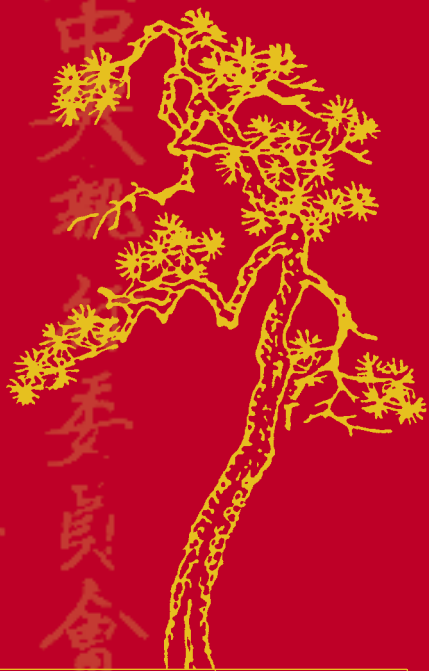


中國國民黨中央黨部
大校人委會密令

令



(一) 反共抗俄戰爭，不僅是軍事戰，也是經濟戰，而最主要的是思想戰，組織戰。討論過去剿匪軍事所以失利的主要原因，是黨在軍隊中的組織瓦解，軍隊失去了鬥志。總裁昭示我們：今後反共抗俄的重要條件，以黨領導的原則，健全軍中黨的組織，思想領導，以鞏固國軍組織，堅定國軍高聞志，增加精力，而重建革命武力。抗俄的最後勝利。

(二) 為適應當前需要其執行黨的政策，決定興改造軍隊黨務，改革軍隊政工，使老因改造而成為推進政工和改革軍隊

THE MODERN CHINA ARCHIVES
AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace

Hoover Institution Archives

Stanford University



LONGEVITY

The Modern China Archives and Special Collections

RAMON H. MYERS
Senior Fellow Emeritus, Hoover Institution
and Consultant to Hoover Archives

KUO TAI-CHUN
Research Fellow, Hoover Institution

作實現。因此，本黨同志必須認清黨改造其政
工改革的密切關係，無論是部長或政工人員，
均應以極大熱忱共毅力，支持政工制度的改革，
依照國防部所頒佈的國政^軍政治工作綱領及各項有關
政治工作法規，轉知並教^導黨員一致詳加研
究，貫徹實施！

(三) 本會

為

專

導軍隊黨務改造工作之推進，

經組成中共^軍改造指導委員會，以專責成，

軍隊黨務改造各項法令，亦正積極審訂，將次第

頒佈實施，各軍事機關學校部隊之各級黨務改造

籌備委員會，亦將從速次第建立，惟在各級籌備



The Modern China Archives and Special Collections

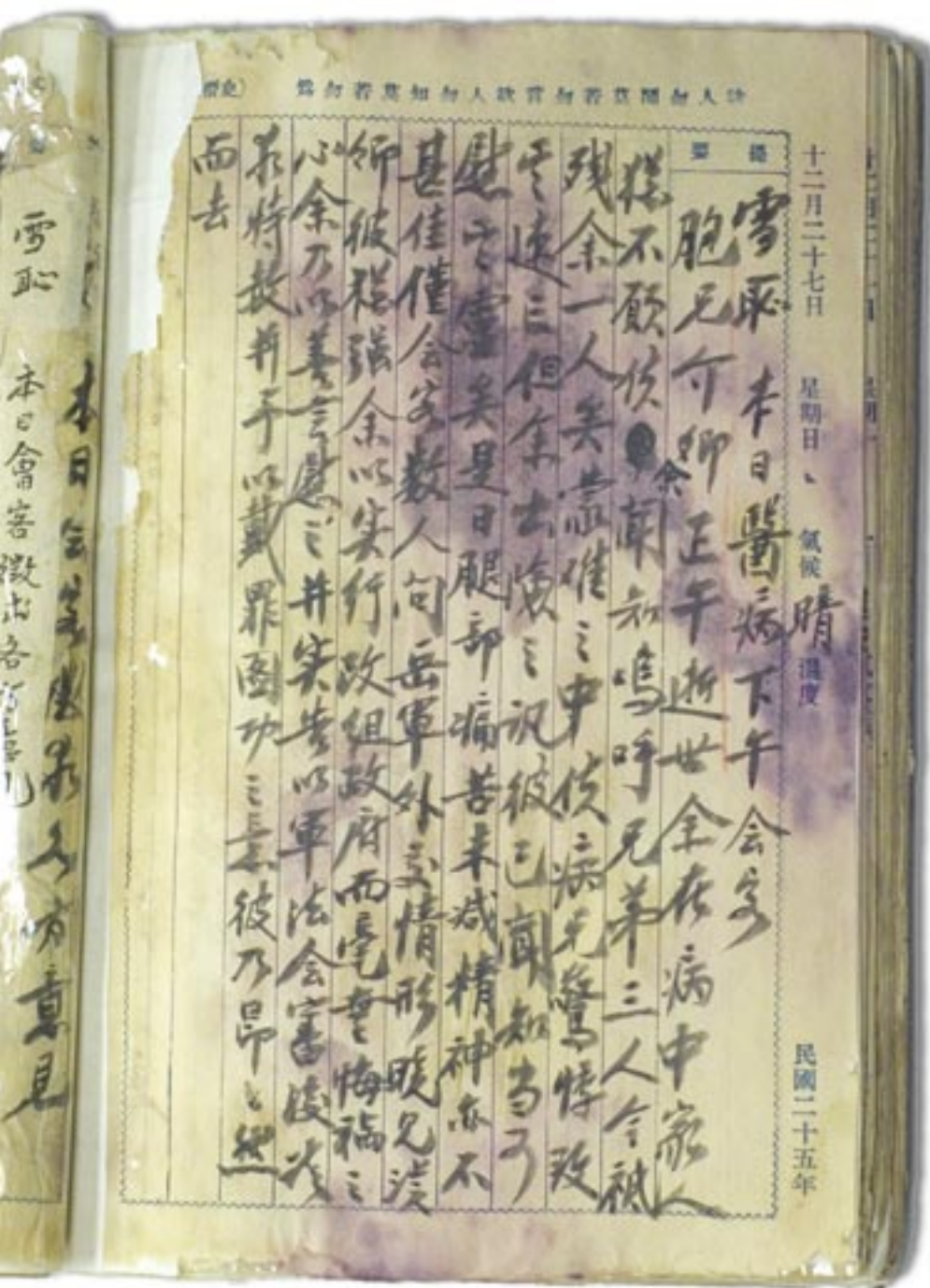
In 1899, twenty-five-year-old Herbert Hoover and his wife, Lou Henry, were living in Tientsin, China, where he was the comanager of the Kaiping mines. It was there that Hoover first began to study Chinese language and history. In 1907 Hoover helped Stanford University historian Payson Treat buy books about China, especially its history, and in 1913 Hoover donated six hundred such books, some very rare, to Stanford University. In 1919 Hoover's interest in foreign affairs inspired him to establish the Hoover Institution Library and Archives. After World War II with luck and good timing, Chinese and non-Chinese public servants, military officers, engineers, journalists, scholars, and the like began donating their private papers and other materials to the Hoover Institution, where they were to be preserved and made available to interested readers. The papers of T. V. Soong are one of many preeminent collections. Americans involved in China, such as General Albert Wedemeyer and General Joseph Stilwell, also donated their papers to the Hoover Archives.

