**What role did the KMT and the CCP play in this period? Account for the importance of warfare in their respective narratives.**

**What can you extract from *The Blue Shirts*?**

## The Origins

“Corruption seeped through the bureaucracy; factional struggles erupted repeatedly into civil wars; and political repression replaced popular support as the keystone of nationalist rule.” -> thus providing *instability* within the KMT controlled areas.

Chiang had resigned from office.

Liu Jianqun’s essay:

1. ‘advocate preserving the old shell of the party’ but with a new organization dedicated to ‘sacrifice everything from the nation and the masses’ (pg. 2)
2. Chiang saw means of regaining power with the foci:
   1. Chiang should be the highest permanent leader
   2. Graduates from Whampoa (aka Chiang’s military academy base) serve as the leading cadre
   3. The Three People’s Principles should be implemented.
      1. Nationalism, democracy, and livelihood
      2. 民族主义 aka independence from imperialist domination. Uniting all groups and ethnicities
      3. 民权主义 aka government by the people.
      4. 民生主义 aka People’s welfare and livelihood. Like land tax
      5. In addition: fascism/bushidoism

## Goals of the Blue shirts

At that point of time, “Fascism therefore appeared to be both a progressive doctrine and one that was suited to China’s particular circumstances.” (pg. 3)

1. Moving towards a totalitarian state for national salvation. Submission of individual needs to the state’s end. And that Chiang should be strictly obeyed, as opposed to democracy as “the current disarray in the KMT was largely consequences of attempts to implant democratic institutions and practices.” (pg. 4)

In response? Chiang: “deny that he aspired to be a dictator” (pg. 6)

1. Another goal would be of cultural control. The Blue Shirts attribute the failure of the revolutionary cause to “the disintegration of the nation’s culture” but self-satisfaction, superstition, passivity and individualism” had to be “changed, corrected or reformed” (pg. 7)
   1. On Liberalism: Western cultural influences were bad. The liberalism meant that money was being spent that could have been used for the cause.

## A new culture for China

1. Replace the old culture with nation-first belief
2. Use all means necessary to achieve one’s goal. Since “morality had been raped and power alone was the measure of success”, they decide that China needed to use “an absolutely revolutionary body as a violent force that supports the nation being first
   1. Note: Such violence meant that Communists, Japanese and political rivals within the KMT were targets for assassination. Provoked distrust between nominal allies
   2. It is likely that Chiang used this guise to eliminate political rivals.
3. After destroying, the society that they created has its people “govern their own conduct in accordance of new cultural patterns” through re-education
4. Educational policy:
   1. 国家化 -> Nation is the reason for education. No more local autonomy!
      1. This gave rise to students “possessed of a single-minded love for, and a readiness to sacrifice even their lives for, the nation.” (Eastman, pg. 10)
   2. 军事化 -> Students to be the next model army, with military indoctrination. See Total War Theory for means of understanding. Goal is for “the frail and bookish students” to “be replaced by warriors of the future.” (pg. 11)
   3. 生产化 -> Current educational policies gave rise to a parasitic elite. Combine both manual labor as well as on the job training with normal schooling. Goal is to have a “useful, producing member of the nation.” (pg. 11)

## Economic Reforms:

### National Socialism (国家社会主义)

1. Government plans all productive activity, from goals to plans for development. State control over critical industries.
   1. But non-productive enterprises like say textile, are to be left to the free economy
2. Agrarian/Farming reform: rejects nationalization /government ownership of land
   1. Reduction in taxes and rent, improve infrastructure, improve farm techniques
   2. However, all of these strategies have been pulled before!
3. But! In the Jiantu periodical, published by the Blue Shirts:
   1. Advocates nationalization, plus state-managed agriculture collectives. Communal holding of land.
   2. Consolidation of land into great farms would allow “industrialization of agriculture.” (pg. 14)
   3. To justify this: Sun never said that land system was on private or national ownership. Xu Tai Kung: Sun included ‘equal land rights’ and therefore their nationalization is a means of replacing private land to evenly distribute land

## The Blue Shirts, the Three Principles

Eventually Fascism grew to replace the Three People’s Principles. However, the Blue Shirts “vigorously protested their faithfulness to Sun’s teachings (pg. 15)

Did it truly replace Sun’s teachings? That’s disputed (pg. 15) But the Blue Shirts “influence outside the party, in society as a whole was enormous” and “became one of the two or three most powerful – and feared factions within the KMT” (pg. 16-17)

The Blue Shirts controlled the party organization, political training throughout the nations (schools, governments and army). They were predominantly in the middle- and lower-ranking cadre in the National Military Training Commission.

