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## 主論文の要旨

論文題目 The Policy of Local Government in the Civil War: the Case of Shanxi Province (1945-1949)

(人民解放戦争における地方政府の政策——山西省の事例 (1945-1949) )

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## 論文内容の要旨

For a long time, many scholars argued that the reason of Chinese Communist Party's victory in the civil war was the success of land reform, namely, the adjustment of production relation. In the book review of Thunder out of China, Fairbank had been keen to point out that the public mind determined the existence of the regime, the Chinese Communist Party maintained close contact with peasants, and they fanned out across rural regions and mobilized masses. This was unimaginable for the KMT government and Japanese Army. This argument was also emphasized by Chinese Communist Party herself. Many CPC scholars continually cited what Mao Zedong said, one party, or one regime, its future and destiny were determined by the public mind.

However, the historical archives in the civil war period told us that it was not quite the case. After the Sino-Japanese war, the Chinese Communist Party faced the heavy challenges in political and economic situations. Its enemy, KMT had obvious advantages, whatever ruling areas, troops, or military equipment. Meantime, it won strong supports from American government. On the contrary, the ruling areas of CPC was under distinct disadvantages. Mostly they were in remote mountainous and economically undeveloped areas. Previous research always emphasized the mitigation measures of peasants' burden of CPC regime. In fact, in a sign of war jitters, the local government had no chance to take

recuperate policy. According to archive, we found the fact that the local government left no stone unturned to adopt the measures of rehabilitation policy, reducing the burden of taxation and cost, meanwhile, to collect money for the war. Therefore, the economic efficiency of both governments in the war determined the result of the civil war. Based on the investigation and analysis of local archives in the collection of Shanxi Jincheng city archives museum, this research observed how the CPC government realized its economic efficiency in the civil war period. At that time, the local government was faced with very strong economic pressure, which to recovery production and consolidate new political power, and at the same time to increase the production intensity and better for the supply of soldiers and grains.

My study attempted to explain why CPC made such a great success in the civil war, from the perspective of the work of basic county government. Furthermore, the determinants of success were not entirely the institutional innovation and the adjustment of land relationship. More important reason was the production based on the agriculture achieved great progress and the optimal allocation of the production efficiency, and the government avoided the diversified defects of the market, by way of organizing and advising agriculture production. Comparing with KMT placing emphasis on the developing industrialization, and priority to develop the industry and commerce and banking business, the CPC kept to the agriculturalization development road. Based on China's national condition, which became the main reason of winning the civil war.

In the late anti-Japanese war period, Shanxi became one of earliest provinces of the establishment of primary government of CPC. On April 28th, 1945, Jincheng County government was established, under the administration of the Fourth Administrative Office, Taiyue Border Regional Government. Jinsui Border Regional Government was established in the period of anti-Japanese war. For a long time, many scholars attributed the reason of CPC winning the civil war to the revolutionary institutional innovation. For economic development, many scholars from political economic perspective, focused on the adjusting of relations of production, namely, regarding land revolution as the most critical factor. Besides the rigid institutional factor, another important factor is that CPC local primary government could obey the whole situation of war preparation and

effectively use policy levers to carry out the orders of Central government. This is involved the important proposition of the early practice of the ruling ability of CPC. The Jincheng archive museum had complete collection of Jincheng County government archives in civil war. From them we found that, after the period of anti-Japanese war, all work of Jincheng County government was very arduous and urgent, on the one hand actively preparing the war to provide the supply to the front, on the other hand strengthening economic development and adjustment to consolidate the base of the new regime. No doubt, the taxes and financial expenditure of Jincheng County government was increasing, instead of decreasing.

This archives collection was complete and systematic, especially its economic archive, which has high history research value and was excellent reference to understand current China. According to the time logic, the archives was divided into five dossiers, including spring loan, summer plant, autumn harvest, winter education, industry and mining enterprises, finance, taxes, military supply, and so on. Another major source is the archive of Jinsui Border Regional government, collected in Xing County archives museum, which also was used by scholars in recent years. I discussed the agricultural calendar published by CPC. As we know, the calendar was a part of daily time management of Chinese people. However, in the civil war time, this calendar became an effective tool of CPC local government carrying on policy propaganda and social mobilization. A color edition of Agricultural Calendar in 1948 laid quietly in Xing County archives museum, Shanxi province. It was issued by a CPC local government, Jizhong administrate office in 1948. The calendar was stereotype printing, sextodecimo, with 48 pages, and published by the Jizhong Xinhua bookstore.

Political propaganda in agricultural calendar were made from the following three perspectives.

Firstly, the policy of CPC and its army was greatly propagandized in the calendar. The basic principles of Chinese People's Liberation Army were printed in a prominent place on the front page of the calendar, namely, combining all the oppressed class, including workers, farmers, soldiers, students, and merchants, all of democracy parties, all minor ethnic groups, all aliens, and other patriots, organized national united front, and overthrew Chiang Kai-shek's autocracy government, and set up a democratic coalition government. It said that we would

abolish the autocrat institutions of KMT regime, and apply the people's democratic system, and guard the liberty of people, including speech, publication, assembly, and association.

Secondly, anti-war sentiments were propagandized in the calendar. CPC emphasized the truth that it was KMT that fought a civil war, regardless of the people's peaceful willing. The propaganda of anti-Chiang Kai-shek was seen everywhere in the calendar. Two greatest parties at that time, conducted distinct policies for national future problem, which was the interest of the public. Its result was, who complied with the people, would win the civil war. CPC government took advantages of people's emotion of desiring for peace and ending the civil war and emphasized the common national feeling through advocating anti Chiang Kai-shek, which brought the mass close to CPC. Meantime, the political propaganda pushed the peasants against KMT, through the land reform and the movement of Complaining which disclosed KMT's disgusting conducts by the mouth of the peasant, and made the mass understand this difficult situation which was caused by KMT. Thus, the peasants should overthrow the rulership of KMT under the leadership of CPC.