In 2003 the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace signed an agreement with the Chinese Kuomintang (KMT), or Nationalist Party of

the Republic of China (ROC), to help preserve the vast historical records held in that party's archives in Taipei, Taiwan. As the longest-enduring political party in Asia, the KMT was China's premier revolutionary party until it was defeated in 1949 by Communist Party forces and forced to relocate in Taiwan. The historic Hoover agreement provides for micro-filming the official party records, which will stay in Taiwan, along with a preservation copy. A use copy will be made available in the Hoover Archives.

When Chinese in the United States and Taiwan, including the National Women's League in Taipei, learned of the KMT-Hoover cooperative project, they too agreed to have their materials preserved in the archives. (The Soong family began donating its materials to the Hoover Institution Archives in 1973, followed by additional papers in April 1980 and again in the spring of 2004.)

Those donations helped create the Modern China Archives and Special Collections. These special collections are now being integrated with the China-related material accumulated since 1919. (Trade press materials, such as published vernacular Chinese books and serials, were transferred from the Hoover Archives to the Stanford University Libraries in 2002.)



The Hoover Institution's Modern China Archives and Special Collections

The Hoover Archives collects three types of materials: First are gifts of private papers in perpetuity through deed of gift, such as the papers of T. V. Soong (mentioned above), an official in the National government from 1928 to 1949. Second are private papers on loan to the archives (through deposit agreements with terminal dates), such as the diaries of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo. Third are agreements to collaborate on the preservation of records outside the United States, such as the KMT-Hoover agreement to preserve that party's archival materials in Taipei, Taiwan.

The historical documents being acquired by the Hoover Institution bring us into the inner world of Chinese and Taiwanese leadership thinking, including difficulties resolving their conflicting beliefs and why they chose conflict over peace.

In April 2004, T. V. Soong's (Soong Tse-ven) family granted permission to the Hoover Archives to open nineteen file boxes that had been previously closed to the public. These new materials contain transcripts of high-level discussions between Soong and leaders of the Allies in Washington, D.C., between 1941 and 1944; more than five hundred telegrams between T. V. Soong and Chiang Kai-shek; and countless letters and memoranda between Soong and other individuals, both high and low. Also included is T. V. Soong's private journal, which gives details of the Sian (Xian) incident, during which Soong and his youngest sister, May-ling Soong (Chiang Kai-shek's wife), went to Sian in December 1936 to negotiate Chiang's release from Chinese warlords and the Communists.

In December 2004 Elizabeth Chiang deposited in the Hoover Archives the handwritten diaries of Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo (father and son and former

After the Sian incident, during which Chinese warlord Zhang Xueliang kidnapped Chiang Kai-shek, the warlord apologized. Chiang, however, on December 27, 1936, writes in his diary that, after returning to Nanjing, Zhang forced him to reform the government and showed no remorse for the kidnapping.

