, that with overwhelmingly superior firepower the Japanese had conquered a quarter of China.
191. Chiang’s radiogram to Roosevelt, January 7, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, p. 1847.
192. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 130–131.
193. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 31, 1941, box 42, folder 4; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1856.
194. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 199–213.
195. *Ibid.*, p. 243. Stilwell once said that in two generations China might produce good military officers (*ibid.*, p. 172).
196. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
197. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
198. *FRUS (1937)*, vol. 3: *The Far East*, p. 258.
199. Chiang’s cables to Soong, January 22, 23, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 1852–1853.
200. Young, *China and the Helping Hand*, pp. 231–240.

5. Chiang and His American Allies

1. It was reported that for each truckload that departed on the journey, bad management and maintenance, as well as illegal diversion, reduced the final delivery to about one third of the original tonnage. See Zhang Baijia, “China’s Experience in Seeking Foreign Military Aid and Cooperation for Resisting Japanese Aggression,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 46; Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission to China* (1952; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2002), p. 45.
2. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, p. 45.
3. Editor’s notes, February 4, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1857.
4. Alan K. Lathrop, “The Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops in the First Burma Campaign,” *Journal of Southeast Asia Studies* 12, no. 2 (September 1981): 409–410.

5. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1857.
6. Text of Gandhi's letter to Chiang contained in Chiang's telegram to T. V. Soong, June 22, 1942, T. V. Soong Papers, box 36, folder 5; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 18, 1942, box 42, folder 7.
7. Chiang telegram to Soong, March 15, 2005, T. V. Soong Papers, box 36, folder 5.
8. Joseph W. Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers*, ed. Theodore H. White (London: Macdonald, 1949), pp. 69, 70.
9. Chinese notes of Chiang's March 5, 1942, conversation with Stilwell, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1872.
10. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1872.
11. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 94–95.
12. Field Marshall Viscount Slim, *Defeat into Victory: Battling Japan in Burma and India, 1942–1945* (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000), p. 17; Zhang Ruide, "The Central Army from Whampoa to 1949," in *A Military History of China*, ed. David Graff and Robin Hiphem (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2002), pp. 201–210.
13. Telegram to T. V. Soong relating the transcript of the March 10 meeting between Chiang and Stilwell, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 11.
14. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 97.
15. Frank Dorn, *Walkout with Stilwell* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971), pp. 71–72.
16. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 100.
17. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 20, 1942, box 42, folder 8.
18. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 82.
19. Ibid.
20. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 106–109.
21. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 93.
22. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 1, 1942, box 42, folder 9.
23. Interview with Wang Chi, Washington, D.C., July 26, 2003.
24. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 93, 94; Editor's note, April 2, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 2, p. 1891.
25. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 97.
26. Ibid., pp. 97, 99; Chiang message to Luo Zhuoying, April 15, 1942, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 2. According to Stilwell, Chiang also suggested as a morale booster giving each squad a watermelon.
27. Lathrop, "Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops," pp. 417–418.
28. Ibid., pp. 418–419, citing U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, Internal Security Subcommittee, *The Amerasia Papers: A Clue to the Catastrophe of China*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), vol. 1, p. 187.
29. Claire Lee Chennault, *The Way of a Fighter* (1949; Tucson, Ariz.: James Thorvaardson and Sons, 1991), pp. 158–159.

30. Dorn, *Walkout with Stilwell*, p. 93.
31. Lathrop, "Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops," p. 418.
32. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 109.
33. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 160.
34. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 138–139.
35. Chiang's May 6, 1942, radiogram to Soong in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 1915.
36. Barbara Tuchman, *Sand against the Wind: Stilwell and the American Experience in China* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 372.
37. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 138–139; Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 109.
38. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 138–139.
39. *Ibid.*, pp. 135–136.
40. Ray Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek and His Diary as a Historical Source* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), part 2, p. 19.
41. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 7, 1942, box 42, folder 10.
42. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 110, 111.
43. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, p. 21.
44. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 141, 143–146; Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 161.
45. Jack Belden, *Retreat with Stilwell* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949).
46. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 109.
47. Lathrop, "Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops," pp. 421–423.
48. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 139.
49. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 4, 1942, box 42, folder 10.
50. Lathrop, "Employment of Chinese Nationalist Troops," pp. 431, 432.
51. Carrol V. Clines, *Doolittle's Tokyo Raiders* (Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), p. 6.
52. Haruo Tohmatsu, "The Strategic Correlation between the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars," paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 6.
53. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 121.
54. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 153–154.
55. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 121.
56. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 154.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 152.
58. Chiang's June 18, 1942, radiogram to Soong, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 1952–1953.
59. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 157.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 171; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 1957–1959; Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, p. 26.

61. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 128.
62. See a Theodore White article in *Life*, March 2, 1942, published in Edward T. Thompson, ed., *Theodore H. White at Large* (New York: Pantheon, 1992), p. 36.
63. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 131–132.
64. Radiogram from Chiang Kai-shek to T. V. Soong, July 6, 1942, passing the full text of the memorandum from Stilwell, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 2.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Chiang radiogram to T. V. Soong, July 5, 1942, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 2; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 1969–1972.
67. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 132.
68. Lauchlin Currie, “Report on Visit to China, August 24, 1942,” in Currie Papers, box 4, folder “Currie 2nd trip to China, Interviews with Chiang Kai-shek.”
69. *Washington Post*, July 22, 1942, p. 1, citing a report of the Office of War Information. Most of the missing would prove to be prisoners of war.
70. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 12, 1942, box 42, folder 14.
71. Yang Kuisong, “The Formation and Implementation of the Chinese Communists’ Guerrilla Warfare Strategy in the Enemy’s Rear during the Sino-Japanese War,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 32–36. Yang Kuisong cites “Zhongyang geming junshi weiyuanhui guanyu kangri genjudi junshi jianshe de zhishi” (The Instruction of the Central Revolutionary Military Committee Concerning the Military Development in the Base Areas of Resistance, November 7, 1941).
72. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 26, 1942, box 42, folder 12.
73. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 30, 1942, box 42, folder 12; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, pp. 153–154.
74. Currie Papers, box 4, folder “Report.”
75. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 4, 1942, box 42, folder 12.
76. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 137.
77. Currie Papers, box 4, folder “Report.”
78. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 131, 132.
79. Chinese record of Chiang and Willkie meeting, October 5, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2045.
80. For “stupidity” see Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 25, 1942, box 42, folder 14.
81. Chiang Kai-shek, *Resistance and Reconstruction: Messages during China’s Six Years of War, 1937–1943* (New York: Harper, 1943), pp. 320–322.
82. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, pp. 224–225.
83. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1976), p. 253.
84. Gardner Cowles, *Mike Looks Back: The Memoirs of Gardner Cowles, Founder of “Look” Magazine* (New York: Gardner Cowles, 1985).

85. Ibid.

86. Drew Pearson, *Drew Pearson's Diaries: 1949–1959*, ed. Tyler Abell (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1974). On the legal maneuverings regarding the *Pearson Diaries*, see Luo Yizheng (a 1970s official in the Information Department of the GRC), *Wei chen wu li ke hui tian-Luo Yizheng de wai jiao sheng ya* (Valiant but Fruitless Endeavors: Memoirs of Yizheng Luo) (Taipei: Commonwealth Publishing Group, 2002), pp. 246–255.

87. Gardner Cowles, *Mike Cowles Looks Back* (New York: Gardner Cowles, 1985), pp. 87–91.

88. Currie to Mrs. Roosevelt, January 16, 1943, Currie Papers, box 1, folder “Eleanor Roosevelt.”

89. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 194.

90. Ibid., pp. 194–195.

91. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 39, 41.

92. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 335–339; Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 216.

93. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 339–340.

94. Ibid.

95. *FRUS* (1942): *China*, pp. 99–102; *FRUS* (1943): *China*, pp. 193–199.

96. John Stewart Service, *Lost Chance in China* (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 169.

97. Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (1938; Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951); Edgar Snow, *Red Star over China* (1938; New York: Random House, 1944). Another important book was Graham Peck, *Two Kinds of Time* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950).

98. Lucian W. Pye, *The Spirit of Chinese Politics* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1968), p. 15.

99. Arthur N. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 286–298.

100. Robert A Kapp, “The Kuomintang and Rural China in the War of Resistance, 1937–1945,” in F. Gilbert Chan, ed., *China at the Crossroads: Nationalists and Communists, 1927–1949* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1980), p. 169.

101. Ibid.

102. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation*, pp. 263, 299–308, 348–349; Hsi-Hseng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937–1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), p. 173.

103. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 179.

104. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 3, 1942, box 42, folder 16.

105. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 131–132.

106. Ibid., p. 245.

107. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 245.

108. Chiang radiogram to Roosevelt, December 2, 1942, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2082.
109. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 249.
110. Winston Churchill, *The Second World War* (London: Cassell, 1952), p. 650.
111. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 179–180.
112. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 259.
113. Chinese record of meeting between Chiang and Arnold in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2112.
114. Ibid.
115. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 7, 1942, box 43, folder 1; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 276.
116. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 279–280.
117. Ibid., pp. 282, 287; Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 217.
118. Joseph W. Alsop, *I've Seen The Best* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1992), p. 212. Barbara Tuchman describes Alsop as “excitable,” given to “cataclysmic opinions . . . opinionated,” and “melodramatic”—characteristics that a biographer might also have applied to General Stilwell. See Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 358.
119. James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, eds., *China's Bitter Victory* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), p. 161.
120. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 366; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 335.
121. Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 201.
122. *New York Times*, February 18, 1943.
123. Ibid.
124. Eleanor Roosevelt, *The Autobiography of Eleanor Roosevelt* (1961; New York: Da Capo Press, 1992), pp. 249–250.
125. Currie Papers, box 1, folder “John Carter Vincent.”
126. John S. Service and Caroline Service, “Man across the Street,” Georgetown University Foreign Affairs Oral History Project, vol. 1, pp. 180–182, cited by Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 217.
127. Freedom of Information Act materials provided to Laura Tyson Li; see Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 218.
128. Jerrold Schecter and Leona Schecter, *Sacred Secrets* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 2002), pp. 115, 125, 128, 138. In postwar investigations Currie was never charged with espionage, but he was publicly accused by Bentley of being one of her contacts. Currie denied he was ever a Soviet agent.
129. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 318–320.
130. Ibid., p. 320. Chiang's assertion that the Chinese Army could defend against a Japanese attack was hardly an expression—as Romanus and Sunderland assert—that he was satisfied with his army as it was and that there was no need to provide it new arms or improve its combat efficiency.
131. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 220.

132. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 367.
133. Churchill, *The Second World War and an Epilogue, 1945–1957* (London: Cassell, 1959), p. 664.
134. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 323. The army historians, in describing Stilwell's unusual behavior, stressed his alleged modesty: "Stilwell said little in his own behalf and slipped into the reserve that came so naturally to him."
135. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 367–368.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 368.
137. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 323.
138. The army historians suggest that he may also have presented the points orally. See also Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 323–324.
139. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 371.
140. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 220; Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 371.
141. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 245.
142. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, pp. 36–37.
143. Chinese record of Soong's May 17 presentation to the Combined Chiefs of Staff, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2157; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 326, citing "summaries" of the Combined Chiefs meetings.
144. T. V. Soong memorandum re. conversation with Assistant Secretary of War McCoy, May 5, 1943, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 6.
145. Arthur N. Young, *China and the Helping Hand, 1937–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 318.
146. Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, pp. 218–223.
147. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 489.
148. Memorandum re. General Stilwell, August 20, 1943, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 2.
149. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (1948; New York: Bantam Books, 1950), vol. 2, p. 352.
150. T. V. Soong, "Note on Conversation with Harry Hopkins on August 16, 1943," T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 6.
151. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 17, 1943, box 43, folder 5.
152. Chiang's June 21, 1943, radiograms to his wife, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2171–2172.
153. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 28, 1943, box 43, folder 5; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, p. 341.
154. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 22, 1943, box 43, folder 7.
155. Hauru Tohmatsu, "The Strategic Correlation between the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars," paper given at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 9.
156. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, pp. 358–363.

157. Stilwell set out the scenario in a June 1943 note in his “Black Book.” See Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, p. 341.
158. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 399.
159. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 21, 1943, box 43, folder 8; Stilwell’s plan in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, p. 2239; Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, p. 45; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, p. 341.
160. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 372–373, 476–477, 493.
161. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 226; Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 371.
162. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, p. 47.
163. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 213–217.
164. Soong radiogram of September 16, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2236; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, pp. 376–377.
165. T. V. Soong radiogram to Hopkins via China Defense Supplies, October 13, 1943, T. V. Soong Papers, box 61, folder 2.
166. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, p. 377.
167. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, p. 47.
168. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 15, 1943, box 43, folder 9.
169. Alsop, *I’ve Seen the Best*, pp. 224–225.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 224; Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, pp. 46–47.
171. Editor’s notes on the Stilwell-Mayling and Chiang-Stilwell meetings, October 17, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2253.
172. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 220–221.
173. Chinese notes on Stilwell’s October 17, 1943, meeting with Chiang, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2253.
174. Alsop, *I’ve Seen the Best*, p. 225.
175. Leo Soong, February 21, 2005, memo “Background of T. V. Soong’s 1943 Apology Letter to Chiang Kai-shek,” a copy of which was provided to me by Mr. Leo Soong by email on April 11, 2006.
176. Alsop, *I’ve Seen the Best*, p. 225.
177. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, pp. 378–379.
178. Louis Mountbatten, *Personal Diary of Admiral the Lord Louis Mounbatten, 1943–1946*, ed. Philip Ziegler (London: Collins, 1988), p. 14.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 11–17; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Mission*, p. 380.
180. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 221.
181. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 8, 1943, box 43, folder 8.
182. Message to Dimitrov from Gao Dong (aka Godunov) in Chungking, August 14, 1943, RGASPI, collection 595, inventory 74, file 333, pp. 3–13.
183. Peter Vladimirov, *The Vladimirov Diaries* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 133.
184. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 388–389.

185. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 11, 1943, box 43, folder 7.
186. Ibid.
187. Vladimirov, *Diaries*, pp. 133–134.
188. Ibid., p. 133.
189. Gao reported to Dimitrov that he had just received information that somewhere in the CCP mission a KMT mole had disclosed the cipher key for decoding cables. Message to Dimitrov from Gao Dong in Chungking, August 14, 1943, RGASPI, collection 595, inventory 74, file 333, pp. 7–8; Message to Dimitrov from Gao Dong in Chungking, August 14, 1943, RGASPI, collection 595, inventory 74, file 333, p. 6.
190. Chiang radiogram to Soong, September 9, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2213–2214.
191. Chiang Diaries, August 15, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2201.
192. Chiang radiogram to Soong, September 9, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2210, 2213–2214.
193. Chiang radiogram to Soong, September 10, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2214–2215.
194. Chiang radiogram to Soong, September 19, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2216.
195. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 17, 1943, box 43, folder 9; Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, p. 51.
196. Don Lohbeck, *Patrick J. Hurley* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956), pp. 15–86, 159–164.
197. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 397–398.
198. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 13, 1943, box 43, folder 10; Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 206.
199. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 17, 1943, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2270–2272.
200. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 399–400.
201. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission*, vol. 2, p. 61.
202. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 225.
203. Tuchman calls the term “horrific,” but explains that it appears “only once or twice again” in Stilwell’s diaries. See Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 398.
204. Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences for Forrest C. Pogue*, ed. Larry I. Bland, 3d ed. (Lexington, Va.: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1996), p. 605. Marshall added: “He was writing worse things to his wife.”

6. The China Theater

1. Winston S. Churchill, *The Second World War and an Epilogue on the Years 1945 to 1957* (London: Cassell, 1959), p. 727.