This fits in with their goal to “create a militarized society” (pg. 17)

## The New Life Movement

To “regenerate the nation by reviving the morality of Confucianism and by prescribing quaint rules of personal conduct” -> Who created this? Chiang? Chinese Culture Study Association? Yang Yung-t’ai

1. The problem to be solved: The Chinese were ‘selfish, undisciplined, and dissolute’ (pg. 19) Therefore, implant a fascist spirit among the Chinese people.
2. To make it feasible for spreading: sloganize an idea.
   1. 礼 ，义，廉，耻
   2. Proper behavior, justice, honesty, shame.
   3. A life guided by these four virtues
   4. Break it down into 96 further rules; start from basic behavior before resisting the Japanese.
3. The idea behind this was to recreate Japanese military discipline in Chinese society
4. In practice:
   1. Chiang declared “militarization of society was the chief goal of the Movement”
   2. New Life Movement dominated by military officers
   3. Government officials, teachers and students began military training
   4. Strict control to reduce Western-inspired dissipation/liberalism.
   5. But! Blue Shirts control over New Life not complete -> ended with ambiguities and no clear goal

## Dai Li and Terrorism:

Dai Li himself may have not actually graduated from Whampoa, but he’s the spymaster of Chiang

1. Created fear in the populace (despite other groups having their own secret agents)
2. Created a book for his service agents
   1. Leader’s security assured. (Because he’s the top dog in a totalitarian society)
   2. Punish Corruption (Since it’s prevalent, and the previous Silk Brocade Agents were doing this anyway)
   3. Destroy all counter-revolutionary forces (Because these oppose a totalitarian society, and provide political rivals for the leader)
   4. Assist national reconstruction (Because it’s not the technical role of a secret organization)
   5. Defend against international spies and traitors (Why is this the last? Because need to ensure that the roots of the country are not at stake before conducting counterespionage. Domestic before foreign affairs)
3. How big is this secret organization?
4. Virtually every assassination was attributed to Tai Li’s secret organization (which brings much doubt about Chiang’s association with his colleagues.) (pg. 25)
5. This provoked unrest, discontent with the Blue Shirts as a cause.
6. The Japanese felt worried: this Blue Shirt Party may have boycotted their goods, and oppose Japanese imperialism
7. However, Chiang was clamping down on other anti-Japanese groups!
8. Author concludes that Chiang might be secretly resisting the Japanese via this group, even while making concessions.
9. After the Blue Shirts were dissolved -> new groups emerge with the same people.

## Conclusion:

1. Definition of Fascism: a sense of political desperation, stemming from threatened or real economic impoverishment, national humiliation, or sensed loss of cultural roots (pg. 28)
2. Key characteristics:
   1. State Control and Belief above all
   2. One-party rule, glorify leader, reject democracy
   3. Nationalism -> restoration of traditional values
   4. Subordinate individual will to the collective will
   5. Violence and terror celebrated.
3. The goals are similar in Chinese Communism
   1. To shape social behavior
   2. Eliminate distinctions between blue- and white-collar workers
   3. Stress on nationalism and totalitarian controls, rather than the family unit
4. It is likely they were both reflected due to Chinese characteristics:
   1. Glorify the leader -> see the emperor
   2. Make everyone a producer-> as opposed the praising the literate and disparaging the worker
   3. Masses would rather be well-governed than liberalism
   4. Community over the individual
5. This similarity led to struggles for political base between the CC clique and the Blue Shirts
   1. They initially divided the party into spheres of influence, but eventually rivalry soon erupted
   2. Provided an alternative for Chiang for his own supporters.