In this memorandum from General Joseph Stilwell to T. V. Soong, dated December 23, 1942, Stilwell criticizes the Chinese Expeditionary Force in India. (T. V. Soong papers, Box 62)

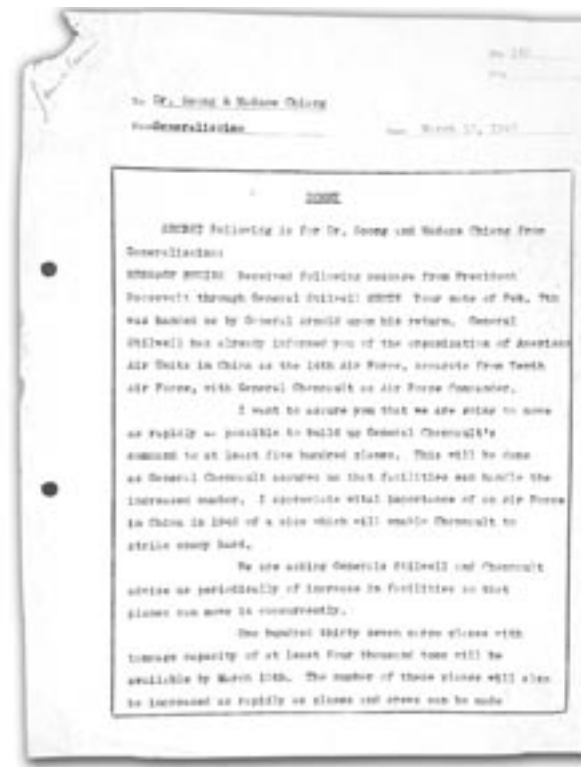


Opposing the Soviet Union (Zhongguo Funiu Fangong Kang-Er Lianhehui). In 1996 this organization was renamed the National Women's League of the Republic of China. The new organization not only promoted talented women but helped thousands of women describe their individual and family lives. Those writings thus document a history of Chinese women in a society that was making the transition from imperial rule to modernity.

In 2003, the Hoover Institution and the party archives section of

presidents of the ROC) until a suitable presidential library can be built in China. For the first time in Chinese history, we have a firsthand record of the most powerful individuals in government ruminating about their political life and the great events of their times. (These diaries are on loan for preservation purposes and must be screened prior to opening.)

The archives also has an agreement with Madame Cecilia Koo, chair of the National Women's League of the Republic of China in Taipei, where Hoover will microfilm its documents and special materials. This remarkable organization, originally founded by Madame Chiang Kai-shek in 1934 and called the Women's Committee of the New Life Movement, promoted women's education and social reforms. In 1950 Madame Chiang's organization merged with the new Joint Women's Association for Anti-Communism and



Chiang Kai-shek's confidential dispatch to Madame Chiang and T. V. Soong, March 12, 1943, describes President Roosevelt's reflections about improving Sino-American military cooperation. (T. V. Soong papers, Box 64)

the KMT signed an agreement whereby the Hoover Institution would microfilm the three million odd documents of the party archives, provide an original microfilm copy to the KMT, and retain a copy at the institution; both sides also agreed to digitize the records and make a copy available to readers. The KMT Archives contains records of the revolutionary struggles in the late

nineteenth century against the Manchu dynasty and the rise of the KMT, including its struggle to unify and modernize China, culminating in the party's defeat and subsequent move to Taiwan in 1949. KMT records during the next half century reveal how the party reinvented itself to build a productive market economy, establish an electoral democracy, and improve the lives of Taiwan's people.

The materials mentioned above add to an already impressive collection of personal papers received in the past half century by the Hoover Archives, including those

of Tang Fei, former premier of the ROC government and former commander of that country's Ministry of Defense, and distinguished cabinet minister Wei Yung, many of whose papers describe the reforms that took place in the ROC government between 1984 and 1988. Other papers include those of Chang Chia-ngau, a banker, founder of the Bank of China, and public

servant; Huang Fu, a KMT high-level official; Wang Zuorong, economist and public servant; James Wei, senior journalist; Ruan Yicheng, secretary general of the KMT; and many others. (To examine those collections, consult the reference archivist in the archives.)

The creation of this core collection coincides with a growing scholarly interest, in both West

and East, in understanding divided China, as China's growing power and importance are challenging the U.S. government to cooperate in unprecedented ways with the

In November 1953, Madame Chiang Kai-shek (near left) escorted Patricia Nixon, wife of then U.S. vice president Richard Nixon, on a tour of the Hua-Hsing Orphanage, founded by the National Women's League of the Republic of China. (National Women's League Archives)



In early 1945, Madame Chiang Kai-shek appeals to Chinese women to contribute to the war of resistance against Japan. (National Women's League Archives)

People's Republic of China. Great changes have also occurred within Taiwan, especially during the past fifteen years. Thus, in both Chinas, new forces are changing beliefs and institutions.

Thus, the salient question is, Can today's leaders and elites in

divided China resolve their differences and not repeat the tragedies of the twentieth century? To help answer that question, scholars and researchers can call on the Modern China Archives and Special Collections of the Hoover Institution Archives.