2. Field Marshall Lord Alanbrooke, *War Diaries*, ed. Alex Danchev and Dan Todman (London: Widenfeld and Nicolson, 2001), entry for November 23, 1943.
3. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 23, 1943, box 43, folder 10.
4. Barbara Tuchman, *Sand against the Wind: Stilwell and the American Experience in China* (London: Macmillan, 1971), p. 402.
5. Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem* (1956; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 1978), pp. 62–63.
6. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (1948; New York: Bantam Books, 1950), vol. 2, p. 393.
7. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 117.
8. The Chiangs had a formal introductory meeting with Roosevelt on November 22.
9. Ray Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek and His Diary as a Historical Resource* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), part 2, p. 53.
10. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 24, 1943, box 43, folder 10.
11. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 23, 1943, box 43, folder 10; *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, pp. 322–325.
12. Elliot Roosevelt, *As He Saw It* (New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce, 1946), p. 142.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 395.
15. Tuchman, *Sand against the Wind*, p. 404.
16. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, pp. 347–348.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 338–339.
18. In the Combined Chiefs meeting on November 26, Marshall was very strong on this issue. See *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 364.
19. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 24, 1943, box 43, folder 10.
20. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 349.
21. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 26, 1943, box 43, folder 10.
22. *Ibid.*
23. Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, p. 164. Roosevelt dodged a guarantee on Manchuria but said that the Soviet Union would respect the frontier of Manchuria. He suggested that Hong Kong be returned to China but become an open port, and Chiang agreed.
24. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 26, 1943, box 43, folder 10.
25. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 64.
26. The President's log reports variously that the Roosevelt-Chiang afternoon meeting lasted ninety minutes and that the President's next appointment was at 6:15. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, pp. 63, 298–299. For the Stilwell-Marshall meeting with Roosevelt, see Joseph W. Stilwell, *The Stilwell Papers* (London: Macdonald, 1949), p. 232, and Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 64.

27. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 232.

28. For “He’s off again,” see *ibid.*, p. 231; for the 10:30 p.m. meeting see Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, pp. 160, 162.

29. For “President’s log” see *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, pp. lxiii, 298–299.

30. For “low down” see Mountbatten, *Diary*, p. 35, and Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 32. The Defense Department historians state in one sentence that on the “evening” of November 25, Chiang met again with Roosevelt and “reversed himself on every point.” They give no source at all for this statement but presumably took this exact phrase from Mountbatten’s report of what Marshall told him Stilwell had apparently reported about what he thought Hopkins had said. The State Department historians simply note that the Pentagon history “indicates” that Chiang “reversed himself on every point,” but knowing there was no evening meeting, they assume the reputed reversal took place at the 5:00 p.m. session, which was of course not true as President Roosevelt reported after the meeting. See Romanus and Sunderland, *Command Problems*, p. 65; *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 366.

31. For “fed up” see Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 232; for “abilities” see Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 27, 1943, box 43, folder 10; for “tonnage target” see Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 233.

32. For “complete accord” see Chiang Diaries, November 27, 1943, box 43, folder 10; for “strong statement of support” see *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 364; for “agreement on every point” see *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 366.

33. Mountbatten, *Diary*, p. 35; Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 233.

34. Mountbatten, *Diary*, pp. 35, 36; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 65, quoting the SEAC War Diary, November 29, 1943.

35. Chiang Diaries, November 27, 1943, box 34, folder 10.

36. Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 407, 521.

37. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, p. 431.

38. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, pp. 705–710.

39. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 238; Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, pp. 164, 204; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2282.

40. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 395, 396.

41. *FRUS (1943): The Conferences*, p. 681.

42. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 41–42. When referring to this and other failures by the headquarters of the CAI (Chinese Army in India), a headquarters commanded by Stilwell and staffed by Americans, the Army historians frequently use the Chinese term *Zhi hui bu* rather than the equivalent English word “headquarters.” On their organization chart of the CAI, “headquarters” is written in these Chinese phonetics only. In the text, it is not made clear that *Zhu hui bu* meant Stilwell’s CAI headquarters staffed entirely by American officers. Many readers might assume that the *Zhi hui bu* was a Chinese, specifically a Chiang Kai-shek, organization and that the intelligence failures were his.

43. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 46, 123–124.
44. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 53–54.
45. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 26 and 27, 1943, box 34, folder 10.
46. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 26, 1943, box 34, folder 10.
47. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 237.
48. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 410.
49. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 236–238.
50. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 72, and footnote
61. These notes were found in Stilwell's loose papers.
51. Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, p. 207.
52. Chiang Diaries, December 4, 1943, box 43, folder 11.
53. Hsi-hseng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War: Military Defeats and Political Collapse, 1937–1945* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1982), pp. 113–114.
54. *Ibid.*
55. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
56. Editor's notes on exchange with Bai, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2192–2193.
57. Abstract of Zhou Enlai "Report to the Politburo" of the CCP, August 1939 copy found in the Comintern archives, RGASPI, collection 495, inventory 10a, file 296, sheet 146-96.
58. Frank Dorn, *Walkout with Stilwell* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1971), pp. 75–76.
59. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–79.
60. Thomas H. Moon and Carl F. Eifler, *The Deadliest Colonel* (New York: Vantage Press, 1975), pp. 145–146. Eifler, head of OSS espionage in the China Theater, infuriated Wild Bill Donovan by consistently claiming he was under the jurisdiction of Stilwell. Consequently, Eifler would have felt no need to inform OSS headquarters of this rather important order from Stilwell, apparently even when he returned to Washington and saw Donovan on another matter. See Maochun Yu, *OSS in China: Prelude to Cold War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 113.
61. Moon and Eifler, *Deadliest Colonel*, pp. 146, 184, 193. Although Moon and Eifler do not give the day or month of the time in 1943 when Stilwell first brought up the subject with Eifler, it is apparent from the chronology of events before and after this meeting that it took place in the suggested timeframe.
62. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 395, 396.
63. Roosevelt, *As He Saw It*, p. 154.
64. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 217–218.
65. Xu Longxun and Zhan Minggai, *History of the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945)* (Taipei: Chung Wu Publishing, 1971), p. 412.
66. *FRUS (1943): China*, p. 168.
67. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 64.

68. Claire Lee Chennault, *The Way of a Fighter* (1949; Tucson, Ariz.: James Thorwardson and Sons, 1991), pp. 262–263.
69. Mrs. Chas. E. Cowman, *Streams in the Desert* (Los Angeles: Oriental Missionary Society, 1931), p. 23.
70. Chiang Kai-shek, *China's Destiny and Economic Theory* (New York: Roy Publishers, 1947).
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 40, 94, 96, 146, 157, 208, 231, 234–235, 263, 277, 279, 282–284, 289.
72. *Ibid.*, pp. 289–290.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
74. Owen Lattimore, *China Memoirs* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), p. 186; Harvey Klehr and Ronald Radosh, *The Amerasia Spy Case* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), pp. 29, 32–37, 42, 132.
75. Herbert Feis, *The China Tangle: The American Effort in China from Pearl Harbor to the Marshall Mission* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 120.
76. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 30 and 31 (“Monthly reflection”), 1943, box 43, folder 10.
77. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 74; Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 120–121.
78. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 79–80.
79. Chiang Kai-shek letter to President Roosevelt, transmitted January 16, 1944, in *White Paper*, pp. 492–493; Arthur N. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 283.
80. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*; Arthur N. Young, *China and the Helping Hand, 1937–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), p. 400.
81. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 15, 1944, box 43, folder 13.
82. Roosevelt's January 15, 1944, radiogram, and editor's notes, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2312; Tuchman, *Sand*, pp. 412–413; Young, *China and the Helping Hand*, pp. 284–285; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 298.
83. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 300–301; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 127.
84. Xu Longxun and Zhan Minggai, *History*, pp. 416–417; Chiang Kai-shek radiogram, February 22, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2327; Hara Takeshi, “The Ichigo Offensive: The Circumstances Leading to Its Execution and Its Results,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, pp. 1, 7.
85. Hara Takeshi, “Ichigo Offensive,” pp. 1–7; Wang Qisheng, “The Hunan Bat-

tle: The Chinese Military Response to the Japanese ‘Battle no. 1,’” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 3.

86. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 12, 1944, box 43, folder 15.

87. Peter Vladimirov, *The Vladimirov Diaries* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 184.

88. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 13, 1944, box 43, folder 14.

89. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 300–304; Editor’s notes, February 13 and 22, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2322, 2327.

90. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 162–163, 180–171.

91. Churchill, *Second World War*, pp. 825–826; Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 265.

92. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 176–177, 180, 304; Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 439.

93. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 305, 307–308; Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 441.

94. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 5, 1944, box 43, folder 16.

95. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 310; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2345.

96. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 5, 1944, box 43, folder 16.

97. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 313–314, 329, 340–341.

98. *Ibid.*, pp. 312–314.

99. *Ibid.*, p. 322.

100. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

101. Hsi-hseng Ch’i, *Nationalist China at War*, pp. 75–76; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 314, 323, 325, 326. Another 200 planes of the 14th were designated to defend the B-29s at Chengdu and another 150 to support the Salween offensive. See Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 290, and Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 370. The 500 total planes in the 14th Air Force (900 by the end of 1944) contrasted with the 21,000 aircraft and 18 million tons of supplies that the United States would provide the Soviet Union during the war.

102. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 254.

103. *Ibid.*, pp. 355–360; Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 275.

104. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 363–364; Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 287–288, 292.

105. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, pp. 362–364.

106. The Chindits and their commanders, who provided 17,000 British, Gurhka, Nigerian, and Burmese special-forces troops, grew highly critical of Stilwell, clas-

sifying the battle for Myitkyina as a blunder and a fiasco. Stilwell's intelligence had claimed that there were only 350 Japanese troops in the town. See Shelford Bidwell, *The Chindit War* (New York: Macmillan, 1979), p. 280.

107. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 28, 1944, box 43, folder 17; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, 365.

108. He Yingqin interview with Central News Agency reporters, Chungking, September 20, 1944, in "News of the Central News Agency," October 7, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Chungkuo minkuo chungyao shihliao chupian tui erh kangchan shihch'i* (Preliminary Compilation of Important Historical Material of the ROC—Resist Japan Period), part 3: *Chiaoshih Waichiao* (Wartime Diplomacy) (Taipei: KMT Historical Archives, 1981), vol. 1, pp. 512–514. Lend-Lease that China received from May 1941 to April 1942 before the Burma Road was cut off provided supplies that the War Ministry distributed or stored, including: airplanes, 1,657 tons; arsenals (equipment and material for arms manufacture), 24,000 tons; vehicles, 29,000 tons; ordnance (presumably bombs and shells), 11,000 tons; weapons, 1,300 tons; ammunition, 8,700 tons; road-building equipment, 19,000 tons. See Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Stilwell's Mission to China* (1952; Washington, D.C.: U.S. Army Center of Military History, 2002), p. 49. If not a "trickle," considering the circumstances, these were certainly small amounts.

109. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 321, 322.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 369; Alsop, *The Best*, p. 235.

111. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 368.

112. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 5, 1944, box 43, folder 18.

113. The Chinese had small arsenals of China-made weapons and ammunition. According to a later study by Wedemeyer's headquarters, from March 1941 through June 1945, Chinese arsenals—apparently with the assistance of U.S.-supplied non-ferrous metals—were able to produce a total of 263,000 rifles, 44,000 machine guns, 10,000 mortars, 16 million hand grenades, and 610 million rounds of various caliber ammunition. Except for the hand grenades, this is a relatively small supply of replacement weapons and ammunition for four years given the size of the Chinese Army and the combat and other losses that they suffered. Even so, Chiang probably had sufficient reserve supplies of this China-produced matériel that he could have provided Changsha and Hengyang with the supplies they needed, but Chennault required Stilwell's approval to fly airdrop operations. On June 7, Chiang's team in Washington reported that the U.S. Joint Chiefs had approved use of the Tenth Air Force heavy bombers in India to drop 2,000 to 2,500 tons of matériel in the China Theater, but neither Chiang nor Stilwell ever picked up on this offer. Message from General Shang Zhen in Washington, June 7, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2374.

114. Chiang clearly withheld some or perhaps all major airdrops of ordnance supplies from Xue, but a number of recent writings on Ichigo do not mention this aspect

of the Chinese response to the campaign, suggesting that possibly it was not a critical factor in the outcome of the battles for Changsha and Hengyang. These texts include those of a Peking scholar of the campaign, Wang Qisheng; a noted Chinese-American historian who was in the Nationalist Army at the time, Ray Huang; and a Japanese scholar, Hara Takeshi. Xue did receive some U.S. howitzers directly from the Americans; see Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 372.

115. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 20, 1944, box 43, folder 18.

116. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 145.

117. *New York Times*, June 21, 1944.

118. *New York Times*, September 24, 1951, citing Wallace's letter to Harry Truman, September 19, 1951, in which he refers to his 1944 China trip; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 376.

119. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 160; *New York Times*, June 9, August 22, and October 6, 1944.

120. *White Paper*, pp. 64–65.

121. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 148–151.

122. Lattimore, *China Memoirs*, pp. 181–186.

123. Feis, *Tangle*, pp. 148–151.

124. *New York Times*, January 19, 1950, and September 24, 1951. Vincent, like many others associated with China policy, would after the war be unfairly accused of being a Communist. Vincent fully concurred in this 1944 recommendation by Wallace to replace Stilwell—a recommendation that Zhou Enlai would certainly have seen as highly unfavorable to the CCP.

125. John S. Service, *Lost Chance in China* (New York: Random House, 1974), p. 95.

126. Lin Bowen, *Kua shiji diyi furen Song Meiling* (Soong Mayling: The First Lady across Centuries) (Taipei: China Times, 2000), pp. 443–444. One rumor was that Chiang's longtime paramour, Chen Jieru, had returned secretly to Chungking and Chiang had renewed the relationship. But Jieru did not mention this renewed liaison in her memoirs, suggesting it did not happen.

127. Sterling Seagrave, *The Soong Dynasty* (New York: Harper & Row Perennial Library Paperback, 1986), pp. 412–413.

128. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek: China's Eternal First Lady* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 258.

129. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, pp. 112–113; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 379–380.

130. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 170.

131. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 381–382.

132. Geoffery C. Ward, *Closest Companion* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), p. 114.

133. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 281–283, 296.

134. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 7, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
135. The Englishman known as Chinese Gordon in the middle of the nineteenth century briefly commanded only a small force of Europeans and Asians called “The Ever Victorious Army.”
136. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 7, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
137. Chiang cables to Roosevelt, Wallace, and H. H. Kung, July 8 and 11, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2394, 2395, 2397.
138. Chiang Kai-shek, July 11 (1944) radiogram, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2397.
139. H. H. Kung, July 12, 1944, radiogram to Chiang, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2399.
140. Ibid.
141. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 386–387. The army historians give the date of the memo from Roosevelt to Chiang Kai-shek as July 13, saying it was conveyed to Chiang in a memo of July 15 from Stilwell's headquarters in Chungking.
142. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 12, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
143. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 18, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2398, 2399.
144. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 18, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
145. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 22, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
146. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 20, 1944, box 43, folder 19.
147. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 292–296; editor's note, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2369.
148. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 1, pp. 97–104; Hsi-hseng Ch'i, *Nationalist China at War*, p. 77.
149. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, pp. 94, 300.
150. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 402.
151. Ibid., pp. 412–413.
152. Ibid.
153. Ibid., p. 405.
154. Chennault, *Way of a Fighter*, p. 304.
155. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 11, 1944, box 43, folder 20.
156. Service, *Lost Chance*, pp. 271, 179, 180, 181, 196, 312.
157. Ibid., p. 197.
158. Ibid., p. 308; David D. Barrett, *The Dixie Mission: The United States Army Observer Group in Yenna, 1944* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), p. 90.
159. Lyman P. Van Slyke, ed., *The Chinese Communist Movement* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968), pp. 104, 251–253, 254.
160. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 26, 1944, box 43, folder 20.

161. Don Lohbeck, *Patrick J. Hurley* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956), pp. 285–286.

162. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 7, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2426.

163. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 8, 1944, box 43, folder 21.

164. Ibid.; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 422–423.

165. Editor's notes, September 8, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2428.

166. Editor's notes, September 15, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2435.

167. Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 303.

168. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 435–436.

169. Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, part 2, p. 121.

170. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 437; Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 290.

171. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, pp. 446–447. Information about the February 1945 meeting comes from an interview of Hurley by the Army historians. See Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, p. 239.

172. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 446.

173. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 19, 1944, box 43, folder 21; Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 292.

174. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 292.

175. Ibid.

176. Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, p. 39; Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 293.

177. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 293.

178. Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, p. 241. Romanus and Sunderland seem to ignore the rather clear conclusion in their own writing that it was Stilwell's message of September 15 that provoked the War Department into sending the President the draft ultimatum to Chiang. Romanus and Sunderland in fact report that Stilwell's alarming message of September 15 led the Combined Chiefs meeting in Quebec, with Roosevelt and Churchill present, to agree to a strong response urging Chiang not to carry through with his proposals regarding the Y Force on the Salween front. This resulted in the ultimatum drafted by Marshall's staff in Quebec that was also based on the incorrect assertion that Chiang was stalling on the command issue. See Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 447.

179. Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, p. 242.

180. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, pp. 293–294.

181. Alsop, *I've Seen the Best*, p. 242.

182. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 20, 1944, box 43, folder 21.

183. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell's Command Problem*, p. 451.

184. Ibid., pp. 447, 448.

185. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 305–306. The army historians simply note that Stilwell "marked the occasion" with "bit of doggerel," explaining in a footnote that he wrote

nonsense verse and other material “for the entertainment of himself, his family, and a few friends.” See Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 448. Tuchman, by contrast, provides the whole verse on “the principle of warts and all.” See Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 494.

186. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 305–306.

187. Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 452.

188. Chiang records that Hurley told him this. See Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 24, 1944, box 43, folder 21.

189. Editor’s notes, September 24, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2452–2453.

190. Editor’s notes, September 23, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2444–2458.

191. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 296.

192. Chiang Kai-shek, September 26, 1944, cable to H. H. Kung, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2455.

193. Chiang’s formal letter to Hurley, September 25, 1944, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2454; Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 298; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 452.

194. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 30, 1944, box 43, folder 21.

195. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 193, 194; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 457.

196. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 194, 195; Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 312–313; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 459.

197. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, pp. 300–301; Romanus and Sunderland, *Stilwell’s Command Problem*, p. 463.

198. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 315–316.

199. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 21, 1944, box 43, folder 22; Stilwell, *Papers*, p. 317.

200. Tuchman, *Sand*, p. 503. In 1946, Stilwell told Owen Lattimore about wishing “to get over there [in the Chinese Civil War] and shoulder a rifle with Zhu Teh.” He repeated this phrase in a letter to someone else and the passage was circulated after his death on October 12, 1946.

201. Stilwell, *Papers*, pp. 318, 319.

202. *New York Times*, October 31, 1944.

203. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 4, 1944, box 43, folder 23.

7. Yalta, Manchuria, and Postwar Strategy

1. Charles F. Romanus and Riley Sunderland, *Time Runs Out in the CBI* (Washington: D.C.: Office of the Chief of Military History, Department of the Army, 1959), p. 16.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Although the Americans now had air superiority over most of Free China, the Japanese Air Force was by no means out of business.
5. Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports* (New York: Holt, 1958), pp. 277–278.
6. Herbert Feis, *The China Tangle: The American Effort in China from Pearl Harbor to the Marshall Mission* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1953), pp. 195, 204.
7. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 2 and 6, 1944, box 43, folder 24.
8. Wang Chaoguang, “Wartime Rivalry and the Deliberation of Postwar Issues,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004; F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924–1949* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956), p. 219.
9. RGASPI, collection 17, inventory 128, file 822, sheets 7–21.
10. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 205.
11. Peter Vladimirov, *The Vladimirov Diaries* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), p. 289.
12. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 11, 1944, box 43, folder 23; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2474.
13. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 22, 1944, box 43, folder 23.
14. Barbara Tuchman, *Notes from China* (New York: Collier Books, 1971), pp. 77–79.
15. Later, Mao wrote in an intraparty document that the CCP would of course “never do such a thing” and in January 1945 he would also tell that to Hurley. See Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 90.
16. Editor’s notes, January 14, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2506; *White Paper*, p. 79.
17. Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 512; Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 331–332.
18. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 93.
19. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 236.
20. *Ibid.*, pp. 226–239.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
22. Harry Harding and Yuan Ming, eds., *Sino-American Relations, 1945–1955* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1989), p. 67; Robert E. Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins* (1948; New York: Bantam Books, 1950), vol. 2, p. 511.
23. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 93. Sheng cites a Mao to Zhou radio-gram of February 3, 1944, in which Mao notes that Stalin would be meeting with Roosevelt and Churchill. From this, Sheng reasonably concludes that Stalin had sent a message to Mao about the meeting.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 94; Sherwood, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*, pp. 512, 516; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 240.
25. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 21, 1945, box 44, folder 3.
26. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, p. 338.
27. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 15, 1945, box 44, folder 4.
28. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 278.
29. Don Lohbeck, *Patrick J. Hurley* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956), pp. 372–377.
30. Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 277.
31. *Liberation Daily*, April 9, 1945.
32. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, p. 370.
33. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 13, 1945, box 44, folder 5.
34. *White Paper*, p. 83.
35. *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 276.
36. *White Paper*, pp. 268–270.
37. *Bai Chongxi xian sheng fangwen jilu* (The Reminiscences of General Bai Chongxi), ed. Guo Dingye, 2 vols., no. 4 in the Oral History Series (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1984), p. 475.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 475–478.
39. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 482.
40. Joseph J. Heinlein, “Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model,” Ph.D. diss., American University, 1974, p. 482; *White Paper*, p. 101.
41. Conrad Brandt, Benjamin Swartz, and John K. Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 419; Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 290–291.
42. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 350–352; Hsi-sheng Ch’i, “The Military Dimension, 1942–1945,” in James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, *China’s Bitter Victory* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), pp. 165–166.
43. Wang Chaoguang, “Wartime Rivalry,” p. 7; Haruo Tohmatsu, “The Strategic Correlation between the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 17; Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 278, 287, 289; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 297; Wedemeyer, *Reports*, pp. 301, 338.
44. Lohbeck, *Hurley*, pp. 370, 376–377; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 15, 1945, box 44, folder 7; Ray Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek and His Diary as a Historical Resource* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1996), part 2, p. 140.
45. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 105–106.
46. Theodore H. White and Annalea Jacoby, *Thunder Out of China* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1946) p. 266; for “guarantee” see Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 24, 1945, box 44, folder 6.

47. *Time*, December 24, 1945.
48. *Ibid.*; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2565–2566.
49. For “Japanese territory” see Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 97, 103. For “across the Yangtze” see editor’s note in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2571. For “three articles” see Wang Chaoguang, “Wartime Rivalry,” p. 27.
50. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 5, 1945, box 44, folder 8.
51. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Chiang Ching-kuo xian sheng zhuan zhi* (Biography of Chiang Ching-kuo) (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 272–273; Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo’s Son* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), p. 126.
52. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 317–321.
53. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 313–321, 365–366. Some 11,600 tons of fuel were delivered by the pipeline. The prediction of Churchill, Chennault, and others in 1943 that the war would end before the road could be completed was five months off.
54. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 15, 341. In November 30, 1944, there were 27,739 U.S. military personnel in China, a number that increased substantially over the next eight months.
55. The capture of the airfield at Myitkyina did allow a shorter and safer air route for the Air Transport Command transports.
56. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 28, 1945 (weekly reflection), box 44, folders 8, 13.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*
59. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 31, 1945, box 44, folder 8; Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 334–335; Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, p. 391.
60. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, p. 359.
61. Jack Samson, *The Flying Tiger: The True Story of General Clair Chennault and the U.S. 14th Air Force* (Guilford, Conn.: Lyons Press, 1987), p. 265.
62. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 368, 381.
63. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 106.
64. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 10, 1945, box 44, folder 9.
65. Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, pp. 394, 395; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 337.
66. Editor’s notes, August 14, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2639.
67. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 342–344.
68. *Ibid.*
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 348–350.
70. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 102; Tang Tsou, *America’s Failure in China, 1941–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 303.
71. Tang Tsou, *America’s Failure*, pp. 303–304.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 305.

73. Chen Liwen, *Cong Dongbei dongwu fa zhan kan jiezhou* (A Study on the Return of Northeast China after the War from the Perspective of KMT Party Politics and Party Organizational Rebuilding) (Taipei: Northeast Historical Documents Publishing House, 2000), p. 302; Steven I. Levine, *Anvil of Victory: The Communist Revolution in Manchuria, 1945–1948* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 103; Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 105.

74. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 102; Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 100–102; Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 303.

75. Wang Chaoguang, “Wartime Rivalry,” p. 35.

76. *Bai Chongxi xian sheng fangwen jilu*, p. 242.

77. Rira Mona, “The Chinese Utilization of the Japanese Army after the Victory of the Sino-Japanese War,” paper presented at Harvard University Conference on Wartime China, Maui, January 2004, p. 6; *ibid.*, p. 243. The CCP claimed that from August 11 to October 10, its forces captured and accepted the surrender of 200,000 puppet and Japanese troops and killed or wounded 10,000. The overwhelming majority of the captured were puppet troops, including local and village police and militia. See Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 311.

78. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 43. At the end of 1946 there were still “many” Japanese serving in Yan’s army.

79. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 103–104; Romanus and Sunderland, *Time Runs Out*, p. 395; Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 308.

80. Dimitri Volkogonov, *Stalin: Triumph and Tragedy* (London: Forum, 1991), p. 531.

81. Zhang Baijia, “Zhou Enlai and the Marshall Mission,” in Larry I. Bland, ed., *George C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945–January 1947* (Lexington, Va.: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1998), p. 203.

82. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 140; He Changgong, *He Changgong huiyi lu* (Memoirs of He Changgong) (Peking: Liberation Army Publishers, 1987), pp. 403–430. At the time, He Changgong was the CCP’s minister for ordnance in the Northeast. Over the years, the CCP, furthering its argument that Stalin only decided to side with Mao in Manchuria in 1947 after the tide had turned, claimed that Stalin did not turn over a substantial amount of Japanese weapons until the fall of that year. See Sergei Goncharov, John Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 14. A full reading of He’s memoirs makes clear that this was not the case—although tanks and heavy artillery were held back until the fall of 1947, presumably in order to diminish the U.S. reaction to the huge Soviet transfer of Japanese weapons under way should Washington learn of it. Also see Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 104.

83. James Harrison, *The Long March to Power: A History of the Chinese Communist Party* (New York: Praeger, 1972), pp. 366–367. U.S. intelligence reports provided a

smaller estimate. See Lyman P. Van Slyke, *The Chinese Communist Movement: A Report of the U.S. War Department, July 1945* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1968), p. 168.

84. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 106, citing Ding Xiaochun, *Chronology of the Liberation War in Manchuria* (Peking: Publishing House of CCP Historical Materials, 1987).

85. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 380, 381.

86. Mao Zedong, “On Peace Negotiations with the Kuomintang,” in Mao Zedong, *Selected Works* (Peking: International Publishers, 1949), vol. 4, p. 49.

87. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 28, 1945, box 44, folder 9.

88. Henry Luce, “Chungking Diaries,” October 1945, cited by Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 265; Han Suyin, *Elder Son: Zhou Enlai and the Making of Modern China* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), p. 261.

89. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 2, 1945, box 44, folder 10.

90. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 4, 1945, box 44, folder 10.

91. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 9, 1945, box 44, folder 10.

92. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 10 and 20, 1945, box 44, folder 10.

93. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 7, 1945, box 44, folder 10.

94. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 108, citing Yang Kuisong, “Zhongguo Gongchangdang dongbei de zhanlu yanbian yu Sulian” (The Soviet Union and the Evolution of the CCP’s Strategy of Seizing the Northeast), *Zhonggong dangshi yanjiu* (Journal of Chinese Communist Party History, Peking), 1990 (additional issue), pp. 60–71. The Soviets supposedly promised that the Red Army would support the CCP directly if Chiang Kai-shek’s government launched an offensive in Manchuria.

95. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 106–108.

96. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 13, 1945, box 44, folder 11; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 382.

97. Editor’s notes, September 18, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2675.

98. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 9, 1945, box 44, folder 11.

99. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 11, 1945, box 44, folder 11.

100. Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, p. 11.

101. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 111–112, citing Zhonggong zhong-yang wenxian yanjiushi (The Archival Research Office of the Central Committee of the CCP), *Mao Zedong nianbu* (Chronology of Mao Zedong) (Peking: People’s Publishing House, 1993), vol. 3, pp. 42–43.

102. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 4, 1945, box 44, folder 12.

103. Ibid.; Du Yuming, *Wo zai Lizo Shen zhanyi zhong de jingli* (My Experience in the Liao-Shenyang Campaign: Memoirs of Former KMT Generals) (Peking: Cultural and Historical Data Press, 1985), pp. 520–525.

104. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 9, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
105. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 6, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
106. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 12, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
107. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2717.
108. Chang Kia-ngau, *Last Chance in Manchuria: The Diary of Chang Kia-ngau*, ed. Donald G. Gillin and Ramon H. Myers (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), p. 118.
109. Editor's notes, November 12, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2722.
110. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, pp. 359–361.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 346, 451.
112. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 15, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
113. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 17, 1945, box 44, folder 12. Chiang recalled this November 1945 talk in a diary entry for August 7, 1951—see Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 4680. In his diary entry on November 16, 1945, he simply mentions that he had two meetings with military officers: see Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 15, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
114. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 17, 1945, box 44, folder 12.
115. Chang Kia-ngau, *Last Chance in Manchuria*, p. 33.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 158; Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, p. 11.
117. Editor's notes, December 5, 1945, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, p. 2737.
118. Zhang Lingau, "Chiang Ching-kuo Zai Dongbei" (Chiang Ching-kuo in the Northeast), in Literature and Historical Materials Committee of the Political Consultative Conference of Zhejiang Province, *Jiang shi fu zi* (The Chiangs, Father and Son) (Hangzhou: Literature and Historical Materials Committee of the Political Consultative Conference of Zhejiang Province, 1994), pp. 211–240.
119. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahay, 1957), p. 232. See also Chiang Diaries, August 7, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, p. 4753.
120. Larry I. Bland, ed., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), vol. 5, p. 372.
121. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 120. Zhang Baijia, "Zhou Enlai and the Marshall Mission," pp. 208–209.
122. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 12, 1945, box 44, folder 13.
123. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 418–420; Dorothy Borg and Waldo Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), pp. 13–15.
124. *Ibid.* Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 53.
125. *FRUS (1945–1953)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, pp. 767–769.
126. *White Paper*, pp. 606, 608; Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 420. John Carter Vincent was now director of the Office of Far Eastern Affairs (Feis, *China Tangle*, p. 351). About the same time, Dean G. Acheson became Under-Secretary of State and thus acting Secretary during the frequent absences of Secretary Byrnes.
127. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 18, 1945, box 44, folder 13.

128. Ibid.
129. Chiang, December 16, 1945 speech, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, pp. 2743–2744; Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 159.
130. Ibid.
131. Conversations with nearly a hundred KMT members who as adults or children lived as internal refugees during the war years.
132. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 26, 1945, box 44, folder 11.
133. John Robinson Beal, *Marshall in China* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1970), p. 114.
134. Arthur N. Young, *China's Wartime Finance and Inflation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), pp. 174, 182.
135. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 313.
136. Ibid.
137. James C. Kirby, "The Chinese War Economy," in James C. Hsiung and Steven I. Levine, *China's Bitter Victory* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1992), p. 204.
138. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 363.
139. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), pp. 184, 185.
140. I personally experienced Chiang's weak handshake at receptions. John F. Melby, an embassy officer in Chungking, reported the "shock" of the famous general's soft grip. He also noted that Marshall's eyes "don't meet yours," which was very unlike the Generalissimo's steely gaze. See John F. Melby, *The Mandate of Heaven* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), p. 55.
141. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 125.
142. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 382.
143. *FRUS (1945–1953)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, pp. 795–797. Marshall also said that if the Communists did not compromise, "they too would lose the sympathy of the American people." See Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 400.
144. *FRUS (1945–1953)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, pp. 797, 804; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 400.
145. Forrest C. Pogue, *George Marshall: Ordeal and Hope* (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 367.
146. *New York Times*, April 26, 1970.
147. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 400, 607.
148. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 404; *FRUS (1945–1953)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, pp. 848–849.
149. Feis, *China Tangle*, pp. 427–428.

8. Chimera of Victory

1. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 30, 1945, box 44, folder 13.
2. Ibid.