Thirdly, the calendar advocated the peace-willing and democracy consciousness, and mobilized the public on its side, together against KMT government. For example, CPC government admitted the equal right and freedom of micro ethnic groups in China; denied all traitorous treaties and foreign debts signed by KMT government; asking American government to withdraw its troops in China, and so on.

Fourthly, it disclosed the betrayal behavior of KMT and criticized the nature of aggression of American diplomatic policy of "help KMT" in the calendar. Many memorial days of national shame caused by KMT were listed in the calendar. For example, in the explanation of National Shame Day of Northeast Incident, it emphasized that Chiang Kai-shek's clique took the measures of non-resistance, which was resulted in the fall of east northern three provinces.

Fifthly, it propagandized the political ideology of "only CPC could save China". The important anniversaries include Liberation Day in Northeast China, August 13th anti-Japanese war Anniversary, embodied Chinese nationalism and patriotism. It made peasants to recall the difficulty in anti-Japanese war, full of

hardship and setbacks in modern China history, and made them not to forget the national humiliation and revitalize China. Most of all, the calendar conveyed such idea, that only CPC could lead people to achieve ultimate victory and realize the aspiration of peace.

Using National Revolutionary Society, Yan Xishan limited and defended the expansion of above two forces. As we know, Reasonable Group and League of Sacrifice for National Salvation were opposite groups. Even though the member of National Revolutionary Society declared that the society represented the broadest interests in Shanxi, in reality it adopted double standards for them. Yan Xishan was disgusted against the forces of KMT in Shanxi province. He never mentioned Chiang Kai-shek. The testament of Zhao Daiwen, the vice president of National Revolutionary Society, showed the contradiction between the society and KMT. However, it was hard to really enter into the village to mobilize the mass. Even though so many members, all of literary materials pointed out that the name list existed great problems, and many people joined it without understanding. Depending on such organization to control rural society, its effect was naturally unsatisfactory.

There were some limited factors in the development of education in Jinsui Border Region. Firstly, the educational foundation was weak, where lies in the mountain of Lvliang, lack of convenient geographic and traffic environment. Secondly, the education level of the population generally lowed, lots of illiteracy. According to the statistics in 1940, “the illiteracy was more than 90% in the total population.” Thirdly, the educational achievements were lost in the war time.

The development of the education of primary school in Jinsui Border Region consisted of three phrases. The first was the exploration stage, from 1940 to 1943. At the beginning of the new regime was founded, the administrative office emphasized political education of anti-Japanese and neglected the practical knowledge in rural society. Based on the poor educational foundation, the urban education mode was applied to the Jinsui, so it had not formed the appropriate educational policies adapt to the students in Jinsui Border Region. The education was not closely connected with the practice. The second stage was on the right track, from 1943 to 1946. In this stage, the mass improved their political and economic life, and asked for more cultural and educational life. On this account,

the administrative office drew up new policies, and related the education to the war, production, society, family, and the public. The third stage was formalization stage, from 1946 to 1949. The concrete improvement measures were including: first, the government remolded the old type intellectual, and asked them to improve their idea and ability, using the teaching methods of new democracy. Secondly, the former education of primary school had not connected to household production, and overemphasized the school production, so that it affected the teaching activities. Basic government and school should carry out good cooperation, so that to promote constructive interactions between society and education. Thirdly, in the process of “running by the people and supporting by the government”, the government should strengthen the guidance of private primary school, and really satisfied the needs of all children.

The ideological and political education was the key content in the textbook. It helped the students set up correct worldview and outlook. The students also should accept the revolutionary, military, and patriotism education. The textbook helped the students learn more knowledge about party, government, and the army. By the learning the textbook, the students remolded their old ideas, and armed with revolutionary idea, while affecting the unaccepted education persons in rural society. Another characteristic of the textbook was of the importance of labor production. Contrast with the textbook of KMT, there was more than a quarter content related to the labor production in textbook from border region, while the latter had hardly any such content.

Compared with former research focused on the military and political explanation, this paper chose three micro-objects which had drawn little attention of previous researches, an agricultural calendar, an organization of National Revolutionary Society, and the educational development of primary school. From these unrelated things, we could find the reason of CPC's victory in the civil war.

The observations made in this paper could suggest: While fought against KMT, CPC tried to develop agricultural economy to mobilize every available resource for the purpose of civil war. Its policy had three features. Firstly, CPC politicized local population with its ideology and viewpoints. Secondly, in order to do so, it had to satisfy the needs of local population, youth, intellectual, women and minority groups, such as land ownership, safety, and security of life, better

living standard, new knowledge, freedom and liberty, etc... Thirdly, to develop agrarian economy meant the modernization of agriculture, hence it had to improve people's scientific and technological knowledge. Its policy had effective means, too. The tools this paper treated, agrarian calendar and primary education, were very accessible to every rural population, therefore when employed in adequate ways to the educational level of the people, they would be very effective in both educating and mobilizing them. In contrast to CPC's policy and organization, National Revolutionary Society, its opponent in the region, was not able to organize rural population, though the society was very large and covered most of the region. Its inability rooted in its leadership and organizational feature. In short, one of the reasons of the victory of CPC could be its success of integrating political propaganda and the modernization of agrarian society with adequate and effective tools.