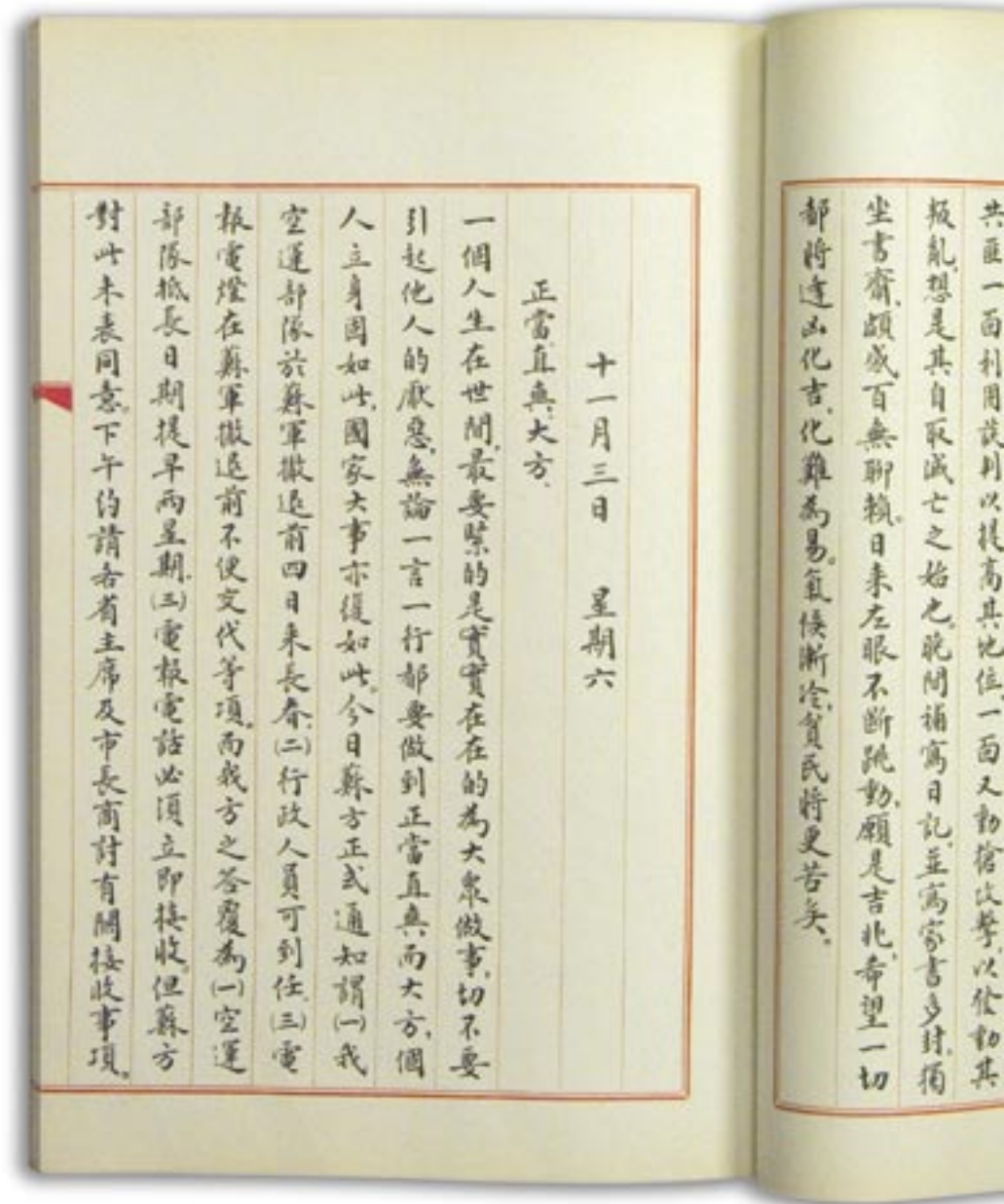


Modern China's History: Will It Be Repeated?

China, the world's oldest and largest civilization, began in 1900 to transform itself because it feared being dismembered by the new foreign powers. In 1911, the revolutionary KMT party spearheaded the founding of Asia's first republic, the Republic of China (ROC). Several years later,

In November 1894, Sun Yat-sen established the Xinzonghui in Honolulu, which began his revolutionary career. In this mansion, situated in Honolulu and owned by Li Chang, an overseas Chinese, the revolutionaries took the oaths that made them members of the Xinzonghui.

however, China was in turmoil and warlords were taking control of its many provinces. In 1928, a revitalized KMT, supported by a



Chiang Ching-kuo writes in his diary on November 3, 1945, that he has been negotiating with the Soviets for the return of Northeast China to the Republic of China.

Chiang Kai-shek writes in his diary in June 1948 that the Kuomintang had failed in China, not because of external enemies but because of disintegration and rot from within.