3. *White Paper*, p. 137; Larry I. Bland, ed., *George C. Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences for Forrest C. Pogue*, 3d ed. (Lexington, Va.: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1996), p. 409.
4. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 7, 1951, box 49, folder 3.
5. Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 110.
6. Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 2760, 2766.
7. *FRUS (1949)*, vol. 8: *The Far East: China*, pp. 137–140; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 2768.
8. Chiang Diaries, January 15 and 19, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 2759, 2773.
9. Memorandum on Economic Cooperation in Northeast China by Russia, January 21, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 2773, 2782.
10. Chang Kia-ngau, *Last Chance in Manchuria* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), p. 208.
11. Truman to Secretary Byrnes, January 5, 1946, in Harry S. Truman, *Memoirs by Harry S. Truman, 1945: Year of Decisions* (New York: Konecky & Konecky Military Books, 1999) p. 552.
12. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 18, 1946, box 45, folder 2.
13. Larry I. Bland, ed., *The Papers of George Catlett Marshall* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), vol. 5, p. 420 n.2. Zhou apparently used one-time code pads rather than encrypting machines; thus messages sent from his office to Yan'an and back were not decoded by the Americans.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 444.
15. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 22 and 23, 1946, box 45, folder 2.
16. *White Paper*, pp. 139–140.
17. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 31 and February 2, 1946, box 45, folder 2.
18. Zhang Baijia, “Zhou Enlai and the Marshall Mission,” in Larry I. Bland ed., *George C. Marshall’s Mediation Mission to China, December 1945–January 1947* (Lexington, Va.: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1998), p. 203.
19. Bland, *Marshall’s Mediation Mission*, pp. 215–218.
20. Tang Tsou, *America’s Failure in China, 1941–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 411.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 411; *White Paper*, pp. 140–143.
22. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 434, 435.
23. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 22 and February 2, 1946, box 45, folders 2, 3.
24. According to Chiang’s diary, Marshall told him he was satisfied with the trip but that Mao was “wiley.” Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 8, 1946, box 45, folder 4. In his official reports, Marshall said that his talk with Mao “was frank to an extreme,” but that the Chairman had “promised complete cooperation.”

25. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 490.
26. Steven I. Levine, *Anvil of Victory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), p. 73.
27. Editor's note, March 7, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 2819.
28. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 497, 501.
29. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 132.
30. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 80.
31. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 132; Editor's note, March 19, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2828.
32. *New York Times*, March 17, 1946, p. 26.
33. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 13, 1946, box 45, folder 4.
34. Chang Kia-ngau, *Last Chance*, p. 300.
35. Dorothy Borg and Waldo Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years: Chinese American Relations, 1947–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 10.
36. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 31 and April 1, 1946, box 45, folders 4, 5.
37. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 135.
38. *New York Times*, April 30, 1946.
39. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 525, 530.
40. *White Paper*, p. 149.
41. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 528.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *White Paper*, p. 151.
44. Editor's notes, April 2 and 3, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 2848.
45. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 529; *White Paper*, p. 151.
46. Zhang Baijia, "Zhou Enlai and the Marshall Mission," p. 221.
47. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 534; *White Paper*, 151.
48. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 19, 1946, box 45, folder 5.
49. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 26, 1946, box 45, folder 5.
50. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 535; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 28, 1945, box 45, folder 5.
51. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 5.
52. John Robinson Beal, *Marshall in China* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1970), pp. 27–28.
53. Zhang Baijia, "Zhou Enlai and the Marshall Mission," p. 222.
54. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 34.
55. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 556n.
56. *Ibid.*, pp. 543, 566.
57. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 11, 1946, box 45, folder 6; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 552, 548–552.
58. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 562.
59. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 140.

60. *Bai Chongxi xian sheng fangwen jilu* (Reminiscences of General Bai Chongxi), ed. Guo Dingye, 2 vols., no. 4 in the Oral History Series (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1984), pp. 815–816.
61. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 586, 564–565.
62. Chiang's diary records the city's capture as being on May 19. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 23, 1946, box 45, folder 6.
63. *Bai Chongxi xian sheng fangwen jilu*, p. 166.
64. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 66.
65. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 567.
66. *White Paper*, pp. 156–157.
67. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 578.
68. *Ibid.*, pp. 570, 574, 579, 586.
69. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 222.
70. Bland, *Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences*, p. 607.
71. John Leighton Stuart, *The Forgotten Ambassador: The Reports of John Leighton Stuart*, ed. Kenneth W. Rea and John C. Brewer (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1981), p. 99.
72. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 25, 1946, box 45, folder 6.
73. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 6, 1945, box 45, folder 7; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 578.
74. Editor's notes, June 3 and 6, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 2922, 2924.
75. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1957), p. 168.
76. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 14, 1946, box 45, folder 7.
77. *White Paper*, p. 159.
78. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 589.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 590.
80. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 26, 1946, box 45, folder 7.
81. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 614.
82. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 109.
83. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 30, 1946, box 45, folder 7.
84. Ramon H. Myers, "Frustration, Fortitude, and Friendship: Chiang Kai-shek's Reactions to Marshall's Mission," in Larry I. Bland, ed., *George C. Marshall's Mediation Mission to China, December 1945–January 1947* (Lexington, Va.: George C. Marshall Foundation, 1998), p. 160.
85. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 30, 1946, box 45, folder 7.
86. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 618.
87. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 14, 1946, box 45, folder 8.
88. *FRUS (1946)*, vol. 9: *The Far East: China*, pp. 1295–1297.

89. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 635.
90. Ibid., pp. 634, 637.
91. Myers, “Frustration,” p. 159.
92. E. R. Hooton, *The Greatest Tumult: The Chinese Civil War, 1936–1949* (London: Brassey’s, 1991), pp. 69–70; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 626.
93. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, pp. 155–156.
94. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 696.
95. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 122–123; *New York Times*, July 20, 1946, p. 26.
96. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 145.
97. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 632, 668–669. The description of Guling is that of Mrs. Marshall in a letter to a friend.
98. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 635; Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 122–123.
99. Albert C. Wedemeyer, *Wedemeyer Reports* (New York: Holt, 1958), pp. 366–370; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 627.
100. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 634.
101. *FEER* 1, no. 4 (November 6, 1946).
102. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 652.
103. Editor’s note, August 16, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 2996.
104. Bland, *Marshall Mission*, p. 229, citing Zhang Baijia.
105. Ibid.
106. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 664.
107. Myers, “Frustration,” pp. 162–163.
108. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 687.
109. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 176–177.
110. Ibid.
111. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 18, 1946, box 45, folder 10.
112. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 701.
113. Ibid., p. 701.
114. Ibid., p. 703.
115. Myers, “Frustration,” p. 165.
116. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 710.
117. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 6, 1946, box 45, folder 11; Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 225–226; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 710.
118. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 714.
119. *White Paper*, p. 196.
120. Sun Qiming, “Heping tanpan yu neizhan de jiaoxiangqu: Erzhan hou chuqi de Mao Zedong yu Jiang Jieshi” (The Symphony of Peace Talk and Civil War: Mao Zedong and Chiang Kai-Shek during the Early Years of the Post-War Period) (Shanghai: Shanghai People’s Press, 1992), pp. 355–364.

121. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 718–719.
122. Ibid., pp. 720–721; Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 246–247; *White Paper*, pp. 198–199.
123. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 726.
124. Ibid., pp. 724–725. Marshall provides the description of the hall.
125. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 24, 1946, box 45, folder 11; Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 727.
126. Annual Government Report, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 5, p. 3117.
127. Chiang Diaries, October 26, 1946, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3038–3042.
128. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 742; *White Paper*, 206–207.
129. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 279, 280.
130. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 750, 765.
131. Ibid., pp. 750–752.
132. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 313.
133. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, pp. 751–752; *FRUS (1946)* vol. 10: *The Far East: China*, p. 581; Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 131.
134. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 315.
135. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 5, 1946, box 45, folder 13.
136. Bland, *Papers of George Catlett Marshall*, p. 761; *White Paper*, pp. 605–609.
137. Suzanne Pepper, *Civil War in China* (1978; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 54–57.
138. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 333–334.
139. *White Paper*, p. 218.
140. Chiang Diaries, January, 9, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3114–3115.
141. Bland, *Marshall Interviews and Reminiscences*, p. 575.
142. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 10, 1947, box 46, folder 4.
143. Editor's notes, January 12 and February 2, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, pp. 3115–3116, 3133.
144. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 4 and 5, 1947, box 46, folder 4; Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 64; Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War* (New York: Longman, 1995), p. 330.
145. Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, p. 65.
146. Editor's notes, February 16, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3139, 3143.
147. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 28, 1947, box 46, folder 5.
148. Editor's notes, February 16, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3139–3141.
149. Beal, *Marshall in China*, pp. 360–361, Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 65.
150. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 72.

151. Editor's notes, February 24, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3145.
152. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 27, 1947, box 46, folder 5.
153. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 247.
154. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 132.
155. *White Paper*, p. 238.
156. Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, p. 78.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
158. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 184.
159. Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, p. 182.
160. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), p. 197; *Time*, May 25, 1947.
161. This and the following paragraphs on the uprising are drawn from the balanced account by Lai Tse-han, Ramon H. Myers, and Wei Wou, *A Tragic Beginning: The Taiwan Uprising of February 28, 1947* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1991); *White Paper*, p. 309.
162. Chiang Diaries, February 28, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3148.
163. Document on the Cause and Resolution of the Taiwan Incident, March 10, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3153.
164. *FRUS (1947)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, p. 442.
165. Editor's notes, March 5–17, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3150–3158.
166. Beal, *Marshall in China*, p. 247.
167. *White Paper*, p. 243.
168. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 90–92; Chiang's Announcement on the State Council, May 18, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3188.
169. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 2, 1947, box 46, folder 7.
170. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "Chinese Capabilities for Control of All of China," ORE 77–48, December 10, 1948, p. 2, in *Tracking the Dragon, National Intelligence Estimates on China during the Era of Mao, 1948–1976*, (Pittsburgh: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004); Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 149; E. R. Hooton, *The Greatest Tumult: The Chinese Civil War, 1936–1949* (London: Brassey's, 1991), pp. 91, 94.
171. Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 330–331; Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 154.
172. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 240.
173. Pepper, *Civil War in China*, pp. 242–243.
174. Editor's note, April 30, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3197.
175. Chiang's speech commemorating Zhang Lingfu, May 24, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3218.
176. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 24, 1947, box 46, folder 8.
177. Pepper, *Civil War in China*, pp. 58–65, 89–93; Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 136, 104, 106.

178. Pepper, *Civil War in China*, pp. 64–65. Pepper gives only the figure for Chungking.
179. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–68.
180. In February 1947, Chiang said it was \$300 million. Editor's note, February 21, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3393.
181. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 175.
182. Hooten, *Tumult*, pp. 89–90; Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 330–331.
183. Chiang's cable to Xiong Shihui, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, pp. 3231, 3263, 3281.
184. Hooten, *Tumult*, pp. 89–90; Dreyer, *China at War*, pp. 330–331; Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 382.
185. Yu-ming Shaw, *An American Missionary in China: John Leighton Stuart and Chinese-American Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), p. 206.
186. *White Paper*, p. 386.
187. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 133; *White Paper*, p. 386.
188. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 388.
189. *White Paper*, p. 257; Wedemeyer, *Reports*, p. 389.
190. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 19, 1948, box 46, folder 11.
191. Wedemeyer, *Reports*, pp. 397–398; *White Paper*, p. 260.

9. The Great Failure

1. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen (Li Congren), *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979), p. 453.
2. Du Yuming, "Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi" (Description of the West Liaoning–Mukden Campaign) in *Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi qinli ji: yuan guo min dang jiang ling hui yi lu* (Experiences in the West Liaoning–Mukden Campaign: Memoirs of Former Kuomintang Generals) (Peking: Cultural and Historical Data Press, 1985), pp. 1–3; E. R. Hooten, *The Greatest Tumult: The Chinese Civil War, 1936–1949* (London: Brassey's, 1991), p. 92; Edward L. Dreyer, *China at War* (New York: Longman, 1995), p. 331.
3. John Leighton Stuart, *The Forgotten Ambassador: The Reports of John Leighton Stuart*, ed. Kenneth W. Rea and John C. Brewer (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1981), p. 144.
4. Chiang cable to Xiong Shihui, August 5, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3281.
5. *White Paper*, pp. 261–262.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 324, 348, 371–377.
7. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 93; Chiang Diaries, October 2, 1947, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3316.
8. Suzanne Pepper, "The KMT-CCP Conflict, 1945–1949: The Nationalist Era

in China,” in Lloyd Eastman, ed., *The Nationalist Era in China* (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 340–341; Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, p. 94.

9. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 10, 1947, box 46, folder 14.
10. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 157.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
12. Amemb Nanking Radiogram, December 19, 1947, *FRUS (1947)*, vol. 7: *The Far East: China*, p. 411.
13. *Ibid.*
14. Mao Zedong, *Selected Works* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1961), p. 172.
15. Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, pp. 94–95.
16. Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” pp. 5–6.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 5–9; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 11 and 12, 1948, box 41, folder 17.
18. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 330; Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, p. 96.
19. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 3, 1948, box 46, folder 18.
20. Wei Lihuang’s report, February 5, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, pp. 3381, 3382.
21. Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” p. 9. According to Du, Chiang’s order for a general retreat except for rear guard divisions was sent in February and then repeated.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 8; Chiang Diaries, February 24, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3395.
23. Chiang Diaries, February 28, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, pp. 3397–3398; Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” p. 9.
24. Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” p. 9.
25. *White Paper*, p. 329. Although he had told Wei a week earlier to “move the best armies in the Northeast to Jinzhou,” on March 1 Chiang wrote that it was time to make “the final decision regarding Manchuria,” editor’s note, March 1, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3399. Presumably, Chiang was referring to a complete evacuation of Manchuria including a retreat from Jinzhou to a point south of the Great Wall.
26. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 166–167.
27. *FEER* 4, no. 5 (February 4, 1948): 105; *FEER* 4, no. 6 (February 12, 1948): 121.
28. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 189.
29. Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 186; *FEER* 4, no. 13 (March 31, 1948): 304. Earlier, however, as a stopgap measure, the United States did provide twenty C-46 transport planes, one million rounds of submachine-gun ammunition, and some US\$45 million in grain.
30. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 200.
31. Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” p. 9. While General Barr

knew about Chiang's orders to Wei to evacuate his main forces to Jinzhou, he reported on one occasion that Chiang told him that "political considerations precluded the abandonment of Changchun, the ancient capital of Manchuria." Chiang's diaries and the memoirs of Wei, Du, and others confirm that Chiang by this time had definitely decided on a complete pullout (both statements documented in *White Paper*, pp. 325–326).

32. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 25, 1948, box 46, folder 19.

33. Chen Lifu, *The Storm Clouds Clear over China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1994), pp. 198–200; Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 164–165.

34. Chiang speech to National Assembly, March 29, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, pp. 3416–3420.

35. *Time*, January 6, 1948.

36. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 465.

37. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 193–194.

38. *White Paper*, pp. 327–329.

39. Du Yuming, "Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi," pp. 12–13.

40. Editor's note, August 7, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, pp. 4784–4785.

41. Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 25.

42. Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, p. 99.

43. Du Yuming, "Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi," p. 15.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

47. "General Barr's Report," in *White Paper*, p. 333.

48. Chiang Diaries, October 5, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3496.

49. Jonathan Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), pp. 501–502.

50. See speech by Ching-kuo in Shanghai Municipal Archives, file Q6–7–90, n.d.

51. Interview with Chen Zhijing, an associate of Chiang Ching-kuo, Shanghai, October 2, 1995.

52. Du Yuming, "Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi," p. 17.

53. American Consulate General Hong Kong, dispatch no. 45, September 25, 1948, National Archives, RG 59, General Records of the Department of State, decimal file 1945–1949, box 7275.

54. "General Barr's Report," p. 335.

55. Gu Chenhuang (chief of staff of the 130th Division), "Wu Shi san Lu zhun zai Dongbei," in *Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi qinli ji: yuan guo min dang jiang ling hui yi lu* (Experiences in the West Liaoning–Mukden Campaign: Memoirs of For-

mer Kuomintang Generals) (Peking: Cultural and Historical Data Press, 1985), pp. 600–602.

56. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 10, 1948, box 47, folder 5.

57. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 10–16, 1948, box 47, folder 5; Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, p. 100; Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” pp. 17–20.