上月反省錄

錄省反月上

一柏林美俄交惡之加劇
 二西拉幣制之實行及歐東共產國際之會議
 三南斯拉夫狄托日俄俄國及俄之態勢
 四美國公開宣布援助日本經濟復興共產國
 際法中蘇動及俄美扶日運動因中國大邦
 智識分子皆為其煽動於是反美高潮連繫
 澎湃幾有不可遏止之勢于實俄國以誘引國
 人仇日反美以掩沒其援扶助中共侵畧中國之
 罪惡思且兼以反美將權希圖推倒我政府也
 其大局之危險因既至而封海臨危之極點
 事知慮代之國之原因蓋不在於寇敵外難也
 之強大而實在於內部之今崩離析以致尤以
 親近左右之幹部不知自強自立而一意推諉
 害者責以在自全之心理完全為共匪定條法所

錄省反月上

辭不怪他人互互抱歎而不自覺其力國亦
 其政者責其推至元首一身甚至受其匪之
 內奸反動之宣傳作用則其手之袖一舉一
 動一言一動皆足以動人心者皆為誤國也
 而彼等不肯出一心力以盡職責以立法委
 員之一般平民皆因若輩之表功更對國宗
 子之責失之任心於其共匪盜寇乃不費力
 而難事做律之徒而有余以世以上清復休
 未必若輩之悔辱守上內外之難道迫於
 匪徒未能所履其奸計在何處其垂危而日
 五院之善選提已定新政府大伴已組織完
 七區之巡視在長遠因窮中對五以局勢大軍
 事仍多顧慮高級將領未能激快自強為
 最堪憂者李李宗仁月杪赴平白崇禧
 赴武漢就華中剿匪總司令職

天下



In August 1950, immediately after the outbreak of the Korean War, General Douglas MacArthur flew to Taipei to meet with Chiang Kai-shek. This photo was taken at Chiang's residence in Yangmingshan near Taipei.

new army, defeated a coalition of northern warlords and established the Nationalist government and its capital at Nanjing, only a two-hour train ride from Shanghai, the country's greatest commercial-urban center.

During the next ten years the Nationalist government created a democratic constitution, established a modern military force, and built a new society, economy, and polity unlike any in China's past. Although led by a revolutionary,

authoritarian political party, many Chinese leaders who had studied in Japan, America, and Europe dreamt of a Chinese democracy. Like the KMT's founding father, the cosmopolitan and revolutionary Sun Yat-sen, these leaders wanted to meld the creative, liberal thinking of the West with the best traditions and ideas of the Chinese. Motivated by lofty ideals, the KMT leadership tried to modernize

China by tightening its control over the ROC.

Just as China's modernization had begun, however, imperial Japan seized the provinces of Northeast China, expanded its claim on other Chinese territories, and in July 1937 provoked a war with China that did not end until August 15, 1945. No sooner had peace been declared than the civil war between the KMT and the communist-led forces erupted throughout the country. Within four years, communist forces had defeated the Nationalist government, founded the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, and driven the remains of the defeated Nationalist government to Taiwan.

Two other events also helped to produce the divided China that exists today. The first came in 1947, when Chiang Kai-shek held a national election that elected more than three thousand National Assembly members. In 1948 that body ratified the Nationalist government's new constitution and chose new leaders for the new republic. In 1949, Chiang, and officials still loyal to him, took that constitution to Taiwan, hoping that, if the new Republic of China

survived, the constitution would govern Taiwan and have de jure control over mainland China. The second event came in June 1950, when communist North Korea attacked South Korea. The United States responded by sending its Seventh Fleet to the Taiwan Strait, resulting in the Korean War.

These two events conspired to bring forth a China made up of two regimes, the ROC and the

PRC, each claiming to represent a reunified China. To prevent communist China from transforming the Asia-Pacific region into a red sea, the U.S. government sent economic and military aid to

In August 1950, the Kuomintang Central Reform Committee held its first meeting, during which Chiang Kai-shek expressed his determination to learn from the party's defeat in China.



Taiwan and cobbled together an alliance of friendly states, from Japan to Southeast Asia, to block communist China's influence in the region. The cold war in the Far East had begun.

Meanwhile, Mao Zedong chose to "lean toward the Soviet Union" rather than normalize relations with the United States. The com-

munist Chinese leaders, believing that socialism was the wave of the future, yearned to build a socialist China dominated by a command economy and governed by a one-party state controlled by a small group of leaders loyal to the charismatic Mao Zedong and his ideals. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) immediately began trying to match a new legal system with its collective life so that the CCP could control Chinese society.

In Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek and his son, Ching-kuo, built a new KMT and began transforming and modernizing Taiwan province.

The leaders of divided China and their supporting elites adhered to different doctrines: in Taiwan they relied on Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People; on the mainland they applied the thoughts of Mao Zedong and other leading Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries.

Here Chiang Kai-shek describes his reforms for the Kuomintang and the Republic of China two weeks before reassuming the presidency in Taipei. Worried that he might repeat the failures of the past, he was determined to reform the military, economic institutions, and the Kuomintang.





中國國民黨中央執行委員會命令

令

Confidential guidelines for KMT personnel and party management from the Central Executive Committee, April 17, 1950. (KMT Central Reform Committee Archives, 6.41-96)

「一」反共抗俄戰爭，不僅是軍事戰，政治戰，經濟戰，而最主要的思想戰，組織戰！我們檢討過去對匪軍所以失利的主要原因，「文由於本，武由於中」的組織瓦解，軍隊失去了思想領導，最近總裁指示我們：今後反共抗俄的重要措施，是要本以黨領導為原則，健全軍中黨組織；加強軍中思想領導，以鞏固青年組織，堅定青年信仰，提高斗志，增加力量，而重現革命武力，爭取反共抗俄的最後勝利。

「二」為適應當前需要其執行黨的政策，特經決定改組並由黨部，改革軍中政工，同時進行。使黨因改造而成為建設政工和改革軍事的動力，

The KMT's great achievements were creating a productive market economy, establishing direct elections for local and central government leaders, and investing in education. For the first time, Chinese people had the opportunity to enhance their skills, study abroad, and live in an urban culture. The ROC regime, rebounding from defeat

and humiliation, demonstrated that a Chinese society could reform, modernize, and change for the better.

In 1986 the democratic process promoted by the KMT and President Chiang Ching-kuo gave rise to an opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). Then, in a strange development, the Taiwanese KMT leader

使此不因改革而黨的主義政策符號被改進而具體實現。因此，本黨同志必須認清黨務改造與改組黨部密切關係，非此非即，否則黨工人員，均應以最大熱忱共效力，支持改組制度的改革，依此國防部所頒佈的國防工作綱領及各項有關政治工作法則，轉為黨務全體黨員一致研加研究，貫徹實施！

「三」本會為確實指導軍隊黨務改造工作之推進，經組建中央軍隊黨務改造指導委員會，以專責辦理軍隊黨務改造各項法令，亦正積極審訂，將次第頒佈實施，各軍事機關學校部隊之各級黨務改造導領委員會，亦將從速次第建立，惟在各級籌備委員會未建立以前，各軍事機關學校部隊的黨務活動，仍希按照原有法規，繼續辦理，決不可停止工作。