58. Liao Yaoxiang, “Shemma fa sheng zai Liaoxi zhanyi” (What Happened during the Western Liaoning Campaign), in *Liaoxi Shenyang Zhanyi qingli ji: Yuan guo min dang jiang ling hui yi lu* (Experiences in the West Liaoning–Mukden Campaign: Memoirs of Former Kuomintang Generals) (Peking: Cultural and Historical Data Press, 1985), p. 174.

59. Du Yuming, “Xing rung Liaoxi-Shenyang zhanyi,” p. 19.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Du Yuming, in recalling the events of 1945, confirms that Chiang’s original plan was as he stated.

61. Liao Yaoxiang, “Shemma fa sheng zai Liaoxi zhanyi,” p. 174; Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, pp. 101–102.

62. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 30, 1948, box 47, folder 5.

63. Levine, *Anvil of Victory*, p. 136.

64. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 406.

65. Editor’s note, November 10, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3526.

66. Chiang Diaries, August 7, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, pp. 4814–4816.

67. *Time*, January 6, 1948.

68. *White Paper*, p. 321.

69. I documented and discussed this assumption in *The Generalissimo’s Son* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

70. *White Paper*, p. 333.

71. Chiang record of conversation, October 29, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3514.

72. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 338; Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, pp. 146–148.

73. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 20, 23, and 27, 1948, box 47, folder 7.

74. Chiang Wei-kuo interview, Taipei, June 10, 1995.

75. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 284.

76. Chen Bulei’s letter, November 13, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3528.

77. Chiang’s message to Truman of November 9, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3524; Dorothy Borg and Waldo Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years: Chinese American Relations, 1947–1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 65.

78. Quoted in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3541; Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 280, 291–292; Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 297.

79. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 284.
80. *Time*, January 6, 1948.
81. Editor's note, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3543.
82. *White Paper*, p. 323; Chiang Diaries, December 13, 1948, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 6, p. 3551.
83. Borg and Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years*, p. 76.
84. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 12 and 31, 1948, box 47, folder 7.
85. Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, pp. 112, 113, 120.
86. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 6, 1948, box 47, folder 7.
87. Hooten, *Greatest Tumult*, p. 148; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 26, 1948, box 47, folder 7.
88. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 31, 1949, box 47, folder 7.
89. *New York Times*, January 1, 1949.
90. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 31, 1948, box 47, folder 7.
91. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, p. 294.
92. Chiang Diaries, January 1, 8, and 11, 1949, box 47, folder 7.
93. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), "Probable Developments in China, ORE-45–49, June 16, 1949," in *Tracking the Dragon: National Intelligence Estimates on China during the Era of Mao, 1948–1976* (Pittsburgh: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004), p. 15; Chiang Diaries, January 4, 1949, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3571.
94. Stuart, *Forgotten Ambassador*, pp. 297–298.
95. Michael M. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism: Mao, Stalin, and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), p. 164.
96. A Chinese American who was a close friend of Zhang Xueliang told me about this experience.
97. Interview with Sha Gongchuan, Chiang Kai-shek's pilot and military aide, Taipei, May 22, 1996; interview with Nancy Chiang, daughter-in-law of Chiang Ching-kuo, Taipei, May 22, 1996.
98. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996.
99. Ibid. See also the National Palace Museum's website at <http://www.npm.gov.tw>.
100. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 8, 1949, box 47, folder 9.
101. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 10, 1949, box 47, folder 9.
102. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 22, 1949, box 47, folder 9.
103. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 330.
104. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996.
105. Ibid.
106. Interview with Wang Chi, Washington, D.C., November 20, 2002; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 51.

107. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 51; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 24, 1949, box 47, folder 9.

108. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 51.

109. Zhou Hongtao, *Jiang Gong yu wu* (The President in My Own Eyes) (Taipei: World Vision Publishing Company, 2003), p. 90.

110. “Memorandum of A. I. Mikoyan to the Presidium on His January and February Visit to China,” doc. P2375, cited in Andrei Ledovsky, “Mikoyan’s Secret Mission to China in January and February 1949,” *Far Eastern Affairs*, vol. 2: *Moscow* (1995): 73–93; Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, pp. 40–44; Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 166.

111. “Memorandum of A. I. Mikoyan to the Presidium on His January and February Visit to China.”

112. Ibid.; Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 502–503, 508, 512.

113. Borg and Heinrichs, *Uncertain Years*, p. 79; David Finkelstein, *Washington’s Taiwan Dilemma, 1949–1950* (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1993), p. 126.

114. Finkelstein, *Taiwan Dilemma*, pp. 120–146.

115. *Lian he bao*, Taipei, March 22, 1988. According to Professor Zhu Hongyuan, there is a record of the meeting in MacArthur’s appointment book but no record of the conversation.

116. Interview with Professor Zhu Hongyuan, Taipei, October 21, 2003. Zhu, a Taiwan scholar specializing in Sun Liren, interviewed Sun’s daughter. See also *ibid.*

117. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Chiang Ching-kuo xian sheng zhuan zhi* (Autobiography of Chiang Ching-kuo) (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1989), vol. 2, pp. 216–217.

118. Ibid., pp. 380–399.

119. Tang Tsou, *America’s Failure in China, 1941–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 497. Senator Tom Connally declared in a Senate debate on September 9, 1949, that the amount was US\$300 million. Li Congren states that the total value of gold and U.S. notes held by the Chinese Treasury in Shanghai in August 1948 was US\$350 million (see Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, pp. 506–507). According to Livingston T. Merchant, gold stock on the island in April 1949 was “reliably reported at some two million ounces” (Finkelstein, *Taiwan Dilemma*, p. 150). Zhou Hungtao Chiang’s secretary at the time of the gold transfer, wrote that 200,000 liang or 10 million grams of the metal were left in Shanghai (Zhou Hongtao, *Jiang Gong yu wu*, n.p.).

120. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Chiang Ching-kuo Xi’ansheng zhuan ji*, vol. 2, p. 221.

121. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996.

122. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 25, 1949, box 47, folder 11; April 22, 1949, box 47, folder 12.

123. Crozier, *Man Who Lost China*, p. 332.

124. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 515; Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 22, 1949, box 47, folder 12.
125. *Ibid.*
126. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 70.
127. Sheng, *Battling Western Imperialism*, p. 166.
128. *FRUS (1949)*, vol. 8: *The Far East: China*, pp. 357–360.
129. Warren Cohen, “Conversations with Chinese Friends: Zhou Enlai’s Associates Reflect on Chinese-American Relations in the 1940s and the Korean War,” *Diplomatic History* 2, no. 3 (1987): 288.
130. Dreyer, *China at War*, p. 345; Chiang Diaries, April 25, 1949, in Qin Xiaoyi, ed., *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3633.
131. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996.
132. *Ibid.*
133. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 2 and 3, 1949, box 47, folder 12.
134. The U.S. consulate general reported secondhand information that the Generalsissimo and Ching-kuo were still in Shanghai as of May 18. See Radiogram to Department of State, May 19, 1949, *FRUS (1949)*, vol. 8: *The Far East: China*, p. 334.
135. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure in China*, p. 451.
136. *Jiang Jingguo zi shu* (Chiang Ching-kuo’s Diaries) (Changsha: Hunan People’s Press, 1988), p. 216.
137. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996. Governor Wei had ended martial law in 1948.
138. Interview with Mao Gaowen, Taipei, 2003.
139. American Consulate General Taipei radiogram to Secretary of State, May 18, 1949, National Archives, RG 59, box 7387.

10. Streams in the Desert

1. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 6, 1949, box 47, folder 15; Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), pp. 66–67.
2. Interview with Sha Gongchuan, Taipei, May 22 and 29, 1997.
3. *Ibid.*; Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3661.
4. Denny Roy, *Taiwan: A Political History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 76.
5. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, “Probable Developments in China,” ORE 45–49, June 16, 1949, in *Tracking the Dragon: National Intelligence Estimates on China during the Era of Mao, 1948–1976* (Pittsburgh: U.S. Government Printing Office, 2004), p. 37.
6. *FEER* 6, no. 16 (April 20, 1949): 495.

7. *FEER* 8, no. 4 (January 26, 1950): 116; *FEER* 9, no. 11 (September 14, 1950): 307; *FEER* 7, no. 21 (November 1950): 665; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 41.

8. David Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma, 1949–1950* (Fairfax, Va.: George Mason University Press, 1993), p. 170.

9. *FEER* 6, no. 18 (May 4, 1949): 545; Hung-mao Tien, *Great Transition*, pp. 22–23.

10. Mao Zedong, *On People's Democratic Dictatorship* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1952), p. 10.

11. Sergei N. Goncharov, John W. Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners: Stalin, Mao, and the Korean War* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1993), pp. 72–76.

12. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 31, 1949, box 47, folder 20.

13. Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma*, p. 171, citing U.S. Consul General radiogram to Secretary of State, July 14, 1949.

14. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen (Li Congren), *The Memoirs of Li Tsung-jen* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 1979), pp. 529–541.

15. *White Paper*, pp. 311–359.

16. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 24, 26, 29, and 30, 1949, box 47, folder 16.

17. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, p. 7.

18. American Embassy Taipei cable to Department of State, September 15, 1949, National Archives, RG 59, box 7387.

19. Consul General at Taipei cable, November 3, 1949, *FRUS (1949)*, vol. 9: *The Far East: China*, pp. 406–407.

20. Consul General at Taipei cable, November 6, 1949, *FRUS (1949)*, vol. 9: *The Far East: China*, pp. 411–412; Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma*, pp. 191–192.

21. American Embassy Taipei cable to Department of State, November 5, 1949, National Archives, RG 59, box 7387.

22. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 9–13, 1949, box 37, folder 19.

23. Wang Sheng, answers to my written questions, spring 1996.

24. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 19, 1949, box 37, folder 19.

25. Chiang Ching-kuo, *Chiang Ching-kuo xian sheng zhuan zhi* (Autobiography of Chiang Ching-kuo) (Taipei: Government Information Office, 1989), vol. 1, p. 68.

26. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 12, 1949, box 47, folder 19.

27. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 475.

28. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 23 and 29, 1949, box 47, folder 19.

29. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 30, 1949, box 47, folder 19.

30. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 2, p. 177.

31. Editor's note, December 9, 1949, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 7, p. 3847.

32. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996.

33. Brian Crozier, *The Man Who Lost China* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 344.
34. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure in China, 1941–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 501.
35. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 25 and 31, 1949, box 47, folder 20.
36. Hollington K. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, rev. ed. (Taipei: China Publishing Company, 1953), p. 477.
37. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, pp. 512–513.
38. Memorandum of Conversation, Dean Acheson, Omar N. Bradley, et al., December 29, 1949, National Archives, RG 59, box 7387.
39. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 529; John W. Garver, *Chinese-Soviet Relations, 1937–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 20.
40. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 6 and 7, 1950, box 48, folder 2.
41. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 6, 1950, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 9, p. 4120.
42. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 529; U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, "Prospects for an Early Successful Chinese Communist Attack on Taiwan," July 26, 1950, IM-312, D/FE, obtained by FOI request.
43. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 5 and March 13, 1950, box 48, folders 2, 4.
44. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 2, 13, 14, 16, and March 24, 1950, box 48, folders 3, 4.
45. Memo from Leo Soong to Dr. Elena Danielson, February 21, 2005, Hoover Institution Archives, provided to me by Mr. Soong.
46. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 26 and February 2, 3, and 20, 1950, box 48, folders 2, 3; Peter Wang, "A Bastion Created, a Regime Reformed, an Economy Re-Engineered, 1949–1970," in Murray A Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), p. 323.
47. Te-kong Tong and Li Tsung-jen, *Memoirs*, p. 493. In a May 25, 1996, interview in Taipei, Wang Sheng said that in the 1949–1951 period more than 2,700 Communist agents were found.
48. Wang Sheng interview, May 25, 1996.
49. Allen Whiting, "Mystery Man of Formosa," *Saturday Evening Post*, March 12, 1955, p. 117.
50. Interview with Zhu Hongyuan, Taipei, October 20, 2003. Also see Chiang Diaries, May 12, 1950, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 9, p. 4249.
51. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 12, 1950, box 48, folder 2.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 4124; Roy, *Taiwan*, p. 11.
53. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 532.
54. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 15, 16, and 18, 1950, box 48, folder 2.
55. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 18, 1950, box 48, folder 2.

56. Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, p. 101. Goncharov, however, believes there was considerable uncertainty in Peking and Moscow about what the United States would do in either case. Tang Tsou describes the pulling and tugging in America on the Taiwan issue, but underscores that even the arch conservatives seemed to hesitate at the prospect of an actual war with China over Taiwan. See Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, pp. 520–551.

57. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 87–88.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 85–90; Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 319.

59. Chiang speech at the Academy of Revolutionary Study and Practice, January 30, 1950, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 9, p. 4141.

60. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 14 and 16, 1950, box 48, folder 3.

61. Interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 5, 1996.

62. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 14, 19, and March 1, 1950, box 48, folders 3, 4.

63. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 4, pp. 29–31.

64. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 3, 1950, box 48, folder 4.

65. Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, p. 302; E. R. Hooton, *The Greatest Tumult: The Chinese Civil War, 1936–1949* (London: Brassey's, 1991), pp. 168–169.

66. Interview with Hao Beicun, Taipei, April 3, 2003.

67. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 1, 9, and 18, 1950, box 48, folder 6.

68. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 21, 1950, box 48, folder 6.

69. Hung-mao Tien, *Great Transition*, p. 67.

70. Bruce Dickson, “The Lessons of Defeat: The Reorganization of the Kuomintang on Taiwan, 1950–1952,” *China Quarterly* 133 (March 1993): 56–84.

71. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 9, 14, May 16, 30, 31, and June 9, 1950, box 48, folders 3, 6, 7.

72. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, “Prospects.”

73. Bruce Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 528.

74. U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, “Prospects.”

75. Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, p. 196; Chen Jian, *China's Road to the Korean War: The Making of the Sino-American Confrontation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 120–125; Westad, *Decisive Encounters*, pp. 319–320.

76. In his impressive and much admired work *Decisive Encounters*, Westad inexplicably writes that Mao “had no alternative” but to agree to give priority to the attack on South Korea. According to Westad, this was simply because to have asked Kim for a year's delay would have violated the Chairman's revolutionary principles (p. 320).

77. Gregory Henderson, *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 149.
78. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 102.
79. *FEER* 9, no. 11 (September 14, 1950): 307; *FEER* 8, no. 26 (June 29, 1950): 852.
80. Interview with Zhou Lianhua, Taipei, October 12, 2003.
81. CIA memorandum, May 11, 1950, file AOI, 878.OA12, obtained by FOI request.
82. *FEER* 8, no. 24 (June 15, 2006): 783.
83. Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma*, pp. 307–311.
84. Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, p. 535.
85. Xu Yueshun, ed., *Chen Cheng's huiyilu: Taiwan de sheli* (Chen Cheng's Memoirs: The Establishment of Taiwan) (Taipei: Academia Historica, 2005); interview with Chen Lifu, Beitou, May 29, 1996.
86. *FRUS (1950)*, vol. 7: *Korea*, pp. 359–361; Chiang Diaries, May 12, 1950, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 9, p. 4249.
87. Top Secret State Department Memorandum, "Hypothetical Development of the Formosan Situation, May 3, 1950." No indication of the office of origin or the addressee is given. It was, however probably written in the Office of Chinese Affairs or in INR. This copy was in INR files. National Archives, INR files, box 4195, doc. 793.00/5–350.
88. Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War*, p. 537.
89. Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma*, p. 328.
90. Du Nianzhong, *Zhongguo shi bao zhou kan* (China Times Weekly), September 1–7, 1990, pp. 8–11. Du interviewed Rusk in Athens, Georgia, in 1990 (month and date not given). After the interview, Rusk expressed dismay upon learning that Sun was still alive in Taiwan and thus would be embarrassed by the revelations. The first report of Sun's secret message to Rusk was in Thomas J. Shoenbaum, *Waging Peace and War* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), p. 209. In an October 2003 interview, Professor Zhu Hongyuan, an academic specialist on Sun Liren, said he interviewed Sun in 1988 and 1989 after his release from 33 years of house arrest. Sun denied that he had sent a letter to Rusk or had ever plotted against Chiang Kai-shek.
91. Leonard A. Kusnitz, *Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: America's China Policy, 1949–1979* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1984), p. 34.
92. Finkelstein, *Washington's Taiwan Dilemma*, pp. 315, 316.
93. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 25, 1950, box 48, folder 7.
94. Phillip C. Jessup, memo summarizing Blair House meeting with the President, June 25, 1950; website of the Truman Presidential Museum and Library, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org>.
95. George M. Else, memo of conversation with President Truman, June 26,

1950, website of the Truman Presidential Museum and Library, <http://www.truman-library.org>.

96. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 26, 1950, box 48, folders 7, 8.

97. *New York Times*, June 28, 1950.

98. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 28 and 29, 1950, box 48, folder 7.

99. Dean Rusk as told to Richard Rusk, *As I Saw It*, ed. Daniel S. Papp (New York: Norton, 1990), pp. 175–176. According to Rusk, the “very high [Taipei] official” told him this story. Chiang’s offer was conditioned on the complete equipping by the United States of the 33,000 troops with modern weapons and providing two years of training. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 28, 1950, box 48, folder 7.

100. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 30, 1950, box 48, folder 7.

101. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 7, 1950, box 48, folder 8.

102. Jessup memo, June 25, 1950.

103. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, pp. 126–130, 139.

104. *New York Times*, July 4, 1950.

105. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 4, 1950, box 48, folder 8.

106. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 7, 1950, box 48, folder 8.

107. *Ibid.*

108. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, “A House Divided: The United States, the Department of State and China,” in Warren I. Cohen and Akira Iriye, eds., *The Great Powers in East Asia, 1953–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 36–38; *New York Times*, July 6, 1950.

109. Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department* (New York: Norton, 1969), p. 422.

110. Sha Gongchuan interview, May 22, 1996. Sha attended the briefing.

111. Memorandum of conversation, General MacArthur and A. W. Harriman, undated, website of the Truman Presidential Museum and Library, <http://www.truman-library.org>.

112. *New York Times*, August 1, 1950.

113. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 31, 1950, box 48, folder 8.

114. *New York Times*, August 5, 1950.

115. John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 39.

116. Karl Lott Rankin, *China Assignment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), p. 48.

117. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 10, 11, 12, and August 5, 1950, box 48, folders 8, 9; *FRUS (1950)*, vol. 6: *East Asia and the Pacific*, p. 371; Garver, *Sino-American Alliance*, p. 115.

118. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 28 and August 18, 1950, box 48, folders 8, 9.

119. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 24, 1950, box 48, folder 9.

120. Xu Yueshun, *Chen Cheng's Huiyilu*, p. 576.
121. Dickson, "Lessons of Defeat," p. 67.
122. *Ibid.*, p. 68.
123. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 22, 1950, box 48, folder 8.
124. Dickson, "Lessons of Defeat," p. 63.
125. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 1, 1951, box 48, folder 16.
126. The Education Ministry would assume direction of the corps in 1960.
127. Chiang Command Message to Chen Chang, November 14, 1950, in Qin Xi-ayoi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, p. 4404.
128. Dickson, "Lessons of Defeat," pp. 70, 72, 76, 79.
129. *Ibid.*, p. 63.
130. *Ibid.*, p. 64.
131. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 13 and 21, 1950, box 48, folder 8.
132. Chen Lifu interview, May 29, 1998.
133. Presidential interview, November 14, 1954, Papers of Harry S. Truman: Post-Presidential Files, website of the Truman Presidential Museum and Library, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org>.
134. Memorandum of Conversation, General MacArthur and A. W. Harriman, undated, website of the Truman Presidential Museum and Library, <http://www.trumanlibrary.org>.
135. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 30 and September 1, 1950, box 48, folders 9, 10.
136. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 7, 1950, box 48, folder 10.
137. *Ibid.*
138. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 2, 1950, box 48, folder 10.
139. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 12, 1950, box 48, folder 10.
140. Xu Yueshun, *Chen Cheng's huiyilu*, p. 580.
141. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 12 and 15, 1950, box 48, folder 10.
142. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 19, 1950, box 48, folder 10; Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 161.
143. Goncharov, Lewis, and Xue Litai, *Uncertain Partners*, pp. 188–195.
144. Tong, *Chiang Kai-shek*, p. 526, citing a report by General Vandenberg.
145. George Kennan, *Memoirs, 1950–1963* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), p. 94.
146. Tang Tsou, *America's Failure*, p. 575.
147. *Ibid.*, pp. 584, 585.
148. Garver, *Sino-American Alliance*, p. 43.
149. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 29, 1950, box 48, folder 12.
150. Christopher Andrew and Oleg Gordievsky, *KGB: The Inside Story of Its Foreign Operations from Lenin to Gorbachev* (New York: Harper Collins, 1990), pp. 393–397.

151. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, December 1, 1950, box 48, folder 13.
152. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pp. 91–92.
153. CBS interview, December 9, 1950, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 9, p. 4432.
154. Karl Rankin, *China Assignment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), pp. 99–100.
155. *New York Times*, December 22, 1950.
156. *FRUS (1951)*, vol. 7: *Korea and China*, pp. 42–43.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 56.
158. A report from the Dutch Embassy in Peking, in *ibid.*, p. 50.
159. Chiang speech to Reform Committee, January 8, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, pp. 4444–4445.
160. *New York Times*, January 12, 13, 18, and 19, 1951; *FRUS*, vol. 7: *Korea and China*, pp. 88, 89, 1518, 1519.
161. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 13, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
162. Acheson, *Present at the Creation*, p. 516.
163. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 17, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
164. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 20, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
165. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 20 and 21, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
166. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 31, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
167. Interview with Everett Drumwright, Oral Histories CD (Arlington, Va.: Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, 2006), p. 31.
168. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 21, 1950, box 48, folder 15.
169. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 29, 1951, box 48, folder 19.
170. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 18, 1951, box 49, folder 1.
171. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 12 and 14, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
172. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 18, 1951, box 49, folder 1.
173. Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 113.
174. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 10, 1951, box 49, folder 18.
175. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 5, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
176. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 8, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
177. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 5, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
178. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 31, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
179. Editor's note, February 9, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, pp. 4479–4480.
180. For this and other details on General Okamura and Taiwan, see the Axis History Forum website at <http://forum.axishistory.com>.
181. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 3, August 30 and 31, 1951, box 49, folder 2.
182. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 31 and October 11, 31, 1951, box 49, folder 4.
183. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 14, 18, 27, 1952, box 49, folder 2.

11. Managing the Protector

1. Interview with Republic of China Air Force officer familiar with these operations who wished not to be named, Taipei, May 1996.
2. James Lilley, *China Hands: Nine Decades of Adventure, Espionage, and Diplomacy in Asia* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004), pp. 79–80, 82–83, 85–86.
3. Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 171–178.
4. John W. Garver, *The Sino-American Alliance* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), p. 30.
5. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 15, 1951, box 49, folder 15.
6. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), p. 340.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 350.
8. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 12, 1952, box 49, folder 10.
9. Interview with a Soong relative, California, May 2004.
10. Chiang's cable to Mayling, September 2, 1952, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 11, p. 4702.
11. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 8, 1951, box 49, folder 3.
12. *FRUS (1951)*, vol. 7: *Korea and China*, p. 1641; Robert P. Newman, "Clandestine Chinese Nationalist Efforts to Punish Their American Detractors," *Diplomatic History* 7, no. 3 (Summer 1983): 205–222.
13. *FRUS (1952)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, pp. 76–77; Editor's note, January 31, 1951, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 10, p. 4463.
14. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, August 8, 1951, box 49, folder 3.
15. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 7 and 16, 1952, box 49, folder 18.
16. Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 351.
17. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 9 and 29, 1952, box 49, folder 19.
18. Karl Rankin, *China Assignment* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964), p. 155.
19. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 31, 1953, box 50, folder 2.
20. *Ibid.*
21. Tom Wicker, *Dwight D. Eisenhower* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), p. 30.
22. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992* (New York: Twayne, 1994), pp. 33–38.
23. Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The White House Years: Mandate for Change* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), p. 181.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
25. White House Memorandum of Conversation between President Johnson and former President Eisenhower, *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 2: *Vietnam*, p. 300. Ike told

Johnson that “shortly after I came to office, I had three messages passed to the [North] Koreans and Chinese. One through Nehru, one through Chiang Kai-shek and one through officials at a lower level who were participating in the armistice discussions.”

26. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 171.

27. Zhou Ming, ed., *Lishi zai zheli chensi* (History Ponders Here), 3 vols. (Peking: Huaxia chubanshe, 1987), p. 290, cited by Jung Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao* (New York: Knopf, 2005), p. 374.

28. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 113.

29. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 15, 1953, box 50, folder 5.

30. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 10, 18, and 20, 1953, box 50, folder 5.

31. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 25, 1953, box 50, folder 6.

32. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 23, 1953, box 50, folder 7.

33. Ibid.

34. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 25, 1953, box 50, folder 7.

35. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, June 30, 1953, box 50, folder 7.

36. Eisenhower, *White House Years*, pp. 185–187.

37. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 1, 1953, box 50, folder 8.

38. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 12, 1953, box 50, folder 8.

39. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 17 and 31, 1953, box 50, folder 8. A Chinese (PRC) Defense College publication in 1991 claimed that the United States had authorized the attack, 10,000 Nationalist troops had taken part, and 3,000 were killed. Garver, *Sino-American Alliance*, pp. 76–77.

40. Editor's note, June 19, 1953, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 12, p. 5268.

41. Stephen Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, vol. 2 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 99.

42. State Department Memo of NSC Meeting, August 14, 1958, *FRUS* (1958–1960), vol. 19: *China*, p. 53.

43. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 28 and 29, 1953, box 50, folder 12.

44. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3, p. 167.

45. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 9, 1953, box 50, folder 15.

46. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, March 11, 17, 31, and April 6, 1953, box 50, folder 15.

47. *New York Times*, August 30, 1951; September 15, 1961; and October 16, 1952.

48. Interview with Xie Congming, Taipei, June 4, 1996. According to Xie, a KMT legislator told him that the figure was much higher—60,000 to 70,000.

49. In 1954, the Peace Preservation Headquarters announced that 858 cases of subversion involving 1,745 persons “had been tabled” in the first three quarters of the year, resulting in the conviction of 597 of these individuals, or extrapolating for

the whole year, a figure of around 750. National Intelligence Estimate, “Morale on Taiwan,” April 16, 1955, *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, p. 484n.

50. K. C. Wu, “Formosa,” *Look*, June 29, 1954, pp. 39–43.

51. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 17 and 19, 1952, box 51, folder 2.

52. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 4 and 6, 1953, box 51, folder 4.

53. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 9–11, 1953, box 51, folder 5.

54. “The K. C. Wu Story,” *The Reporter*, April 27, 1954, pp. 18–20.

55. AmEmb Taipei cable to Department of State, April 21, 1954, National Archives, RG 59, U.S. State Department files, 1950–1954, box 4218.

56. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 20 and 29, 1954, box 50, folder 18.

57. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 115.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 363–364.

59. Interviews during November and December 1995 with former American military and CIA officers who wished to remain anonymous.

60. Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong Kong, and the United States*, p. 64.

61. Interview with a U.S. Marine officer who served on the Tachen islands, Arlington, Va., April 17, 1996.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Interviews during 1995 and 1996 in the Washington, D.C., area with several CIA and military intelligence officers who served in Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s.

64. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, pp. 195–196.

65. Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 162.

66. Richard Nixon, *The Memoirs of Richard Nixon* (New York: Grosser and Dunlap, 1978), p. 126; *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, pp. 210, 126.

67. *New York Times*, January 1, 1954.

68. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 21 and April 3, 1953, box 51, folders 3, 5.

69. McCoy, *Politics of Heroin*, p. 173.

70. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 335.

71. SNIE 43-1-57, *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 515–518; NIE 43-2-57, *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 585–593.

72. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, pp. 641, 642.

73. Eisenhower, *White House Years*, p. 338.

74. U.S. Embassy Taipei radiogram to SecState, November 30, 1953, *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 332n.

75. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pp. 134–135.

76. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 184.

77. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 2, 10 and 17, 1954, box 50, folder 18.

78. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 137.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 139.

80. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 1, 1954, box 50, folder 19.

81. AmembTaipei radiogram to SecState, *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 490.
82. Garver, *Sino-American Alliance*, p. 115.
83. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pp. 168–169.
84. He Di and Gordan H. Chang, “The Absence of War in the U.S./China Confrontation over Quemoy and Matsu in 1954–1955: Contingency, Luck, Deterrence,” *American Historical Review* 98 (December 1993); Tucker, *Taiwan*, pp. 38–42.
85. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pp. 168–169.
86. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 562.
87. *New York Times*, September 5, 1954.
88. Among other activities while visiting Quemoy in 1961, my fellow Chinese-language students and I released propaganda balloons that were intended to land on the mainland carrying bars of soap and propaganda messages. When the wind changed, the “Chicoms” sent their own balloons toward Quemoy, also with bars of soap.
89. *New York Times*, September 13, 1954; *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 582.
90. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, September 9, 10, 11, and 30, 1954, box 51, folders 3, 4.
91. Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 209.
92. *New York Times*, September 6, 7, and 8, 1954.
93. *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 829.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 833–835.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Eisenhower mentioned this report in his letter of February 1, 1955, to General Gruenther. See Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 236.
97. Evgeny A. Negin and Yuri N. Smirnov (Russian nuclear physicists involved at the time in nuclear weapons), “Did the USSR Share Atomic Secrets with China?” Parallel History Project on Cooperative Security website, <http://www.php.isn.ethz.ch>, accessed March 15, 2008.
98. *New York Times*, October 13, 1954.
99. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, October 31, 1954, box 51, folder 4.
100. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, November 11 and December 13, 1954, box 51, folders 5, 6.
101. Eisenhower, *White House Years*, p. 466.
102. *New York Times*, December 26 and November 27, 1954.
103. Kenneth W. Condit, *History of the Joint Chiefs of Staff*, vol. 6: *The Joint Chiefs of Staff and National Policy, 1955–1956* (Washington, D.C.: Historical Office, Joint Chiefs, 1992), p. 194.
104. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 69–83; Eisenhower, *White House Years*, pp. 555–556.

105. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, p. 197.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 196–199; *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 832; *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 515–516.
107. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, pp. 197–198.
108. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, p. 171; *FRUS (1952–1954)*, vol. 14: *China and Japan*, p. 832. Radford described Dulles's statement to Yeh in his April 25 conversation with Chiang; see *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 514, 516.
109. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 167–168.
110. Both Radford and Chiang refer to this letter in their conversation of April 25, 1955. See *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 514, 516.
111. Eisenhower, *White House Years*, pp. 470–471.
112. "March 3 Conversation between President Chiang and Secretary Dulles," *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 321–328; Foreign Service Dispatch, Amembassy Taipei 444, March 15, 1955. Full text is in U.S. Embassy Manila, Foreign Service Dispatch no. 441, March 15, 1955, obtained by FOI request.
113. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, pp. 203–204; Eisenhower, *White House Years*, p. 477.
114. Garver, *Sino-American Alliance*, p. 131; *New York Times*, March 17, 1955.
115. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 239.
116. *Ibid.*, pp. 241–242.
117. Victor M. Gobarev, "Soviet Policy towards China: Developing Nuclear Weapons, 1949–69," *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 12, no. 4 (1999): 21, cited by June Chang and Jon Halliday in *Mao* (New York: Knopf, 2005), p. 397.
118. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 510–513.
119. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, p. 206.
120. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 510–513; Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, pp. 242–244.
121. *Ibid.*
122. *Ibid.*
123. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 510–513.
124. *Ibid.*, pp. 510–513, 523–525.
125. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 25, 27, and 29, 1955, box 51, folder 11. He wrote that Robertson was "a son of a bitch," but Radford at least was a "gentleman."
126. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, p. 208.
127. Harry Harding and Yuan Ming, eds., *Sino-American Relations, 1945–1955* (Wilmington, Del.: SR Books, 1989), pp. 276–277.
128. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 244.
129. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 2: *China*, pp. 519–520.
130. Condit, *Joint Chiefs*, p. 208.
131. Wendell L. Minnick, "Target Zhou Enlai," *FEER* 158, no. 28 (July 13, 1995): 54.
132. For the Zhou-Kissinger discussion in 1971, see *FRUS (1969–1972)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 503–504.

133. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, April 16, 1955, box 51, folder 11.
134. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, May 28, 1955, box 51, folder 12.
135. Wellington Koo, *Reminiscences of Wellington Koo*, Oral History, Butler Library, Columbia University, undated, pp. 287–288.
136. Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 273.
137. Interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 10, 1995.
138. Murray A. Rubinstein, ed., *Taiwan: A New History* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1999), p. 325.
139. Interview with K. T. Li, Taipei, September 7, 1995.
140. Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition: Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), p. 23; *FEER* 27, no. 15 (October 8, 1959): 585; Rubenstein, *Taiwan*, pp. 325–328.
141. Rubinstein, *Taiwan*, p. 327.
142. *FEER* 29, no. 5 (August 4, 1960): 292.
143. *FEER* 27, no. 15 (October 8, 1959): 585.
144. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, January 29 and February 16, 1951, box 48, folder 15.
145. *FEER* 27, no. 15 (October 8, 1959): 585.
146. Hung-mao Tien, *Great Transition*, p. 29.
147. *FEER* 13, no. 10 (September 2, 1952): 132.
148. Hung-mao Tien, *Great Transition*, p. 27.
149. *FEER* 14, no. 18 (April 30, 1953): 567.
150. *Ibid.*
151. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 8, 1951, and May 30 and September 6, 1952, in Qin Xiaoyi, *Zong tong*, vol. 12, p. 4478.
152. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, February 27, 1951, box 48, folder 16. In this case, the American MAAG also opposed the arrangement, believing each service best knew its own needs.
153. Richard Hughes, “Portrait of Chiang on His Mountaintop,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 28, 1958.
154. Rankin, *China Assignment*, p. 252.
155. U.S. Mission Geneva cable, Johnson to SecState, *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 3: *China*, p. 200.
156. In the written agreement, Peking was willing to say that the two sides should settle “disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area without resorting to the use of force.” See John King Fairbank, *Sino-American Relations, 1949–1971* (New York: Praeger, 1972), p. 127.
157. Chiang Diaries, Hoover, July 27, 1955, box 51, folder 14.
158. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 3: *China*, p. 584.
159. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, p. 171.
160. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy, 1957), pp. 6–7.

161. Chiang Kai-shek, *Soviet Russia in China* (New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Cudahy, 1957), pp. 345–349.
162. Interview with Lee Huan, Taipei, May 18, 1996; interview with Ma Ying-jeou, Taipei, March 10, 1998.
163. Roderick MacFarquhar, ed., *The Hundred Flowers* (New York: Praeger, 1960).
164. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 173.
165. Memorandum of Conversation, Taipei, March 14, 1958, Dulles and Chiang Kai-shek, et al., *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 9.
166. Victor Marchetti and John D. Marks, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* (New York: Knopf, 1980), p. 122.
167. American Embassy Taipei radiogram to Department of State, May 22, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 145–146.
168. Department of State memorandum of Conversation, Dulles, Casey, et al., September 9, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 281.
169. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, pp. 178–179. Mao was just receiving the first harvest reports since implementation of the Great Leap Forward, and they all recounted miraculous successes when in fact the rice and wheat crops were disasters.
170. Roy Medvedev, *China and the Superpowers* (Oxford, Eng.: Blackwell, 1986), p. 33; Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 179.
171. Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* (New York: Random House, 1994), pp. 270–271.
172. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 188.
173. Alan J. Day, ed., Peter Jones and Siân Kevill, comps., *China and the Soviet Union, 1949–1984* (London: Facts on File, 1985), pp. 11–12.
174. From the journal of S. F. Antonov, chargé Soviet Embassy Peking, entry for October 21, 1959, “Summary of a Conversation with the Chairman of the CC CPC [Central Committee Communist Party of China] Mao Zedong on 14 October 1959.” From the Cold War International History Project website, <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/maoconv.htm>, accessed August 28, 2008.
175. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 193.
176. The Generalissimo's request remains classified but its denial is reported in *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 509–510.
177. White House, Memorandum of Meeting on Taiwan Straits Situation, August 25, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 73. See also p. 98 for Memorandum on the meeting of August 25; then it is Eisenhower who complains of Chiang Kai-shek, who having “ignored our advice, comes whining to us.”
178. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 98.
179. Day, *China*, pp. 11–12.
180. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 121.
181. Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 376. Tyson Li does not cite the date of this broadcast.

182. American Embassy Taipei cable to Department of State, September 19, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 227.

183. Eisenhower, *White House Years*, pp. 691–692.

184. *Ibid.*, p. 692.

185. *FRUS (1955–1957)*, vol. 3: *China*, p. 592.

186. Operations Coordinating Board Memorandum, “Report on Taiwan and the Government of the Republic of China (NSC 5723),” April 20, 1959, National Archives, Department of Defense File, 1959, box MNR2.

187. Department of State memorandum from Smith to Dulles, September 3, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 122–124.

188. Memorandum by Regional Planning Adviser in the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, “Taiwan Straits Crisis: Where Do We Go from Here?” September 18, 1958, *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 222. The intelligence document to which this memorandum refers has not been declassified, but the subject is clearly spelled out. Ten years later, Chiang Kai-shek would tell Dean Rusk that the United States “must never, ever think of using nuclear weapons against China”; see Dean Rusk, *As I Saw It* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1990), p. 288. But this was after Peking had tested its own nuclear bomb and Taipei had itself begun its own secret effort to develop such a weapon—clearly as a deterrent. In 1958 as in 1953, when the possibility seemed quite real that America might actually employ the bomb against the mainland and China had no such weapons with which it could hit Taiwan, there were no similar protestations from either the Generalissimo or his son.

189. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 484.

190. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, pp. 192, 194.

191. Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, p. 485.

192. *New York Times*, October 1, 1958.

193. *Ibid.*

194. *New York Times*, October 3, 1958.

195. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, p. 198.

196. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

197. *New York Times*, October 6, 1958.

198. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 379.

199. *Ibid.*, p. 470.

200. Talking Paper Prepared by Secretary of State Dulles, Taipei, October 21, 1958, in *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 415.

201. American Embassy Taipei cable, October 21, 1958, in *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 416.

202. *Ibid.*

203. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 421–422.

204. *Ibid.*, pp. 422–423.

205. Department of State Memorandum of Conversation, Taipei, Dulles, Chiang, et al., in *ibid.*, pp. 431–432.

206. Fredrick Chien, *Qian Fu Hui I Lu* (The Memoirs of Fredrick Chien) (Taipei: Tian Xia Publishing Company, 2005), p. 80. That the missiles were Matadors is from National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book no. 197 edited by William Burr—posted August 18, 2006 at <http://www.gwu.edu/nsarchiv>, doc. 7, pp. 64–66, accessed September 1, 2008.

207. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 440–441.

208. For the final text of the communiqué, see *ibid.*, pp. 442–443; *New York Times*, October 28, 1958, p. 58.

209. Interview with Wang Chi, Washington, D.C., November 28, 1995. Wang, a distinguished Chinese American who at the time was head of the Chinese section of the Library of Congress, said that during a December 1994 visit to Peking, he met with Qiao Shi, chairman of the National Peoples Congress and longtime head of China's intelligence and security apparatus. Qiao told Wang of the Chiang Kai-shek letter to Zhou Enlai. Qiao would seem to have no reason thirty-six years later to have made up this story.

210. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 765–766. Zhou said that just by changing the shelling, Chiang “understood,” but given the earlier quoted comment by Qiao Shi, it is likely that there was a secret exchange of views and that in the earlier remark to Kissinger, Zhou was trying to protect the secrecy of the Hong Kong contact with Chiang Kai-shek.

211. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 509–510. This clandestine program was revealed by Chiang Ching-kuo in a semi-annual report to the Legislative Yuan in 1975. See *China Quarterly* 64 (December 1975): 808.

12. Shifting Dynamics

1. Sun Lifan, *Chen Cheng wan nian* (Chen Cheng's Late Years) (Hofei: Anhui People's Press, 1996), p. 151.

2. Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 1, p. 364; Interview with Chiang Wei-kuo, Taipei, June 5, 1996.

3. Chen Pengren, *Chiang furen Soong Mayling nushi hua zhuan* (The Pictorial Biography of Madame Sung Mayling) (Taipei: Modern China, 1998), pp. 181–191.

4. Cited by Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006), pp. 374, 376.

5. Chen Pengren, *Chiang furen*, pp. 181–191. On the White House lunch, see Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, pp. 374, 375.

6. Interviews with Chiang family members, Taipei, May 2002, April 2003; E-mail August 30, 2006, from one of those who joined “The Eight Immortals Club.”

7. National Intelligence Estimate no. 43–64, March 11, 1964, p. 5, FOI request to the CIA.

8. Interviews with a CIA officer stationed in South Asia at the time, Washington, D.C., June 1996.

9. On May 3, 1959, Chiang Kai-shek complained that the United States refused to cooperate in exploiting the uprising. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 562; CIA officer interviews, June 1996.

10. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 756–757.

11. *New York Times*, March 26, 1959.

12. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 755.

13. Status report on the program in *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, pp. 739–742; *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 808.

14. From the journal of S. F. Antonov, Chargé Soviet Embassy Peking, entry for October 21, 1959, “Summary of a Conversation with Mao Zedong, October 14, 1959.” From the Cold War International History Project website, <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/maoconv.htm>.

15. *New York Times*, December 1, 1960.

16. *New York Times*, September 4, 1960.

17. *New York Times*, June 4, 1960.

18. Sun Lifan, *Chen Cheng*, pp. 122–123.

19. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 724–726.

20. *Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report, Asia and Pacific*, September, 23, p. DDD.2, September 27, p. DDD.13; *New York Times*, October 9 and 22, 1960.

21. John Israel, “Politics on Formosa,” *China Quarterly* 15 (July–September 1963): 6.

22. Stephen Ambrose, *Eisenhower*, vol. 2 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1984), p. 580.

23. *New York Times*, June 19, 1960.

24. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, pp. 677, 679, 680, 690.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 686, 687.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 688, 689, 748.

27. *New York Times*, October 14, 1960.

28. *Ibid.*; *New York Times*, November 12, 1960.

29. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 2n.

30. Fredrick Chien, *Qian Fu Hui I Lu* (The Memoirs of Fredrick Chien) (Taipei: Tian Xia Publishing Company, 2005), pp. 115–116.

31. CIA Field Information Report, Taipei, June 27, 1961, FOI request to the CIA; Enclosure to a State Department memo to the White House, February 22, 1961, *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 94.

32. Alfred W. McCoy, *The Politics of Heroin in Southeast Asia* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 176.

33. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, pp. 50–51.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 60.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–79.

36. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78.

37. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–91.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 160.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 148.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 184.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 195, 196, 196n.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
44. *Ibid.*, pp. 204–207.
45. *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 218n.
46. *FEER* 36, no. 6 (May 10, 1962): 267.
47. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, pp. 220–221, 223–224.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 220.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 232n.
50. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 228.
51. *Ibid.*, pp. 247–248, 268, 270, 274.
52. *Ibid.*, pp. 275, 297.
53. *Ibid.*, pp. 283–284.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 285–288, 292.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Ibid.*, doc. 151.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, p. 313.
59. Interview with Ralph Clough, Washington, D.C., November 30, 1995.
60. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 337 and p. 337n.
61. Interview with Xiong Yuan, Taipei, May 31, 1996. Shong implied in this interview that he himself witnessed the shaking hands. In his 1998 oral history, Xiong stated that Madame reported that the American doctor's hands shook before the operation. In a 1962 letter to T.V., Mayling said that Chiang had insisted on the American urologist while she had opposed the idea. See Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 382. The exact date of the mishandled operation is uncertain, but it was clearly before 1962. In his oral history and his 1996 interview with me, Xiong mistakenly placed it after the auto accident in 1969. See Oral History Series no. 69, Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, Taipei, 1998.
62. Mayling's July 2, 1962, letter to T. V. Soong, cited by Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 382.
63. Interviews in Taipei with various former secretaries and aides of Chiang Kai-shek, Taipei, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2003, 2004.
64. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 330.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 338, p. 338n, p. 334n.
66. Fredrick Chien, *Qian Fu Hui Yi Lu*, pp. 115–116.
67. Interviews with Ralph Clough, Washington, D.C., November 30, 1995, and

Fredrick Chien, Taipei, August 29, 1995. Clough reported on the Kirk-Chiang conversation in a letter to Averill Harriman dated September 23, 1963. This letter is in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Harriman Papers, Kennedy-Johnson-Administrations, subject files: Kirk.

68. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, pp. 342–346.

69. American Embassy Taipei Airgram no. A-649, February 22, 1963; and Airgram no. A-757, March 23, 1963, National Archives, RG 59, State Department Files, box 3669.

70. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 352.

71. CIA Taipei report no. TDCS DB-3/654,567, May 9, 1963, FOI request to the CIA.

72. Top secret State Department memo, “Visit of Chiang Ching-kuo, US-GRC Consultations Concerning Possible Actions against the Mainland,” background paper, September 17, 1965, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, National Security File (China), memos, vol. 4, 7/65–10/65, pp. 1–2.

73. Nancy Bernkopf Tucker, *Taiwan, Hong, Kong, and the United States, 1945–1992* (New York: Twayne, 1994), p. 65.

74. *FRUS (1961–1963)*, vol. 22: *Northeast Asia*, p. 405.

75. *Ibid.*, doc. 197.

76. Interview with Wen Huaxiong, Taipei, May 17, 1996.

77. *FRUS (1964–1968)*: vol. 30: *China*, doc. 26.

78. K. T. Li, *Economic Transformation of Taiwan, ROC* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1988), p. 111.

79. John Franklin Cooper, *Taiwan: Nation-State or Province?* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview, 2003), p. 95.

80. Richard Hughes, “Portrait of Chiang on His Mountaintop,” *New York Times Magazine*, September 28, 1958.

81. Interviews with Cu Songqiu, Fredrick Chien, and Hao Beicun, Taipei, October 3, 2003.

82. Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 385.

83. Interview with a relative who wishes to remain anonymous, Taipei, October 21, 2003.

84. Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, p. 424.

85. American Embassy Taipei cable to the Department of State, August 2, 1963, National Archives, RG 59, State Department Files, box 3669; American Embassy Taipei Airgram no. A-498, December 4, 1963, National Archives, RG 59, State Department Files, box 3867.

86. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, p. 22.

87. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

88. *Ibid.*, pp. 112–113, 116.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 143.

90. Interviews with senior CIA officers who served in Taiwan in the 1960s, Arlington, Va., 1995. Confirmed in National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book no. 197, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>, ed. William Burr, accessed August 18, 2006.

91. Chiang Kai-shek letter to President Johnson, November 23, 1964, FOI request to U.S. Department of State.

92. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, pp. 41–55.

93. George McT. Kahin, *Intervention: How America Became Involved in Vietnam* (New York: Doubleday, 1986), p. 332.

94. Joyce K. Kallgren, “Vietnam and Politics in Taiwan,” *Asian Survey* 6, no. 1 (January 1966): 28.

95. Gabriel Kolko, *Anatomy of a War* (New York: New Press, 1985), p. 211.

96. American Embassy Taipei Airgram, 1963, National Archives, RG 59, State Department Files, box 3669.

97. Melvin Gurtov, “Recent Developments on Formosa,” *China Quarterly* 31 (July–September 1967): 59–60.

98. Interview with Lu Yicheng, Taipei, April 11, 2003. Licheng, a former Nationalist official, accompanied Madame Chiang on much of her 1965–1966 tour.

99. State memcon, Rusk-Chiang Ching-kuo, September 22, 1965, NSF, China, 1/165–1/3/66, Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Tex.

100. Min S. Yee, *Boston Globe*, May 6, 1968.

101. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, p. 279.

102. Interview with Ralph Clough, Washington, D.C., November 30, 1995.

103. Interviews with senior CIA officers who served in Taiwan in the 1960s, Arlington, Va., 1995; *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, p. 267.