以上各項，仰遵照為要。此令。

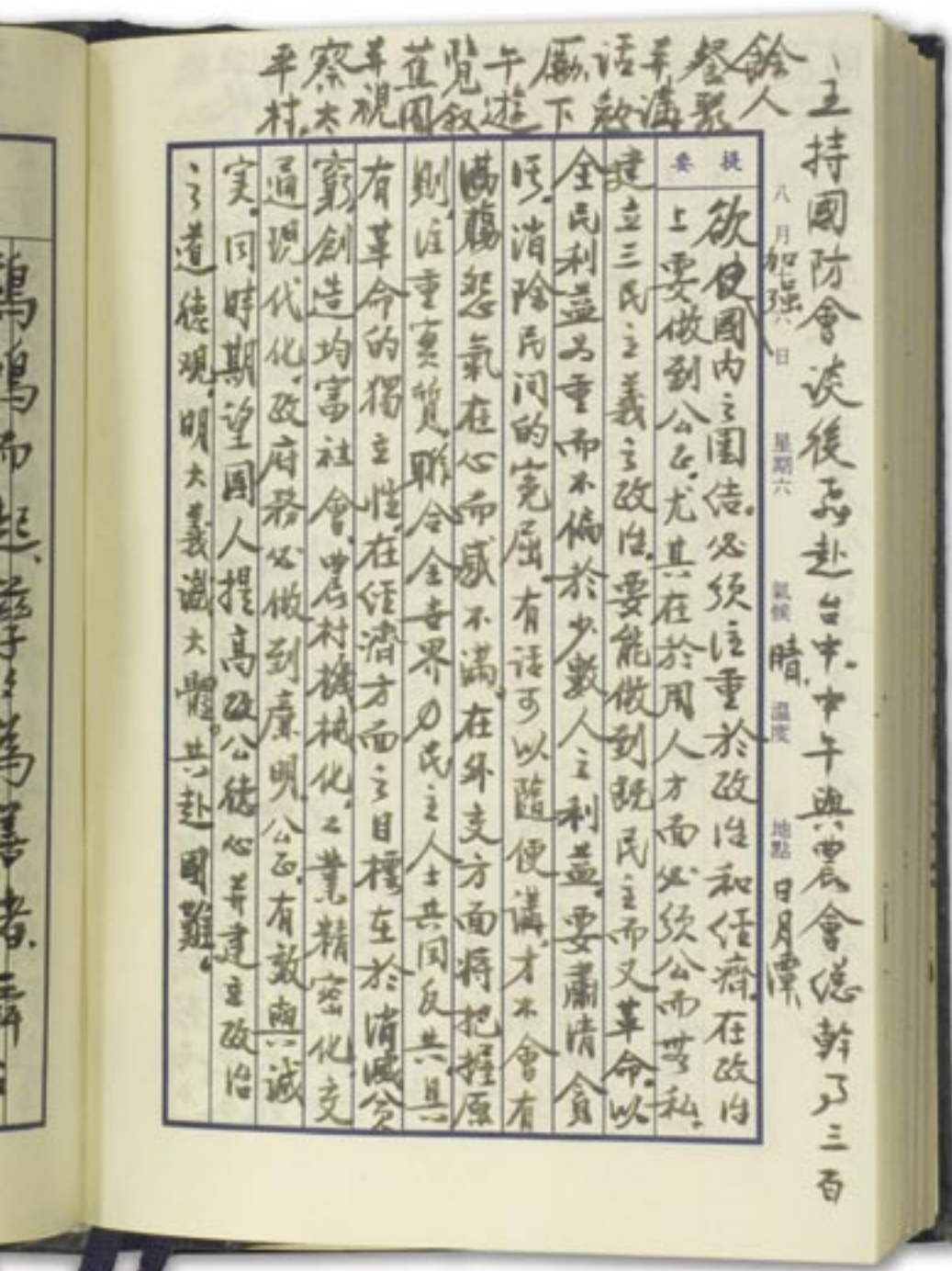
中華民國三十九年四月十七日

Lee Teng-hui, who had assumed the ROC presidency and the role of KMT chairman after Chiang Ching-kuo died in January 1988, began to dismantle the KMT. A new era had begun.

Within a decade, Lee had destroyed the détente between Taiwan and mainland China, and Taiwan-mainland China relations worsened. Lee's actions also

promoted Taiwanese nationalism, and the KMT began to splinter into factions. Local nationalism also intensified after 1996, when direct elections for president were held for the first time in Chinese history. In 2000, a divided KMT lost the presidential election.

Political power now passed to the DPP, whose leaders promised to cleanse Taiwan of Chinese influ-



After Chiang Ching-kuo became premier of the Republic of China, he writes in his diary (August 16, 1975) of wanting to eliminate selfishness and promote the public good.

ence and withdraw from the orbit of mainland China's civilization and culture. The DPP claimed that Taiwan was a sovereign state and thus would intensify its efforts to participate in the United Nations and normalize relations with all states, including the PRC.

The KMT had envisaged a reunified China based on the cardinal principles of Sun Yat-sen, but new visions energized the DPP and other parties. The DPP's promotion of an independent Taiwan was strongly opposed by the PRC, whose leaders, still dedicated to China's reunification, threatened to use force if Taiwan opted for independence.

In mainland China tumultuous changes were also occurring. After Mao died in 1976, mainland China's leaders abandoned his idea that only class struggle could build socialism and redefined socialism as promoting market forces and developing society's productive powers. In the next quarter century, a younger, more-educated generation of leaders promised the people that the party's authoritarian governance could bring them a

better life. But achieving that task was difficult. Government leaders were hard-pressed to manage rapid urban development, and the new market economy created winners but also more losers. The scarcity of energy, water, and land worsened. The continuing divided China problem worsened because of Taiwanese nationalism and separatism, as well as endless friction with the United States and Japan.

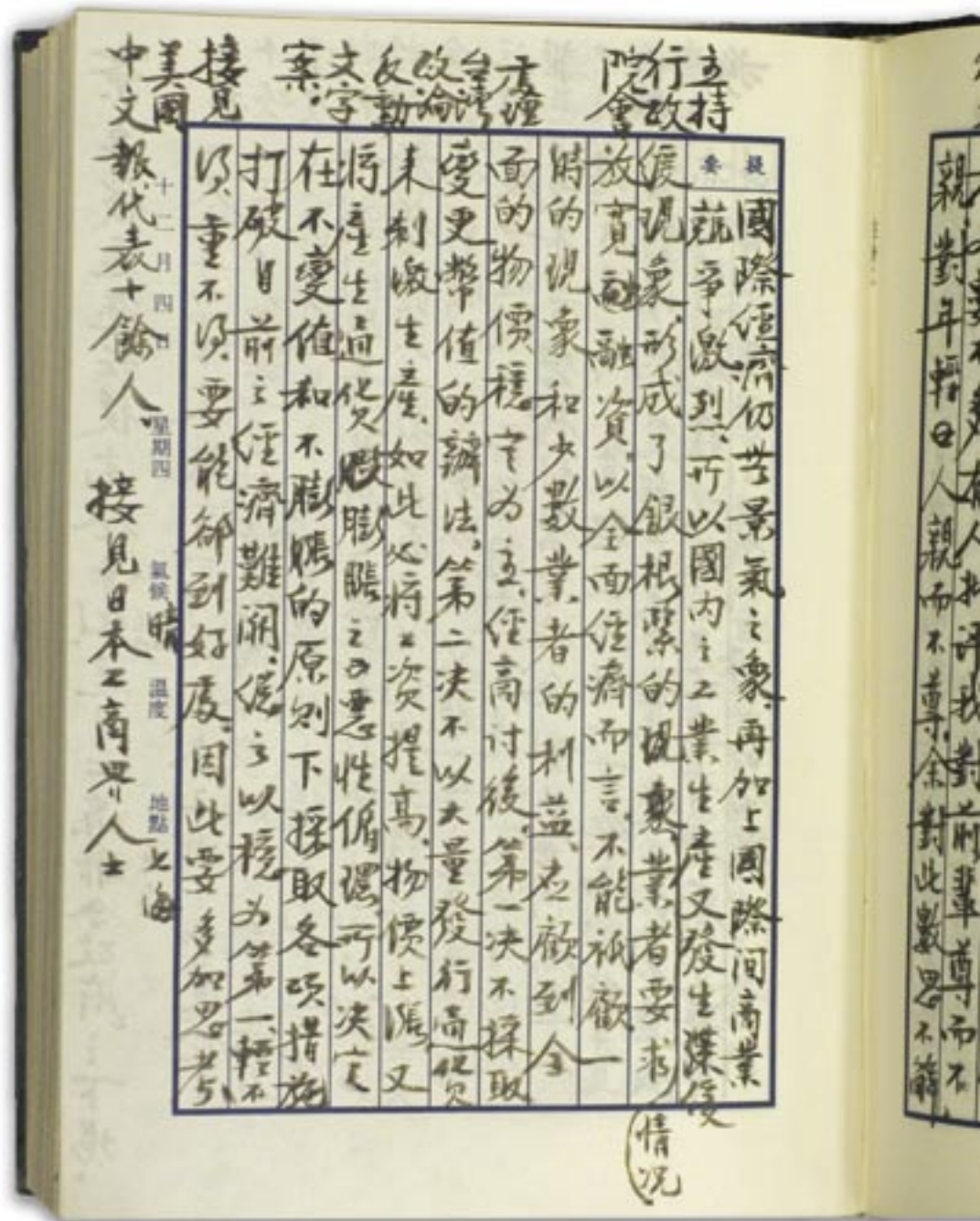
Yet the Communist Party initiated a modernization drive similar to that promoted by the KMT in the 1930s, before Japan destroyed China's hopes. Borrowing policies from the Taiwanese economic miracle, the party called for establishing special economic zones in its coastal provinces, combining foreign investment and technology with cheap, disciplined Chinese labor, and promoting lower taxation and state assistance to expand exports and imports. A burst of economic development occurred, first in the coastal provinces, creating considerable wealth there, and then, after 2000, extending into the hinterland provinces.

In this diary entry of December 4, 1975, Chiang Ching-kuo reflects on the world economic crisis, especially currency and price stability and inflation.

In the two Chinas since 1990 rapid changes have altered the dynamics of political, economic, and social change. In Taiwan one group favors Taiwanese nationalism and separation from China. Another believes that the people can preserve modernization gains and reunify with the mainland. Still another prefers to wait and see, reluctant to accept any changes to the status quo.

The leaders and elites of mainland China, meanwhile, claim that Taiwan is part of China and that China's reunification is inevitable, but they are willing to wait as long as Taiwan's population supports the status quo and rejects secession. If these two sides cannot reconcile and support for independence grows in Taiwan, the prospects for conflict across the Taiwan Strait are high. This powerful, new China wants peace; its economy needs trade and investment for growth and foreign trade. Meanwhile, the world tries to accommodate this modernizing China.

The significance of the Hoover Institution's Modern China Archives and Special Collections is that, for the first time, a large collection of primary historical materials reveals what China's and Taiwan's leaders and elites thought about the great problems of their times, how they endeavored to solve them, why they failed to cooperate with each other, and why building a government and appropriate institutions to unify China, protect China's national security, and modernize China were and are difficult to achieve.



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Orientations, which are available for Stanford
students and faculty, can be tailored to
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Hours

Monday through Friday, 8:15 a.m. to 4:45
p.m. (closed for holidays; call for details)
Archival holdings are brought from the stacks
to the reading room at 9 a.m., 10:30 a.m.,
11:30 a.m., 1:30 p.m., and 3 p.m.

Directions

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Memorial Building at the intersection of
Serra and Galvez Streets on the campus of
Stanford University. Stanford University is
located approximately 35 miles south of
San Francisco and 20 miles north of San Jose.
From 101, exit Embarcadero west (Stanford
University). Embarcadero becomes Galvez
after crossing El Camino Real. From 280, exit
Page Mill east; left on El Camino Real (82);
left on Serra to Galvez. For more information
(including public transportation) visit www.
stanford.edu/home/visitors/directions.html.

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available online at www.hoover.org/hila.

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ing and Hoover Tower, between the Herbert
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there is an elevator just inside the front door
of the building. For more information, please
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the Stanford University online public access
catalog Socrates (see Hoover Institution
Archives). Registers and other finding aids are
also available for most collections. Photocop-
ies of finding aids, subject lists, and new
accession lists can be purchased by mail from
the reference archivist.

Hoover Institution Archives finding aids

More than 1,000 finding aids to collections
in the Hoover Institution Archives can be
found online, at [http://sunsitez.berkeley.edu/
cgi-bin/oac/hoover](http://sunsitez.berkeley.edu/cgi-bin/oac/hoover); additional ones are being
added as they are produced. Most of these
finding aids were encoded by a team at the
University of California, Berkeley, as part of
its EAD Project, which is now the Online
Archive of California. The goal of the project
is to provide a prototype union database of
finding aids to archival collections in all nine
University of California campuses as well as a
few off-campus institutions, including those
at the Hoover Institution Archives.

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活動，仍希按照原有法規，繼續辦理，決不可停
止工作。
以上各項，仰遵照為要。此令。