104. For Chiang Kai-shek’s views, I relied on interviews from 1995 to 2006 with his and Chiang Ching-kuo’s associates, aides, and secretaries such as Li Huan, Qin Xiaoyi, Zhang Baoshu, Cu Songqiu, Yu Jizhong, Ma Yingjiu, Fredrick Chien, Ma Shuli, Song Chuyu, and others. See also Mark Plummer, “The New Look in Government,” *Asian Survey* 9, no. 1 (January 1969): 18–22; Hung-mao Tien, *The Great Transition, Political and Social Change in the Republic of China* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1989), p. 69. Seventeen years after CKS’s retreat to Taiwan, there were no Taiwanese among the 24 police regional bureau directors and only 5 among the 120 sub-bureaus. Of the 22 *hsien* or county finance chiefs, 2 were Taiwanese and of the 22 revenue office directors only one was a provincial. Only one cabinet member was a native Taiwanese, and senior officials below the ministerial level were overwhelmingly mainlanders. No generals or admirals were Taiwanese. See Plummer, *New Look*, p. 21; Hung-mao Tien, *Great Transition*, p. 69.

105. Plummer, *New Look*, pp. 18–22.

106. *FEER* 89, no. 32 (August 8, 1975): 28.

107. *FRUS (1958–1960)*, vol. 19: *China*, p. 529.

108. Joseph J. Heinlein, "Political Warfare: The Chinese Nationalist Model," Ph.D. diss., American University, 1974, pp. 584–584.
109. *Christian Science Monitor*, May 7, 1986.
110. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, pp. 351–352.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 490.
112. During his meeting in Washington with President Johnson, C. K. Yen said this was Chiang Kai-shek's estimate. *Ibid.*, p. 559.
113. Interview with David Dean, Fairfax, Va., April 30, 1996.
114. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, p. 59.
115. *Ibid.*, p. 491.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 553. Melvin Gurtov, "Recent Developments on Formosa," *China Quarterly* 31 (July–September 1967): 61.
117. Richard Nixon, "Asia after Vietnam," *Foreign Affairs* 46 (October 1967).
118. Interview with Fredrick Chien (confidential secretary to Chiang Kai-shek in 1967), Taipei, April 19, 2008.
119. AmEmbassy Taipei Airgram, A-249, September 30, 1967, National Archives, RG59, /50/65/6.shelf 4, 1967–1969, China Policy File, China box 1984.
120. *Ibid.*
121. *FEER* 63, no. 9 (March 1, 1968): 352.
122. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, pp. 638–640.
123. *FEER* 62, no. 43 (October 26, 1968): 184.
124. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, pp. 661, 674–675.
125. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War*, p. 240.
126. *Zhongguo shi bao* (China Times), Taipei, May 1995, series on the Victor Louis episode. Also my numerous interviews with Chiang Kai-shek subordinates and American officials in 1995 and 1996.
127. *FEER* 64, no. 17 (April 26, 1969): 240.
128. *FRUS (1964–1968)*, vol. 30: *China*, p. 704.
129. Johnson, "Visit of Chiang Ching-kuo," pp. 5–6.
130. AmEmbassy Taipei Airgram A-1037, June 20, 1966, National Security Archive (George Washington University), Electronic Briefing Book no. 19, ed. William Burr, October 13, 1999, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>.
131. Fredrick Chien interview, April 19, 2008.
132. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 7–8.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 399.
135. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. E-13: *Documents on China*, p. 4.
136. Fredrick Chien interview, April 19, 2008.
137. *Ibid.*
138. National Security Archive (George Washington University), Electronic Briefing Book no. 195, <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv>.

139. Fredrick Chien interview, April 19, 2008.
140. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, p. 52.
141. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 69.
142. *FEER* 65, no. 37 (September 7–13, 1969).
143. Interview with Li Guoding, Taipei, September 7, 1995; Ralph W. Huene-mann, “Family Planning in Taiwan,” *Modern China* 16, no. 21 (April 1990): 173–189.
144. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, p. 53 n.3.
145. *Ibid.*, pp. 53–54.
146. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
147. Fredrick Chien, *Qian Fu Hui Yi Lu*, p. 117.
148. For Chiang Kai-shek’s views, I relied once again on interviews from 1995 to 2006 with his associates, aides, and secretaries cited previously.
149. *FEER* 60, no. 20 (May 12–18, 1968): 343.
150. Peter R. Moody, *Political Change on Taiwan: A Study of Ruling Party Adaptability* (New York: Praeger, 1992), p. 77; *FEER* 71, no. 10 (March 6, 1931): 31. On the CIA’s role, see Fredrick Chien interview, April 19, 2008.
151. Interview with Xiong Yuan, Taipei, May 31, 1996; Xiong Yuan, *The Reminiscences of Dr. Xiong Yuan*, Oral History Series no. 69, Chen Sanqing, interviewer (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998), pp. 117–118.
152. Xiong Yuan interview, May 31, 1996; Xiong Yuan, *Reminiscences*, pp. 117–118; Weng Yuan, *Wo dzai Jiang Chieh-shih fu tse shen pian de chih tse* (The Days When I Served the Chiangs) (Taipei: Shu Hua Publisher, 1994), pp. 118, 128–131.
153. Xiong Yuan, *Reminiscences*, pp. 117–118; *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, p. 146; Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang*, pp. 400–401.
154. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, pp. 245–249.
155. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 88, 143.
156. *Ibid.*, pp. 88–90.
157. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
158. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
159. Sheldon Appleton, “Taiwan Portents of Change,” *Asian Survey* 11, no. 1 (January 1971): 68.

13. Nixon and the Last Years

1. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, pp. 147–149.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 150.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 198.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

6. James C. H. Shen, *The U.S. and China: How the U.S. Sold Out Its Ally* (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1983), p. 67.

7. Roy Medvedev, *China and the Superpowers* (New York: Blackwell, 1986), p. 95; *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, pp. 164, 169.

8. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 186; “misleading” comes from interview with Fredrick Chien, Taipei, April 19, 2008.

9. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 182.

10. Various conversations with the Foreign Service officers who interpreted for the meetings.

11. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 187.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 192–194. For the events of March 27, 1970, see pp. 193–196.

13. *Ibid.*

14. Interview with Yu Guohua, Taipei, August 28, 1995.

15. Fredrick Chien interview, Taipei, April 19, 2008.

16. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 197.

17. Richard M. Nixon, *Memoirs* (New York: Gosset and Dunlop, 1978), p. 547.

18. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 202.

19. Shen, *U.S. and China*, p. 439.

20. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 220.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

22. Chen Jian, *Mao's China and the Cold War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), p. 256.

23. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, pp. 225–226.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 228.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Ibid.*, p. 233.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 234–235.

30. *FEER* 71, no. 10 (March 6, 1971): 31.

31. *New York Times*, December 20, 1999.

32. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 237.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 238.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

36. At the time, I was in the U.S. Consulate General in Hong Kong in charge of reporting on China's international, including U.S., relations.

37. Interview with a Soong family member, California, April 2004.

38. *FEER* 73, no. 31 (July 31, 1971): 6.

39. *FRUS* (1969–1976), vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 296.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 254n.
41. *New York Times*, December 11, 1970.
42. *Ibid.*, p. 255.
43. *FEER* 71, no. 2 (January 9, 1971): 26.
44. Chen Guying, “The Reform Movement among Intellectuals in Taiwan since 1970,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (July–September 1982): 34.
45. *FEER* 71, no. 10 (March 6, 1971): 31.
46. Interview with Xie Congming, Taipei, June 4, 1996.
47. Sheldon L. Appleton, “Taiwan Portents of Change,” *Asian Survey*, 11, no. 1 (January 1971): 68–73.
48. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, p. 261.
49. Shen, *U.S. and China*, pp. 58–59. For “check with the White House,” see Fredrick Chien interview, April 19, 2008.
50. State cable to Taipei, April 30, 1971, National Archives, RG 59, China Pol, box 2202; Amembassy Taipei cable to SecState, 2537, April 30, 1971, National Archives, RG 59, SNF (1970–1973), China Pol, box 2203.
51. Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872–1949* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), p. 440, quoting Arthur Salter, *Personality in Politics* (London: Faber and Faber, 1947).
52. John Robinson Beal, *Marshall in China* (Toronto: Doubleday Canada, 1970), pp. 360–361.
53. See Last Will and Testament in the T. V. Soong Collected Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, Calif.
54. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 293.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
56. Interview with Hao Beicun, Taipei, April 3, 2003.
57. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 293.
58. *Ibid.*, pp. 309–311.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 300.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 348–354.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 355.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 356.
64. *Ibid.*, p. 394.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 396.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 403.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 368. The reason Truman sent the Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait was the existence of a unanimous and subsequently proven correct consensus in the U.S. leadership that the attack on Korea was part of a Sino-Soviet plan for the revolutionary transformation of East Asia guided, assisted, and if necessary backed up primarily by China.

68. *Ibid.*, p. 369.
69. *Ibid.*, p. 446.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 445.
71. *Ibid.*, pp. 370–372.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 372.
73. *Ibid.*
74. *Ibid.*, p. 383.
75. *Ibid.*, p. 405.
76. *Ibid.*, p. 447. Speaking of Chiang, Zhou also added without elaboration, “The United States must beware.”
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 291, 294, 348, 412, 448.
78. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, p. 268.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 422.
80. Interview with Fredrick Chien, Taipei, May 16, 1996.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *FEER* 73, no. 31 (July 31, 1971): 7.
83. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, pp. 456–457.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 458.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 602.
86. *Ibid.*, p. 599.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 514–515.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 602.
89. *Ibid.*, pp. 514–515.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 591.
91. Chen Jian, *Mao’s China and the Cold War*, pp. 269–270.
92. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, pp. 454–455.
93. *Ibid.*, p. 459.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 446, 527, 538.
95. *Ibid.*, pp. 468–469; Shen, *U.S. and China*, p. 75.
96. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 489.
97. *Ibid.*, p. 586.
98. *Ibid.*, p. 493.
99. Harvey Feldman, notes to the author, January 1999. According to Fredrick Chien (interview April 19, 2008), former foreign minister Shen Zhanguan first suggested the axiom.
100. *Lingshou jinsheng wangu changqing-Zong tong Jiang gong aixi shilu* (The Vivid Spirits of the Leader through the Ages—A True Record of the Mourning for President Chiang), Taipei, special publication of the *Chong Yang ri bao* (Central Daily News), October 25, 1971.
101. *FEER* 74, no. 46 (November 13, 1971): 17; *FEER* 74, no. 50 (December 11, 1971): 60.

102. Sheldon Appleton, "Taiwan Portents of Change," *Asian Survey* 11, no. 1 (January 1971): 68, 37.
103. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 560.
104. *Ibid.*, p. 505.
105. In December, Washington passed the message to Yang that his views had been "given consideration at appropriate levels within the U.S. Government." *Ibid.*, p. 629.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 599–601.
107. *Ibid.*, pp. 582, 584.
108. *Ibid.*, pp. 581, 591, 593.
109. Shen, *U.S. and China*, p. 77.
110. *Ibid.*
111. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China, 1969–1972*, p. 593.
112. *Ibid.*, pp. 635–636.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 668–669.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 678.
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 765, 766.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 772.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 765.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 766–768.
119. *Ibid.*, pp. 768–770, 773.
120. *FRUS (1969–1973)*, vol. E-13: *Documents on China*, doc. 100.
121. William Bader and Jeffery T. Bergner, *The Taiwan Relations Act* (Menlo Park, Calif.: SRI International, 1989), p. 159.
122. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China 1969–1972*, p. 835.
123. Telephone interview with John Holdridge, Washington, D.C., October 10, 1997.
124. Chiang Ching-kuo quoted in *FEER* 102, no. 2 (January 12, 1979): 22.
125. *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China 1969–1972*, p. 858.
126. *Ibid.*, pp. 837, 840.
127. *Ibid.*, p. 626.
128. *FEER* 75, no. 11 (March 11, 1972): 6.
129. J. Bruce Jacobs, "Taiwan 1972: Political Season," *Asian Survey* 13, no. 1 (January 1973): 102–112.
130. *Ibid.*; Appleton, "Taiwan Portents," p. 37.
131. *FRUS, 1969–1976*, vol. 17: *China*, p. 115.
132. Fredrick Chien interview, May 16, 1996; Xiong Yuan, *The Reminiscences of Dr. Xiong Yuan* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1998); interview with Xiong Yuan, Taipei, May 31, 1996.
133. Xiong Yuan, *Reminiscences*; Xiong Yuan interview, May 31, 1996.
134. Li Zhisui, *The Private Life of Chairman Mao* (New York: Random House, 1994), pp. 573–574.

135. Fredrick Chien interviews, Taipei, August 29, 1995, and May 16, 1996; interview with Chang Cuyi, Taipei, May 16, 1996.

136. Chen Guying, “The Reform Movement among Intellectuals in Taiwan since 1970,” *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars* (July–September 1982): 35.

137. Interviews with many Chiang Ching-kuo subordinates of the time, 1995, 1996; also interview with Chiang Hsiaoyung, Taipei, May 19, 1996; Xiong Yuan interview, May 31, 1996.

138. Xiong Yuan interview, May 31, 1996.

139. Xiong Yuan, *Reminiscences*; *ibid.*

140. *FEER* 82, no. 49 (December 10, 1973): 22.

141. William Burr, ed., *The Kissinger Transcripts: The Top Secret Talks with Beijing and Moscow* (New York: Free Press, 1999), pp. 114–115.

142. *FEER* 84, no. 19 (May 13, 1974): 30.

143. *FEER* 87, no. 4 (January 24, 1975): 22; *FRUS (1969–1976)*, vol. 17: *China*, pp. 1119–1120.

144. See the National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book, no. 18, at <http://www.gwu.edu/~nsarchiv/NSAEBB/NSAEBB19/>.

145. AmEmbassy Taipei cable 3505, November 22, 1974, p. 141.

146. Shong Yuan, *Reminiscences*; Shong Yuan interview, May 31, 1996.

147. Laura Tyson Li, *Madame Chiang Kai-shek* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006).

148. I wrote this account of Chiang’s last hours for *The Generalissimo’s Son* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 321. My May 31, 1996, interview with Xiong Yuan, who witnessed the event, provided an authoritative and compelling account. Therefore, I have used it here mostly verbatim. In the interview, however, Xiong left out the fact that Ching-kuo had joined Madame Chiang at the bedside. Reaction to the storm is from *FEER* 88, no. 16 (April 18, 1975): 20. The government announcement stated that Chiang suffered a heart attack at 11:20 p.m., was taken to Veterans Hospital, and died at 11:50 p.m. with Madame Chiang and Ching-kuo at his side. *New York Times*, April 6, 1975. But Chiang’s secretary, Fredrick Chien, confirmed he died at Shilin. Note to author, November 15, 2008.

149. *New York Times*, April 6, 1975. The English version substituted the nonsocialist “colleagues” for “comrades.”

150. Taylor, *Generalissimo’s Son*, p. 321; *ibid.*

151. *New York Times*, April 12 and 14, 1975.

152. *New York Times*, April 7, 1975.

153. *New York Times*, April 27, 1975.

154. This and the following paragraphs are drawn heavily from Richard Halloran’s article in *New York Times*, April 17, 1975.

155. *Ibid.*

156. Wang Shoujia et al., *Mao Zedong wannian guoyan shiwenlu* (The Poems and Prose of Mao Zedong Read during His Later Years) (Hong Kong: Balong Shuwu,

1993), pp. 17, 871–874. Mao apparently did not, as reported elsewhere, add two lines dedicated to Chiang. See Xiong Xianghui, *Wo de Qinghao yu waijiao shengya* (My Intelligence and Diplomatic Career) (Beijing: Zhonggong dangshi chubanshe, 1998), pp. 289–290; and June Chang and Jon Halliday, *Mao* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), p. 628.

Epilogue

1. A Soong relative's email to the author, July 16, 2008.
2. Albert C. Wedemeyer Papers, a memorial tribute given at Washington National Cathedral, April 16, 1975, box 1, folder 19, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford, California. Wedemeyer may have visited the island in the 1960s. We don't know. But the quotation sounds like something that Chiang would have said at that time, not in 1947. The General and Chiang did exchange letters, but none with this quote are found in the Hoover collection.

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